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The Cheyenne Language

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Dedicated to the remarkable Cheyennes who patiently taught their language to us students at the Summer Institute of Linguistics in Oklahoma for half a century.
Introduction

This book is an introduction to the Cheyenne language. It will not teach you to speak Cheyenne. But it can be a resource 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. 303

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. 303

Hohtseéše'he, Hoop Moon: January 303
Ma'xéhohtseéše'he, Big Hoop Moon: February 303
Pónoma'a'ëhasénehë'se'he, Drying Up Moon: March 303
Véhpotseéše'he, Leaf Moon: April 303
Énano'ëëëse'he, Planting Moon: June 303
Méanëëse'he, Summer Moon: July 303
Oenenëëse'he, Harvest Moon: August 303
Tonöëse'he, Cool Moon: September 303
Sé'ënéhe, Facing Into: October (This name refers to when thin ice begins to form on ponds and rivers.) 303
He'konëneëše'he, Hard Face Moon: November 303
Ma'xëhe'konëneëše'he, Big Hard Face Moon: December 303
Some alternative names are: 303
He'konëneëše'he, Hard Face Moon: January (instead of November) 303
Tšëške'hohtseéše'he, Little Hoop Moon: February 303
Pónoma'a'ëhasenëhe, Drying Up: March (or April) 303
Heše'kévénéhe, Dusty Face: March (also, variant Heše'évenëhe) 303
Heše'évenëheëëse'he, Dusty Face Moon: March (or April) 303
Sétovëmëanëëše'he, Midsummer Moon: July 304
Hémotëëse'he, Breeding Moon: latter part of August and first part of September 304
Tonöeveëëse'he, Cool Moon: September 304
Sé'ëneeëse'he, Facing Into Moon: October 304
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'fit (something)' 311
'(something) taste good' 311
'think well of (someone)' 311

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The Corn and Meat 330
The Whiteman and the Indian 342
The Bat 344
The Frog and Her Brothers 347
The Geese, by Maude Fightingbear (Montana) 350
I'm Beading Moccasins 351
How Birney Got the Name Oevemanaheno 351
The Grasshopper and the Ant 352
The Snake and Mice 357
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  17. Preverb Glottal Stop Epenthesis (PGSEp) 369
  18. e-Epenthesis (e-Ep) 370
19. Non-obstruent Deletion (ND) 370
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21. Complex Syllable Formation (CSF) 370
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25. Low-to-High Raising (LHR) 371
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40. Cliticization 377
41. Glottal Stop Epenthesis (GSEp) 377
42. Contraction 377

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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 pitch¹
^  raised high pitch² (not marked in this book)
\, \ `  lowered high pitch³ (not marked in this book and no longer believed to exist)
low pitch is unmarked

Other symbols
,  "  Voiceless (whispered)⁴
-  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, éméšée, but, instead, we simplify pitch marking to éméšée 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 the ` (caron) or ˇ (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>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>?? (for he- 'have'; is there a better label??)</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

TRY TO FORMAT THE MAPS SO THAT THEY CAN BE VIEWED IN A BOOK. Communities include (for Montana) Busby, Ree District, Muddy Creek, Lame Deer, Ashland, and Birney; and (for Oklahoma): Weatherford, Seiling, Clinton, El Reno, Kingfisher, Watonga, Hammon

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 "tš" 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>pronunciation</th>
<th>another pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>star</td>
<td>hotohke</td>
<td>hetohke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hill</td>
<td>hoéhose</td>
<td>hoéhase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my throat</td>
<td>naéstoo'o</td>
<td>naéstoo'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>invited??</td>
<td>hópose</td>
<td>hápøse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for example</td>
<td>hämó'ohtse</td>
<td>hómó'ohtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen!</td>
<td>Ötahe!</td>
<td>Átahe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen to me!</td>
<td>Äahtovëstse!</td>
<td>Äahahtovëstse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for that reason</td>
<td>hése-</td>
<td>hóse-6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### The Suhtai dialect

Many years ago Cheyennes were about to fight a band of people called the Suhtaeo'o. But they stopped when they could understand what the Suhtaeo'o were saying. So the Suhtaeo'o 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 Suhtai.

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 Suhtai 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 ___.

---

6 This pronunciation is the same as for the preverb hóse- meaning 'again'.
7 Spelled So'taeo'o in the official orthography used in this book.
8 Mutual understanding between the Cheyennes and Suhtai 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 Suhtai as xaecho'estaneo'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'eo'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 épéhéva'e. However, it usually sounds more like ipeva'i, phonetically [ípʰé váʔi], 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: á, è, ó.

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:

- ḥatseške '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'ohēō'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 [ě m aň ı:] 'he drank'
- máhpēva [fm ă p ı f ā] 'in the water'
- máhtamáháâhe [fm à t a mʰ á: 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 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', nahkoheö'o (or in simpler spelling, nahkoyö'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'ë</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'ëškone</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bread</td>
<td>kohkonóheö'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

---

11 Linguists call p, t, k stops.
alphabet for Cheyenne. The š symbol\textsuperscript{12} 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'šinofots instead of the official spelling še'senovotse.

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>Ešeamēhe'ė</td>
<td>Ishiamhi'ī / Ishiamhi'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Woman</td>
<td>Ešeeva'e</td>
<td>Ishiiva'ī / Ishiiva'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising Sun</td>
<td>Eš'he Öhme'ehnēstse</td>
<td>Ishi' Öhnīihnst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Moon</td>
<td>Eš'he Öhnēshēstse</td>
<td>Ishi' Ohnishists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusty Nose</td>
<td>Heš'e'veeesehe</td>
<td>Hishi'iviish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcupine</td>
<td>Heškovēstse</td>
<td>Hishkovsts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alights On The Clouds</td>
<td>Ho'evāhtoešēstse</td>
<td>Ho'ivtahoists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lying Wolf</td>
<td>Ho'nehešēeeše</td>
<td>Ho'nihishiish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden Thigh</td>
<td>Kamāxevēšeo'o</td>
<td>Kamaxivshio / Kamaxivshio'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raccoon</td>
<td>Mātšēškome</td>
<td>Machgom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mint Woman</td>
<td>Moxēšeha'ė</td>
<td>Moxshiha'ī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Crows</td>
<td>Okōhkeo'o Öhnēsese</td>
<td>Okohkeo'o Ohnishis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Snowbird</td>
<td>Šēheso</td>
<td>Shihiso / Shihis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pine Woman</td>
<td>Šestoto'a'ē</td>
<td>Shistota'ī / Shisdoda'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Creek</td>
<td>Tšēške'eo'he'ė</td>
<td>Chki'io'hi'ī / Chki'io'hi'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some other Cheyenne words with the "š" sound are: amēške 'grease' (simpler spelling amshk), eš'e 'sun' (simpler spelling ishi'), meškeso 'bug' (simpler spelling mishkis), neš'e 'two' (simpler spelling nish), nāčēsmēsehe 'I already ate' (simpler spelling naishimisih), and ēovēše '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.

\textsuperscript{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>hehame 'her husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'estoo'o 'pillow'</td>
<td>maestoo'o 'throat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eše'šeotse 'he woke up'</td>
<td>ešešeotse '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, raspiw than English "h". "x" is a frequent sound in Cheyenne words, as in: xao'o 'skunk', eovaxe 'he dreamed', nexa '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>vetšēške</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for four days</td>
<td>névéé'ēše</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'vanõhē'o</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>vo'e</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bald eagle</td>
<td>vóaxaa'e</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>váótséva</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He fell over</td>
<td>étává'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>éovēše</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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: ā, ē, ĕ. In some earlier publications, when a dot was not available, whispered vowels were marked with the circumflex symbol: â, ê, ô. 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 |
| tāhpēno | 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 [mәpē f ә]. 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', nēhpē'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:**

Kásóvaahehaséstse, néstooheonane, nésto’ane, nemehohtanone.
Young men, our (incl) flag, our (incl) land, we love it.

**Northern Cheyenne Flag Song, Busby version, as sung:**

Kásóvaahehaséstse, nestooheonane, nesto’ane, nemehohtanone.

Notice that the second person possessor prefix ne- is voiceless in the spoken version but voiced in the sung version. This voiceless syllable nē- is difficult to hear in the spoken words néstoohéonane **RECHECK PITCH** 'our (incl) flag' and nésto'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. Mid pitch vowels are marked with a macron like this: ā, ē, ō.

Notice the pitches in these words:

| he'e     | liver
| hē'e    | woman
| hóoma   | mosquito (or blanket)
| hoóma   | on the other side
| hoéstótse | dress
| hoéstótse | Read it!
| vé'ho'e | whiteman
| vé'hó'e | whiteman
| tsénémenése | you who are singers
| tsénémenese | those who are singers

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'ë 'land' which has just one metrical beat for its one "o" vowel with éhoo'e 'he's (here)' which has two metrical beats for its two "o" vowels. The two "o" vowels of éhoo'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 éhoo'e 'he is (here)' the same as you pronounce the letters "oo" in the English word "good". And do not pronounce "ee" of énéé'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 [oː] while English "oo" is phonetically [ʊ]. Cheyenne "ee" is phonetically [iː] 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:

\[ C \text{\,}Ṽ\text{\,}h\text{\,}V > C^h\text{\,}V / \_\,\$_ \]

This formula means that a consonant (C) followed by a voiceless vowel (Ṽ), 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>[ípʰ e v a ? i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They (an.) are good</td>
<td>épēhévéaho'o</td>
<td>[ípʰ e vʰ aʰ o ? ɔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cradleboard</td>
<td>pāhōeséstotse</td>
<td>[pʰ ɔ:s t ʃ t ɔ c]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hammer</td>
<td>tōhohko</td>
<td>[tʰ ɔ h k ɔ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to bed!</td>
<td>tāhōouvēštse</td>
<td>[tʰ ɔː v w ɪ s c]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm tired</td>
<td>nākāhaneotse</td>
<td>[n ə kʰ a n ɪ v 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.

p, t, k, and ' are called stops by linguists. We see from the preceding list of words with complex syllables that each of these stops can be aspirated in Cheyenne. So Cheyenne stops can be either unaspirated or aspirated. Notice the difference in the sounds of the stops (underlined) in these Cheyenne words, a difference based only on whether or not they are aspirated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stop</th>
<th>Aspirated</th>
<th>Unaspirated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>étá'páhe'o'o 'they are weak'</td>
<td>étá'pahe 'he is weak'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éno'káhehe 'Is he single?'</td>
<td>éno'kahe 'he is single'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésáanétáhehé 'he is not a different one'</td>
<td>énétahe 'he is a different one'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 it 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stop</th>
<th>Aspirated</th>
<th>Unaspirated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>máheó'o</td>
<td>[mʰ áʔ ʔ ṭ ə]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>néhe'se</td>
<td>[nʰ ᵦ ʃ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I caught it</td>
<td>nánáha'ēna</td>
<td>[n á nʰ a ᵦ i n ə]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 is 'God', māhēō'o is '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:

énōvahe 'he is slow'
énōvāheo'o 'they are slow'

In the first word, énōvahe, the letter "v" sounds like an English "w". In énōvāheo'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/:

néše 'Grandchild! (vocative)', néxahe 'my grandchild'
énēšešévôène 'he washed his (own) face', énēšešāhtse 'he gargled'
énēšeō'o 'there are two of them (an.), énēxánēstse 'there are two of them (inan.)
šé'še 'duck', še'xo 'duck' (obviative)

The phoneme /h-/ becomes [x] when it precedes /h/:

Éhnméne 'he sang', É̱xho'soo'e 'he danced'
Néhmetséstse! 'Give it to me!, Néxhéstánōhtse! 'Bring it to me!'

---

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 mȧhe- 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.

16 This phonological rule is called š-Backing.

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, š, 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>hēe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soup</td>
<td>hōhp</td>
<td>hohpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>nâko</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>māheo’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gopher</td>
<td>eszemae</td>
<td>estsema’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>móesz</td>
<td>mo’e’estse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>nasz</td>
<td>na’èstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>noz</td>
<td>notse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whiteman</td>
<td>vého</td>
<td>ve’ho’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white woman</td>
<td>véhoa</td>
<td>ve’ho’a’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>voe</td>
<td>vo’e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
body: məvōxōz, məvoxōtse
Cheyennes: Zezeštassō, Tsetsēhestāhese (simpler spelling Tsitsistas recommended)
clothes: hone'ōnoz, hone'oonōtse
my son: nāha, nae'ha
his son(s): hēhya, hee'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: ehavsevæ, 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'ẽ</td>
<td>ah i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>taa'e'va</td>
<td>dii i vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evening</td>
<td>hētoeva</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>nahkōhe</td>
<td>na go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bears</td>
<td>nahkōhe,o'o</td>
<td>na ko yoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawk</td>
<td>aenōhe</td>
<td>ii noo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawks</td>
<td>aenōhe,o'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>eš'e'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>māhe,o'o</td>
<td>mha yoo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phonetic spelling

Some Cheyennes 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 Cheyennes call themselves can be spelled like this using international phonetic symbols: [t͡sɪtsɪstʰəs] or [ɕtɕʰɪstʰəs]. 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 Tsetséstahese, or with pitch marks, Tsëtsëhestahese. 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 Tsitsistas. 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, Tsitsistas, 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 namëšeme. 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>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
um (or am) ame pemmican
amshk ameške grease
boyso (or boiso) poeso cat
gashgon ka'ėškone child
gi'iih ke'eehe grandma
Ipvæ. 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 fly
hochk ho'tšēške sinew
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
Nahkoso 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?
Nitsisstahe? Netsēhestahehe? Are you Cheyenne?
Niya'ish Nea'eše Thank you
okom o'kohome coyote
oishkis oeškese dog
shi'sh še'še duck
Tsitsistaists Tsetsēhestaestse Cheyenne (person)
Tsitsistas Tsetsēhestahese Cheyennes
Tsisinstsistots Tšēhesenéstsestötse Cheyenne language
vich vetšēške fat
waodzif vaotseva deer
Wohiihif Vooheheve Morning Star

---

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.

šēšė /šěšě/ 'duck'
émēsehe /émēsehe/ 'he is eating'
émōna'e /émōna'e/ 'it's new'
mónésō'hâeanámé /mónésō'háéanámé '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 /móťēh/ '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. homá'e beavers)\(^{21}\) RECHECK PLURAL PITCHES
ma'ḥahko'e /ma'ahahko'e/ 'badger' (cf. ma'ahahkō'e 'badgers')
téske'e /tehke'e/ 'a little' (cf. téšeskó'o 'it's little')
éné'ta'e /éné'ta'e/ 'it's important' (cf. éné'ta'he 'Is it important?')
hótame /hotame/ 'dog' (cf. hotämē 'dogs')\(^{21}\)
koohkóva'e /koohkova'e/ 'quail, bobwhite' (cf. koohkōva'e 'quails, bobwhites')
héstase /hehta'se/ 'snow' (cf. hesta'sóho 'snow (obv); éhesta'seve 'it is snow, there is snow')
nóma'ne /nomá'ne/ 'fish (singular)' (cf. nomá'ne 'fish (plural)')
ó'he'e /o'he'e/ 'river' (cf. o'hé'e 'at the river', o'hé'ėstse 'rivers')
má'xeme /ma'xemen/ 'apple, plum' [cf. ma'xemeno 'apples (Northern Cheyenne), ma'xemenőtse 'plums' (Southern Cheyenne)]
mo'óhta'e /mo'ohta'en/ 'turnip', (cf. mo'ōhtá'éne 'turnips')
móneške /moneškeh/ 'bean' (cf. monēškeho 'beans')
ononevóneshke /nononevóneskeh/ 'prairie dog' (cf. ononevonēškeho 'prairie dogs')
séavóneshke /séavóneskeh/ 'woodchuck' (cf. séavonēškeho 'woodchucks')
náháa'eh/ náheha'eh 'my auntie/auntie (voc.)' (cf. náhehañeho'tse 'she is my aunt')
vōhe'e /vohē'e/ 'shoestring' (cf. vōhē'estse 'shoestrings')
mó'e'e /mo'e'e/ 'blade of grass' (cf. mo'ē'estse 'grass')
náhtsémé'em /nahtema'eme/ 'my blood', hestsemaemēvo their blood, ma'ēva 'in the blood'
hō'hame'e /ho'hama'e/ 'spring (of water)' (cf. ho'hamē'éva 'at the spring')
émo'ona'e /émo'ona'eh 'it's beautiful' (cf. émo'ona'eh 'Is it beautiful?', émo'onāhe 'she's beautiful', éssamō'ona'eháné it's not beautiful
épēhévatománo'e /épēhévatomano'eh 'it's nice weather (cf. éssāpēhévatomano'eháné 'it's not nice weather', épēhévatomano'eh 'Is it nice weather?')
épēhévēnōno'e /épēhévēnōno'eh 'it looks nice' (cf. épēhévēnōno'eh 'Does it look nice?')

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\(^{21}\) This ia an older Cheyenne word for 'dog'. For several decades the most commonly 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 éškōseesē-hotame 'pig (lit., sharp-nosed-domesticated.animal)

\(^{22}\) The singular is also pronounced as nóma'he.
énó'ka'è /éno'ka'è/ 'there is one (inan.)' (cf. éno'ka'èhe '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')
- Tähpeta 'Bigman' (cf. étáhpéta 'he is big')
- Tাহpe'ee'èse 'Big Nose'
- Má'ee'èse 'Red Nose' (cf. éma'ee'èse 'he has a red nose')
- Pá'ee'èse 'Lump Nose' (cf. épà'ee'èse 'he has a lump nose')
- Á'ee'èse 'Pug Nose' (cf. éa'ee'èse 'he has a pug nose')
- Mámahke 'Curly' (cf. émamáhkà'è '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)
- hé'tóhe this, these (inanimate)
- tá'tóhe that, those (animate)
- há'tóhe that, those (inanimate)
- naa and
- máto also
- oha but, only
- nóxa'è Wait!
- nóheto Let's go!
- na'èstse one
- neše two
- no'ka once
- nexa twice
- héva 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 vétsēškévahonoo'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.'

tséhnéehovése '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'tohe. 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:**

![Images of various objects: a dog, cats, a deer, a girl, a tree, watermelon slices, a sun, a star, a brain, a brain with buttons, a basketball, a rope.]

oeškese  poeson  vaotseva  he'eka'ěškone  hoohtséstse  néxo'mevehe  eš'ehe  hotohke  mo'eško  hestahpe  hestsetato  ho'honoae'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 far 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’ėstane: person
- hé’e: woman
- hetane: man
- ka’ēskóne: child
- póéso: cat
- váótséva: deer
- vé’késo: bird
- netse: eagle
- vōhkóóhe: rabbit
- ma’heono: sacred powers
- méstaeo’o: spooks
- hoohtséstse: tree
- maxe: log
- méséhéstoto: potatoes
- henene: tomato
- éše’he: sun
- taa’e-ēše’he: moon
- hotohke: star
- ho’honáeo’o: rocks
- hestahpe: brain
Inanimate nouns

- ame: pemmican
- mahpe: water
- ho'évohkótse: meat
- mészéhestótse: food
- menótse: berries
- ma'xemenótse: apples (in Oklahoma, but animate ma'xemenotse in Montana)
- hetanémenø'e: juneberry bush
- mo'ë'estse: hay
- heséóvé'e: sand
- mo'kéhanótse: shoes
- hóhkéha'e: hat
- hoestáto: belt
- káhamaxe: stick
- évo'sóesëë'o: toy
- mo'ëškonótse: rings
- me'ko: head, hair
- ma'éxánéstse: eyes
- maähe: arrow
- máheo'o: house
- he'ë: liver
- he'po: lung
- ho'ësta: fire, stove
- motšëske: knife
- ta'ta'öhö'o: key

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>hätseške</td>
<td>hätšėškeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mé’čševōtse</td>
<td>mé’čševoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>nāhkohoe</td>
<td>nāhkohoe'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>hāhnoma</td>
<td>hāhnomaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vė’kēše</td>
<td>vė’kēseho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>pōēso</td>
<td>pōesono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka’ēškkōne</td>
<td>ka’ēškōneho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clam</td>
<td>hēxovo</td>
<td>hēxovono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comb</td>
<td>tseeene’ēheo'o</td>
<td>tseeene’ėheono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oeškese</td>
<td>oeškēseho</td>
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<tr>
<td>ghost24</td>
<td>seö’ōtse</td>
<td>šeōto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dress</td>
<td>hōestōtse</td>
<td>hōestoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šē’še</td>
<td>šē’še'o'o</td>
</tr>
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<td>méēno</td>
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<td>fly</td>
<td>hēse</td>
<td>hēse'o'o</td>
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<td>man</td>
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<td>hetane'o'o</td>
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<td>pé'eo'o</td>
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<td>pipe</td>
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<td>hē’ōhkonō</td>
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<td>hēškōvētō</td>
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<td>vōhkoohēho</td>
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<tr>
<td>shirt, coat</td>
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<td>ėstse’heno</td>
</tr>
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<td>tomato</td>
<td>ėstse’he</td>
<td>ėstse’heno</td>
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<td>xāō’o</td>
<td>xāōne</td>
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<td>ma’hakhō’e</td>
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<td>henā’e</td>
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<td>white man</td>
<td>vē’ho’e</td>
<td>vē’hō’e</td>
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<td>horse</td>
<td>mo’ēhno’ha</td>
<td>mo’ēhno’hame</td>
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<tr>
<td>cougar</td>
<td>nanōse’hame</td>
<td>nanōse’háme</td>
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### Inanimate plural nouns

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

---

24 The word seö’ōtse 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:

- -ȯtse,
- -néótse,
- -éstse, 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.25

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 -ȯtse and -éstse.) 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>hátšeške</td>
<td>hátšeškeh</td>
<td>hátšeškeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mé'eševotse</td>
<td>mé'eševot</td>
<td>mé'eševoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bean</td>
<td>mónšeške</td>
<td>mónšeškeh</td>
<td>mónšeškeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkhohe</td>
<td>náhkhohe</td>
<td>náhkhoheo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>háhnoma</td>
<td>háhnomah</td>
<td>háhnomaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vě'kése</td>
<td>vě'keséh</td>
<td>vě'késeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>pósó</td>
<td>pósón</td>
<td>pósosono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'ēskóne</td>
<td>ka'ēskóneh</td>
<td>ka'ēskóneh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comb</td>
<td>tseeene'ēheo'o</td>
<td>tseeene'ēheon</td>
<td>tseeene'ēheono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetaneo'o</td>
<td>hetaneo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šéšé</td>
<td>šéšé</td>
<td>šéšé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feather</td>
<td>mee'e</td>
<td>méen</td>
<td>méeno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rabbit</td>
<td>vóhkóóhe</td>
<td>vóhkooheh</td>
<td>vóhkooheho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Inanimate noun stems**

<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'ahtsenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ax</td>
<td>hóhkóxe</td>
<td>hóhkoxeh</td>
<td>hóhkoxehótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>he'ko</td>
<td>he'kon</td>
<td>he'konótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoe</td>
<td>mo'keha</td>
<td>mo'kehan</td>
<td>mo'kéhanótse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plurals ending in -ōtse**

<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>hóhkéhá'e</td>
<td>hóhkéha'</td>
<td>hóhkéhá'estse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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 stems28. 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’keséh-. 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’sé for 'duck' is the same as its singular spelling šé’sè, 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 Goddard30 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, -ot and – ét. But inanimate noun plurals actually end with "phonetic" spellings -ôtse and –êtse, as seen in the preceding list. (The two letters –se are added to these pluralizers by phonological rules31 described at the end of this book.

27 Some speakers pronounce 'bird' as vé’kése.
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, -ôtse, to the stem for 'ax', hóhkoxeh, we get the spelling hóhkoxehôtse. The second "o" is devoiced to ô by a phonological rule, giving us the actual pronunciation spelling of the plural, hóhkóxehôtse. If we subtract -h from the hóhkoxeh stem, we get the spelling, hóhkoxe. The the second "o" is again devoiced to ô by phonological rule. Finally, the high pitched first ó is lowered, resulting in the actual pronunciation spelling of the singular hóhkóxe.

If we add -ôtse to the stem for 'shoe', we get the plural spelling mo'kehanôtse. A phonological rule causes the first /e/ to devoice, giving us the actual plural spelling, mo'kéhanôtse. 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'kéhaneve '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, hoestátónèstse. When we subtract the -n from the stem, we get the proper spelling for the singular, hoestató 'belt'.

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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.
$\text{CHECK TO SEE IF THIS INFO IS ADEQUATELY INCLUDED IN WHAT PRECEDES THIS:}$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>underlying stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>alien</td>
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<td>nôtse?o</td>
<td>nótte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien (female)</td>
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<td>nót?ec?o</td>
<td>nótá?éd</td>
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<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>hátseške</td>
<td>hátššehko</td>
<td>hátehkán</td>
</tr>
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<td>vo?kaeh</td>
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<td>ma?xemenó</td>
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<td>mé?ševot</td>
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<td>mónéskhé</td>
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<td>sáot</td>
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<td>o?kóhomeho</td>
<td>o?kohomáh</td>
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<td>ne?potaté</td>
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<td>ókóhke</td>
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<td>náhpóasó</td>
<td>náhpóasóno</td>
<td>náhpóasón</td>
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<td>ooškésóh</td>
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<tr>
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<td>hotameh</td>
<td>hotameho</td>
<td>hotaméh</td>
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<td>nátse</td>
<td>nátse?o</td>
<td>nátte</td>
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<td>vóaxsa?e</td>
<td>vóaxsa?e?o</td>
<td>vóaxsa?é</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: Forms preceded by a plus sign (+) have special complications with the vowels -e and -o.)
PLURALIZATION: ANIMATE NOUNS having ẹ in pluralizer

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>underlying stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>hòva</td>
<td>hovëhne</td>
<td>hován</td>
</tr>
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<td>blackbird</td>
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<td>he?heñøn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
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<td>kokõhãáxâne</td>
<td>kokõhãaxán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chipmunk</td>
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<td>nëške?éstãhn</td>
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<td>váotséve</td>
<td>váotsévéhne</td>
<td>váotsévãhn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magpie</td>
<td>mo?e?ha</td>
<td>mo?e?hãne</td>
<td>mo?e?hãn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>kõsa</td>
<td>kõsâne</td>
<td>kosán</td>
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<tr>
<td>tick</td>
<td>méñe</td>
<td>méñe</td>
<td>méšen</td>
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<tr>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>ma?ëño</td>
<td>ma?ënõne</td>
<td>ma?ënõn</td>
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</table>

Nouns which retain -n word-internally:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>mého?õxøño</th>
<th>mého?õxønõne</th>
<th>maho?õxønõn</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gourd</td>
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<td>máhõóne</td>
<td>mahõón</td>
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<tr>
<td>melon</td>
<td>máhõńko</td>
<td>máhõńkõne</td>
<td>mahõńkon</td>
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<tr>
<td>cantelope</td>
<td>heo?õhtáto</td>
<td>heo?õhtátõne</td>
<td>heo?õhtáton</td>
</tr>
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<td>salamander</td>
<td>xòo?o</td>
<td>xaõne</td>
<td>xaön</td>
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Nouns with pitch change:

<table>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>badger</td>
<td>hóma?e</td>
<td>homë?e</td>
<td>homo?</td>
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<td>beaver</td>
<td>hekówâ?e</td>
<td>hekovâ?e</td>
<td>hekovâ?</td>
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<td>bedbug</td>
<td>hótema</td>
<td>hotâme</td>
<td>hotam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>nóma?he</td>
<td>nomâ?he</td>
<td>nomâ?h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>oónâha?e</td>
<td>oonâhï?e</td>
<td>oonâha?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frog</td>
<td>hâına?e</td>
<td>hênâ?e</td>
<td>hena?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frog</td>
<td>ëstsemâ?e</td>
<td>ëstsemâ?e</td>
<td>ëstsemâ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gopher</td>
<td>hêsko?e</td>
<td>hêsko?</td>
<td>hêsko?</td>
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</table>

Nouns which retain -m word-internally:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>mo?ên...no?ha</th>
<th>mo?ên...no?hâme</th>
<th>mo?ên...no?ham</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mare</td>
<td>hetané?hame</td>
<td>hetané?hame</td>
<td>hetané?ham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male horse</td>
<td>nanôse?hame</td>
<td>nanôse?hame</td>
<td>nanôse?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>ame?háhtôtse</td>
<td>ame?háhtotôtse</td>
<td>ame?háhtot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>answer</td>
<td>no?éstáhtôtse</td>
<td>no?éstáhtotôtse</td>
<td>no?éstáhtot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apple (So. Ch)</td>
<td>ma?xeme</td>
<td>ma?xemenôtse</td>
<td>ma?xemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>ma?áhtse</td>
<td>ma?áhtsenôtse</td>
<td>ma?áhtsen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>armpit</td>
<td>matseno</td>
<td>matsenonôtse</td>
<td>matenon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>maáhe</td>
<td>maahôtse</td>
<td>maah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axe</td>
<td>höhkôxe</td>
<td>höhkôxhôtse</td>
<td>höhkôxhôh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>ma?pzôo</td>
<td>ma?pâzonôtse</td>
<td>ma?pâzon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beard</td>
<td>mé?hahtse</td>
<td>mé?hahtsenôtse</td>
<td>mé?hahtten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bed</td>
<td>šeëéštôtse</td>
<td>šeëéštotôtse</td>
<td>šeëéštot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berry</td>
<td>+ mene</td>
<td>meñôtse</td>
<td>meñen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boar</td>
<td>sêmo</td>
<td>sémonôtse</td>
<td>sémon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>he?ko</td>
<td>he?konôtse</td>
<td>he?kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bow</td>
<td>ma?tšëške</td>
<td>ma?tšëškenôtse</td>
<td>ma?tšëkêh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>branch(tree)</td>
<td>hestaa</td>
<td>hestenôtse</td>
<td>hestan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bread</td>
<td>kôhkônônêo?o</td>
<td>kôhkônôhenôtse</td>
<td>kôhkônôheon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breech-cloth belt</td>
<td>hòxáso</td>
<td>hòxåsonôtse</td>
<td>hòxasôn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>broom</td>
<td>mòxáheo?o</td>
<td>mòxáheonôtse</td>
<td>mòxáheon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buckskin</td>
<td>me?šëško</td>
<td>me?šëškonôtse</td>
<td>me?šëkôn</td>
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<td>hetohko</td>
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<td>hetóhkon</td>
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<td>hetóçon</td>
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<td>he?nétoon</td>
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<tr>
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<td>hóseëse?ëse</td>
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<td>màhtsé?ooonôtse</td>
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<td>tâhpënon</td>
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<td>hammer</td>
<td>tôhcokho</td>
<td>tôhcôkonôtse</td>
<td>tôhcôkon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair/head</td>
<td>me?ko</td>
<td>mé?konôtse</td>
<td>mé?kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>hestâ</td>
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<td>hestáh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>mèhe?ôo?o</td>
<td>mèheônoñôtse</td>
<td>mèheôn</td>
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<td>màhe?shkôn</td>
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<td>nòtshkahê</td>
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<td>xòmocônomôtse</td>
<td>xòmocôn</td>
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<td>lung</td>
<td>hè?po</td>
<td>he?pônoñôtse</td>
<td>he?pôno</td>
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<td>cigarette</td>
<td>he?pôto?tse</td>
<td>he?pôtotôtse</td>
<td>he?pôtot</td>
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<td>ho?évohkôtse</td>
<td>ho?évohkotôtse</td>
<td>ho?évohkot</td>
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<td>honóvôkô</td>
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<td>vêhêntot</td>
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<td>he?ôtôtse</td>
<td>he?ôt</td>
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<td>ma?evoñôtse</td>
<td>ma?evo</td>
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<td>ma?evo</td>
<td>ma?evoñôtse</td>
<td>ma?evoñ</td>
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<td>ka?âmëstôtse</td>
<td>ka?âmëstotôtse</td>
<td>ka?âmëhtôt</td>
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<td>ring</td>
<td>mo?ësko</td>
<td>mo?ëskonôtse</td>
<td>mo?ëskôn</td>
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<td>mënoñôtse</td>
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<td>roast</td>
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<td>honôonôtse</td>
<td>honôon</td>
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<td>shoe</td>
<td>mo?kehâna</td>
<td>mo?kehênonôtse</td>
<td>mo?kehên</td>
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<tr>
<td>year, winter</td>
<td>âë?ëa</td>
<td>aëñôtse</td>
<td>aëñen</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>axe</td>
<td>hohkoxe</td>
<td>hohkoxéstse</td>
<td>hohkox(eh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bead</td>
<td>onénavo?ke</td>
<td>onénavo?késtse</td>
<td>onénavo(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belt</td>
<td>hoestâto</td>
<td>hoestâtónéstse</td>
<td>hoestâtón(eh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bow</td>
<td>ma?tšéseke</td>
<td>ma?tšéskéstse</td>
<td>ma?tehk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowstring</td>
<td>ma?tânó</td>
<td>ma?tânónéstse</td>
<td>ma?tânón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>branch (tree)</td>
<td>hestaa?e</td>
<td>hestaa?éstse</td>
<td>hestaa(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>vo?e</td>
<td>vō?éstse</td>
<td>vō?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coin</td>
<td>ma?kaêta</td>
<td>ma?kaetânestse</td>
<td>ma?kaetán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raw corn</td>
<td>hoköhtse</td>
<td>hóköhtséstse</td>
<td>hóköht</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ména?o?e</td>
<td>ména?o?éstse</td>
<td>ména?o?</td>
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<td>day</td>
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<td>éšën</td>
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<td>eye</td>
<td>ma?êxa</td>
<td>ma?êxânéstse</td>
<td>ma?êxán</td>
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<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>ho?esta</td>
<td>ho?estânéstse</td>
<td>ho?ehtán</td>
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<td>fishhook</td>
<td>nonónô?e</td>
<td>nonónô?éstse</td>
<td>nonónôé</td>
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<tr>
<td>hat</td>
<td>hóhkéha?e</td>
<td>hóhkéhéstse</td>
<td>hóhkéha?</td>
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<tr>
<td>hay</td>
<td>mo?e?e</td>
<td>mo?e?éstse</td>
<td>mo?e?</td>
</tr>
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<td>lake</td>
<td>ne?hanëne</td>
<td>ne?hanënéstse</td>
<td>ne?hanën</td>
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<tr>
<td>land</td>
<td>ho?e</td>
<td>ho?éstse</td>
<td>ho?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>hë?e</td>
<td>hë?éstse</td>
<td>hë?’é(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>hë?e</td>
<td>hë?enéstse</td>
<td>hë?én</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>hesëec?otse</td>
<td>hesëec?otéstse</td>
<td>hesëecot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>taa?e</td>
<td>taa?éstse</td>
<td>taa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>taa?e</td>
<td>taa?enéstse</td>
<td>taa?en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rib</td>
<td>hë?pe</td>
<td>hë?péstse</td>
<td>hë?p(éh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>river</td>
<td>ò?he?e</td>
<td>ò?he?éstse</td>
<td>ò?he?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td>vóhtâne</td>
<td>vóhtânéstse</td>
<td>vóhtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forest</td>
<td>ma?tañë?e</td>
<td>ma?tañë?éstse</td>
<td>ma?tañë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year, winter</td>
<td>ñà?e</td>
<td>ñà?ëéstse</td>
<td>ñà?ë(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

Only one third person can be in focus at a time in any single language segment (span) in Cheyenne. Any other third persons, including, nouns which refer to them, must be in an obviated form. 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’ēškóne</td>
<td>ka’ēškóneho</td>
<td>ka’ēškóneho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree</td>
<td>hoohtsētse</td>
<td>hoohtseto</td>
<td>hoohtseto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>sé’sēnovōtse</td>
<td>šē’sēnovoto</td>
<td>šē’sēnovoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grasshopper</td>
<td>háhkota</td>
<td>háhkotaho</td>
<td>háhkotaho</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’xemeno35</td>
<td>ma’xemeno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my daughter</td>
<td>nāhtona</td>
<td>nāhtónaho</td>
<td>nāhtónaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>váotswēva</td>
<td>váotswēvahne</td>
<td>váotswēvahne</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>hé’e</td>
<td>he’eo’o</td>
<td>he’óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šē’šē</td>
<td>šē’šeo’o</td>
<td>šē’xo36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>éše’he</td>
<td>éše’heo’o</td>
<td>éše’hóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>nāhkohe</td>
<td>nāhkoheo’o</td>
<td>nāhkóhóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>ho’honá’e’</td>
<td>ho’honáeo’o</td>
<td>ho’honaa’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white woman</td>
<td>vé’ho’á’e</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).
- Énoopomaevóho hēnésonéhevóho. Their children (obv) called them.
- Oeškēso ématómóho xaōne. The dog smelled a skunk/skunks (obv).
- Oeškēseho ématômovo xaōne. The dogs 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 šē’xóho.
Émehótóho37 náhtónaho. He loves my daughter/daughters (obv).
Ka'ěškóne évéstahémóho heške. The child helped his mother (obv).
Henésono évéstahémáá'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 máhēō'o 'house':

namáhēō'o 'my house'
nemáhēō'o 'your house'
hemáhēō'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 pitched38:

Ná-mésehe. 'I'm eating.' (or 'I ate.') (recheck tenses in these sentences??)  
Né-mésehe. 'You're eating.' (or 'You ate.')  
É-mésehe. 'He (or She) is eating.' (or 'He/She ate.')</n
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>sémonótse 'boats'</td>
<td>hesémonótse 'his boats'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'keha 'shoe'</td>
<td>namo'keha 'my shoe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'kéhanótse 'shoes'</td>
<td>namo'kéhanótse '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>namáhēō'o 'my house'</td>
<td>namáheónáne 'our (excl) house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevee'e 'your tepee'</td>
<td>nevēenēvo 'your (pl) tepee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesto'e 'his land'</td>
<td>hestō'ēstse 'their lands'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nenéso 'your child'</td>
<td>nenésōnéhévo 'your (pl) child'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inclusive and exclusive 'our' possessors
In English, without other clues, we cannot tell whether or not the word "our" includes the

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.'
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, nemáheónane means 'our house' (which includes you as owner). And namáheónáne means 'our house' (which excludes you as owner). Some other inclusive and exclusive first person possessors (corresponding to English 'our') are:

**inclusive 'our'**
- nevéenane 'our (incl) tepee
- neamáho’héstónane 'our (incl) car'
- nenésonéhane 'our (incl) child'
- néstotséhane 'our (incl) pet'

**exclusive 'our'**
- navéenâne 'our (excl) tepee'
- namáho'héstónâne 'our (excl) car'
- nánésônéhâne 'our (excl) child'
- náhtotséhâne 'our (excl) pet'

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

**inclusive 'our'**
- nénémenema 'we (incl) sang'
- névéôme 'we (incl) saw him'
- néhetaene 'he told us (incl)'

**exclusive 'our'**
- nánémenême 'we (excl) sang'
- návéômöme 'we (excl) saw him'
- náhêtaéne 'he told us (excl)'

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:

- nanésó 'my child'
- nenésô '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'.

**Inanimate possessives**

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

39 Pronominal affixes are prefixes and suffixes that act like pronouns, telling us which grammatical "person" is referred to.
### māhēō'o 'house' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>My house</th>
<th>Namāheonótse</th>
<th>My houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namāhēō'o</td>
<td>your house</td>
<td>nemāheonótse</td>
<td>your houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemāhēō'o</td>
<td>his house</td>
<td>nemāheonótse</td>
<td>his houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namāhēōnáne</td>
<td>our (excl) house</td>
<td>namāheonótse</td>
<td>our (excl) houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemāhēōnane</td>
<td>our (incl) house</td>
<td>nemāheonótse</td>
<td>our (incl) houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemāhēōněvo</td>
<td>your (pl) house</td>
<td>nemāheonévětse</td>
<td>your (pl) houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemaheonévěvo</td>
<td>their house</td>
<td>hemaheonévětse</td>
<td>their houses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### vee'e 'tepee, dwelling' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>My tepee</th>
<th>Nemāheonévětse</th>
<th>My tepees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>navee'e</td>
<td>your tepee</td>
<td>nemāheonévětse</td>
<td>your tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevee'e</td>
<td>his tepee</td>
<td>nemāheonévětse</td>
<td>his tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navéénāne</td>
<td>our (excl) tepee</td>
<td>namāheonévětse</td>
<td>our (excl) tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neveénane</td>
<td>our (incl) tepee</td>
<td>nemāheonévětse</td>
<td>our (incl) tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevéeněvo</td>
<td>your (pl) tepee</td>
<td>nemāheonévětse</td>
<td>your (pl) tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevéeněvo</td>
<td>his (pl) tepee</td>
<td>hemaheonévětse</td>
<td>their tepees</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### mo'keha 'shoe' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>My shoe</th>
<th>Nemō'kěhanótse</th>
<th>My shoes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namo'keha</td>
<td>your shoe</td>
<td>nemō'kěhanótse</td>
<td>your shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemo'keha</td>
<td>his shoe</td>
<td>nemō'kěhanótse</td>
<td>his shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namō'kěhanánė</td>
<td>our (excl) shoe</td>
<td>namō'kěhanánėtse</td>
<td>our (excl) shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemo'kěhanane</td>
<td>our (incl) shoe</td>
<td>nemō'kěhanánėtse</td>
<td>our (incl) shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemo'kěhaněvo</td>
<td>your (pl) shoe</td>
<td>nemō'kěhaněvětse</td>
<td>your (pl) shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemo'kěhaněvo</td>
<td>their shoe</td>
<td>hemaheonévětse</td>
<td>their shoes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### amāho'hestótse 'car' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>My car</th>
<th>Namaheonévětse</th>
<th>My cars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naamāho'hestótse</td>
<td>your car</td>
<td>nemāheonévětse</td>
<td>your cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemaamāho'hestótse</td>
<td>his car</td>
<td>nemāheonévětse</td>
<td>his cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naamāho'héstóñāne</td>
<td>our (excl) car</td>
<td>nemāheonévětse</td>
<td>our (excl) cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemaamāho'héstóñane</td>
<td>our (incl) car</td>
<td>nemāheonévětse</td>
<td>our (incl) cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemaamāho'héstóvévo</td>
<td>your (pl) car</td>
<td>nemāheonévětse</td>
<td>your (pl) cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heamāho'héstóvévo</td>
<td>their car</td>
<td>nemāheonévětse</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.

#### 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

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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.'
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‘e 'land', ‘nähto‘e 'my land', nésto‘e 'your land', hesto‘e 'his/her land'
- htōtse 'pet', ‘nähtōtse 'my pet', néstōtse 'your pet', hestotseho 'his/her pet(s)'
- ‘éxa 'eye', na‘éxa 'my eye', na‘éxánéstse 'my eyes', he‘éxánéstse 'his/her eyes'
- ‘evo 'nose', na‘evo 'my nose', ne‘evo 'your nose', he‘evo '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‘exa 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, ma‘ēxa. 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:

- ma‘evo 'nose'
- ma‘ahtse 'arm'
- manēstāne 'knee'
- máhtāme '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>he'ko</td>
<td>máhts'ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brain</td>
<td>hestahpe</td>
<td>máhtséstahpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gland</td>
<td>hēta‘e</td>
<td>máhtsēta‘e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>hēsta</td>
<td>máhtsēsta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thigh</td>
<td>hēnōme</td>
<td>máhtsénōme</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:

- ma‘exa   eye    ma‘éxánéstse   eyes
- máhtsesta heart máhtséstahōtse   hearts

A ma-prefixed noun behaves like an independent noun. For instance, it can take a prenoun to create a compound word:

amāho'hē-māhts'ko 'tire' (literally, car-leg)

**Possession suffix -am**

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

ka'ěškóne 'child', naka'ěškónehameč 'my child'
ma'heö'o 'god', nama'heóname 'my god'
mé'ěševötse 'baby', namé'ěševotame 'my baby'

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

motšëške 'knife', namotšëške 'my knife', namótšëškame 'my knife'

**Inanimate dependent stem possessives**

Here are some possessed inanimate nouns which have dependent stems:

hóhkéha’e 'hat' (possessive stem –vóhkéha’e)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>navóhkéha’e</td>
<td>my hat</td>
<td>navóhkéha’èstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevóhkéha’e</td>
<td>your hat</td>
<td>nevóhkéha’èstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevéhkéha’e</td>
<td>his hat</td>
<td>hevéhkéha’èstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navéhkéha’āne</td>
<td>our (excl) hat</td>
<td>navéhkéha’anótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névéhkéha’āne</td>
<td>our (incl) hat</td>
<td>névéhkéha’anótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevéhkéha’ēvo</td>
<td>your (pl) hat</td>
<td>nevéhkéha’èvótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevéhkéha’ēvo</td>
<td>their hat</td>
<td>hevéhkéha’èvótse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ho’e 'land' (possessive stem –hto’e)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhto’e</td>
<td>my land</td>
<td>náhto’èstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstó’e</td>
<td>your land</td>
<td>néstó’èstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héstó’e</td>
<td>his land</td>
<td>héstó’èstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhto’āne</td>
<td>our (excl) land</td>
<td>nahto’anótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstó’āne</td>
<td>our (incl) land</td>
<td>nésto’anótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstó’ēvo</td>
<td>your (pl) land</td>
<td>nésto’èvótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hésto’ēvo</td>
<td>their land</td>
<td>hesto’èvótse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ma’exa ‘eye’ (possessive stem –’exa)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma’exa</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ma’èxánèstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na’exa</td>
<td>my eye</td>
<td>na’èxánèstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’exa</td>
<td>his eye</td>
<td>he’èxánèstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na’èxáéne</td>
<td>our (excl) eye</td>
<td>na’èxaenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne’éxáene</td>
<td>our (incl) eye</td>
<td>ne’éxaenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>né’éxáévo</td>
<td>your (pl) eye</td>
<td>né’èxaevótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé’éxáévo</td>
<td>their eye</td>
<td>he’èxaevótse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

máhtáme ‘food’ (possessive stem –htáme)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhtáme</td>
<td>my food</td>
<td>náhtamótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nèstáme</td>
<td>your food</td>
<td>nèstamótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héstáme</td>
<td>his food</td>
<td>hestamótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtámáne</td>
<td>our (excl) food</td>
<td>náhtamánótse</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 hóhkéha’e. It can be pronounced as a word by itself. When it is possessed, it changes to a bound stem that begins with "v", -vóhkéha’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 accurate gloss of this plural would be 'my pieces of food'.
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 *naoeškēse, 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 (possessed)</th>
<th>My dog</th>
<th>My dogs</th>
<th>Your dog</th>
<th>Your dogs</th>
<th>His (their) dogs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oeškēse</td>
<td>my dog</td>
<td>naoeškēse</td>
<td>my dogs</td>
<td>naoeškēse</td>
<td>his (their) dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neoeškēsehamāne</td>
<td>your dog</td>
<td>neoeškēsehamāne</td>
<td>your dogs</td>
<td>neoeškēsehamāne</td>
<td>your (excl) dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heoeškēsehamēvo</td>
<td>his dog(s)</td>
<td>heoeškēsehamēvo</td>
<td>his dog(s)</td>
<td>heoeškēsehamēvo</td>
<td>your (incl) dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neoeškēsehamēvo</td>
<td>your (pl) dog</td>
<td>neoeškēsehamēvo</td>
<td>your (pl) dogs</td>
<td>neoeškēsehamēvo</td>
<td>your (pl) dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heoeškēsehamevōho</td>
<td>their dog(s)</td>
<td>heoeškēsehamevōho</td>
<td>their dog(s)</td>
<td>heoeškēsehamevōho</td>
<td>their dog(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun (possessed)</th>
<th>My chief</th>
<th>My chiefs</th>
<th>Your chief</th>
<th>Your chiefs</th>
<th>His (their) chiefs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>veho</td>
<td>my chief</td>
<td>navéhoname</td>
<td>my chiefs</td>
<td>navéhoname</td>
<td>his (their) chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevehoname</td>
<td>your chief</td>
<td>nevehoname</td>
<td>your chiefs</td>
<td>nevehoname</td>
<td>your (excl) chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnevēhonamāne</td>
<td>his chief(s)</td>
<td>hnevēhonamāne</td>
<td>his chief(s)</td>
<td>hnevēhonamāne</td>
<td>your (incl) chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevehonamēvo</td>
<td>your (pl) chief</td>
<td>nevehonamēvo</td>
<td>your (pl) chiefs</td>
<td>nevehonamēvo</td>
<td>your (pl) chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnevēhonamevōho</td>
<td>their chief(s)</td>
<td>hnevēhonamevōho</td>
<td>their chief(s)</td>
<td>hnevēhonamevōho</td>
<td>their chief(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun (possessed)</th>
<th>My god</th>
<th>My gods</th>
<th>Your god</th>
<th>Your gods</th>
<th>His (their) gods</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma'hēō'o</td>
<td>my god</td>
<td>nama'heóname</td>
<td>my gods</td>
<td>nama'heóname</td>
<td>your (excl) gods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nema'heóname</td>
<td>your god</td>
<td>nema'heóname</td>
<td>your gods</td>
<td>nema'heóname</td>
<td>your (incl) gods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hema'heónamāne</td>
<td>your god(s)</td>
<td>hema'heónamāne</td>
<td>your god(s)</td>
<td>hema'heónamāne</td>
<td>your (incl) gods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nema'heónamēvo</td>
<td>your (pl) god</td>
<td>nema'heónamēvo</td>
<td>your (pl) gods</td>
<td>nema'heónamēvo</td>
<td>your (pl) gods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hema'heónamevōho</td>
<td>their god(s)</td>
<td>hema'heónamevōho</td>
<td>their god(s)</td>
<td>hema'heónamevōho</td>
<td>their god(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun (possessed)</th>
<th>My child</th>
<th>My children</th>
<th>Your child</th>
<th>Your children</th>
<th>His (their) children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naka'ēškōnéhame</td>
<td>my child</td>
<td>naka'ēškōnéhame</td>
<td>my children</td>
<td>naka'ēškōnéhame</td>
<td>your (excl) children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neka'ēškōnéhame</td>
<td>your child</td>
<td>neka'ēškōnéhame</td>
<td>your children</td>
<td>neka'ēškōnéhame</td>
<td>your (incl) children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heka'ēškōnéhame</td>
<td>his child(ren)</td>
<td>heka'ēškōnéhame</td>
<td>his child(ren)</td>
<td>heka'ēškōnéhame</td>
<td>your (pl) children</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 child, while –ka'ēškōnéhame refers to any person that you consider your child. A chief can call any of his people, naka'ēškōnéhame 'my children', but he could only call his biological child(ren) nanésoneho 'my children'.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene Stem</th>
<th>Dene (possessed)</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>our (ex) child</td>
<td>naka'ěškónéhamāne</td>
<td>naka'ěškónéhamaneo'</td>
<td>our (ex) children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (in) child</td>
<td>neka'ěškónéhamane</td>
<td>neka'ěškónéhamaneo'</td>
<td>our (in) children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (pl) child</td>
<td>neka'ěškónéhamevō</td>
<td>neka'ěškónéhamevoo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their child(ren)</td>
<td>heka'ěškónéhamevōhō</td>
<td>heka'ěškónéhamevōhō</td>
<td>their child(ren)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'picture' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene Stem</th>
<th>Dene (possessed)</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my picture</td>
<td>mȯxe'ėotsestȯtse</td>
<td>mȯxe'ėotsestȯtse</td>
<td>my pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your picture</td>
<td>nemȯxe'eotséstoto</td>
<td>nemȯxe'eotséstoto</td>
<td>your pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his picture(s)</td>
<td>hemȯxe'eotséstoto</td>
<td>hemȯxe'eotséstoto</td>
<td>his picture(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (ex) picture</td>
<td>nanȯxe'eotséstōnāne</td>
<td>nanȯxe'eotséstōnāne</td>
<td>our (ex) pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (in) picture</td>
<td>nenȯxe'eotsēstonane</td>
<td>nenȯxe'eotsēstonane</td>
<td>our (in) pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (pl) picture</td>
<td>nenȯxe'eotsēstvévo</td>
<td>nenȯxe'eotsēstvévo</td>
<td>your (pl) pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their picture(s)</td>
<td>hemȯxe'eotsēstvévoho</td>
<td>hemȯxe'eotsēstvévoho</td>
<td>their picture(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene Stem</th>
<th>Dene (possessed)</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my child</td>
<td>nanéso</td>
<td>nanésoneho</td>
<td>my children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your child</td>
<td>nenéso</td>
<td>nenésoneho</td>
<td>your children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his child(ren)</td>
<td>henésono</td>
<td>henésono</td>
<td>his child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (ex) child</td>
<td>nanénōnéhāne</td>
<td>nanénōnéhāne'o</td>
<td>our (ex) children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (in) child</td>
<td>nenénōnéhāne</td>
<td>nenénōnéhāne'o</td>
<td>our (in) children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (pl) child</td>
<td>nenénōnéhēvo</td>
<td>nenénōnéhēvo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their child(ren)</td>
<td>henénōnéhēvohō</td>
<td>henénōnéhēvohō</td>
<td>their child(ren)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Son (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene Stem</th>
<th>Dene (possessed)</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my son</td>
<td>nae'ha</td>
<td>nae'ha</td>
<td>my sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your son</td>
<td>nee'ha</td>
<td>nee'ha</td>
<td>your sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his son(s)</td>
<td>hee'ha</td>
<td>hee'ha</td>
<td>his son(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (ex) son</td>
<td>nae'hahāne</td>
<td>nae'hahāne'o</td>
<td>our (ex) sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (in) son</td>
<td>nee'hahane</td>
<td>nee'hahane'o</td>
<td>our (in) sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (pl) son</td>
<td>nee'hahēvo</td>
<td>nee'hahēvo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their son(s)</td>
<td>hee'hahēvohō</td>
<td>hee'hahēvohō</td>
<td>their son(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Daughter (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene Stem</th>
<th>Dene (possessed)</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my daughter</td>
<td>nāhtona</td>
<td>nāhtónaho</td>
<td>my daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your daughter</td>
<td>nēstona</td>
<td>nēstónaho</td>
<td>your daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his daughter(s)</td>
<td>hestónaho</td>
<td>hestónaho</td>
<td>his daughter(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (ex) daughter</td>
<td>nāhtōnāhāne</td>
<td>nāhtōnāhāne'o</td>
<td>our (ex) daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (in) daughter</td>
<td>nēstōnāhane</td>
<td>nēstōnāhane'o</td>
<td>our (in) daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (pl) daughter</td>
<td>nēstōnāhēvo</td>
<td>nēstōnāhēvo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their daughter(s)</td>
<td>hestōnāhevōhō</td>
<td>hestōnāhevōhō</td>
<td>their daughter(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Pet (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene Stem</th>
<th>Dene (possessed)</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my pet</td>
<td>nāhtōtse</td>
<td>nāhtotseho</td>
<td>my pets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your pet</td>
<td>nēstōtse</td>
<td>nēstotseho</td>
<td>your pets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his pet(s)</td>
<td>hestotseho</td>
<td>hestotseho</td>
<td>his pet(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (ex) pet</td>
<td>nāhtōtsēhāne</td>
<td>nāhtōtsēhāne'o</td>
<td>our (ex) pets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (in) pet</td>
<td>nēstōtsēhane</td>
<td>nēstōtsēhane'o</td>
<td>our (in) pets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (pl) pet</td>
<td>nēstōtsēhēvo</td>
<td>nēstōtsēhēvo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) pets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their pet(s)</td>
<td>hestōtsēhevōhō</td>
<td>hestōtsēhevōhō</td>
<td>their pet(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relationship</td>
<td>Possessor</td>
<td>Possessive Case</td>
<td>Possessed By</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brother (possessed by female)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtatanéme</td>
<td>my brother</td>
<td>náhtatanememo</td>
<td>my brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstatanéme</td>
<td>your brother</td>
<td>néstatanememo</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>náhtatanémáne</td>
<td>our (ex) brother</td>
<td>náhtatanémane'o'</td>
<td>our (ex) brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstatanémáne</td>
<td>our (in) brother</td>
<td>néstatanémane'o'</td>
<td>our (in) brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstatanémévo</td>
<td>your (pl) bro</td>
<td>néstatanémevo'o'</td>
<td>your (pl) brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestatanémévo'hóho</td>
<td>their (pl) bro</td>
<td>hestatanémévo'hóho</td>
<td>their brother(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grandfather (possessed)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namęšéme</td>
<td>my grandfather</td>
<td>namęšémeo</td>
<td>my grandfathers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>němęšéme</td>
<td>your grandfather</td>
<td>němęšémeo</td>
<td>your grandfathers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hęmęšémo</td>
<td>his grandfather(s)</td>
<td>hęmęšémo</td>
<td>his grandfather(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namęšémane</td>
<td>our (ex) grandfather</td>
<td>namęšémane'o'</td>
<td>our (ex) grandfathers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>němęšémane</td>
<td>our (in) grandfather</td>
<td>němęšémane'o'</td>
<td>our (in) grandfathers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>němęšémevo</td>
<td>your (pl) grandfa</td>
<td>němęšémevo'o'</td>
<td>your (pl) grandfathers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hęmęšémevóho</td>
<td>their grandfather(s)</td>
<td>hęmęšémevóho</td>
<td>their (pl) grandfathers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Older Brother (possessed)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ná'ne</td>
<td>my older brother</td>
<td>na'neho</td>
<td>my older brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ně'ne</td>
<td>your older brother</td>
<td>ne'neho</td>
<td>your older brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'neho</td>
<td>his older brother(s)</td>
<td>he'neho</td>
<td>his older brother(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'néhéane</td>
<td>our (ex) older bro</td>
<td>na'néhéane'o'</td>
<td>our (ex) older brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ně'néhane</td>
<td>our (in) older bro</td>
<td>nć'néhane'o'</td>
<td>our (in) older brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ně'néhevo</td>
<td>your (pl) older bro</td>
<td>nć'néhevo'o'</td>
<td>your (pl) older brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'néhevóho</td>
<td>their older brother(s)</td>
<td>he'néhevóho</td>
<td>their older brother(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Older Sister (possessed)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>my older sister</td>
<td>nameho</td>
<td>my older sisters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neme</td>
<td>your older sister</td>
<td>nemeho</td>
<td>your older sisters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hęmeho</td>
<td>his older sister(s)</td>
<td>hęmeho</td>
<td>his older sister(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namęhéane</td>
<td>our (ex) older sis</td>
<td>namęhéane'o'</td>
<td>our (ex) o. sisters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nęmęhéane</td>
<td>our (in) older sis</td>
<td>nęmęhéane'o'</td>
<td>our (in) o. sisters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nęmęhévo</td>
<td>your (pl) older sis</td>
<td>nęmęhévo'o'</td>
<td>your (pl) o. sisters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hęmęhevóho</td>
<td>their o. sister(s)</td>
<td>hęmęhvóho</td>
<td>their o. sister(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother (possessed)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhko'éehe$^{48}$</td>
<td>my mother</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nęško</td>
<td>your mother</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heške</td>
<td>his mother</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nęškane$^{49}$</td>
<td>our (incl) mother</td>
<td>nęškane'o'</td>
<td>our (incl) mothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nęškévo</td>
<td>your (pl) mother</td>
<td>nęškevóo'o'</td>
<td>your (pl) mothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heškévóho</td>
<td>their mother(s)</td>
<td>heškévóho</td>
<td>their mother(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relative (possessed)</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>navóohestótse</td>
<td>my relative</td>
<td>navóohestoroto</td>
<td>my relatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevóohestótse</td>
<td>your relative</td>
<td>nevóohestoroto</td>
<td>your relatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevóohestoto</td>
<td>his relative(s)</td>
<td>hevóohestoroto</td>
<td>his relative(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navóohestonáne</td>
<td>our (excl) relative</td>
<td>navóohestonáne'o'</td>
<td>our (excl) relatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevóohestonane</td>
<td>our (incl) relative</td>
<td>nevóohestonane'o'</td>
<td>our (incl) relatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></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"
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>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>né'tóvé⁵⁰</td>
<td>my (masc) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é'tóve</td>
<td>your (masc) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'tovo</td>
<td>his (masc) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nédótóvé</td>
<td>our (masc excl) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é'tóvane</td>
<td>our (masc incl) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'tóvéo</td>
<td>your (masc pl) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'tóvéó</td>
<td>their (masc) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nédótóvéo</td>
<td>my (masc) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é'tóvéo</td>
<td>your (masc) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'tovo</td>
<td>his (masc) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nédótovane</td>
<td>our (masc excl) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é'tovaneo</td>
<td>our (masc incl) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'tóvéo</td>
<td>your (masc pl) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'tóvéó</td>
<td>their (masc) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nédámé</td>
<td>my (fem) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étame</td>
<td>your (fem) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'tamé</td>
<td>her brother(s)-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nédámâne</td>
<td>our (fem excl) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étamâne</td>
<td>our (fem incl) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'tâmâvo</td>
<td>your (fem pl) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'tâmâvo</td>
<td>their (fem) bro(s)-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nédáméo</td>
<td>my (fem) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étameo</td>
<td>your (fem) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'tamé</td>
<td>her brother(s)-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nédámâneo</td>
<td>our (fem excl) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étamâneo</td>
<td>our (fem incl) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'tâmâvo</td>
<td>your (fem pl) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'tâmâvo</td>
<td>their (fem) bro(s)-in-law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**friend (male friend of a male; possessed)** ⁵¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>néséne</td>
<td>my (masc) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésséne</td>
<td>your friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'senóho</td>
<td>his (masc) friend(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésënénáhe</td>
<td>our (masc excl) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éssénéhe</td>
<td>our (masc incl) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'senéhevo</td>
<td>your (masc pl) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'senéhevo</td>
<td>their (masc) friends(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néséne'o</td>
<td>my (masc) friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésséne'o</td>
<td>your (masc) friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'senóho</td>
<td>his (masc) friend(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésënénáheo</td>
<td>our (masc excl) friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éssénéheo</td>
<td>our (masc incl) friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'senéhevo</td>
<td>your (masc pl) friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'senéhevo</td>
<td>their (masc) friends(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**friend (female friend of a male; possessed)** ⁵²

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nésé'e</td>
<td>my (fem) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éssé'e</td>
<td>your (fem) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'sé'óho</td>
<td>her (fem) friend(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésé'áne⁵³</td>
<td>our (fem excl) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éssé'áne⁵⁴</td>
<td>our (fem incl) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éssé'évo</td>
<td>your (fem pl) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'sé'óhó</td>
<td>their (fem) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésé'e'oo</td>
<td>my (fem) friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éssé'e'oo</td>
<td>your (fem) friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'sé'óho</td>
<td>her (fem) friend(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésé'ánee</td>
<td>our (fem excl) friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éssé'dane</td>
<td>our (fem incl) friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éssé'éve</td>
<td>your (fem pl) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'sé'óhó</td>
<td>their (fem) friends</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.

⁵³ Alternate forms are nése'eháne and navése'áne.

⁵⁴ Alternate forms are ése'eháne and nevése'ane.
father (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ewe</th>
<th>Ewe (excl)</th>
<th>Ewe (incl)</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my father</td>
<td>ného’éehe</td>
<td>néhaneo’o</td>
<td>néhane</td>
<td>our (excl) fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your father</td>
<td>eho</td>
<td>éhaneo’o</td>
<td>éhane</td>
<td>our (incl) fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his father</td>
<td>heho</td>
<td>héhevóho</td>
<td>héhevóho</td>
<td>your (pl) fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (excl) father</td>
<td>néháne</td>
<td>néháneo’o</td>
<td>néháne</td>
<td>their father(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (incl) father</td>
<td>éhévo</td>
<td>éhévo’o</td>
<td>éhévo</td>
<td>their father(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their father(s)</td>
<td>héhevóho</td>
<td>héhevóho</td>
<td>héhevóho</td>
<td>their father(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

grandmother (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ewe</th>
<th>Ewe (excl)</th>
<th>Ewe (incl)</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my grandmother</td>
<td>néske’éehe</td>
<td>násemáhe</td>
<td>násemáhe</td>
<td>my grandmothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your grandmother</td>
<td>éskeme</td>
<td>ésemáhe</td>
<td>ésemáhe</td>
<td>your grandmothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his grandmother(s)</td>
<td>hevéskemo</td>
<td>hevéskemo</td>
<td>hevéskemo</td>
<td>his grandmother(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (ex) grandmother</td>
<td>néskemáne</td>
<td>násemáháne</td>
<td>násemáháne</td>
<td>our (ex) grandmothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (in) grandmother</td>
<td>éskemane</td>
<td>ésemáháne</td>
<td>ésemáháne</td>
<td>our (in) grandmothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (pl) grandmo.</td>
<td>éškemēvo</td>
<td>ésemáhevóho</td>
<td>ésemáhevóho</td>
<td>your (pl) grandmothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their grandmother(s)</td>
<td>hevéškemevóho</td>
<td>hevéškemevóho</td>
<td>hevéškemevóho</td>
<td>their grandmother(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

grandchild (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ewe</th>
<th>Ewe (excl)</th>
<th>Ewe (incl)</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my grandchild</td>
<td>néxahe</td>
<td>náxaho</td>
<td>náxaho</td>
<td>my grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your grandchild</td>
<td>éxah</td>
<td>éxaho</td>
<td>éxaho</td>
<td>your grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his grandchild(ren)</td>
<td>hevéxah</td>
<td>hevéxaho</td>
<td>hevéxaho</td>
<td>his grandchild(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (ex) grandchild</td>
<td>náxáháne</td>
<td>náxáhane</td>
<td>náxáhane</td>
<td>our (ex) grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (in) grandchild</td>
<td>éxaháne</td>
<td>éxaháne</td>
<td>éxaháne</td>
<td>our (in) grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (pl) grandchild</td>
<td>éxáhevóho</td>
<td>éxáhevóho</td>
<td>éxáhevóho</td>
<td>your (pl) grandchildren</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their grandchild(ren)</td>
<td>hevéxáhevého</td>
<td>hevéxáhevého</td>
<td>hevéxáhevého</td>
<td>their grandchild(ren)</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:

younger sibling (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ewe</th>
<th>Ewe (excl)</th>
<th>Ewe (incl)</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my younger sibling</td>
<td>násamáhe</td>
<td>násemáhe</td>
<td>násemáhe</td>
<td>my younger siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your younger sibling</td>
<td>ésemáhe</td>
<td>ésemáhe</td>
<td>ésemáhe</td>
<td>your younger siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his younger sibling(s)</td>
<td>hevésemáhe</td>
<td>hevésemáhe</td>
<td>hevésemáhe</td>
<td>his younger sibling(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (excl) younger sibling</td>
<td>násamáháne</td>
<td>násamáháne</td>
<td>násamáháne</td>
<td>our (ex) younger siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (incl) younger sibling</td>
<td>ésemáháne</td>
<td>ésemáháne</td>
<td>ésemáháne</td>
<td>our (in) younger siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (pl) younger sibling</td>
<td>éxáhevého</td>
<td>éxáhevého</td>
<td>éxáhevého</td>
<td>your (pl) younger siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their younger sibling(s)</td>
<td>hevéxáhánevého</td>
<td>hevéxáhánevého</td>
<td>hevéxáhánevého</td>
<td>their younger sibling(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>navénové</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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
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/ diminutives

Some other diminutives are also marked by addition of of /k/ or /hk/:

<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'ënëó'o</td>
<td>wagon</td>
<td>amó'kenëó'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>hásso'o</td>
<td>crowbar</td>
<td>hásohko</td>
<td>lance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesó'xo'enëó'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>káso'ee'e</td>
<td>kettle</td>
<td>káso'ëške</td>
<td>jug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhëó'o</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>máhëško</td>
<td>shed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhòó'o</td>
<td>melon</td>
<td>máhòhko</td>
<td>small melon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé'ëšévötse</td>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mé'ëškévötse</td>
<td>baby (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mésta'ë</td>
<td>owl, spook</td>
<td>méstahke</td>
<td>screech owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mó'ësá'e</td>
<td>calf</td>
<td>mó'kèsá'e</td>
<td>calf (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóhoo'o</td>
<td>club</td>
<td>tóhohko</td>
<td>hammer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó'he'e</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>ó'he'ke</td>
<td>creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oónàha'e</td>
<td>frog</td>
<td>oonáha'këso</td>
<td>little frog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho'konáá'e</td>
<td>rock</td>
<td>ho'konáhkë</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sásóóvéta</td>
<td>watersnake</td>
<td>sásóhkóvéta</td>
<td>watersnake (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šéštótó'e</td>
<td>pine</td>
<td>šéštótó'ke</td>
<td>little pine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

58 An even newer word, used today by many Cheyennes, is nähtòo'ohstéstötse '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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regular Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Diminutive</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tse'némoo'o</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td>tsé'némohko</td>
<td>tobacco (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>váótséva</td>
<td>deer</td>
<td>váhkótséva</td>
<td>little deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé'ho'e</td>
<td>whiteman</td>
<td>vé'ho'ke</td>
<td>little white boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé'ho'séo'o</td>
<td>suitcase</td>
<td>vé'ho'seško</td>
<td>purse, small suitcase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/- 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'ometáā'e</td>
<td>Greasy River</td>
<td>É'ometaēso</td>
<td>Little Greasy River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'ávohe</td>
<td>devil</td>
<td>heávohéso</td>
<td>little devil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'éhe</td>
<td>maggot</td>
<td>he'éhésso</td>
<td>rice (kernel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhkéehe</td>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>hóhkéehsso</td>
<td>little mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhkõxe</td>
<td>ax</td>
<td>hóhkóxésso</td>
<td>little ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'nehe</td>
<td>wolf</td>
<td>ho'néhésso</td>
<td>little wolf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'éškóne</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'éškónéhsso</td>
<td>little child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káse'éhe</td>
<td>young lady</td>
<td>káse'éehésso</td>
<td>young teenage girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásiováahé</td>
<td>young man</td>
<td>kásiováahésso</td>
<td>young teenage boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóhkono héō'o</td>
<td>bread</td>
<td>kóhkonoheōnésso</td>
<td>cracker (od), little bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kókõhéxa</td>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>kókóhéaxésso</td>
<td>chick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'háahé</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'háésso</td>
<td>old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gméstaa'e</td>
<td>owl</td>
<td>méstaēso</td>
<td>little owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'éhno'ha</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>mo'éhno'hamésso</td>
<td>colt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhkohe</td>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkóhésso</td>
<td>little bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóma'he</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>nóma'késso</td>
<td>little fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oeškēse</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oeškéshéso</td>
<td>pup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé'kēse</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vé'késhéso</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'késso</td>
<td>little beaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ēno</td>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>ma'enó'késso</td>
<td>small turtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'háahé</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'háhkésso</td>
<td>old man (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'háahé</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'háhkéshéso</td>
<td>little old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'éhno'ha</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>mo'éhno'hamésso</td>
<td>colt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóma'he</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>nomá'hésksso</td>
<td>minnow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šé'še</td>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šé'šéksso</td>
<td>duckling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé'ho'e</td>
<td>whiteman</td>
<td>vé'ho'késso</td>
<td>little white boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé'ho'á'ë</td>
<td>white woman</td>
<td>vé'ho'ká'késso</td>
<td>little white girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xāō'o</td>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>xaóhkésso</td>
<td>little skunk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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

84
**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>nése'eehe</td>
<td>my grandmother</td>
<td>Náméseme</td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naméséme</td>
<td>my grandfather</td>
<td>Namésémasëstse</td>
<td>My grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namésémo</td>
<td>my grandfathers</td>
<td>Nése'eehëhasëstse</td>
<td>My grandfathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navëškemo</td>
<td>my grandmothers</td>
<td>Nése'ëshëhasëstse</td>
<td>My grandmothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ëškóneho</td>
<td>children</td>
<td>Ka'ëškóñëhasëstse</td>
<td>Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanesoneho</td>
<td>my children</td>
<td>Nésonëhasëstse</td>
<td>My children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nae'ha</td>
<td>my son</td>
<td>Náe'ha</td>
<td>My son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtona</td>
<td>my daughter</td>
<td>Náhtëse</td>
<td>My daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtónaho</td>
<td>my daughters</td>
<td>Náhtënañëëstse</td>
<td>My daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néxahe</td>
<td>my grandchild</td>
<td>Nëse</td>
<td>My grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'eo'o</td>
<td>women</td>
<td>He'ësëstse</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetaneo'o</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>Hetënesëstse</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásaváahého</td>
<td>young men</td>
<td>Kásaváahëhasëstse</td>
<td>Young men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káse'éehého</td>
<td>young women</td>
<td>Káse'éëehëhasëstse</td>
<td>Young women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'étové</td>
<td>my brother-in-law</td>
<td>N'étoñëëstse</td>
<td>My brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>véhoo'o</td>
<td>chiefs</td>
<td>Vëhonëasëstse</td>
<td>Chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho'honáee'o</td>
<td>rocks</td>
<td>Ho'honëasëstse</td>
<td>Rocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhtamaháaheho</td>
<td>old women</td>
<td>Máhtamaháahëhasëstse</td>
<td>Old women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'háhke'seho</td>
<td>old men</td>
<td>Ma'háhkekëhëhasëstse</td>
<td>Old men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésësøno</td>
<td>my siblings</td>
<td>Nésësønëhasëstse</td>
<td>Siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navöëstanemo</td>
<td>my people</td>
<td>Navöëstanëmasëstse</td>
<td>My people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navöohestoto</td>
<td>my relatives</td>
<td>Navööhoñëñëasëstse</td>
<td>My relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'heono</td>
<td>sacred spirits</td>
<td>Ma'heönëasëstse</td>
<td>Sacred spirits</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LOCATIVES**

Locatives are nouns which refer to a location. **$\text{DISCUSS SUFXES}$**
Another form of nouns are the names Cheyennes have given to places:

Vášétaēno – no suffix
Vóhpoométanēno White River Place
É’xováhtóva Billings, Montana (lit., sawing-place)

ETC.$$ ANALYZE SUFFIXES MORE
Proper names

$\text{COMPOSE SECTION ON THE GRAMMAR OF CHEYENNE} \quad \text{proper names, Ōh- form participles, etc.}$

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‘éstse hetane 'one man'
- neše he'eo'o 'two women'
- háesto ka'ēškóneho 'many children'
- tôhkomo kahámáxéstse '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'estoo'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'estoo'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'ohťávé-hohpe 'coffee' (literally, black-broth)
- ma'è-ho'évohkótse 'corned beef' (literally, red-meat)
- ma'xè-hánhmôma 'bumblebee' (literally, big-bee)
- he'ōve-amâhô'héstôtse 'schoolbus' (literally, yellow-car)
- táxe-méséhestôtse '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 'police' (literally, badge on chest-whiteman)
- mõxe'estóoné-mábëó'o 'post office' (literally, letter-house)
- séots-ämáho'hëstótsè 'hearse' (literally, corpse-car)
- vë'ho'é-otóá'e 'buffalo' (literally, whiteman-buffalo)
- vë'ho'é-mahpe 'whiskey' (literally, whiteman-water)
- véhpotsé-hohpe 'tea' (literally, leaf-broth)

Verbal prenouns

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

- ame'há-ve'ho'e 'pilot' (literally, flying-whiteman)
- hõhtóva-máhëó'o 'store' (literally, buying-house)
- mõxe'estóne-máhëó'o 'school' (literally, writing-house)
- Ôhtané-máhéó'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 tséhé'ne'enovaestse 'educated man' (lit., man who is educated)
- kásovááhe tséháá'ëstaestse 'tall young man' (lit., young man who is tall)
- ma'hákhëso tséhe'keomëstse 'fat old man' (lit., old man who is fat)
- amáho'hëstótsè tsého'ëome '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. Nétahóhta'haovátse.
   Let me tell you a story.

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

3. Hápó'e náháóhe ő'kohóme móñénëheotsé'tëhëhe.
   Likewise there a coyote was following it.
4. Nêhe'se éstóo'e'ováhtséhono.
   Then they met.

5. **Náhkohe** éstatséhetóhono 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'áhane,
   "No,

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

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

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

13. Tséxhe'éšéo'o'evotáhtsevőse 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'kêhešéhosóhnéhoo'o.
    He slowly backed up.

19. Tséhvóomovőse éstanéšéhe'névo'áhéotséhono.
    When they saw him they scattered in two different directions.

20. Essáanáha'óoméhesesto tósa'e tséhešeaseta'xevőse.
    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.

- 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'.

Currently used locative particles

- tséhéóhe: here (proximal; new location in discourse??)
- hétséhéóhe: over here

- 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/.

- **taháóhe** | farther?? there (distal; new location in discourse)
- **hátaháóhe** | over there (previously mentioned)
- **náháóhe** | farther?? there (distal; previously mentioned location)
- **hánaháóhe** | over there (previously mentioned)

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. These claims and glosses; revise based on "Cheyenne Pronouns and Pronominal Functions" and Cheyenne Deixis Papers.

Inanimate predicative pronouns

- **heta'háanéhe** | that's the one (proximal cataphoric?)
- **hetá'hanéhe** | (contracted form)
- **heta'háanevótse** | those are the ones

- **hena'háanéhe** | it's the one, that's it (proximal anaphoric)
- **hená'hanéhe** | (contracted form)
- **hena'háanevótse??** | there they are; they are the ones

- **hata'háanéhe** | that's the one (distal cataphoric?)
- **hatá'hanéhe** | (contracted form)
- **hata'háanevótse** | there they are; those are the ones (farthest?? cataphoric?)

- **hana'háanéhe** | there it is; that's the one (distal?? anaphoric)
haná'hanéhe (contracted form)
hana'háanevótse those are the ones

**Animate predicative pronouns**

| Haná'hanéhe | here he is; he's the one (proximal cataphoric/pointing at??) |
| Tseá'hánéhe? | (contracted form) |
| Tsea'háanévóhe | here they are; they are the ones |
| Nea'hánéhe | he's the one (proximal anaphoric??) |
| Néa'hánéhe? | (contracted form) |
| Néa'háanevóhe | there they are; they are the ones |
| Táa'hánéhe | he's the one (distal cataphoric) |
| Táa'háanéhe | (contracted form) |
| Táa'háanevóhe?? | there they are; they are the ones |
| Naa'hánéhe | he's the one (distal anaphoric) |
| Ntáa'hánéhe | (contracted form) |
| Ntáa'háanevóhe | they are the ones |
| Nevá'hanéhe | he is the one (only about a hero) |

**Predicative pronouns in sentences**

$\text{INCLUDE EXX. FOR OTHER PREDICATIVE PRONOUNS}$

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

**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).

| Nëhe'se | then (marks temporal sequence) |
| Tšëhe'se | at this time |
| Nëhe'xóvéva | at that time |
| Tšëhe'xóvéva | at this time |
| Nëhetá'a'e | from then on |
| Tšëhetá'a'e | from this time forward |

**Deictic preverbs**

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

**në- examples**

| É-në-hetóhoono | he said it that way to him (obv) (preterit mode) |
| É-në-hetóhta'háne | that's how he told the story |
That's the way he sang
at that time

He told like this (preceding a quote) (preterit mode)
He sang like this
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 tšē- preceding /ʃ/ of the relative preverb heše-.
-he interrogative suffix

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’ée to.</td>
<td>It’s snowing.</td>
<td>Ého’ée to-he?</td>
<td>Is it snowing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo’kóho.</td>
<td>It’s raining.</td>
<td>Éhoo’kóho-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>Nēhesta na.</td>
<td>You took it.</td>
<td>Nēhestana-he?</td>
<td>Did you take it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméhótáéne.</td>
<td>He loves us (ex).</td>
<td>Náméhotaene-he?</td>
<td>Does he love us (ex)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**REVISE:** The first way is to attach the inferential particle móhe to whatever word you desire to question. When móhe attaches to a following word its last two letters, -he, and is pronounced only as mó: ($$INCLUDE discussion of the functions of word-internal question words and the reportative mode (e.g. étóñéšévés esto 'What in the world are they doing?', or, námé’tatónéšévémáse 'What in the world could I do?' from The Bat story:, whether word-internal question words are possible with the preterit mode, etc.)

mó- questions

The interrogative particle móhe 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 word64. 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?"65

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’éshkóne</td>
<td>boy</td>
<td>Mó-hetanéka’éshkóne?</td>
<td>The boy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nééšého’soo’e.</td>
<td>You’ve already danced.</td>
<td>Mó-nééšého’soo’e?</td>
<td>You’ve already danced?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméhótáéne.</td>
<td>He loves us (ex).</td>
<td>Mó-náméhótáéne?</td>
<td>He loves us?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo’kóho.</td>
<td>It’s raining.</td>
<td>Mó’-éhoo’kóho?</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.) ($$CITE EXX. FROM DISSERTATION) has discovered that in certain contexts mó- can question verbs in the reportative and preterit modes:

Mó’-éhoo’kóhónése? Given what you heard (reportative), did it rain?
Mó’-éxhótaheváhoo’o? Given what was narrated (preterit), did he win?

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64 This phonological process is called cliticization.
65 In Cheyenne questions mó- functions like the interrogative tag particle "innit" in the Cheyenne dialect of English, which is contracted from the English words "isn’t it?". Unlike the sentence-final word order of English tag words, Cheyenne English "innit" can appear either at the beginning or end of Cheyenne English utterances.
66 A glottal stop is inserted between mó- and any vowel that follows it.
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’oesteto? What are you cooking / boiling?
- Hénová’e tséhonóhtomo? What are you baking / roasting?
- Hénová’e tsépéenomo? What are you grinding?
- Hénová’e tsémanéstitseto? What are you making?
- Hénová’e tsémoxe’õhomo? What are you writing?
- Hénová’e tsétoenomo? What are you holding?
- Hénová’e tsévé’hoohtomáse? What are you (plural) looking at?
- Hénová’ehótse tsétoenomo? What (plural things) are you holding?
- Hénová’ehótse tsévé’hoohtomáse? What (plural things) are you (plural) looking at?
- Hénová’e tsémetóhtse? What did you give him?
- Hénová’etotse tsémétóhtse? What (relational) did he give him (obv)?
- Hénová’etotse tséno’õhneséstse? 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 tséháóénathtse? Who is praying?
- Neváaseo’o tséháoenase? Who (plural) are praying?
- Névááhe tsévésotoemohtse? Who is your spouse? (lit., Who is the one you sit with?)
- Neváasóho tsévésotoemoose? Who (obviative) is his spouse?
- Neváasóho tséméhotovose? Who (obviative) do they love?
Névááhe tsémanestséstse? Who made it?
Névááhe tséhóxe’ändöhstse? Who cleaned it?
Névááhe tsémétata’e? Who gave it to you?
Neváasóho tsémétaa’èse? Who (obviative) gave it to him?

Who 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-vóhkèhá’estse? Whose hat is this? / Who has on the hat?
Névááhe tsé-he-mó’kèhânëstse? Whose shoe is this? / Who has on the shoe?
Névááhe tsé-he-voestóvéstse? 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’ôhtse? Which one is the salt?
Táasévoonéstse nemótšèshèkhótse? Which are your knives?
Táasévoo’e tsévéstoemôhtse? Which is your spouse?
Táasévoone tséomata’ôse? Which ones (animate) hit you?
Táasévoone hoemaho tsémanèhôse? 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-hése-oomôhtse? Why did you hit him?
Hénová’e tsé-hésè-hàoénahtse? Why is he praying?
Hénová’éto tsé-hést-a’xaneto? Why are you crying?
Hénáá’e tsé-hése-asehôtsé? Why did you (plural) leave?

When questions

When questions are composed of a time question word, typically tône’še 'when?' followed by a verb in the independent order.

Tône’še éhoéohtse? When did he arrive?
Tône’še nêévahoe’oehe? When did you return?
Tône’še nêto’seaseôhtse? When are you going to leave?

How long questions

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

67 Alternate pronunciations are táase, tóáse, and tóaso.
Where questions

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

- Tósa’e néto’séhe’ōhtse? Where are you going to go?
- Tósa’e néohkéhotse’ohe? Where do you work?
- Tósa’e éhoo’e? Where is he?
- Tósa’e néhohtóva? Where did you buy it?
- Tósa’e névóomó? Where did you see him?
- Tósa’e éhó’ta namoxée’stoo’o? Where is my book?
- Tósa’e éto’semóhto’séstove? Where is the meeting going to be?
- Tósa’e nénxhéhéstaha? Where are you from?

How questions

How questions are expressed by the preverb tónëš-, initials tónet-, tónëst-, 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-tónëšé-véhe? What's your name? (lit., How are you called?)
- Né-tónëšé-ho’ëhne? How did you come?
- Né-tónëšé-héné’enovo-o’o? How do you know them?
- Né-tónëšé-táno? How do you feel (mentally/emotionally)?
- Né-tónet-omóhtahe? How are you (in terms of wellness)? $$\text{RECHECK GLOSS}
- Né-tónës-étsésta? What do you think of it?
- Né-tónës-étámo? 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-aø’o? What size is it?
- É-tónet-ónóto? How thick is it?
- É-tónet-o’etame? How deep is it? (water)
- É-tóne-ëhótoo’e? How deep is it? (a hole or cave)
- É-tóne-ëho’oéta? How high is it hanging?
- É-tóne-ëho’oése? How high is he hanging?
- É-tóne-ëstaha? How tall is he?
- É-tóne-ëhahe? How old is he?
- É-tóne’xóv-anáno? How much does it weigh?
- É-tóne’xóv-aneta? How much does he weigh?
- É-tónet-aa’enéhó’ota? How much room is there?
- É-tóne-ëho’o’e? How long is he staying / How long did he stay?
- É-tónet-otse’ohe? What is his work?
- É-tóne-ëhoma’o’e? How far away it it?
What color / design is it/he?

How does it taste?

How does he taste?

How is the environment?

What kind of personality does he have?

What kind (or type) is it?

How long is his hair?

How does it feel (in texture)?

What sound does he make?

What sound does it make?

What is its condition?

What is his condition?

What did he do to him?

- tônësheve 'What is/are ___ doing?'

Questions asking what someone is doing are formed with the interrogative stem - tônësheve.

This stem is inflected for person, number, obviation, and mode, like any other AI verb stem:

Ná- tônësheve?
Né- tônësheve?
É- tônësheve?
É- tônëshevého?
Ná- tônëshevéme?
Né- tônëshevéma?
Né- tônëshevéme?
É- tônësheveo'o?

What did I do?
What did you do?
What did he/she do?
What did he/she (obv) do?
What did we (exclusive) do?
What did we (inclusive) do?
What did you (plural) do?
What did they do?

'How many' questions

Questions asking how many are formed with the interrogative particle tônësto 'how many?' or the preverb tônëstoe-, or the initial tônëst-.

Tônësto néo'o hamoo'o? How many (fish) did you catch?
Né- tônëstoe-aénáma? How old are you? (lit., How many are you yeared?)
É- tônëstoe-éš'ëhamo? How many months old is he?
Né- tônëstoe-enó'tse? How many nights did you camp?
É- tônëstoe-éno'e? What day of the week is it? (lit., how many days is it?)
É- tônëst-óxoeo'o? How many of them (an.) are there?
É- tônëst-ohánëstse? How many of them (inan.) are there?

'How many times' questions

Questions asking how many times something happened begin with the interrogative particle tônëstoha 'How many times?'

Tônëstoha ného'soo'e? How many times did you dance?

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".

É- tônëso?
É- tônesta?
É- tônëšé'tovóho?

What is its condition?
What is his condition?
What did he do to him?

Ná- tônësheve?
Né- tônësheve?
É- tônësheve?
É- tônëshevého?
Ná- tônëshevéme?
Né- tônëshevéma?
Né- tônëshevéme?
É- tônësheveo'o?

What did I do?
What did you do?
What did he/she do?
What did he/she (obv) do?
What did we (exclusive) do?
What did we (inclusive) do?
What did you (plural) do?
What did they do?
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'xóve-háomóhtahe?  How sick is he?
Né-tóne'xóve-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.

Nénéevá’eve?  Who are you?

Éhová’eve?  What gender is he/she?
Éhová’evóéhne?  What child did she bear?
Éhová’ešeenotseve?  What kind of a tree (bush) is it?
Éhová’evenotseve?  What kind of tribe is he?
Éhová’evé’ho’eve?  What kind of a day is it? (cf. -tóněšeéšeeve, with the same meaning)

’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-hevo’ñoé?  What did they say?
É-óxò-henove?  What is said?
Né-óxò-héto?  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’háéso?  Where's the old man?
Naa neamáho’hestótse?  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. $$DEVELOP THIS SECTION; include tóne'šé 'sometime', tósa’e 'somewhere', tóněše- 'somehow' (include Rolling Head sentence). 'something', hénáá’énèse ‘something’, etc.

Tóne’šé móho’eohtséhéhe. 'He must have come sometime. '
Tósa’e nóhásó móstanéšema’xetóněšéhe’ame-pónenenéhéhe. 'He just shot in any direction up
in the air.' (1987:277)
Naa oha tónesto tséhetaa‘he’konáhétse hétshéohe náho’manéstsénóne. 'But however many of us who were healthy, we made it back here.' (1987:37)
Naa héna’hanehe náéshéhóhta’háne tónetá'e tséhéne'enómo. 'And I have told however much I know.' (1987:97) $$CAN tónetá'a FUNCTION AS A QUESTION WORD?? (perhaps Tónetá'a némesé? 'How much did you eat?')

Hēā’e éto’sé-tónéstáotse. 'Maybe something is going to be wrong (with him).' (1987:195)
Móhmóne-tónéstóheaénamáhéhe. 'She was sometime in early age.' (1987:21)
Naa mós-tónéstóxéhevóhe mótaaséhétoo’éhehevóhe. 'And however many (suspects) there were, they were taken away to prison.' (1987:185)
Naa nèhe’še me’ko móhnés-tónéšésóhpo’oehétéhanéhe. 'And then the (rolling) head came through somehow.' (1980:54)
Naa vé’ho’o móstap-tonéšenéstomónéhéhe. '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-tónéšévéhe. | I’m not doing anything. |
| Násáa-tónéšétanóhe. | I’m not feeling anything. |
| Násáa-tóné’xóvomóhtáhéhe. | I’m not feeling anything. |
| Ésáa-tónéstáhe. | There’s nothing wrong with him. |
| Ésáa-tónéisóhane. | There’s nothing wrong with it. |
| Násáa-tónéstá’tovéhe. | 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:

| Násáaho’éhe. | I don’t want anything. |
| Násáavóóhtóhe. | I didn’t see anything. |

hová’éhe and negatives
The indefinite pronoun hová’éhe 'something' has a negative meaning in a negative context:

| Násáaho’ahéhe hová’éhe. | I don’t want anything. |
| Násáavóóhtóhe hová’éhe. | 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 ésáahoéhe. No one was there.
Develop section here or elsewhere in book, e.g. nevá'eséstse 'someone', nevá'esestro, nēśēsusto, nēśhoo'o, etc. Also be sure there is/are (a) section in the book which covers the polarity behavior of hová'ēhe, hovāne'e, the semantic relationship between hová'ēhe and hēnāa’ēnēse, etc. Nea'hāanēhe and related forms, Énéehove and related forms. Also relationship to tsē'tōhe and hē'tōhe in terms of deixis and reference.

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

- Nésa'he'évehehe! Are you not a woman!
- Névé'hétónéšëve! Why did you do that!
- Névé'héñëméne! ?? Why did you sing! RH Q??
- Névé'hëoxohëteoo'o! Why did you say that to them!
- Mónëme'hëtone'otse! ?? Nothing would happen to me!
- Mónëme'hë-tone'otse! You won't be able to do anything to him. (e.g., he's more powerful than you)
- Ésáatónëëñëño'ëtõhane! 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:

- Hámëstoo'estse! Sit down!
- He'kotoo'estse! Be quiet! / Sit still!
- Méseestse! Eat!
Né'éstséhnéstse! Come in!
Né'tóhkéhá'ahtse! Take your hat off!
E'esseéstse’hénahtse! Put your coat on!
Né'seéstse'hénahtse! Take your coat off!
E'èhá'óhtse! Put your shoes on!
Né'tó'éstse! Take your shoes off!
Tahéovéšéstse! Go to bed!
Áhtovéstse! Listen to me!
Néhmanoxéstse! Give me a drink!
Né'shé'événéstse! Wash your face!
Né'sé'séhe'ónahtse! 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):

Háméstoo'e! Sit down!
He'kotoo'e! Be quiet! / Sit still!
Mésehe! Eat!
Né'éstséhne! Come in!
E'tóhkéhá'a! Put your hat on!
Né'tóhkéhá'a! Take your hat off!
E'sééstse'héna! Put your coat on!
Né'seéstse'héna! Take your coat off!
E'èhá'o! Put your shoes on!
Né'tó'e! Take your shoes off!
Tahéovéše! Go to bed!
Áhtove! Listen to me!
Néhmanoxe! Give me a drink!
Né'sé'séhe'óna! Wash your hands!
Vé'hóóhtóhote! 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 /-héné/.

Háméstoo'o! Sit down later! (singular addressee)
Háméstoohe'ne! Sit down later! (plural addressee)
Néhmétseo'o! Give it to me later! (singular addressee)
Néhmétséhéne!  Give it to me later! (plural addressee)
Néévahósého'èhneo'o!  Come again later! (singular addressee)
Néévahósého'ènhéné!  Come again later! (plural addressee)

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

Né-me'-mësehe.  You should eat.
Né-mé'-mësèhèmé.  You (plural) should eat.
Né-me'-hestâna.  You should take it.
Né-me'-mëhótâhtsême.  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'-mêsèhê-stove.  There should be eating.
É-me'-mëhottâhtsê-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'xaamême!  Don't cry! (plural addressee)
Né-vé'e-oome!  Don't hit me! (singular addressee)
Né-vé'-vé'hóóhta!  Don't look at it! (singular addressee)
Né-vé'-vé'hóóhtânovo!  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-nëhevé!  You (singular) shouldn't do that.
Né-mé'-sáa-nëhevévéme.  You (plural) shouldn't do that.
Né-mé'-sáa-tséhe’ōhtse. 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.

É-mé'-sáa-néhešévé-stové-hane. That shouldn’t be done.
É-mé'-sáa-méótâhtsé-stové-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:

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

Rhetorical question commands
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?! Aren't you eating?!
Né-sáa-’-ovéšenà-he-he?! Didn't you go to bed?!
Né-sáa-naóotsè-he-he?! 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?! Shouldn't you eat?!
Né-sáa-vé'-néhešévé-he?! Shouldn't you do that?!
Né-sáa-vé'-néhešévé-hé-me?! 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’hoohtohá! Let him look at it!

Némenévoha! Let them sing!
Vé’hoohtomávoha! 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-évo'sómáne! Let’s play!
Né-ta-nêšeasema! Let’s just leave!

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

Né-tá-hé-mêsêhémáne! Let’s eat!
Né-tá-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 Tähëóvéšëstse! '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'mêsêhéstove '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. "$\text{RECHECK THESE CLAIMS}$
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'kōho means 'It's raining.' Énéméne means 'He's singing.' Návóómo means 'I saw him,' and Éohkésáá'āhtomónéhe means 'He regularly does not listen.' We can add nouns to give more information. We can say "Hetane énéméne" 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 meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éméšehe. He's eating.</td>
<td>Émese. He's eating it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóósáne. I see.</td>
<td>Návóóhta ame. 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. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AI</th>
<th>II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Épéhévahe.  'He's good.'</td>
<td>Épéhéva'e.  'It's good.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étāhpéta.  'He's big.'</td>
<td>Étāhpé'o.  'It's big.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénémenehe? 'Did you sing??'</td>
<td>Éhoo'kōho.  'It's raining.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma'ovése. 'He has red hair.'</td>
<td>Éma'ohe?  'Is it red?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náováxe.  'I dreamed.'</td>
<td>Ésétovésta. 'It's noon.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésone. 'She had a child.'</td>
<td>Éháohō'ta. 'It's hot.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméšehe.  'He's eating.'</td>
<td>Éméséhéstove. 'There is eating.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TA</th>
<th>TI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nápéheváno. 'I fixed him up.'</td>
<td>Nápéhevána. 'I fixed it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóómo. 'I saw him.'</td>
<td>Névoohtae? 'Did you see it?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhxoxomohe? 'Did you feed him?'</td>
<td>Násáahestanóhe. 'I didn't take it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméhota. 'He loves me.'</td>
<td>Éhótse. 'He has it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áahtovéstse! 'Listen to me!'</td>
<td>Náááhta. 'I'm listening to it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáa'oomóhe. 'I didn't hit him.'</td>
<td>Násáa'oohtóhe. 'I didn't hit it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émevo. 'He ate him (obv).'</td>
<td>Émesé. 'He ate it.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Polarity**

Cheyenne verbs are either positive\(^69\) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>statement</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>interrogative</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námésehe.</td>
<td>I ate.</td>
<td>Námésehe?</td>
<td>Did he eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaméséhéhe.</td>
<td>I did not eat.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émá'o.</td>
<td>It's red.</td>
<td>Émá'o?</td>
<td>Did he take it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáama'óhane.</td>
<td>It's not red.</td>
<td>Ésáama'óhane?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Interrogatives**

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

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>Éméšehe.</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.
- Námeš. I'm eating it.
- Éoseepéhévééno'e. It tastes really good.
- Nátséhésenéstéme. We speak Cheyenne.
- Nésáatšéhe'sevóomatséhe. 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:

- Tséhńáóotsése when he was sleeping
- Tséhvóonā'o when it was morning
- Ma'énésétovóesta 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.
- Néméšéhehe? Did you eat?
- Móxháeanāhevóhe. They must have been hungry.
Ésáavé’hoohóhe. He didn’t look at it.

Conjunct order verbs
Some examples of conjunct order verbs are:

- tséhméseese when he ate
- tsénémeneese those who are singing
- éóháóénávóhtse whether they were hungry
- máxho’ēhnéstse when he comes

Imperative order verbs
Some examples of imperative order verbs are:

- Háméstoo’éstse! Sit down!
- Táhóvéšéstse! Go to bed!
- Né’évahósého’ēhneo’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 (§§xxx: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’éeto. It's snowing.
- Épēhévééno’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.
Éhnëévátamósesto. 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, 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 down through many generations. Because this mode has so often been used when a storyteller narrates legends, Sarah Murray (xxxx:xxx) 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, "Nooó, étsëhéstenëstëhoo'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 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.

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'soo'aa  
čémašáheha  
mónhónówéhvéh (hetane'ọ)  
sisávé'hoohówéh

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

**CONJUNCT (DEPENDENT) VERBS**

tče'néménêe  
tché'nénemee  
tché'néhítsee  
mé'nahé'éghétsee

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, émášehe 'he ate', is in the indicative mode.

Modes are very important in Cheyenne. 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: émásséhóo 'It is said that he drank', and doomóšestó '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: móhoo'kobóhanehe 'it must have rained', móné'sémáehéhehe 'you must have eaten already', and móhó'móbóthahóh '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 ᓂᐟᐦᐦᐦᐦᐦᐦ o 'he sung' and ᓂᐟᐦᐦᐦᐦᐦ ᓂᐦᐦᐦ '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 né-, and the basic third-person prefix is é-. 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:

námášehe I ate.
némášehe you (singular) ate.
émášehe 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") x Unspecified (Subject)
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

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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,

é'né'mene
hee'haho é'nám'enóho
3 he sang
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 hetáne and he's, respectively. Their obviative forms are hetamóho and he'óho, 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 Névóómo hetáne.
1-3 Névóómo he's.
2-3 Névóómo hetáne.
3-4 Névóómo he'óho.
3-4 He's évóomóho hetamóho.
I saw a man.
I saw a woman.
You saw a man.
The man saw a woman.
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 évóomóho, above, with the "3-4" person combination. For instance,

4-3 Meške évóomaa'he'óho.Kis'ka'ka'ekóne.His (the boy's) mother saw the boy.
4-3 Meñeho évóomóho hetamóho.
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 névóómo (direct) I saw him.
2-3 névóómo (direct) You saw him.
3-1 névóoma (inverse) He saw me.
3-2 névóoma (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:

névôme  You saw me.
névómátse I saw you.
névómatsáme I saw you (plural).
névóoméme 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 on inanimate "thing" is abbreviated by "it" (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:

l-I náho'ëzhíta I came to it.
l-II náho'ëzhíthànátsé I came to them (inanimate).
l-1 náho'ëzhítsa'ë I 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
1  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:
- ėtōhē'ō It is big.
- ėhō'kōho It is raining.
- ėtōnē'ō It is cold.
- ėhēwō'ō It is yellow.
- ėmō'ō It is red.

A common Animate Intransitive (AI) final is -e, seen as the last vowel of the following AI verbs:
- ėmēwē He ate.
- ėmēame He drank.
- ėhō'soo'he He danced.
- ėvōvōtōmōsē'ne He taught.
- ėpēhēwē'he He is good.

There are several important Transitive Animate (TA) abstract finals. Most Transitive Inanimate (II) end in either -á or -é. In the following list the root English meaning will be given, then TA and TI 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>Action</th>
<th>1-3</th>
<th>1-I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>nambio'no (g-ó)</td>
<td>nāvōchna (ht-á)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carry</td>
<td>nāmāsēseho (h-ó)</td>
<td>nāmāsēstse (c-ó)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>love</td>
<td>nāmēho'ĉo ('t-ó)</td>
<td>nāmēho'ćhō (ht-á)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be good to</td>
<td>nāpēwē'ĉōvo (tov-ó)</td>
<td>nāpēwē'chē' (t-á)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saka</td>
<td>nāmēhō (h-ó)</td>
<td>nāmēhōstse (ht-ó)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>break</td>
<td>nāšē'ōhō ('h-ó)</td>
<td>nāšē'ōtse ('t-á)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dampen</td>
<td>nānē'kōwō'ço ('tov-ó)</td>
<td>nānē'kōwōhtse (ht-ó)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>find</td>
<td>nāmē'ōvo (ov-ó)</td>
<td>nāmē's (ó-á)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have</td>
<td>nāhō'ĉo ('h-ó)</td>
<td>nāhō'tse ('t-ó)</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, II) 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. $$KEEP CHART??$

<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>Ésâapêhévâhehe?</td>
<td>Isn't he good?</td>
<td>I.B.NEG.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mópêhévâhehëhe.</td>
<td>He seems to be good.</td>
<td>I.C.POS.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mó)ho'nópêhevaestse.</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-OBI VATIVE/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 sáa- 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  
-héné 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

-mésehe 'eat'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Námésehe</th>
<th>I ate / I am eating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némésehe</td>
<td>You ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésehe</td>
<td>He ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésehóho</td>
<td>He (obv) ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námésehème</td>
<td>We (excl) ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némésehema</td>
<td>We (incl) ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némésehème</td>
<td>You (pl) ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméseheo'o</td>
<td>They ate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-mane 'drink'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Námane</th>
<th>I drank / I am drinking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némane</td>
<td>You drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émane</td>
<td>He drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émanóho</td>
<td>He (obv) drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námanémé72</td>
<td>We (excl) drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némanema</td>
<td>We (incl) drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némanème</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>Nánoméné</th>
<th>I drank (heated liquid)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nénoméné</td>
<td>You drank (heated liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énoméné</td>
<td>He drank (heated liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énomenóho</td>
<td>He (obviative) drank (heated liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénomenémé</td>
<td>We (exclusive) drank (heated liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénomenema</td>
<td>We (inclusive) drank (heated liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénomenème</td>
<td>You (plural) drank (heated liquid)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énomeno'o</td>
<td>They drank (heated liquid)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-/hotse'ohe/ 'work'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Náhotse'ohe</th>
<th>I worked</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Néhotse'ohe</td>
<td>You worked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhotse'ohe</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'sótë/ 'dance', and many others, undergoes vowel-stretching when the phonemic verb stem ends in at least two vowels:

72 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/
Éhoēho ?? He (obv) is (here) /é-hoe-hó/
Náhoēme We (excl) are (here) /ná-hoe-mé/
Néhoema We (incl) are (here) /né-hoe-ma/
Néhoēme You (pl) are (here) /né-hoe-mé/
Éhoēo'o They are (here) /é-hoe-o/

/-ho'sōë/ 'dance'
Náho'sōo'e I danced
Ného'soo'e You danced
Ého'soo'e He danced
Ého'sóōho He (obv) danced
Náho'sóēme We (excl) danced
Ného'sóema We (incl) danced
Ného'sóēme You (pl) danced
Ého'sóeo'o They danced

/-háéaná/ 'hungry'
Náháéána I am hungry
Néháéána You are hungry
Éháéána He is hungry
Éháéanáho He (obv) is hungry
Náháéanáme We (excl) are hungry
Néháéanama We (incl) are hungry
Néháéanáme You (pl) are hungry
Éháéanao'o They are hungry

/-háóéná/ 'pray'
Náháóéna I prayed
Néháóéna You prayed
Éháóéna He prayed
Éháóénáho He (obv) prayed
Náháóénáme We (excl) prayed
Néháóenama We (incl) prayed
Néháóénáme You (pl) prayed
Éháóena'o They prayed

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

Náovēše I went to bed
Néovēše You went to bed
Éovēše He went to bed
Éovēšenáho He (obv) went to bed
Náovēšenáme We (excl) went to bed
Néovēšenama We (incl) went to bed
Néovēšenáme You (pl) went to bed
Éovēšena'o They went to bed

Náováxe I dreamed
Néováxe You dreamed
Éováxe He dreamed
Éováxenáho He (obv) dreamed
Náováxenáme We (excl) dreamed
Néováxenama We (incl) dreamed
Néováxenáme You (pl) dreamed
Éováxena'o They dreamed

73 Common alternative pronunciations are éovēšēne and éovēšēna.
Cheyennes enjoy pointing out that énéméne 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>Subject</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Other Person</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nánéméne</td>
<td>I sang</td>
<td>Nánéméne</td>
<td>I have a crooked face</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénéméne</td>
<td>You sang</td>
<td>Nénéméne</td>
<td>you have a crooked face</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énéméne</td>
<td>He sang</td>
<td>Énéméne</td>
<td>He has a crooked face</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énémenóho</td>
<td>He (obv) sang</td>
<td>Énémenóho76</td>
<td>He (obv) has a crooked face</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

74 Cf. énaa'e 'he died'.
75 Cf. énaeo'o 'they died'.
Nánémenēme  We (excl) sang  Nánéménéme  We (excl) have crooked faces
Nénémenema  We (incl) sang  Nénémenema  We (incl) have crooked faces
Nénémenēme  You (pl) sang  Nénéméneême  You (pl) have crooked faces
Énémeno'o  They sang  Énémeno'o  They have crooked faces

-tséhéstaha 'be Cheyenne'

One of the most important verbs for a Cheyenne person to learn is nátsēhéstaha '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>Nátsēhéstaha</td>
<td>I'm Cheyenne</td>
<td>Natsistah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nétsēhéstaha</td>
<td>You're Cheyenne</td>
<td>Nitsistah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étsēhéstaha</td>
<td>He's Cheyenne</td>
<td>Itsistah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étsēhéstahóho</td>
<td>He (obv) is Cheyenne</td>
<td>Itsistaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nátsēhéstahéme</td>
<td>We (excl) are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Natsistam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nétsēhéstahéme</td>
<td>We (incl) are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Nitsistama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nétsēhéstahéme</td>
<td>You (pl) are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Nitsistam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étsēhéstahéo'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:

| Náheve   | I said       |
| Néheve   | You said     |
| Éhevo'o  | He said      |
| Éhevoōne | He (obv) said|
| Náhémé   | We (excl) said|
| Néhema   | We (incl) said|
| Néhémé   | You (pl) said|
| Éhevoōne | They said    |

-néehove '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.

| Nánéehove | I am the one. |
| Nénéehove | You are the one. |
| Énéehove  | He is the one. |
| Énéehóvóho?? | He (obv) is the one. |
| Nánéehóvéme | We (exclusive) are the ones. |
| Nénéehóvéma | We (inclusive) are the ones. |
| Nénéehóvéme | You (plural) are the ones. |
| Énéehóveo'o | They are the ones. |

-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'**

- Náhenésone I have a child(ren)
- Néhenésone You have a child(ren)
- Éhenésone He has a child(ren)
- Éhenésónéhóho He (obv) has a child(ren)
- Náhenésónéhóme We (excl) have a child(ren)
- Néhenésónéhóme We (incl) have a child(ren)
- Néhenésónéhóme You (pl) have a child(ren)
- Éhenésónéheo'o They have a child(ren)

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

- Náhevoestove I have on a dress
- Néhevoestove You have on a dress
- Éhevoestove She has on a dress
- Náhevoestovéme We (excl) have on dresses
- Néhevoestovéme We (incl) have on dresses
- Néhevoestovéme You (pl) have on dresses
- Éhevoestoveo'o They have on dresses

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

- Náhemótšéške I have a knife
- Éheamâho'héstove He has a car
- Náhevérxahe I have a grandchild(ren)
- Éhestónahe He has a daughter(s)
- Éhee'hahe He has a son
- Náhestotsehe I have a pet

**Animate Intransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs**

**-mane 'drink'**

- Násáamanéhe I did not drink
- Nésáamanéhe You did not drink
- Ésáamanéhe He did not drink
- Ésáamanéheho He (obv) did not drink
- Násáamanéhéme We (excl) did not drink
- Nésáamanéhéme We (incl) did not drink
- Nésáamanéhéme You (pl) did not drink
- Ésáamanéheo'o They did not drink

**-mésehe 'eat'**

- Násáaméséhéhe I did not eat
- Nésáaméséhéhe You did not eat
- Ésáaméséhéhe He did not eat
- Ésáaméséhéheho He (obv) did not eat
- Násáaméséhéhéme We (excl) did not eat
- Nésáaméséhéhéme We (incl) did not eat
- Nésáaméséhéhéme You (pl) did not eat
- Ésáaméséhéheo'o They did not eat
-hotse’ohe 'work'

Násáahotse'óhéhe  I did not work
Nésáahotse'óhéhe  You did not work
Ésáahotse'óhéhe  He did not work
Ésáahotse'óheho  He (obv) did not work
Násáahotse'óhémé  We (excl) did not work
Nésáahotse'óhëma  We (incl) did not work
Nésáahotse'óhémé  You (pl) did not work
Ésáahotse’óheo'o  They did not work

/ho’sóe/ '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:

Násáaho'sóéhe  I did not dance
Nésáaho'sóéhe  You did not dance
Ésáaho'sóéhe  He did not dance
Ésáaho'sóéheho  He (obv) did not dance
Násáaho'sóéhémé  We (excl) did not dance
Nésáaho'sóéhëma  We (incl) did not dance
Nésáaho'sóéhémé  You (pl) did not dance
Ésáaho'sóéheo'o  They did not dance

-oveše 'go to bed'

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

Násáa'ovéšenáhe  I did not go to bed
Nésáa'ovéšenáhe  You did not go to bed
Ésáa'ovéšenáhe  He did not go to bed
Ésáa'ovéšenáheho  He (obv) did not go to bed
Násáa'ovéšenáhéme  We (excl) did not go to bed
Nésáa'ovéšenáhëma  We (incl) did not go to bed
Nésáa'ovéšenáhémé  You (pl) did not go to bed
Ésáa'ovéšenáheo'o  They did not go to bed

-ováxe 'dream'

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

Násáa'ováxenáhe  I did not dream
Nésáa'ováxenáhe  You did not dream
Ésáa'ováxenáhe  He did not dream
Ésáa'ováxenáheho  He (obv) did not dream
Násáa'ováxenáhéme  We (excl) did not dream
Nésáa'ováxenáhëma  We (incl) did not dream
Nésáa'ováxenáhémé  You (pl) did not dream
Ésáa'ováxenáheo'o  They did not dream

/-hé/ 'say'

Násáahéhe  I did not say
Nésáahéhe  You did not say
Ésáahéhe  He did not say
Ésáahéheho  He (obv) did not say
Násáahhéme  We (excl) did not say
Nésáahéhema  We (incl) did not say
Nésáahhéme  You (pl) did not say
Ésáahéheo'o  They did not say

-he-nésóné 'have a child'
Násáahenésónhéhe  I do not have a child
Nésáahenésónhéhe  You do not have a child
Ésáahenésónhéhe  He does not have a child
Ésáahenésónhéheheho  He (obv) does not have a child
Násáahenésónhéhema  We (excl) do not have a child
Nésáahenésónhéhema  We (incl) do not have a child
Nésáahenésónhéhéme  You (pl) do not have a child
Ésáahenésónhéheheho  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 hoohtséstse 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 éhoóhtsetsevéo'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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>Cheyenne Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is an animal.</td>
<td>Éhováheve</td>
<td>Éhováheveo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He is a baby.</td>
<td>Émé'ěševesótseve</td>
<td>Émé'ěševesótsevéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a bear.</td>
<td>Énahkohéheve</td>
<td>Énahkohhévéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a beaver.</td>
<td>Éhoma'ève</td>
<td>Éhoma'èvéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a bird.</td>
<td>Évé'késéheve</td>
<td>Évé'késéhevéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a buffalo.</td>
<td>Éhotóave</td>
<td>Éhotóaveo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a cat.</td>
<td>Épóesónéheve</td>
<td>Épóesónéhevéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He is a chief.</td>
<td>Évéhóneve</td>
<td>Évéhónevéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He is a child.</td>
<td>Éka'ěškónéheve</td>
<td>Éka'ěškónéhévéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a coyote.</td>
<td>Éó'kóhoméheve</td>
<td>Éó'kóhméhévéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a deer.</td>
<td>Éváôtsevéheve</td>
<td>Éváôtsevévéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a dress.</td>
<td>Éhoestóveve</td>
<td>Éhoestóvévéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a duck.</td>
<td>Éšé'sève</td>
<td>Éšé'sévéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is an eagle.</td>
<td>Énëtseve</td>
<td>Énëtsévéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a bald eagle.</td>
<td>Évóaxaa'ève</td>
<td>Évóaxaa'évéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is an elk.</td>
<td>Émo'èheve</td>
<td>Émo'èhevéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a finger.</td>
<td>Émo'ěškoneve</td>
<td>Émo'ěškonévéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a fish.</td>
<td>Énomá'heve</td>
<td>Énomá'hevéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a fly.</td>
<td>Éhésèseve</td>
<td>Éhésèsevéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a sacred power.</td>
<td>Éma'heóneve</td>
<td>Éma'heónévéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a horse.</td>
<td>Émo'ěhno'haméheve</td>
<td>Émo'ěhno'haméhévéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He is a man.</td>
<td>Éhetanéve</td>
<td>Éhetanévéo'o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
Émo'eháheve  It is a magpie.  Ëmo'eháhevo'o  They are magpies.
Épé'eve  It is a nighthawk.  Épé'eveo'o  They are nighthawks.
Éma'hákéséheve  He is an old man.  Éma'hákéséhevo'o  They are old men.
Éšéstotó'eve  It is a pine.  Éšéstotó'eveo'o  They are pines.
Évóhkoohéve  It is a rabbit.  Évóhkoohéveo'o  They are rabbits.
Éxaóneve  It is a skunk.  Éxaóneveo'o  They are skunks.
Éhotóhkeve  It is a star.  Éhotóhkeveo'o  They are stars.
Éhoóhtsetséve  It is a tree.  Éhoóhtsetséveo'o  They are trees.
Énótaxeve  He is a warrior.  Énótaxeveo'o  They are warriors.
Évé'ho'eve  He is a whiteman.  Évé'ho'véveo'o  They are whitemen.
Éhe'eye  She is a woman.  Éhe'éveo'o  They are women.

Animate Intransitive Independent Interrogative verbs
There are two ways to create yes/no questions\(^7\)\(^7\) 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

-méne 'drink'

Náménehe?  Did I drink?
Némánehe?  Did you drink?
Émánehe?  Did he drink?
Émánevohe?  Did he (obv) drink?
Námániemehe?  Did we (excl) drink?
Némániemehe?  Did we (incl) drink?
Námániemehe?  Did you (pl) drink?
Émánevéhe?  Did they drink?

-mésehe 'eat'

Náméshéhehe?  Did I eat?
Néméséhehe?  Did you eat?
Éméséhehe?  Did he eat?
Éméséhevohe?  Did he (obv) eat?
Náméséhemehe?  Did we (excl) eat?
Néméséhèmehe?  Did we (incl) eat?
Néméséhemehe?  Did you (pl) eat?
Éméséhevóhe?  Did they eat?

\(^7\)\(^7\) Also called polar interrogatives.
-oveše 'go to bed' interrogatives

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?
Éověšenavohe? Did he (obv) go to bed?
Náověšenamehe? Did we (excl) go to bed?
Néověšenámanehe? Did we (incl) go to bed?
Néověšenámemehe? Did you (pl) go to bed?
Éověšenavahohe? Did they go to bed?

-he-nésone 'have a child' interrogatives

Náhenésesonéhehe? Do I have a child(ren)?
Néhenésesonéhehe? Do you have a child(ren)?
Éhenésesonéhehe? Does he have a child(ren)?
Éhenésesonévohe? Does he (obv) have a child(ren)?
Náhenésesonévohe? Do we (excl) have a child(ren)?
Néhenésesonéhohe? Do we (incl) have a child(ren)?
Néhenésesonémemehe? Do you (pl) have a child(ren)?
Éhenésesonéhohe? Do they have a child(ren)?

-he 'say' interrogatives

Náhehe? Did I say?
Néhehe? Did you say?
Éhehe? Did he say?
Éhevohe? Did he (obv) say?
Náhemehohe? Did we (excl) say?
Néhemaneehe? Did we (incl) say?
Néhemehohe? 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?
Mónééstsenoméne? Will you drink (something heated, especially coffee)?
Mónémóneévéhó’eohe? Did you just get back?
Mó’éháomóhtahe? Is he sick?
Mó’énéméne? Did he sing?

Mó-tsé’tóhe? 78 This one?
Mó-néhe? You mean that one?

78 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/:

-he suffix negative questions

Nésáaméséhehehe? Didn’t you eat?
Nésáá'ovéšenàhehe? Didn’t you go to bed?
Nésááhotse’óhehehe? Didn’t you work?
Nésáanaóotséhemehehe? Didn’t you (pl) sleep?
Ésáatáhpetàhehe? Isn’t he big?

mó- prefix negative questions

Mónésáá’ëšemésehe? Didn’t you eat yet?
Mó’éśáá’ovëšenáheo’o? Didn’t they go to bed?
Mó’éśááncmenéheo’o? Didn’t they sing?

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 \(-\text{hé}/.\)

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

\textit{-mane 'drink'}

\begin{align*}
\text{Mónámànèhèhè} & \quad \text{I must have drunk.} \\
\text{Mónèmànèhèhè} & \quad \text{You must have drunk.} \\
\text{Mómanèhèhè} & \quad \text{He must have drunk.} \\
\text{Mómanèhèvòhè} & \quad \text{He (obv) must have drunk.} \\
\text{Mónámànèhèmanèhè} & \quad \text{We (excl) must have drunk.} \\
\text{Mónèmànèhèmanèhè} & \quad \text{We (incl) must have drunk.} \\
\text{Mómanèhèvòhè} & \quad \text{You (pl) must have drunk.} \\
\text{Mómanèhèvòhè} & \quad \text{They must have drunk.} \\
\end{align*}

\textit{/háéanà/ 'be hungry'}

\begin{align*}
\text{Mónáháéanahèhè} & \quad \text{I must be hungry.} \\
\text{Mónèháéanahèhè} & \quad \text{You must be hungry.} \\
\text{Móháéanahèhè} & \quad \text{He must be hungry.} \\
\text{Móháéanahèvòhè} & \quad \text{He (obv) must be hungry.} \\
\text{Mónáháéanahèmanèhè} & \quad \text{We (excl) must be hungry.} \\
\text{Mónèháéanahèmanèhè} & \quad \text{We (incl) must be hungry.} \\
\text{Móháéanahèvòhè} & \quad \text{You (pl) must be hungry.} \\
\text{Móháéanahèvòhè} & \quad \text{They must be hungry.} \\
\end{align*}

\textit{/háóénà/ 'pray'}

\begin{align*}
\text{Mónáháóénahèhè} & \quad \text{I must have prayed.} \\
\text{Mónèháóénahèhè} & \quad \text{You must have prayed.} \\
\text{Móháóénahèhè} & \quad \text{He must have prayed.} \\
\text{Móháóénahèvòhè} & \quad \text{He (obv) must have prayed.} \\
\text{Mónáháóénahèmanèhè} & \quad \text{We (excl) must have prayed.} \\
\text{Mónèháóénahèmanèhè} & \quad \text{We (incl) must have prayed.} \\
\text{Móháóénahèvòhè} & \quad \text{You (pl) must have prayed.} \\
\text{Móháóénahèvòhè} & \quad \text{They must have prayed.} \\
\end{align*}

\textit{/táhoe/ 'ride'}

\begin{align*}
\text{Mónátáhoehèhè} & \quad \text{I must have ridden.} \\
\text{Mónêtáhoehèhè} & \quad \text{You must have ridden.} \\
\text{Mótáhoehèhè} & \quad \text{He must have ridden.} \\
\text{Mótáhoehèvòhè} & \quad \text{He (obv) must have ridden.} \\
\text{Mónátáhoehèmanèhè} & \quad \text{We (excl) must have ridden.} \\
\text{Mónêtáhoehèmanèhè} & \quad \text{We (incl) must have ridden.} \\
\text{Móntáhoehèmèhè} & \quad \text{You (pl) must have ridden.} \\
\text{Móntáhoehèvòhè} & \quad \text{They must have ridden.} \\
\end{align*}

\footnote{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.

Mónánēhehēhe\(^{80}\) I must have said that.
Mónénehehēhe. You must have said that.
Mōhehēhe. He must have said.
Mōhehevōhe. He (obv) must have said.
Mōnāhehehanēhe\(??\) We (excl) must have said.
Mōnēhehehanēhe\(??\) We (incl) must have said.
Mōnēhehemēhe\(??\) You (pl) must have said.
Mōhehevōhe. 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. $$\text{DETAILS?}$$

**Animate Intransitive Negative Inferential verbs**

Negative inferentials require a negative preverb ho'nō-\(^{81}\), instead of the usual sāa- 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.

**-mēsehe 'eat'**

(Mó)ho'nōmēsēhēto I must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nōmēsēhēto You must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nōmēseestse He must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nōmēsēhetsēstse He (obv) must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nōmēsēhētse We\(^{82}\) must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nōmēsēhēse You (pl) must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nōmēsēhvēhtse They must not have eaten.

**-mane 'drink'**

(Mó)ho'nōmanēto I must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nōmaneto You must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nōmanēstse He must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nōmanetsēstse He (obv) must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nōmanētse We must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nōmanēse You (pl) must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nōmanēvōhtse They must not have drunk.

---

\(^{80}\) Mónánēhehēhe, with the anaphoric preverb nē-, sounds more natural than Mónāhehēhe. Mōhehēhe, with a third person subject and without that preverb, does sound natural.

\(^{81}\) Cheyenne ho'nō- appears to function parallel to Cree pwaₐ, which, like ho'nō-, only occurs with conjunct order verbs.

\(^{82}\) There is no distinction in conjunct verbs between inclusive 'we' and exclusive 'we'.

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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'

Náméséhéhméase I am said to have eaten.
Néméséhéhméase You are said to have eaten.
Éméséhéheséstse He is said to have eaten.
Éméséhéhesesto He (obv) is said to have eaten.
Náméséhéhmánése We (excl) are said to have eaten.
Néméséhéhmánése We (incl) are said to have eaten.
Néméséhéhmése You (pl) are said to have eaten.
Éméséhéhesesto They are said to have eaten.

-mane 'drink'

Námanémáse I am said to have drunk.
Némánémáse 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.
Némánémánése We (incl) are said to have drunk.
Némánémése 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

Násáméséhéhméase I am said to have not eaten.
Nésáméséhéhméase You are said to have not eaten.
Ésáméséhéheséstse He is said to have not eaten.
Ésáaméséhéhesesto He (obv) is said to have not eaten.
Násáméséhéhmánése We (excl) are said to have not eaten.
Nésáméséhéhmánése We (incl) are said to have not eaten.
Nésáméséhéhmése You (pl) are said to have not eaten.
Ésáaméséhéhesesto 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.

- **Éhnémenéhoo'o** He sang
  - **Éhnémenéhoono** They sang.
- **Éxhonónéhoo'o** He baked
  - **Éxhonónéhoono** They baked.
- **Éxháoenáhoo'o** He prayed.
  - **Éxháoenáhoono** They prayed.
- **Éxháeanáhoo'o** He was hungry.
  - **Éxháeanáhoono** They were hungry.
- **Éxhováneehoo'o** He was gone.
  - **Éxhováneehoono** They were gone.
- **Éhnaehoo'o** He died.
  - **Éhnaehoono** They died.
- **Éhnaa'éhoo'o** He doctored.
  - **Éhnaa'éhoono** They doctored.
- **Éhméséhéhoo'o** He ate.
  - **Éhméséhéhoono** They ate.
- **Éxhéhoo'o** He said.
  - **Éxhéhoono** They said.

Animate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs

- **Éssáanémenéhehoo'o** He did not sing
  - **Éssáanémenéhehoono** They did not sing.
- **Éssáahonónéhehoo'o** He did not bake
  - **Éssáahonónéhehoono** They did not bake.
- **Éssáaháoenáhehoo'o** He did not pray.
  - **Éssáaháoenáhehoono** They did not pray.
- **Éssáaháeanáhehoo'o** He was not hungry.
  - **Éssáaháeanáhehoono** They were not hungry.
- **Éssáahováneehéhoo'o** He was not gone.
  - **Éssáahováneehéhoono** They were not gone.
- **Éssáanaehéhéhoo'o** He did not die.
  - **Éssáanaehéhehoono** They did not die.
- **Éssáanaa'éhehoo'o** He did not doctor.
  - **Éssáanaa'éhehoono** They did not doctor.
- **Éssáaméséhéhéhoo'o** He did not eat.
  - **Éssáaméséhéhehoono** They did not eat.
- **Éssáahéhéhoo'o** He did not say.
  - **Éssáahéhehoono** They did not say.
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/. 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’ëstse!</td>
<td>Ho’soo’e!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to bed!</td>
<td>Tähéovëšëstse!</td>
<td>Tähéovëše!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pray!</td>
<td>Háóénahëstse!</td>
<td>Háóëna!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing!</td>
<td>Némënéstse!</td>
<td>Némëné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work!</td>
<td>Hotse’östse!</td>
<td>Hotse’öhe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get up!</td>
<td>Tö’ëstse!</td>
<td>Tö’ë!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be happy!</td>
<td>Pëhévetãnohtse!</td>
<td>Pëhévetãno!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look!</td>
<td>Tsëhetóó’öhtse!</td>
<td>Tsëhetóó’ö!</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>Mésëheo’o!</td>
<td>Mésëhëhëné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit down (later)!</td>
<td>Hámëstoeo’o!</td>
<td>Hámëstoehëné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance (later)!</td>
<td>Ho’sëoo’o!</td>
<td>Ho’sëëhëné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to bed (later)</td>
<td>Tähëovëšënao’o!</td>
<td>Tähëovëšënahëné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pray (later)!</td>
<td>Háoënäo’o!</td>
<td>Háoënhëné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing (later)!</td>
<td>Nëmënéno’o!</td>
<td>Nëmënëhëné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work (later)!</td>
<td>Hotse’öheo’o!</td>
<td>Hotse’öhëné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get up (later)!</td>
<td>To’ëo’o!</td>
<td>To’ëhëné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be happy (later)!</td>
<td>Pëhévetanoo’o!</td>
<td>Pëhévetanøhëné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look (later)!</td>
<td>Tsëhetóó’oo’o!</td>
<td>Tsëhetóó’öhëné!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

83 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 be 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hortatives said about one person</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ho'sóeha!</td>
<td>Let him dance!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Méséheha!</td>
<td>Let him eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tâhéověšenaha!</td>
<td>Let him go to bed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Háoenaha!</td>
<td>Let him pray!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némeneha!</td>
<td>Let him sing!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotse'óheha!</td>
<td>Let him work!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### hortatives said about more than one person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hortatives said about more than one person</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ho'sóevoha!</td>
<td>Let them dance!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Méséhevoha!</td>
<td>Let them eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tâhéověnávoha!</td>
<td>Let them go to bed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némenévoha!</td>
<td>Let them sing!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotse'óhevoha!</td>
<td>Let them work!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hortatives said about one person</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sáaho'sóehéha!</td>
<td>Don't let him dance!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáaméséhehéha!</td>
<td>Don't let him eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tásáa'ovéšenáheha!</td>
<td>Don't let him go to bed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáanënémonéheha!</td>
<td>Don't let him sing!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáahotse'óheheha!</td>
<td>Don't let him work!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hortatives said about more than one person</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sáaho'sóehévoha!</td>
<td>Don't let them dance!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáaméséhehévoha!</td>
<td>Don't let them eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tásáahéověšenáhevoha!</td>
<td>Don't let them go to bed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáanënémonévoha!</td>
<td>Don't let them sing!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáahotse'óhehevoha!</td>
<td>Don't let them work!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inanimate Intransitive Independent Indicative verbs
Examples of intransitive verbs with inanimate subjects are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>3rd Person Singular</th>
<th>3rd Person Plural</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>Éphévé’a</td>
<td>It's good</td>
<td>Éphévé’a’néstse</td>
<td>They are good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhávé’séva</td>
<td>It's bad</td>
<td>Éhávé’séva’néstse</td>
<td>They are bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étá’hpe</td>
<td>It's big</td>
<td>Étá’hpe’ónéstse</td>
<td>They are big</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étá’sék</td>
<td>It's small</td>
<td>Étá’sék’ónéstse</td>
<td>They are small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésése</td>
<td>It's the same</td>
<td>Ésése’néstse</td>
<td>They are the same</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'éto</td>
<td>It's snowing</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo’kóho</td>
<td>It's raining</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évó’kómo</td>
<td>It's white</td>
<td>Évó’komónéstse</td>
<td>They are white</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhe’éo</td>
<td>It's yellow</td>
<td>Éhe’éo’néstse</td>
<td>They are yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma’ó</td>
<td>It's red</td>
<td>Éma’onéstse</td>
<td>They are red</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éó’</td>
<td>It's dry</td>
<td>Éó’néstse</td>
<td>They are dry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhe’kóóva</td>
<td>It's wet</td>
<td>Éhe’kóóvánéstse</td>
<td>They are wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éháénánó</td>
<td>It's heavy</td>
<td>Éháénanónéstse</td>
<td>They are heavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ééstóó</td>
<td>It's sharp</td>
<td>Ééstovónéstse</td>
<td>They are sharp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éphévééno</td>
<td>It tastes good</td>
<td>Éphévééno’néstse</td>
<td>They taste good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éphévééméa’ha</td>
<td>It smells good</td>
<td>Éphévééméa’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 mȧhēō’o means 'house'. If this noun stem is incorporated into the equative verb frame, the result is émȧheóneve which means 'it is a house'. Equative verbs can be pluralized like other II verbs. So émȧheónevéénéstse 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>Subject</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>3rd Person Singular</th>
<th>3rd Person Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émó’tšēškeve</td>
<td>It is a knife</td>
<td>Émó’tšēškévéénéstse</td>
<td>They are knives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhe’éve</td>
<td>It is liver</td>
<td>Éhe’évéénéstse</td>
<td>They are livers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhesééotséve</td>
<td>It is medicine</td>
<td>Éhesééotsévéénéstse</td>
<td>They are medicines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émo’ēškoneve</td>
<td>It is a ring</td>
<td>Émo’ēškonévéénéstse</td>
<td>They are rings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméoneve</td>
<td>It is a trail/road</td>
<td>Éméónévénéstse</td>
<td>They are trails/roads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméta’xe</td>
<td>It is a scalp</td>
<td>Éméta’xevéénéstse</td>
<td>They are scalps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émo’kéhanéve</td>
<td>It is a shoe</td>
<td>Émo’kéhanévéénéstse</td>
<td>They are shoes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

84 This sounds the same as Éhe’éve 'she is a woman'.
85 This sounds the same as Émo’ēškoneve 'it (animate) is a finger'.
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. Éméséhéstóvén. There are eatings.
Éháeanáhtove. There is hungering. Éháeanáhtóvén. There are hungerings.
Éháoenáhtove. There is praying. Éháoenáhtóvén. There are prayings.
Énémenéstove. There is singing. Énémenéstóvén. There are singings.
Ésévanóhtove. There is sliding. Ésévanóhtóvén. There are slidings.
Éhenóvén. It is said. Éhenóvén. It is said.

Impersonals with reflexive/reciprocal stems

Transitive Animate (TA) reflexives and reciprocals86 can appear as impersonals. When they do, they behave as regular II verbs. In the following word pairs the first word of a pair is the original reflexive/reciprocal and the second word is an impersonal made from the original reflexive/reciprocal:

Éméhotáhtseo'o. They love themselves/each other. Éméhotáhtseo'o. They love themselves/each other.
Éméhohtáhtséstove. There is love for themselves/one another.

Éoó'evótáhtseo'o. They argued with each other. 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 obviation87. Some prefer, instead, to call the "obviated" II verbs relational verbs88. 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:

Namáhō'o étahpē'o 'My house is big'; Hemáhē'o étahpe'otse 'His house is big (rel).'
Neamáho'hestōtse émá'o 'Your car is red'; Heamáho'hestōtse éma'otse 'His car is red (rel).'
Namōx'estoo'o éhō'.ta 'My book is here'; Hemōxe'estoo'o ého'tatse 'His book is here (rel).'

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

Namaahe évóhko 'My arrow is bent.'
Hemaaha évóhktse '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 nonámé'tō'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>Ésáaho'tánháne.</th>
<th>It is not (here).</th>
<th>Ésáaho'tánhanehótse.</th>
<th>They are not (here).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva'cháne.</td>
<td>It’s not good.</td>
<td>Épéhéva'íchánehótse.</td>
<td>They are not good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahavéséva'cháne.</td>
<td>It’s not bad.</td>
<td>Ésáahavéséva'íchánehótse.</td>
<td>They are not bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáatábhe'óháne.</td>
<td>It’s not big.</td>
<td>Ésáatábhe'óhánéhótse.</td>
<td>They are not big.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáatšéške'óháne.</td>
<td>It’s not small.</td>
<td>Ésáatšéške'óhánéhótse.</td>
<td>They are not small.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaséséháne.</td>
<td>It’s not the same.</td>
<td>Ésáaséséhánehótse.</td>
<td>They are not the same.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahóo'étáháne.</td>
<td>It’s not snowing.</td>
<td>Ésáahóo'étáhánéhótse.</td>
<td>They are not snowing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahóo'kóhóháne.</td>
<td>It’s not raining.</td>
<td>Ésáahóo'kóhóhánéhótse.</td>
<td>They are not raining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavó'komóháne.</td>
<td>It’s not white.</td>
<td>Ésáavó'komóhánéhótse.</td>
<td>They are not white.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahévóhóháne.</td>
<td>It’s not yellow.</td>
<td>Ésáahévóhóhánéhótse.</td>
<td>They are not yellow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáama'óháne.</td>
<td>It’s not red.</td>
<td>Ésáama'óhánéhótse.</td>
<td>They are not red.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésá'ó'oháne.</td>
<td>It’s not dry.</td>
<td>Ésá'ó'óhánéhótse.</td>
<td>They are not dry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahi'kóváháne.</td>
<td>It’s not wet.</td>
<td>Ésáahi'kóváhánéhótse.</td>
<td>They are not wet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaháeanóháne.</td>
<td>It’s not heavy.</td>
<td>Ésáaháeanóhánéhótse.</td>
<td>They are not heavy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaa'éstóváháne.</td>
<td>It’s not sharp.</td>
<td>Ésáaa'éstóváhánéhótse.</td>
<td>They are not sharp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhévééno'háne.</td>
<td>It tastes good.</td>
<td>Ésáapéhévééno'énéstse.</td>
<td>They do not taste good.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impersonal Negative verbs**

Impersonals may be negated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ésáaméséhéstováháne.</th>
<th>There is not eating.</th>
<th>Ésáaméséhéstováhánéhótse.</th>
<th>There are not eatings.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaháeanáhtováháne.</td>
<td>There is not hungering.</td>
<td>Ésáaháeanáhtováhánéhótse.</td>
<td>There are not hungerings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahenóvéháne.??</td>
<td>It is not said.??</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméhotáhtováháne.</td>
<td>There is not loving each other.</td>
<td></td>
<td></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 namáhëé'õ éssáama'óháne 'my house is not red'. But if there is a third person possessor, the verb is marked as relational: hemáhëé'õ éssáama'óhanéhétse 'his house is not red (rel)'. Some other examples are:

| Ésáaho'tánhánéhetse. | It is not (here) (rel). | Ésáaho'tánhánéhétsetótse. | They are not (here) (rel). |
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). $\textit{DETAIL AND/OR GIVE SOME RELATIONAL VERBS WHICH DO NOT HAVE 3$^{rd}$ PERSON POSSESSOR SUBJECTS}
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'ë '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-péhéva'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 interrogatives are:

Ého'tahe? Is it (there)? Ého'tanevotse? Are they (there)?
Étahpe'ohe? Is it big? Étahpe'onevotse? Are they big?
Ého'éetohe? Did it snow? -----
Éhoa'kóhohe? Did it rain? -----
Évó'komohe? Is it white? Évó'komonevotse? Are they white?
Éheóvohe? Is it yellow? Éheovonevotse? Are they yellow?
Éhávéséva'ehe? Is it bad? Éhávéséva'enevotse? Are they bad?
Éó'ohe? Is it dry? Éó'onevotse? Are they dry?
Éma'oehe? Is it red? Ema'onevotse? Are they red?
Éstovehe? Is it sharp? Éstovonevotse? Are they sharp?
Émanéstovehe? Is there drinking? Émanéstovenevotse? Are there drinkings?
Éméséhéstovehe? Is there eating? Éméséhéstovenevotse? Are there eatings?
Éháeanáhtovehe? Is there hungering? Éháeanáhtovenevotse? Are there hungerings?
Éháoenáhtovehe? Is there praying? Éháoenáhtovenevotse? Are there prayings?

**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:

Nemóxe’estoo’o ého’tahe? Is your book there?
Hemóxe’estoo’o ého’tatsehe? Is his book there (rel)?
Hemóxe’estoonótsé ého’tanetsevotse? Are his books there (rel)?
Éháeanáhtovetsehe? Is there hungering (rel)?
Éháeanáhtovenevotse? Are there hungerings (rel)?

**Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative verbs**

Ésáho’táhanehe? Isn't it (there)?
Ésáho’táhanevotse? Aren't they (there)?
Ésápēhéva’éganehe? Isn't it good?
Ésápēhéva’éganevotse? Aren't they good?
Ésátahpe’óhanehe? Isn't it big?
Ésátahpe’óhanevotse? Aren't they big?
Ésáaho’etōhanehe? Isn't it snowing?
Ésáahoo’kóhóhanehe? Isn't it raining?
Isn’t there hunger?
Aren’t there hungerings?

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative relational verbs

Isn’t his ___ (there) (rel)?
Aren’t his ___ (there) (rel)?

Isn’t his ___ good (rel)?
Aren’t his ___ good (rel)?

Isn’t his ___ yellow (rel)?
Aren’t his ___ yellow (rel)?

Isn’t there hungering (rel)?
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:

Is it good?
Are they good?

Isn’t it good?
Aren’t they good?

Is it (here/there)?
Are they (here/there)?

Is it raining?
Isn’t it raining?

Is it snowing?

Is there eating?

It must be good.
They must be good.

It must be red.
They must be red.

It must be yellow.
They must be yellow.

It must have rained.
Móméséhéstovéhanēhe. There must have been eating.
Móméséhéstovéhanévōtse. There must have been eatings.

Inanimate Intransitive Inferential relational verbs
Heamāho'hestōtse móma'óhanetsēhe. His car must be red (rel).
Heamāho'héstotōtse móma'óhanetsevōtse. His cars must be red (rel).

Hemōxe'èstoo'o mıpéhéva'éhanetsēhe. His book must be good (rel).
Hemōxe'èstōońōtse mıpéhéva'éhanetsevōtse. His books must be good (rel).

Hemāhēo'o móheóvōhanetsēhe. His house must be yellow (rel).
Hemāheonōtse móheóvōhanetsevōtse. His houses must be yellow (rel).

Inanimate Intransitive Reportative verbs
Ého'tánése. It's said to be (here/there).
Ého'tánésestōtse. They are said to be (here/there).

Éhoo'kōhōnése. It's said to be raining.
Évōhkōnése. It's said to be bent.
Évōhkōnésestōtse. They are said to be bent.

Éma'onése. It's said to be red.
Éma'onésestōtse. They are said to be red.

Éheóvōnése. It's said to be yellow.
Éheóvōnésestōtse. They are said to be yellow.

Épēhéva'ènése. It's said to be good.
Épēhéva'ènésestōtse. They are said to be good.

Émēsēhéstovenése. It's said there is eating.
Émēsēhéstovenésestōtse. It's said there are eatings.

Inanimate Intransitive Reportative relational verbs
Ého'tātsénése. It's said his __ is (here/there) (rel).
Ého'tātsenésestōtse. It's said his __ are (here/there) (rel).

Évōhkōtānése. It's said his __ is bent (rel).
Évōhkōtānésestōtse. It's said his __ are bent (rel).

Éma'ōtsénése. It's said his __ is red (rel).
Éma'ōtsenésestōtse. It's said his __ are red (rel).

Éheóvōtsénése. It's said his __ is yellow (rel).
Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs

Ésáaho'táhanéhénése. It's said it is not (here/there).
Ésáaho'táhanéhenésestótse. It's said they are not (here/there).
Ésáahoo'kóhóhanéhénése. It's said it's not raining.
Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhénése. It's said it's not good.
Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhenésestótse. It's said they are not good.
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhénése. It's said there is not eating.
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhenésestótse. It's said there are not eatings.

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative relational verbs

Ésáaho'táhanéhetotsenése. It's said his __ isn't (here/there) (rel).
Ésáaho'táhanéhetotsenésestótse. It's said his __ aren't (here/there) (rel).
Ésáahoo'kóhóhanéhetotsenése. It's said it's not raining (rel).
Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetotsenése. It's said his __ is not good (rel).
Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetotsenésestótse. It's said his __ are not good (rel).
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetotsenése. It's said there isn't eating (rel).
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetotsenésestótse. It's said there aren't eatings (rel).

Inanimate Intransitive Preterit verbs

Ého'táneho! Surprisingly, it's (here/there)! 89
Ého'tánéhoonótse! Surprisingly, they are (here/there)!
Éhoo'kóhóneho! Surprisingly, it's raining!
Épéhéva'éneho! Surprisingly, it's good!
Épéhéva'énéhoonótse! Surprisingly, they are good!
Éméséhéstovenneho! 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.’
Éméséhéstovenéhoonòtse! Surprisingly, there are eatings!

**Inanimate Intransitive Preterit relational verbs**

Ého'tátseného! Surprisingly, his ___ is (here/there) (rel)!
Ého'tátsenéhoonòtse! Surprisingly, his ___ are (here/there) (rel)!

Éhoo'kòhòtseného! Surprisingly, it's raining (rel)!

Épéhéva'ètseného! Surprisingly, his ___ is good (rel)!
Épéhéva'ètsenòhoonòtse! Surprisingly, his ___ are good (rel)!

Éméséhéstovetséneho! Surprisingly, there is eating (rel)!
Éméséhéstovetsénoonòtse! Surprisingly, there are eatings (rel)!

**Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs**

Ésáaho'táhanéheného! Surprisingly, it's not (here/there)!
Ésáaho'táhanéhenéhoonòtse! Surprisingly, they are not (here/there)!

Ésáahoo'kòhòhanéheného! Surprisingly, it's not raining!

Ésáapéhéva'èhanéheného! Surprisingly, it's not good!
Ésáapéhéva'èhanéhenòhoonòtse! Surprisingly, they are not good!

Ésáaméséhéstovèhanéheného! Surprisingly, there is not eating!
Ésáaméséhéstovèhanéhenòhoonòtse! Surprisingly, there are not eatings!

**Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit relative verbs**

Ésáaho'táhanéhetotséneho! Surprisingly, his ___ is not (here/there) (rel)!
Ésáaho'táhanéhetotsénoonòtse! Surprisingly, his ___ are not (here/there) (rel)!

Ésáahoo'kòhòhanéhetotséneho! Surprisingly, it isn't raining (rel)!

Ésáapéhéva'èhanéhetotséneho! Surprisingly, his ___ isn't good (rel)!
Ésáapéhéva'èhanéhetotsenòhoonòtse! Surprisingly, his ___ aren't good (rel)!

Ésáaméséhéstovèhanéhetotséneho! Surprisingly, there is not eating (rel)!
Ésáaméséhéstovèhanéhetotsénoonòtse! Surprisingly, there are not eatings (rel)!
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>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Personal Case</th>
<th>Family Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>návóomahtse</td>
<td>I saw myself</td>
<td>névóomóvo</td>
<td>you (pl) saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóomatse</td>
<td>I saw you</td>
<td>névóomamovo</td>
<td>you (pl) saw (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómo</td>
<td>I saw him</td>
<td>névóomemeno</td>
<td>you (pl) saw (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomamóho</td>
<td>I saw him (obv)</td>
<td>névóomáhtséme</td>
<td>you (pl) saw yourselds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomatséme</td>
<td>I saw you (pl)</td>
<td>névóómóvo'o</td>
<td>you (pl) saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóomoo'o</td>
<td>I saw them</td>
<td>névóomáa'e</td>
<td>they saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóome</td>
<td>you saw me</td>
<td>évóomóvo</td>
<td>they saw (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóomahtse</td>
<td>you saw yourself</td>
<td>návóomáa'ee</td>
<td>they saw us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómo</td>
<td>you saw him</td>
<td>návóomaeneo'o</td>
<td>they saw us (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomamóho</td>
<td>you saw him (obv)</td>
<td>návóomaeneo'o</td>
<td>they saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomemeno</td>
<td>you saw us (excl)</td>
<td>évóomáhtséo'o</td>
<td>they saw themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóomoo'o</td>
<td>you saw them</td>
<td>návóomaene</td>
<td>I was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóoma</td>
<td>he saw me</td>
<td>névóománe</td>
<td>you were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóoma</td>
<td>he saw you</td>
<td>évóome</td>
<td>he was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóomahtse</td>
<td>he saw himself</td>
<td>návóomanéme</td>
<td>we (excl) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóómóho</td>
<td>he saw him (obv)</td>
<td>návóomanema</td>
<td>we (incl) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómaenéne</td>
<td>he saw us (excl)</td>
<td>návóomanéme</td>
<td>you (pl) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómaenévo</td>
<td>he saw us (incl)</td>
<td>évóomeo'o</td>
<td>they were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómaetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) saw me</td>
<td>návóomáane</td>
<td>I was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómaetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) saw you</td>
<td>évóome</td>
<td>he was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóómahte'ho</td>
<td>he (obv) saw himself</td>
<td>návóomanéme</td>
<td>we (excl) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómahte'no</td>
<td>he (obv) saw us (excl)</td>
<td>návóomanema</td>
<td>we (incl) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómahte'novo</td>
<td>he (obv) saw you (pl)</td>
<td>návóomanéme</td>
<td>you (pl) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómahte'nóho</td>
<td>he (obv) saw them</td>
<td>évóomeo'o</td>
<td>they were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómatsemenoto</td>
<td>we (excl) saw you</td>
<td>návóomóne</td>
<td>we (excl) saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómotsemenoto</td>
<td>we (excl) saw you</td>
<td>návóomamone</td>
<td>we (excl) saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómahtséme</td>
<td>we (excl) saw ourselves</td>
<td>návóomátsemenoto</td>
<td>we (excl) saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómóne</td>
<td>we (excl) saw them</td>
<td>návóomóne'o</td>
<td>we (excl) saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóomone</td>
<td>we (incl) saw him</td>
<td>návóomamone</td>
<td>we (incl) saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómahtsema</td>
<td>we (incl) saw ourselves</td>
<td>návóómone</td>
<td>we (incl) saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómóne'o</td>
<td>we (incl) saw them</td>
<td>návóómême</td>
<td>you (pl) saw me</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, nonám'é'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>Subject</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náméotahtse</td>
<td>I fought myself</td>
<td>náméóthóo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotatse</td>
<td>I fought you</td>
<td>nénéotamovo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotoö</td>
<td>I fought him</td>
<td>nénéoxemenô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotamôô</td>
<td>I fought him (obv)</td>
<td>nénéóthtseme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotatsêmê</td>
<td>I fought you (pl)</td>
<td>nénéótovoo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéoto'ö</td>
<td>I fought them</td>
<td>nénéótâa'ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéótxe</td>
<td>you fought me</td>
<td>nénéótxâë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotathtse</td>
<td>you fought yourself</td>
<td>éméoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotôo</td>
<td>you fought him</td>
<td>nénéotameno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotamôô</td>
<td>you fought him (obv)</td>
<td>nénéotameno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéoxemenô</td>
<td>you fought us (excl)</td>
<td>nénéotameno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéoto'ö</td>
<td>you fought them</td>
<td>éméótâhtseoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméota</td>
<td>he fought me</td>
<td>náméóthâne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéóta</td>
<td>he fought you</td>
<td>nénéóthâne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éméótâhtse</td>
<td>he fought himself</td>
<td>éméohe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éméótôô</td>
<td>he fought him (obv)</td>
<td>nénéotamêne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotââne</td>
<td>he fought us (excl)</td>
<td>nénéotamêne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotâane</td>
<td>he fought us (incl)</td>
<td>nénéotamêne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotâévo</td>
<td>he fought you (pl)</td>
<td>éméoheo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotatsenôto</td>
<td>he (obv) fought me</td>
<td>nénéotâáne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotatsenôto</td>
<td>he (obv) fought you</td>
<td>éméotô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éméótâa'ë</td>
<td>he (obv) fought him</td>
<td>éméotamôo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éméótâhtô</td>
<td>he (obv) fought himself</td>
<td>nénéotamôômo</td>
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<tr>
<td>nénéotatsenenô</td>
<td>he (obv) fought us (excl)</td>
<td>nénéotameno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotatsenôô</td>
<td>he (obv) fought you (pl)</td>
<td>éméotameno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotatsenôô</td>
<td>he (obv) fought them</td>
<td>éméotameno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotatsemenô</td>
<td>we (ex) fought you</td>
<td>nénéotâmone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotône</td>
<td>we (ex) fought him</td>
<td>nénéotamô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotamone</td>
<td>we (ex) fought him (obv)</td>
<td>nénéotâmone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotâhtsême</td>
<td>we (ex) fought ourselves</td>
<td>nénéotatsemenô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotone</td>
<td>we (ex) fought them</td>
<td>nénéotone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotone</td>
<td>we (incl) fought him</td>
<td>nénéotamone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotamone</td>
<td>we (incl) fought him (obv)</td>
<td>nénéotamone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotâhtsema</td>
<td>we (incl) fought ourselves</td>
<td>nénéotâhtsema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéotone</td>
<td>we (incl) fought them</td>
<td>nénéotone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéóxême</td>
<td>you (pl) fought me</td>
<td>nénéotâne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

91 The Cheyenne stem /-méót/ reflects PA *mi:ka:*.
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.

náhetahhtse  I told myself  néhetóov'o  you (pl) told them
néhetatse  I told you  néhetáa'e  they told me
náhó  I told him  néhetáa'e  they told you
náhetamóho  I told him (obv)  éhetov'o  they told him (obv)
néhetatséme  I told you (pl)  néhetaneo'o  they told us (excl)
náheto'o  I told them  néhetaneo'o  they told us (incl)
néheše  you told me  néhetane  you were told
néhetahhtse  you told yourself  néhetáne  you were told
néhéto  you told him  éhestohe  he was told
néhetamóho  you told him (obv)  néhetanéme  we (excl) were told
néhešemenó  you told us (excl)  néhetanéme  we (incl) were told
néhetoo'o  you told them  néhešo'o  you (pl) were told
náheta  he told me  éhestóheo'o  they were told
néhet  he told you  néheš  e  me  you (pl)
éhetahhtse  he told himself  néheš  e  tovo  you (pl)
éhetóho  he told him (obv)  néheš  e  tamovo  you (pl)
náhetáñe  he told us (excl)  néheš  e  šemeno  you (pl)
néhetáno  he told us (incl)  néheš  e  too'o  we (pl)
néhetaeš  he told you (pl)  néheš  e  too'o  they told each other

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".

náa'táxestse  I acc. cut myself  néa'táxāme  you (pl) acc. cut me
náa'xéstse  I acc. cut you  néa'tásóvo  you (pl) acc. cut him
náa'tāsō⁵⁵  I acc. cut him  néa'táxamovo  you (pl) acc. cut him (obv)
náa'táxamóho  I acc. cut him (obv)  néa'táxemenono  you (pl) acc. cut yourselves
néa'táxetsēme  I acc. cut you (pl)  néa'táxēstσme  you (pl) acc. cut them
náa'tásō'o  I acc. cut them  néa'táxēe'o  they acc. cut me
néa'taxe  you acc. cut me  néa'tāxē'e  they acc. cut you
néa'táxestse  you acc. cut yourself  néa'tāxē'e  they acc. cut you (pl)
néa'tāsō  you acc. cut him  éta'tasovo  they acc. cut him (obv)
néa'táxamóho  you acc. cut him (obv)  néa'tāxēene'o  they acc. cut us (excl)
néa'táxemenono  you acc. cut us (excl)  néa'tāxēene'o  they acc. cut us (incl)
néa'tásō'o  you acc. cut themselves  néa'tāxēevo'o  they acc. cut you (pl)
náa'taxe  he acc. cut me  néa'tāxēne  they acc. cut themselves
néa'taxe⁶⁶  he acc. cut you  I was acc. cut
éa'táxestse  he acc. cut himself  néa'tāxēne  you were acc. cut
éa'tasō  he acc. cut him  éta'taxe  he was acc. cut
náa'táxēene  he acc. cut us (excl)  néa'tāxenēme  we (ex) were acc. cut
néa'táxene  he acc. cut us (incl)  néa'tāxenema  we (in) were acc. cut
néa'táxeēvo  he acc. cut you (pl)  néa'tāxenēme  you (pl) were acc. cut
náa'táxeetsēnone  he (ovb) acc. cut me  éta'taxe'o  they were acc. cut
náa'táxeetsēno  he (ovb) acc. cut you
éa'tāxeē'e  he (ovb) acc. cut him
éa'tāxeéstōho  he (ovb) acc. cut himself
náa'táxeetsēnode  he (ovb) acc. cut us (ex)
néa'táxeetsenono  he (ovb) acc. cut us (in)
néa'táxeetsēnōvo  he (ovb) acc. cut you (pl)
éa'tāxevo'o  he (ovb) acc. cut them
náa'táxetsemenono  we (ex) acc. cut you
náa'tásōne  we (ex) acc. cut him
néa'táxamono  we (ex) acc. cut him (ovb)
náa'táxetsēme  we (ex) acc. cut ourselves
náa'táxetsemeno  we (ex) acc. cut you (pl)
náa'tásōne'o  we (ex) acc. cut them
néa'tásone  we (in) acc. cut him
néa'táxamone  we (in) acc. cut him (ovb)
néa'táxestsema  we (in) acc. cut ourselves
néa'tásōne'o  we (in) acc. cut them

⁵⁵ This is phonemically /náa'tāsō/. It reflects PA *nepe?tešwa:wa.
⁶⁶ 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 "őe" word-medially in the inverse voice. The "e" of "-ev" becomes high-pitched before a word-medial "a".

návovéstomévahtse  I taught myself
návovéstomevátsé  I taught you
návovéstomévéo   I taught him
návovéstomévamóho I taught him (obv)
návovéstomévatséme I taught you (pl)
návovéstomevoo'o  I taught them

névovéstomeve   you taught me
névovéstomévahtse you taught yourself
névovéstomévéo   you taught him
névovéstomévamóho you taught him (obv)
névovéstomevemenó you taught us (excl)
névovéstomevoo'o  you taught them

névovéstomeva  he taught me
névovéstomeva  he taught you
evévóstomévahtse he taught himself
évévóstoménovo  he taught (obv)
névévóstoménene he taught us (excl)
névévóstoméneno he taught you (pl)

névévóstoménetsenoto he (obv) taught me
névévóstoménetsenoto he (obv) taught you
evévóstoménetsenoto he (obv) taught him
névévöstoménetsenëno he (obv) taught us (excl)
névévöstoménetsenëno he (obv) taught (in)
névévóstoménetsenëño he (obv) taught you (pl)

névévöstoménetsameno we (excl) taught you
névévöstoménë we (excl) taught you
névévöstoménëmone we (ex) taught him (obv)
névévöstoménëtsamëwe (ex) taught ourselves
névévöstoménetsamëwe (ex) taught you (pl)

névévöstoménëtmëwe we (ex) taught you
névévöstoménëtmëwe we (ex) taught you (pl)

návovéstomévéne'ëo  we (excl) taught them
névévöstomóne'ëo   we (incl) taught him
névévöstomónomone we (in) taught him (obv)
névévöstoménëmetamawe (in) taught ourselves
névévöstomévéne'ëo  we (incl) taught them

névévöstomóne  we (excl) taught me
névévöstomóne  we (incl) taught me
évévöstomôvéo  they taught you
névévöstomóne'ëo  they taught you (pl)
névévöstomóne'ëo  they taught themselves

návovéstoménëméno we (excl) taught us
névévöstoménëméno we (excl) taught us
névévöstoménëméno we (in) taught us
névévöstoménëméno we (excl) taught you

névévöstoménë mathsëwe (ex) taught ourselves
névévöstoménëmathsewe (ex) taught you (pl)

névévöstoménëtmëwe we (ex) taught you
névévöstoménëtmëwe we (ex) taught you (pl)

návovéstoménëvéo  we (excl) taught them
návovéstoménëvéo  we (incl) taught them
nenévévöstomóne  you (pl) taught me
névévöstomóne  you (pl) taught him
névévöstomónomone you (pl) taught him (obv)
névévöstoménëmenone you (pl) taught us (excl)
névévöstomóneveo'o  you (pl) taught them

névévöstomóne  you (pl) taught me
névévöstomóne  you (pl) taught him
névévöstomónomone you (pl) taught him (obv)
névévöstoménëmenone you (pl) taught us (excl)
névévöstomóneveo'o  you (pl) taught them

návovéstomóne  you (pl) taught me
névévöstomóne  you (pl) taught him
névévöstomónomone you (pl) taught him (obv)
névévöstoménëmenone you (pl) taught us (excl)
névévöstomóneveo'o  you (pl) taught them

návovéstomóne  you (pl) taught me
névévöstomóne  you (pl) taught him
névévöstomónomone you (pl) taught him (obv)
névévöstoménëmenone you (pl) taught us (excl)
névévöstomóneveo'o  you (pl) taught them

návovéstomóne  you (pl) taught me
névévöstomóne  you (pl) taught him
névévöstomónomone you (pl) taught him (obv)
névévöstoménëmenone you (pl) taught us (excl)
névévöstomóneveo'o  you (pl) taught them

návovéstomóne  you (pl) taught me
névévöstomóne  you (pl) taught him
névévöstomónomone you (pl) taught him (obv)
névévöstoménëmenone you (pl) taught us (excl)
névévöstomóneveo'o  you (pl) taught them

other verbs ending with -ev

námé'ëstomëvo I explained to him.
námé'ëstomëvo I explained to me.
émé'estomëvéhó He (obv) explained to them.
émé'estomëvéhó 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".

nánhéne'enóvahtse I know myself
nánhéne'envatse I know you
nánhéne'enóvo I know him
nánhéne'enóvamóho I know him (obv)
nánhéne'enóvatséme I know you (pl)
nánhéne'envoo'o I know them

nánhéne'env o
you know me
nánhéne'envóvahtse you know yourself
nánhéne'enóvo you know him
nánhéne'enóvamóho you know him (obv)
nánhéne'enovemen o you know us (excl)
nánhéne'envoo'o you know them

nánhéne'enova he knows me
nánhéne'env o
he knows you
éhéne'énóvahtse he knows himself
éhéne'envóho he knows him (obv)
nánhéne'enóene he knows us (excl)
nánhéne'enóévo he knows you (pl)
nánhéne'enóetsenoto he (obv) knows me
nánhéne'enóetsenoto he (obv) knows you
éhéne'énóo' he (obv) knows him
éhéne'enóváhtóho he (obv) knows himself
nánhéne'enóetsenone he (obv) knows us (excl)
nánhéne'enóetsenño he (obv) knows you (pl)
élhéne'enóévóho he (obv) knows them
nánhéne'enóetsenemo we (excl) know you (pl)
nánhéne'envatsemen o we (ex) know you (pl)
nánhéne'envóneo o we (excl) know them

éáahtovóho he listened to him (obv)
éáahtóó' he (obv) listened to him

other verbs ending with -ov
nánhéne'envóne we (excl) know him
nánhéne'envóvame we (ex) know him (obv)
nánhéne'envóathséme we (ex) know ourselves
nánhéne'envóovó o you (pl) know them

/-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.

$\text{RECHECK ANALYSIS OF DELETION ENVIRONMENT}$.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhestse</td>
<td>I measured myself</td>
<td>nétaeváhamovo</td>
<td>you (pl) m. him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaevaestse</td>
<td>I measured you</td>
<td>nétaeváhemeno</td>
<td>you (pl) m. us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhno</td>
<td>I measured him</td>
<td>nétaeváhstseme</td>
<td>you (pl) m. yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhamóho</td>
<td>I measured him (obv)</td>
<td>nétaeváhnnovoo'o</td>
<td>you (pl) measured them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhetséme</td>
<td>I measured you (pl)</td>
<td>nátaeváhheé’e</td>
<td>they measured me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnno'o</td>
<td>I measured them</td>
<td>nátaevahe</td>
<td>you were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaevahe</td>
<td>you measured me</td>
<td>nátaeváhéné</td>
<td>he was measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhestse</td>
<td>you measured yourself</td>
<td>nátaeváhenème</td>
<td>we (ex) were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhno</td>
<td>you measured him</td>
<td>nátaeváhenema</td>
<td>we (in) were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhamóho</td>
<td>you m. him (obv)</td>
<td>nátaeváheevoo'o</td>
<td>you (pl) measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhemeno</td>
<td>you measured us (ex)</td>
<td>nátaeváhstse</td>
<td>they measured you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhneene</td>
<td>you measured us (incl)</td>
<td>nátaeváheeh</td>
<td>they m. themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhéene</td>
<td>he measured us (ex)</td>
<td>nátaeváheené</td>
<td>you (pl) were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhéeee</td>
<td>he measured us (incl)</td>
<td>nátaeváheéo'o</td>
<td>they were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) measured me</td>
<td>nátaeváheené</td>
<td>you (pl) measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) measured you</td>
<td>nátaeváheené</td>
<td>they were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhstóho</td>
<td>he (obv) measured him</td>
<td>nátaeváhenème</td>
<td>you (pl) measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetsenone</td>
<td>he (obv) measured us (ex)</td>
<td>nátaeváheenem</td>
<td>they were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetsenôvo</td>
<td>he (obv) measured you (pl)</td>
<td>nátaeváheeho</td>
<td>you measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváheevóho</td>
<td>he (obv) measured them</td>
<td>nátaeváheeho</td>
<td>they measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhatsemeno</td>
<td>we (excl) measured you</td>
<td>nátaeváheené</td>
<td>you (pl) measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnóne</td>
<td>we (excl) measured him</td>
<td>nátaeváhnené</td>
<td>they were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhamône</td>
<td>we (ex) m. him (obv)</td>
<td>nátaeváheené</td>
<td>you (pl) measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhstseméne</td>
<td>we (ex) m. ourselves</td>
<td>nátaeváhnené</td>
<td>they were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhatsemeno</td>
<td>we (ex) m. you (pl)</td>
<td>nátaeváheené</td>
<td>you (pl) measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnoneo'o</td>
<td>we (excl) m. them</td>
<td>nátaeváheené</td>
<td>they were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnone</td>
<td>we (in) measured him</td>
<td>nátaeváheené</td>
<td>you (pl) measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnóne</td>
<td>we (in) m. him (obv)</td>
<td>nátaeváheené</td>
<td>they were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhstsema</td>
<td>we (in) m. ourselves</td>
<td>nátaeváheené</td>
<td>you (pl) measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnoneo'o</td>
<td>we (incl) m. them</td>
<td>nátaeváheené</td>
<td>they were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváheme</td>
<td>you (pl) measured me</td>
<td>nátaeváheené</td>
<td>you (pl) measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnóvo</td>
<td>you (pl) measured him</td>
<td>nátaeváheené</td>
<td>they were measured</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[97\text{ Some speakers say étaevahno because the penultimate syllable is phonemically high-pitched.}\]
/–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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>námoné’tovahthse</th>
<th>I chose myself</th>
<th>námonénovoo’o</th>
<th>you (pl) chose them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>némoné’továste</td>
<td>I chose you</td>
<td>námoné’tóó’e</td>
<td>they chose me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námonenótse</td>
<td>I chose him</td>
<td>námoné’tóó’e</td>
<td>they chose you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námonéñonono</td>
<td>I chose him (obv)</td>
<td>émonéño</td>
<td>they chose him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméñetovatséme</td>
<td>I chose you (pl)</td>
<td>námoné’tone’ño</td>
<td>they chose us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméñonono</td>
<td>I chose them</td>
<td>námoné’tóó’no</td>
<td>they chose us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméñotove</td>
<td>you chose me</td>
<td>námoné’tóne</td>
<td>you were chosen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméñotovahthse</td>
<td>you chose yourself</td>
<td>námoné’tóne</td>
<td>you (pl) were chosen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméñenótse</td>
<td>you chose him</td>
<td>námoné’tóne</td>
<td>He was chosen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméñonono</td>
<td>you chose him (obv)</td>
<td>námoné’tóne</td>
<td>We (excl) were chosen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméñotoveñemo</td>
<td>you chose us (ex)</td>
<td>námoné’tóne</td>
<td>We (incl) were chosen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméñonono</td>
<td>you chose them</td>
<td>námoné’tóne</td>
<td>You (pl) were chosen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméñoténe</td>
<td>you chose us (ex)</td>
<td>émonéstove??</td>
<td>They were chosen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméñotoe</td>
<td>you chose us (incl)</td>
<td>émonévonoto</td>
<td>He chose him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméñotévo</td>
<td>you chose you (pl)</td>
<td>émonévonovo</td>
<td>They chose him (obv)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| náméñetoetseñoto  | he (obv) chose me| náho’ahé’tova     | He wants me       |
| néméñetoetseñoto  | he (obv) chose you| náho’ahénóste     | I want him       |
| émoné’toó’e       | he (obv) chose him| náne’etamé’tova   | He depends on me  |
| émoné’tóáhtóho?   | he (obv) chose himself| náne’etamenó’tse | I depend on him   |
| náméñetoetseñone  | he (obv) chose us (ex)| nápéhévé’tova   | he was good to me  |
| néméñetoetseñone  | he (obv) chose us (in)| nápéhévé’tóvo98 | I was good to him |
| néméñetoetseñone  | he (obv) chose you (pl)| náméanó’tse     | I gave him       |
| émoné’toevóho??   | he (obv) chose them| náméánó’ne     | we (excl) gave him|
| náméñetoetsemeno  | we (excl) chose you| náméánó’ne     | he (obv) gave him  |
| náméñononóne      | we (excl) chose him| náméánó’ne     | he is named after me|
| námonéñononono??  | we (excl) chose him (obv)| náno’evéhe’tova | I am named after him|
| náméñotovahthséme?| we (excl) chose ourselves| náno’evéhenó’te  | he carried me on his back|
| néméñotovemenon    | we (excl) chose you (pl)| námamo’xé’tova | I carried him on my back|
| náméñononono’o     | we (excl) chose them| námamo’xenó’tse | I stole him       |
| néméñononono       | we (incl) chose him| námamohtsenó’tse | they stole me     |
| néméñononono       | we (incl) chose him (obv)| námamoáhtsé’tó’o | I am his/her daughter|
| néméñotovahsthsema | we (incl) chose ourselves| náhéstónáhé’tova99 | I am his/her daughter|
| náméñononono’o     | we (incl) chose them| náhéstónáhenó’tse | she is my daughter|
| néméñotovéme       | you (pl) chose me| náhée’hahé’tova    | I am his/her son   |
| néméñonóvo         | you (pl) chose him| náhée’hahénó’tse | he is my son     |
| néméñononovo       | you (pl) chose him (obv)| náhée’hahénó’tse | they are my sons  |
| néméñotovemenono   | you (pl) chose us (ex)| náhée’hahénó’tse |                     |
| néméñotóáhtséme    | you (pl) chose yourselves| náhée’hahénó’tse |                     |

98 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'.

99 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.

'not see (someone)'

násáavóomáhtséhe I did not see myself
nésáavóomatséhe I did not see you
násáavóomóhe I did not see him
násáavóomamóheho I did not see him (obv)
nésáavóomatséhéme I did not see you (pl)
násáavóomóheo'o I did not see them

nésáavóoméhe you did not see me
nésáavóomáhtséhe you did not see yourself
nésáavóomóhe you did not see him
nésáavóomamóheho you did not see him (obv)
nésáavóoméhemeno you did not see us (ex)
nésáavóomóheo'o you did not see them

násáavóomaéhe he did not see me
nésáavóomaéhe he did not see you
esáavóomáhtséhe he did not see himself
esáavóomóheho he did not see him (obv)
násáavóomaéhéne he did not see us (excl)
nésáavóomaehehene he did not see us (incl)
nésáavóomaéhévono he (obv) did not see you (pl)

násáavóomaehehetsenoto he (obv) did not see me
nésáavóomaehehetsenoto he (obv) did not see you
esáavóomaehehetsenone he (obv) did not see him
násáavóomaehehetsenone he (obv) did not see us (ex)
nésáavóomaehehetseneno he (obv) did not see us (in)
ésáavóomaeheheno he (obv) did not see you (pl)
esáavóomaeheho he (obv) did not see them

nésáavóomatséhemeno we (ex) did not see you
násáavóomomóhéné we (ex) did not see him
násáavóomamóméné we (ex) did not see him (obv)
nésáavóomáhtséheme we (excl) did not see ourselves
nésáavóomatséhemeno we (ex) did not see you (pl)
násáavóomóhénéo'o we (ex) did not see them

nésáavóomóhéné we (incl) did not see him
nésáavóomamóméné we (in) did not see him (obv)
nésáavóomáhtséheme we (incl) did not see ourselves
nésáavóomóhénéo'o we (incl) did not see them

nésáavóoméhéme you (pl) did not see me
nésáavóomóhéro you (pl) did not see him
nésáavóomamóhéro you (pl) did not see him (obv)
nésáavóoméhemeneno you (pl) did not see you (ex)
'not know (someone)'

TA verb stems that end in "ov" experience contraction of the "ov" in the inverse voice.

$\text{RECHECK PARADIGM}$

násahéne’enóvahtséhe I do not know myself
násahéne’enóvatséhe I do not know you
násahéne’enóvôhe I do not know him
násahéne’enóvamôheho I do not know him (obv)
násahéne’enóvatséhéme I do not know you (pl)
násahéne’enóvôheo’o I do not know them

násahéne’enóvéhe you do not know me
násahéne’enóvahtséhe you do not know yourself
násahéne’enóvôhe you do not know him
násahéne’enóvamôheho you do not know him (obv)
násahéne’enóvâhêmeno you do not know us (ex)
násahéne’enóvôheo’o you do not know them

násahéne’enôéhe he does not know me
násahéne’enôéhe he does not know you
esâáhéne’enôévâhtséhe he does not know himself
esâáhéne’enôovôhe he does not know him (obv)
násâáhéne’enôéhéne he does not know us (excl)
násâáhéne’enôéhéhe he does not know us (incl)
násâáhéne’enôéhévo he does not know you (pl)

násâáhéne’enôévâhtsenotohe (obv) does not know me
násâáhéne’enôévâhtsenotohe (obv) does not know you
esâáhéne’enôéheho he (obv) does not know him
násâáhéne’enôévâhtsenone he (obv) does not know us (ex)
násâáhéne’enôévâhtsenone he (obv) does not know us (in)
násâáhéne’enôévâhtsenovo he (obv) does not know you (pl)
esâáhéne’enôéhevo he (obv) does not know them

násâáhéne’enóvâhêmeno we (ex) do not know you
násâáhéne’enóvôhêne we (ex) do not know him
násâáhéne’enóvamôheho we (ex) do not know him (obv)
násâáhéne’enóvôhême we (ex) do not know ourselves
násâáhéne’enóvôhêmeno we (ex) do not know you (pl)
násâáhéne’enóvôhêneo’o we (ex) do not know them

násâáhéne’enóvôhême you (pl) do not know me
násâáhéne’enóvôhévo you (pl) do not know you
násâáhéne’enóvôhêmeno you (pl) do not know us (ex)
násâáhéne’enóvôhêmeno you (pl) do not know us (excl)
násâáhéne’enóvâhêmeno you (pl) do not know yourselves
násâáhéne’enóvôhêvoo’o you (pl) do not know them

násâáhéne’enôéheo’o they do not know me
násâáhéne’enôéheo’o they do not know you
esâáhéne’enôovôhevo they do not know him (obv)
násâáhéne’enôéhéne’o they do not know us (excl)
násâáhéne’enôéhéne’o they do not know us (incl)
násâáhéne’enôéhévoo’o they do not know you (pl)
esâáhéne’enóvâhêtséheo’o they do not know themselves

násâáhéne’enônéne?? I am not known
násâáhéne’enônéne?? you are not known
esâáhéne’enôhé he is not known
násâáhéne’enônéhême we (excl) are not known
násâáhéne’enônéhêma we (incl) are not known
násâáhéne’enôhéhe we (pl) are not known
násâáhéne’enôhéhe’o they are not known
'not choose (someone)'

**$\$RECHECK PARADIGM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’tóváhtséhe</td>
<td>I did not choose myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’tovatséhe</td>
<td>I did not choose you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’nöhéto?</td>
<td>I do not know him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’tovatséheme</td>
<td>I did not choose you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’nöheno</td>
<td>I did not choose them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’tovehe</td>
<td>you did not choose me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’tóváhtséhe</td>
<td>you did not choose yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’nöheno?</td>
<td>you did not choose him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’tovehemenoe</td>
<td>you did not choose us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’tóvehévo</td>
<td>you did not choose them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’tóvéhe</td>
<td>he did not choose me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhte</td>
<td>he did not choose you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’nöhéto?</td>
<td>he did not choose himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továheto?</td>
<td>he did not choose him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhtsého?</td>
<td>he did not choose us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhtséheno</td>
<td>he did not choose us (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhtséneno</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhtséneno he (obv)</td>
<td>did not choose me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhtséneno he (obv)</td>
<td>did not choose you</td>
</tr>
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<td>násáamoné’továhtséneno he (obv)</td>
<td>did not choose us (ex)</td>
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<td>did not choose us (in)</td>
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<td>násáamoné’továhtséneno he (obv)</td>
<td>did not choose you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhtséneno he (obv)</td>
<td>did not choose them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhtséheno we (excl)</td>
<td>did not choose you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhtséheno we (excl)</td>
<td>did not choose him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhtséheno we (excl)</td>
<td>did not choose us (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhtséheno we (excl)</td>
<td>did not choose ourselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhtséheno we (excl)</td>
<td>did not choose you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhtséheno we (excl)</td>
<td>did not choose them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhtséheno we (in)</td>
<td>did not choose him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhtséheno we (in)</td>
<td>did not choose him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhtséheno we (in)</td>
<td>did not choose ourselves</td>
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<td>násáamoné’továhtséheno we (in)</td>
<td>did not choose them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné’továhtséheno we (in)</td>
<td>did not choose me</td>
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</table>

**Other negative verbs with the ‘-tov final:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sanskrit</th>
<th>English</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>násáapéhévé’tovhé</td>
<td>I was not good to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáapéhévé’tovhé</td>
<td>he was not good to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáaméhénötse</td>
<td>I did not give him (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáaméhénötse</td>
<td>I did not give them (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáane’etaméhénötse</td>
<td>He does not depend on him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáane’etaméhénötse</td>
<td>He does not depend on me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáaho’ahéhénötse</td>
<td>I do not want him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáaho’ahéhénötse</td>
<td>he does not want me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáanomáhtséhénötse</td>
<td>I did not steal him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáanomáhtséhénötse</td>
<td>I did not steal them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahéstóhnahé’tóhé</td>
<td>I am not her daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahéstóhnahéntse</td>
<td>she is not my daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahe’hahtóihe</td>
<td>I am not his son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahe’hahtónentse</td>
<td>he is not my son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahe’hahtónentse</td>
<td>he is not my sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahéhéstóhé</td>
<td>I am not her mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahéhéstóhtse</td>
<td>she is not my mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahéhéstóhé</td>
<td>I am not his father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahéhéstóhtse</td>
<td>he is not my father</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**TransitiveAnimateInterrogative 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.

- **vóom 'see (someone)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Návóomáhtsehe?</th>
<th>Did I see myself?</th>
<th>Névóoomáhtsehe?</th>
<th>Did we (in) see him (obv)?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóomatsehe?</td>
<td>Did I see you?</td>
<td>Névóomatsehe?</td>
<td>Did we (in) see ourselves?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomohe?</td>
<td>Did I see him?</td>
<td>Névóomohe?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomamovohe?</td>
<td>Did I see him (obv)?</td>
<td>Névóomamovohe?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomatsemehe?</td>
<td>Did I see you (pl)?</td>
<td>Névóomatsemehe?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomovohe?</td>
<td>Did I see them?</td>
<td>Névóomovohe?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomehe?</td>
<td>Did you see me?</td>
<td>Névóomamenohe?</td>
<td>Did you see ourselves?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomáhtsehe?</td>
<td>Did you see yourself?</td>
<td>Névóomamenohe?</td>
<td>Did you see yourselves?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Névóoomohe?</td>
<td>Did you see him?</td>
<td>Névóomamenohe?</td>
<td>Did you see yourselves?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomamovohe?</td>
<td>Did you see him (obv)?</td>
<td>Névóomamovohe?</td>
<td>Did you see yourselves?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomamenohe?</td>
<td>Did you see us (excl)?</td>
<td>Névóomamenohe?</td>
<td>Did you see yourselves?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomovohe?</td>
<td>Did you see them?</td>
<td>Névóomamenohe?</td>
<td>Did you see yourselves?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomahe?</td>
<td>Did he see me?</td>
<td>Névóomamenohe?</td>
<td>Did he see us (excl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomahe?</td>
<td>Did he see you?</td>
<td>Névóomamenohe?</td>
<td>Did he see us (incl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóomáhtsehe?</td>
<td>Did he see himself?</td>
<td>Névóomamenohe?</td>
<td>Did he see us (incl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóomovohe?</td>
<td>Did he see him (obv)?</td>
<td>Névóomamenohe?</td>
<td>Did he see us (incl)?</td>
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<td>Did he see us (incl)?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Névóoomenehe?</td>
<td>Did he see you (pl)?</td>
<td>Névóomamenohe?</td>
<td>Did he see us (incl)?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Návóomenehe?</td>
<td>Did he see you?</td>
<td>Névóomamenohe?</td>
<td>Did he see us (incl)?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nákóomavesetohe?</td>
<td>Did he (obv) see me?</td>
<td>Névóomamenohe?</td>
<td>Did he see we (excl)?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nákóomavesetohe?</td>
<td>Did he (obv) see you?</td>
<td>Névóomamenohe?</td>
<td>Did he see we (incl)?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Évóomaevehe?</td>
<td>Did he (obv) see himself?</td>
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<td>Návóomaetenonehe?</td>
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<td>Návóomaetenovehe?</td>
<td>Did he (obv) see you (pl)?</td>
<td>Névóomamenohe?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Évóomaevehe?</td>
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<td>Névóomamenohe?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Návóomamenohe?</td>
<td>Did we (excl) see ourselves?</td>
<td>Mónéméhóto?</td>
<td>Did you love him?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Návóomamenonehe?</td>
<td>Did we (excl) see you (pl)?</td>
<td>Mónéoxómo?</td>
<td>Did you feed him?</td>
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<td>Návóomenehe?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) see him?</td>
<td>Mónévóómo?</td>
<td>Did you see him?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nákóomamenehe?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) see you?</td>
<td>Mónévóomoo’o?</td>
<td>Did you see them?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Some mó- prefix yes/no questions:

- Mónévóómo? Did you see him?
- Mónévóomoo’o? Did you see them?
- Mónévóomóvo? Did you see him?
- Mónévóomóvoo’o? Did you see them?
- Mónéoxómo? Did you feed him?
-héne'enov 'see (someone)'

TA verb stems that end in "ov", such as -héne'enov, experience contraction of the "ov" in the inverse voice. $$ (added this page 6/6/22; recheck red highlighted forms)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enováhtsehe?</td>
<td>Do I do know myself?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvátsehe?</td>
<td>Do I know you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovohe?</td>
<td>Do I know him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamovohe?</td>
<td>Do I know him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovamenohoe?</td>
<td>Do I know you (pl)?</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovohe?</td>
<td>Do you know me?</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvátsehe?</td>
<td>Do you know yourself?</td>
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<td>náhéne'enovohoe?</td>
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<td>Do you know him (obv)?</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovamenohoe?</td>
<td>Do you know us (excl)?</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovohe?</td>
<td>Do you know them?</td>
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<td>Does he know him (obv)?</td>
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<td>náhéne'enóvamovohe?</td>
<td>Does he know you (pl)?</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóehoe?</td>
<td>Does he (obv) know me?</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóêhe?</td>
<td>Does he (obv) know you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvahtsehe?</td>
<td>Does he (obv) know him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamovohe?</td>
<td>Does he (obv) know him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamovohe?</td>
<td>Does he (obv) know us (excl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamovohe?</td>
<td>Does he (obv) know us (incl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamovohe?</td>
<td>Does he (obv) know you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamovohe?</td>
<td>Does he (obv) know them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovaméhe?</td>
<td>Do we (excl) know you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovamónehe?</td>
<td>Do we (excl) know him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvahtsehe?</td>
<td>Do we (excl) know ourselves?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovaméhe?</td>
<td>Do we (excl) know you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovaméhe?</td>
<td>Do we (excl) know them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovamenohoe?</td>
<td>Do we (incl) know him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovamenohoe?</td>
<td>Do we (incl) know himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovamenohoe?</td>
<td>Do we (incl) know ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovamenohoe?</td>
<td>Do we (incl) know them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovohoe?</td>
<td>Do you (pl) know me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovohoe?</td>
<td>Do you (pl) know him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovohoe?</td>
<td>Do you (pl) know himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovohoe?</td>
<td>Do you (pl) know ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovohoe?</td>
<td>Do you (pl) know them</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Some 'know' mó- prefix yes/no questions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónéhéne'enōvo?</td>
<td>You know him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéhéne'enovoo'o?</td>
<td>You know them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéhéne'enovóneo'o?</td>
<td>We know them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

experience contraction

'think (someone)'
### –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 –nôse in its indicative form ends with –notse in its interrogative form. $$RECHECK PARADIGM$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Námoné’tovahnte?</th>
<th>Did I choose myself?</th>
<th>Námoné’továhtsemeh?</th>
<th>Did you (pl) choose yourselves?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námoné’tovatseh?</td>
<td>Did I choose you?</td>
<td>Námonénevovoho?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) choose them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námonenotse?</td>
<td>Did I choose him?</td>
<td>Námonétovohe?</td>
<td>Did they choose me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námonévonotoho?</td>
<td>Did I choose him (obv)?</td>
<td>Námoné’tovohe?</td>
<td>Did they choose you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námoné’tovatsemehe?</td>
<td>Did I choose you (pl)?</td>
<td>Émonénohe?</td>
<td>Did they choose him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námonénotohe?</td>
<td>Did I choose them?</td>
<td>Námoné’toenehe?</td>
<td>Did they choose us (excl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námoné’tovhé?</td>
<td>Did you choose me?</td>
<td>Námoné’tovénemehe?</td>
<td>Did they choose us (incl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námoné’tovahnte?</td>
<td>Did you choose yourself?</td>
<td>Námoné’tovemanahe?</td>
<td>Were we (excl) chosen?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námonenotse?</td>
<td>Did you choose him?</td>
<td>Námoné’tonemanoha?</td>
<td>Were we (incl) chosen?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námonévonotoho?</td>
<td>Did you choose him (obv)?</td>
<td>Námoné’tonemehe?</td>
<td>Were you (pl) chosen?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námoné’tovemenoh?</td>
<td>Did you choose us (ex)?</td>
<td>Émonéstoveho?</td>
<td>Were they chosen?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námonéntohe?</td>
<td>Did you choose them?</td>
<td>Moné’tovemeno?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) choose yourselves?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námonétohe?</td>
<td>Did he choose me?</td>
<td>Námoné’tovéhe?</td>
<td>Were you chosen?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námoné’tovéhe?</td>
<td>Did he choose you?</td>
<td>Émonéntovahtsehe?</td>
<td>Were you chosen?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émoné’tovahtsehe?</td>
<td>Did he choose himself?</td>
<td>Émonéntohe?</td>
<td>Did he choose him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émonénohe?</td>
<td>Did he choose him (obv)?</td>
<td>Námoné’toenohe?</td>
<td>Did he choose us (excl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námoné’tovemohe?</td>
<td>Did he choose us (in)?</td>
<td>Námoné’tovemohe?</td>
<td>Did he choose you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námonéntohe?</td>
<td>Did he choose us (incl)?</td>
<td>Námoné’toemohe?</td>
<td>Did he choose you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other verbs with the –’tov final:**

| Náho’ahé’tohe?   | Does he want me?   | Ného’ahenotse? | Do you want him?        |
| Náne’étahe’tohe? | Does he depends on me? | Námenotse? | Do you depend on him?  |
| Népéhè’tohe?     | Was he good to you? | Népéhè’tohevo? | Were you good to him? |
| Néméanotse?      | Did you give him?  | Néméanovohe? | Did you (pl) give him? |
| Néna’tohe?       | Did he (obv) give him? | Néna’tovohe? | Did he (obv) give him? |
| Néno’évéhë’tohe? | He is named after you? | Néno’évéhenotse? | Are you named after him? |
| Néno’évéhenotenso? | Did you stole him? | Néno’évéhë’tohe? | Are you his/her daughter? |
| Néno’évéhë’tohe? | Are you his/her daughter? | Néno’évéhënohe? | Are you his/her son? |
| Néhe’hehë’tohe?  | Is he your son?     | Néhe’hehënohe? | Are they your sons?     |
| Néhe’hehënohe?   | Are you his/her mother? | Néhe’hehënohohe? | Is she your mother?  |

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### 'not see (someone)'

#### $\text{RECHECK QUESTIONED FORMS}$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Questioned Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomáhtséhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't I see myself?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomatséhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't I see you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomóhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't I see him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamóhevohe?</td>
<td>Didn't I see him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomatséhemhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't I see you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomóhevohe?</td>
<td>Didn't I see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóoméhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you see me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomáhtséhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you see yourself?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomóhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you see him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamóhevohe?</td>
<td>Didn't you see him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóoméhemonehe??</td>
<td>Didn't you see us (excl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomóhevohe?</td>
<td>Didn't you see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomaehehe?</td>
<td>Didn't he see me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomáhehehe?</td>
<td>Didn't he see you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóomáhtséhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't he see himself?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóomóhevohe?</td>
<td>Didn't he see him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóomaehevonohe?</td>
<td>Didn't he see us (excl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomaehevonohe?</td>
<td>Didn't he see us (incl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomáfethenotohe?</td>
<td>Didn't he (obv) see me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomáfethenotohe?</td>
<td>Didn't he (obv) see you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóomáfethenotohe?</td>
<td>Didn't he (obv) see himself?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomáfethenonohe?</td>
<td>Didn't he (obv) see us (excl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomáfethenonohe?</td>
<td>Didn't he (obv) see us (incl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomáfethenovohe?</td>
<td>Didn't he (obv) see you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóomáfethenovohe?</td>
<td>Didn't he (obv) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomáhtséhemohehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (excl) see you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomáhtséhemohehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (excl) see him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamáhtséhemohehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (ex) see him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamáhtséhemohehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (ex) see ourselves?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamáhtséhemohehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (ex) see you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamáhtséhemohehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (ex) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamáhtséhemohehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (incl) see him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamáhtséhemohehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (in) see him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamáhtséhemohehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (in) see ourselves?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Some mó- prefix negative yes/no questions:

#### $\text{RECHECK}$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Questioned Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáavóomóhe?</td>
<td>Didn't you see him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáavóomóhe?</td>
<td>Didn't you see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáavóomóhe?</td>
<td>Didn't you (pl) see him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáavóomóhe?</td>
<td>Didn't you (pl) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáahéne'eno'he?</td>
<td>Don't you know him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáahéne'eno'he?</td>
<td>Doesn't he know you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáahéne'eno'he?</td>
<td>Don't you love him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáahéne'eno'he?</td>
<td>Doesn't he love me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáahoxomóhe?</td>
<td>Didn't you feed him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáahoxomóhe?</td>
<td>Didn't you choose him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónésáahoxomóhe?</td>
<td>Didn't you (pl) choose him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó'ésáah'o'ahénenoto?</td>
<td>Doesn't he want him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó'ésáah'o'ahénenoto?</td>
<td>Didn't he (pl) choose him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó'ésáah'o'ahénenoto?</td>
<td>Didn't he (pl) see yourself?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** The above translations are approximate and may require further context or a native speaker for accurate interpretation.
Transitive Animate Inferential verbs

The TA inferential paradigm looks much the same as the preceding negative interrogative paradigm with the following differences:

1. The sáa- 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>Mónávóomáhtséhēhe</th>
<th>I must have seen myself</th>
<th>Mónévéóomóhevōhe</th>
<th>You (pl) must have seen him</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónévéóomatsēhēhe</td>
<td>I must have seen you</td>
<td>Mónévéóomamóhevōhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóomóhēhe</td>
<td>I must have seen him</td>
<td>Mónévéóomhémenonēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóomamóhevōhe</td>
<td>I must have seen him</td>
<td>Mónévéóomáhtsēhēmēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévéóomatséhēmēhe</td>
<td>I must have seen you (pl)</td>
<td>Mónévéóomóhevōhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóomóhēvōhe</td>
<td>I must have seen them</td>
<td>Mónévéóomóhevōhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen him</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

- vóom 'see (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mónávóomóhehēhenōtōhe</th>
<th>He (obv) must have seen me</th>
<th>Mónévéóomanēhēhenōtōhe</th>
<th>I must have been seen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónévéóomahētenōtōhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have seen you</td>
<td>Mónévéóomanēhēhe</td>
<td>You must have been seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móvéómahēvōhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have seen himself</td>
<td>Móvéómahēhe</td>
<td>He must have been seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóamahēhenēhe</td>
<td>He must have seen him (obv)</td>
<td>Mónévéómanēhēmanēhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have been seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévéóamahēhenēhe</td>
<td>He must have seen us (excl)</td>
<td>Mónévéómanēhenēhe</td>
<td>We (in) must have been seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévéómahevōhe</td>
<td>He must have seen us (incl)</td>
<td>Mónévéómanēhēmanēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have been seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévéómahevōhe</td>
<td>He must have seen you (pl)</td>
<td>Móvéómahēvēhe</td>
<td>They must have been seen</td>
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</table>

Some other TA inferential verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mónéhōtōhevōhe</th>
<th>He must love him (obv)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónémēhotahehēhe</td>
<td>He must love you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónámonētohehēhe</td>
<td>He must have chosen me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónémonēhenōtse</td>
<td>You must have chosen him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēhō'ahēhenōtse</td>
<td>You must want him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōhō'ahēhenotōhe</td>
<td>He must want him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōhmāhēnōtōhe</td>
<td>He must have given him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōnēpōtahehēhe</td>
<td>He must hate me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mō'omahevōhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have hit him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mō'āhhtohēvōhe</td>
<td>He must have heard him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōvēstāhēmōhevōhe</td>
<td>He must have helped him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōhēsanōhevōhe</td>
<td>They must have taken him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōhōxomōhevōhe</td>
<td>They must have fed him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōnō'hohevōhe</td>
<td>He must have freed him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōtoō'ētohevōhe</td>
<td>He must have tied him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōhēnē'ēnōhevōhe</td>
<td>He must know him (obv).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mōnéhōvēhevōhe</td>
<td>He must have chased him (obv)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Transitive Animate Reportive verb 'see' /-vóom/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Animate</th>
<th>English (Meaning)</th>
<th>Transitive Animate</th>
<th>English (Meaning)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóomáhtsémáse</td>
<td>It's said I saw myself</td>
<td>Névóomémése</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomatsémáse</td>
<td>It's said I saw you</td>
<td>Névóomóvoséstse</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomoséstse</td>
<td>It's said I saw him</td>
<td>Névóomamóvoséstse</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomamóvöstse</td>
<td>It's said I saw him (obv)</td>
<td>Névóomemenóse</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) saw us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomaméyóvöstse</td>
<td>It's said I saw you (pl)</td>
<td>Névóomahtsémése</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) saw yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóoméstse</td>
<td>It's said I saw them</td>
<td>Névóomóvöstse</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomeséstse</td>
<td>It's said he saw me</td>
<td>Névóomaestse</td>
<td>It's said they saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomáhtsémáse</td>
<td>It's said you saw yourself</td>
<td>Névóomáhtsémáse</td>
<td>It's said you saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomaséstse</td>
<td>It's said he saw him</td>
<td>Évóomóvoséstse</td>
<td>It's said they saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomamánóvöstse</td>
<td>It's said you saw him (obv)</td>
<td>Névóomaénóse</td>
<td>It's said they saw us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomemenáse</td>
<td>It's said you saw us (excl)</td>
<td>Névóománavéstse</td>
<td>It's said they saw us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomóvöstse</td>
<td>It's said you saw them</td>
<td>Névóománavéstse</td>
<td>It's said they saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomaestse</td>
<td>It's said he saw me</td>
<td>Évóomáhtséséstse</td>
<td>It's said they saw themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomaséstse</td>
<td>It's said he saw you</td>
<td>Névóomántséséstse</td>
<td>It's said I was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóomámáhtséséstse</td>
<td>It's said he saw himself</td>
<td>Névóomántséséstse</td>
<td>It's said you were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóomóvöstse</td>
<td>It's said he saw him (obv)</td>
<td>Évóomáhtséséstse</td>
<td>It's said he was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomaenávöstse</td>
<td>It's said you saw us (excl)</td>
<td>Névóomántséséstse</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóománavéstse</td>
<td>It's said he saw us (incl)</td>
<td>Névóománémáneáse</td>
<td>It's said we (in) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomáavéstse</td>
<td>It's said he saw you (pl)</td>
<td>Névóománémáneáse</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomaenóvóstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw me</td>
<td>Évóománeávöstse</td>
<td>It's said they were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomasenóvöstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw you</td>
<td>Návómanémáneáse</td>
<td>It's said you were (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóomáeávöstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw himself</td>
<td>Évóománémáneáse</td>
<td>It's said they were (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomaasenóvöstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw us (ex)</td>
<td>Évóománémáneáse</td>
<td>It's said they were (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomasenóvöstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw us (in)</td>
<td>Évóománémáneáse</td>
<td>It's said they were (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóomaevóstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw them</td>
<td>Évóománémáneáse</td>
<td>It's said they were (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomaatemóvéstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw me</td>
<td>Návómanémáneáse</td>
<td>It's said you were (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomasenóvéstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw you</td>
<td>Évóománeávöstse</td>
<td>It's said they were (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóomáeávövöstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw himself</td>
<td>Évóománeávöstse</td>
<td>It's said they were (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomanémáseñóvöstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw us (ex)</td>
<td>Évóománeávöstse</td>
<td>It's said they were (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomanémáneávöstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw us (in)</td>
<td>Évóománeávöstse</td>
<td>It's said they were (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návómanémáneávöstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw them</td>
<td>Évóománeávöstse</td>
<td>It's said they were (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návómanémáneávövöstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw you</td>
<td>Évóománeávövöstse</td>
<td>It's said they were (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návómanémáneávövövöstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw themselves</td>
<td>Évóománeávövöstse</td>
<td>It's said they were (away)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Some other TA reportive verbs:**

- Eméhotósestó
- Néméhotósestó
- Éhetósestó
- Éhetóvósestó
- Éhetéséstó
- Námonéteséstó
- Némonéneásestó
- Ného’ahéñoséstó
- Ého’ahéñoséstó
- Néméajánoséstó
- Émáneásestó
- Nápeotásestó
- Éoamaestó
- Éáahtovéstó
- Évéstáchémóvestó
- Éhéstanóvóstó
- Éhoxomóvéstó
- Ešéxanóöstó

It's said he loves him (obv)
It's said he loves you
It's said he told him (obv)
It's said they told him (obv)
It's said he (obv) told him
It's said he chose me
It's said you chose him
It's said he wants him
It's said he wants him (obv)
It's said you gave him (away)
It's said he gave him (obv) (away)
It's said he hates me
It's said he (obv) hit him
It's said he heard him (obv)
It's said he helped him (obv)
It's said they took him (obv)
It's said they fed him (obv)
It's said he freed him (obv)
Transitive Animate Negative Reportative verb 'see' /-vóom/

Násáavóómáhtséhémése  It's said I did not see myself
Násáavóómáhtséhémése  It's said I did not see you
Násáavóómóheséstse  It's said I did not see him
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said I did not see him (obv)
Násáavóómáhtséhémése  It's said I did not see you (pl)
Násáavóómóheséstse  It's said I did not see them

Násáavóómáhtséhémése  It's said you did not see me
Násáavóómáhtséhémése  It's said you did not see yourself
Násáavóómóheséstse  It's said you did not see him
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said you did not see him (obv)
Násáavóómáhtséhémése  It's said you did not see you (pl)
Násáavóómóheséstse  It's said you did not see them

Násáavóómáhtséhémése  It's said he did not see me
Násáavóómáhtséhémése  It's said he did not see you
Násáavóómáhtséhémése  It's said he did not see himself
Násáavóómóheséstse  It's said he did not see him (obv)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he did not see us (excl)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he did not see us (incl)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóomóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see me
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see himself
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (ex)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (in)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóomóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see them
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see me
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see himself
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (ex)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (in)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóomóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see them
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see me
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see himself
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (ex)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (in)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóomóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see them
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see me
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see himself
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (ex)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (in)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóomóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see them
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see me
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see himself
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (ex)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (in)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóomóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see them
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see me
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see himself
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (ex)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (in)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóomóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see them
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see me
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see himself
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (ex)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (in)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóomóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see them
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see me
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see himself
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (ex)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (in)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóomóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see them
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see me
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see himself
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (ex)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see us (in)
Násáavóómamóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóomóhesésto  It's said he (obv) did not see them
Násáavóomaehénés esto It's said they did not see us (ex)
Nésáavóomaehénés esto It's said they did not see us (in)
Nésáavóomaehévo esto It's said they did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóomáhtéhes esto It's said they did not see themselves

Násáavóomanéhmáse It's said I was seen
Nésáavóomanéhmáse It's said you were seen
Ésáavóóméhes esto It's said he was seen
Násáavóomanéhmánése It's said we (ex) were seen
Nésáavóomanéhmánése It's said we (in) were seen
Nésáavóomanéhmése It's said you (pl) were seen
Ésáavóóméhes esto It's said they were seen

Some other TA negative reportative verbs:

Ésáaméhotho hesesto It's said he does not love him (obv)
Nésáaméhotahehes esto It's said he does not love you
Ésáahetóhes esto It's said he did not tell him (obv)
Ésáahetóhevo esto It's said they did not tell him (obv)
Ésáahetahehes esto It's said he (obv) did not tell him
Násáamoné'tohehesé esto It's said he did not chose me
Nésáamonénóhesé esto It's said you did not chose him
Nésáaho'ahénóhesé esto It's said you do not want him
Ésáaho'ahénóhesé esto It's said he does not want him (obv)
Nésáaméanóhesé esto It's said you did not give him (away)
Ésáaméanóhesé esto It's said he did not give him (obv) (away)
Násáapéotahehes esto It's said he does not hate me
Ésáa'oomaehé esto It's said he (obv) did not hit him
Ésáa'ahtovéhes esto It's said he did not hear him (obv)
Ésáavéstáahéhemé esto It's said he did not help him (obv)
Ésáahestanóhevo esto It's said they did not take him (obv)
Ésáahoxomóhevo esto It's said they did not feed him (obv)
Ésáàséxanóhes esto It's said he did not free him (obv)
Transitive Animate Preterit verbs

As previously explained, 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 seem to be mirative usages of the preterit occurring with local arguments:

Náéšého'éhnémoho káhkése o'hé'e!
Wow, I have come close to a river! (Floating Eyes:062)

Nétaéšéhevéxahé'tovatsémoho! " náchéto.
You are already now my son-in-law!” I told him. (The Brothers-in-law)

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éhvóomóhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhvóomaehoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he (obv) saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhvóomaevóhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he (obv) saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhvóomévôhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time they told him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóomóhoono!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, he saw him!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éxhetóhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he told him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éxhetaehoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he (obv) told him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éxhetaevóhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he (obv) told them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éxhetóvôhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time they told him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhetóhoono!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, he told him!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhmévôhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he ate him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhmévaehoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he (obv) ate him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhmévaevóhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he (obv) ate them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhmévvôvôhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time they ate him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êmévôhoono!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, he ate him!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhvónáho'ñoohoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he burned him (obv) up</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Éhvónáho'heehoono  Once upon a time he (obv) burned him up
Éhvónáho'heevéhoono  Once upon a time he (obv) burned them up
Éhvónáho'nóvéhoono  Once upon a time they burned him (obv) up
Évónáho'nóhoono!  Surprisingly, he burned him (obv) up!

É'a'tásóhoono  Once upon a time he (obv) burned them up
É'a'taxeehoono  Once upon a time he (obv) accidentally cut him
É'a'taxeevóhoono  Once upon a time he (obv) accidentally cut them
É'a'tásóvéhoono  Once upon a time they accidentally cut him (obv)
Éa'tásóhoono!  Surprisingly, he accidentally cut him (obv)!

Éxho'ahénóhoono  Once upon a time he wanted him (obv)
Éxho'ahé'toehoono  Once upon a time he (obv) wanted him
Éxho'ahé'toevóhoono  Once upon a time he (obv) wanted them
Éxho'ahénovóhoono  Once upon a time they wanted him (obv)
Éhó'ahénóhoono!  Surprisingly, he wanted him (obv)!

Éššéxanóhoono  Once upon a time he freed him (obv)
Éššéxanaehoono  Once upon a time he (obv) freed him
Éššéxanaevóhoono  Once upon a time he (obv) freed them
Éššéxánóvéhoono  Once upon a time they freed him (obv)
Éšéxanóhoono!  Surprisingly, he freed him (obv)!

Transitive Animate Negative Preterit verbs

Éssáavóomóhehoono  Once upon a time he did not see him (obv)
Éssáavóomanéhehoono  Once upon a time he (obv) did not see him
Éssáavóomaehéhoono  Once upon a time he (obv) did not see them
Éssáavóomóhevóhoono  Once upon a time they did not see him (obv)
Éssáavóomóhehóhoono!  Surprisingly, he did not see him (obv)!

Éssáahetóhehoono  Once upon a time he did not tell him (obv)
Éssáahetahehéhoono  Once upon a time he (obv) did not tell him
Éssáahetahevéhoono  Once upon a time he (obv) did not tell them
Éssáahetóhevóhoono  Once upon a time they did not tell him (obv)
Éssáahetóhehóhoono!  Surprisingly, he did not tell him!

Éssáa'a'tásóhehoono  Once upon a time he did not accidentally cut him (obv)
Éssáa'a'taxeehehoono  Once upon a time he (obv) did not accidentally cut him
Éssáa'a'taxeevéhoono  Once upon a time he (obv) did not accidentally cut them
Éssáa'a'tásóhevéhoono  Once upon a time they did not accidentally cut him (obv)
Éssáa'a'tásóhehóhoono
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'hooméstse!</td>
<td>Vé’hoome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at yourself!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomahtséstse!</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’hoomemeno!</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>Méhoxéstse!</td>
<td>Méhoxe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love yourself!</td>
<td>Méhotahtséstse!</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>Péhéve'tovéstse!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tove!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to yourself!</td>
<td>Péheve'tovahtséstse!</td>
<td>Péheve'tovahtse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him!</td>
<td>Péhéve'toveha!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tova!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him (obv)!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tovameha!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tovama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to us!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tovemeno!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tovemeno!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to them!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tovenáno!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tova!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure me!</td>
<td>Taevaestse!</td>
<td>Taevahe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure yourself!</td>
<td>Taeváhestséstse!</td>
<td>Taeváhehtse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him!</td>
<td>Taeváheha!</td>
<td>Taevaha!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him (obv)!</td>
<td>Taeváhameha!</td>
<td>Taeváhama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure us!</td>
<td>Taeváhemeno!</td>
<td>Taeváhemeno!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure them!</td>
<td>Taeváhenáno!</td>
<td>Taevaha!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on me!</td>
<td>Ševátaméstse!</td>
<td>Ševátame!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on yourself!</td>
<td>Ševátamahtséstse!</td>
<td>Ševátamahtse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on him!</td>
<td>Ševátameha!</td>
<td>Ševátama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on him (obv)!</td>
<td>Ševátameha!</td>
<td>Ševátama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on us!</td>
<td>Ševátamemeno!</td>
<td>Ševátamemeno!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on them!</td>
<td>Ševátamenáno!</td>
<td>Ševátama!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

101 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!'

102 An older pronunciation is Nėševátaméstse! 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 Náňéševátámo 'I pity him'.
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’hoomahtseo’o!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomahtséhéne!</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’hoomóóno!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love me later!</td>
<td>Méboxeo’o!</td>
<td>Méhóxéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love yourself later!</td>
<td>Méhoatahtseo’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>Méhoxemenoo’o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love them later!</td>
<td>Méhótóóno!</td>
<td>Méhótóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to me later!</td>
<td>Pêhéve’toveo’o!</td>
<td>Pêhéve’tovéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to yourself later!</td>
<td>Pêheve’tovahtseo’o!</td>
<td>Pêheve’tovahtséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him later!</td>
<td>Pêhéve’tovoo’o!</td>
<td>Pêhéve’tovóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Pêhéve’tovamoo’o!</td>
<td>Pêhéve’tovamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to us later!</td>
<td>Pêhéve’tovemenoo’o!</td>
<td>Pêhéve’tovemenoo’o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to them later!</td>
<td>Pêhéve’tovóóno!</td>
<td>Pêhéve’tovóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure me later!</td>
<td>Taevaheo’o!</td>
<td>Taeváhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure yourself later!</td>
<td>Taeváhestseo’o!</td>
<td>Taeváhestséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him later!</td>
<td>Taeváhnoo’o!</td>
<td>Taeváhóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Taeváhamoo’o!</td>
<td>Taeváhamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure us later!</td>
<td>Taeváhenoomoo’o!</td>
<td>Taeváhemenoo’o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure them later!</td>
<td>Taeváhnóóno!</td>
<td>Taeváhónéne!</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>Ševatamahtseo’o!</td>
<td>Ševatamahtséhéne!</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>Ševátamemeno!</td>
<td>Ševátamemenó!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on them!</td>
<td>Ševátamenáno!</td>
<td>Ševátama!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive Animate Hortative verbs

Notice that hortative suffixes –át’a’e, -ata’ôse, 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’hoomáta’ôse! Let them look at you!
Vé’hoomahtseha! Let him look at himself! Vé’hoomahtsévoha! Let them look at themselves!
Vé’hoomóha! Let him look at him (obv)! Vé’hoomaëtse! Let them look at us!
Vé’hoomata’ôse! Let him look at you (pl)! Vé’hoomata’ôse! 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.

/-vóohta/ 'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóóhta</td>
<td>I see it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Návóohtanótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóóhta</td>
<td>You see it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Névóohtanótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohtanótse</td>
<td>He sees it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Névóohtanótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohtotsé</td>
<td>He (obv) sees it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Évóohtotsenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóóhtánóne</td>
<td>We (excl) see it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Návóohtanónéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóohtanóne</td>
<td>We (incl) see it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Névóohtanónéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóóhtánóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) see it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Névóohtanóvótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóóhtánóvo</td>
<td>They see it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Évóohtanóvótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóome</td>
<td>It is seen</td>
<td></td>
<td>Évóoménéstse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-mése/ 'eat (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námese</td>
<td>I ate it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Námésenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némese</td>
<td>You ate it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Némésenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émese</td>
<td>He ate it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Émésenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésetse</td>
<td>He (obv) ate it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Émésetsenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námésetnéone</td>
<td>We (excl) ate it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Námésetnónéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némésetnéone</td>
<td>We (incl) ate it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Némésetnónéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésetnéono</td>
<td>They ate it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Émésetnóvótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésetnóvo</td>
<td>It was eaten</td>
<td></td>
<td>Émésetnóvéstse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-ho'tsé 'have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náho'tse</td>
<td>I have it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Náho'tsenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'tse</td>
<td>You have it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ného'tsenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tse</td>
<td>He has it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ého'tsenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tsetse</td>
<td>He (obv) has it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ého'tsetsenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náho'tsenóne</td>
<td>We (excl) have it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Náho'tsénónéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'tsenóne</td>
<td>We (incl) have it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ného'tsénónéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'tsénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) have it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ného'tsénovótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'he</td>
<td>It is had</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ého'hénéstse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-ho'ahe 'have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náho'ahe</td>
<td>I want it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Náho'ahénótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'ahe</td>
<td>You want it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ného'ahénótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'ahe</td>
<td>He wants it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ého'ahénótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'ahetse</td>
<td>He (obv) wants it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ého'ahétsenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náho'ahénóne</td>
<td>We (excl) want it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Náho'ahénónéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'ahénóne</td>
<td>We (incl) want it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ného'ahénónéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'ahénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) want it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ného'ahénovótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'ahénóvo</td>
<td>They want it</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ého'ahénovótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'ahéstove</td>
<td>It is wanted</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ého'ahéstóvénéstse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

103 The /-vóohta/ and -ho'tsé passives take TA stems and II plural suffixes.
104 The /-mése/ and –ho'ahe stems take the AI /-htové/ impersonal suffix for their passive forms.
-hóxe'ena 'clean (something)'
Náhóxe'āna I cleaned it Náhóxe'ananôtse I cleaned them
Néhóxe'āna You cleaned it Néhóxe'ananôtse You cleaned them
Éhóxe'āna He cleaned it Éhóxe'ananôtse He cleaned them
Éhóxe'anotse He (obv) cleaned it Éhóxe'anôtsenôtse He (obv) cleaned them
Náhóxe'anánône We (excl) cleaned it Náhóxe'anánôntse We (excl) cleaned them
Néhóxe'anânône We (in) cleaned it Néhóxe'anânôntse We (in) cleaned them
Néhóxe'anánóvo You (pl) cleaned it Néhóxe'anánovôtse You (pl) cleaned them
Éhóxe'anánóvo They cleaned it Éhóxe'anánovôtse They cleaned them
Éhóxe'ané It was cleaned Éhóxe'anenôtse They were cleaned

-héstá 'say (something)'
Náhésta I said it Náhestanôtse I said them
Néhésta You said it Néhestanôtse You said them
Éhésta He said it Éhestanôtse He said them
Éhestotse He (obv) said it Éhestôtsenôtse He (obv) said them
Náhestanônê We (excl) said it Náhestanôntse We (excl) said them
Néhestanônê We (in) said it Néhestanôntse We (in) said them
Néhestânôvo You (pl) said it Néhestanôvôtse You (pl) said them
Éhestanôvo They said it Éhestanovôtse They said them
Éhestohe It was said Éhestôhénôtse They were said

-mane 'drink (something)'
Námáne I drank it Námanôtse I drank them
Némane You drank it Némanôtse You drank them
Émane He drank it Émanôtse He drank them
Émanetse He (obv) drank it Émanetsenôtse He (obv) drank them
Námanônê We (excl) drank it Námanônêntse We (excl) drank them
Némanônê We (in) drank it Némanônêntse We (in) drank them
Émanônôvo They drank it Émanovôtse They drank them
Émanestôvé It was drunk Émanéstôvôntse They were drunk

-é'e'ó'tsé 'break (something)'
Náé'e'ôtse I broke it Náé'e'ôntsôtse I broke them
Néé'e'ôtse You broke it Náé'e'ôntsôtse You broke them
Éé'e'ôtse He broke it Éé'e'ôntsôtse He broke them
Éé'e'ótsê He (obv) broke it Éé'e'ôtsëntsôtse He (obv) broke them
Náé'e'ôntsôné We (excl) broke it Náé'e'ôntsôntse We (excl) broke them
Néé'e'ôtsônê We (in) broke it Néé'e'ôntsôntse We (in) broke them
Néé'e'ôtsônôvo You (pl) broke it Néé'e'ôntsôvôtse You (pl) broke them
Éé'e'ôtsônôvo They broke it Éé'e'ôntsôvôtse They broke them
Éé'e'óhe It was broken Éé'e'ôhénôtse They were broken

105 Námáne, Némane, and Émane are identical in pronunciation to the AI verbs meaning 'I drank', 'You drank', and 'He drank', respectively.
106 This is identical in pronunciation to the impersonal verb meaning 'There is drinking'.
107 That is, 'They (some inanimate plural liquids) were drunk' not the meaning 'They (some people) were drunk'.
Some other TI Independent Indicative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náa'táxa.</td>
<td>I accidentally cut it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestána.</td>
<td>He took it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhó'xátsésta.</td>
<td>I'm used to it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émě'a.</td>
<td>He found it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nápěhévéátsésta.</td>
<td>I like it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návon'aótse.</td>
<td>I lost it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návonétanó'ta.</td>
<td>I forgot it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'évo, 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'évo. My nose hurts. (lit., I hurt to my nose)
Náháamá’tanótse na’éxánéstse. 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 hóhkéha’è. The cap fits me. (lit., I fit to the cap)
Nátáá’anótse hóhkéhá’estse. The caps fit me. (lit., I fit to the caps)

Compare corresponding TA verbs:
Nátáa’ōvo 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 -pēhévé’ahtá:

Nápēhévé’ahta ho’ëvohkötse. 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.

-vóohtomóv 'see his _'
Náévóohtomóvo I see his __ Návóohtomóvonse I see his __ (plural)
Névóohtomóvo You see his __ Névóohtomóvonse You see his __ (plural)
Évóohtomóvo He sees his (obv) __ Évóohtomóvonse He sees his (obv) __ (pl)
Návóohtomóvonone We (ex) see his __ Návóohtomóvonestse We (ex) see his __ (pl)
Névóohtomóvonone We (in) see his __ Névóohtomóvonestse We (in) see his __ (pl)
Névóohtomóvonovo You (pl) see his __ Névóohtomóvonovëste You (pl) see his __ (pl)
Évóohtomóvonóvo They see his __ Évóohtomóvonovëste They see his __ (pl)
Évóometse His __ is seen Évóomenetëste His __ (pl) are seen

-hestanomóv 'take his _'
Náéhestanomóvo I took his __ Náhestanomóvonse I took his __ (pl)
Nééhestanomóvo You took his __ Néhestanomóvonse You took his __ (pl)
Ééhestanomóvo He took his (obv) __ Ééhestanomóvonse He took his (obv) __ (pl)
Náééhestanomóvonone We (ex) took his __ Náééhestanomóvonestse We (ex) took his __ (pl)
Néééhestanomóvonone We (in) took his __ Néééhestanomóvonestse We (in) took his __ (pl)
Néééhestanomóvonovo You (pl) took his __ Néééhestanomóvonovëste You (pl) took his __ (pl)
Éééhestanomóvonóvo They took his __ Éééhestanomóvonovëste They took his __ (pl)
Éééhestanetse His __ was taken Éééhestanetëste His __ (pl) were taken

-ë’e’otov 'break his _'
Náé’ë’otóvo I broke his __ Náé’ë’otovonse I broke his __ (pl)
Néé’ë’otóvo You broke his __ Néé’ë’otovonse You broke his __ (pl)
Éé’ë’otóvo He broke his (obv) __ Éé’ë’otovonse He broke his (obv) __ (pl)
Náé’ë’otóvónóne We (ex) broke his __ Náé’ë’otovononestse We (ex) broke his __ (pl)
Néé’ë’otóvónóne We (in) broke his __ Néé’ë’otovononestse We (in) broke his __ (pl)
Néé’ë’otóvónovo You (pl) broke his __ Néé’ë’otovonovëste You (pl) broke his __ (pl)
Éé’ë’otóvónóvo They broke his __ Éé’ë’otovonovëste They broke his __ (pl)
Éé’ë’ohetse His __ was broken Éé’ë’ohenetëste 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>verb</th>
<th>subject person</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>subject person</th>
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<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhe</td>
<td>I did not see</td>
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</tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Ésáavóóhtóhtótsenótsé</td>
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<td>You (pl) did not see</td>
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### 'not eat (something)'

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<td>Ésáaméséhénóvote</td>
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### 'not have (something)'

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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'tséhetse</td>
<td>He (obv) does not have</td>
<td>Ésáaho'tséhetótsenótsé</td>
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### 'not want (something)'

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<td>I don't want them</td>
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<td>He doesn't want</td>
<td>Ésáaho'ahéhénótsé</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'ahéhetse</td>
<td>He (obv) doesn't want</td>
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<td>Ésáaho'ahéhénóvote</td>
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<td>Ésáaho'ahéhénóvote</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'ahéstovéhane</td>
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<td>Ésáaho'ahéstovéhanótsé</td>
<td>They are not wanted</td>
<td>Ésáaho'ahéstovéhanótsé</td>
</tr>
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</table>
'not clean (something)'
Násáahóxe’anóhe I didn’t clean it Násáahóxe’anóhenotse I didn’t clean them
Nésáahóxe’anóhe You didn’t clean it Nésáahóxe’anóhenotse You didn’t clean them
Ésáahóxe’anóhe He didn’t clean it Ésáahóxe’anóhenotse He didn’t clean them
Ésáahóxe’anóhetse He (obv) didn’t clean it Ésáahóxe’anóhestenotse He (obv) didn’t clean them
Násáahóxe’anóhenoné We (ex) didn’t clean it Násáahóxe’anóhenonestse We (ex) didn’t clean them
Nésáahóxe’anóhenone We (in) didn’t clean it Nésáahóxe’anóhenonestse We (in) didn’t clean them
Nésáahóxe’anóhénóvo You (pl) didn’t clean it Nésáahóxe’anóhénovotse You (pl) didn’t clean them
Ésáahóxe’anóhénóvo They didn’t clean it Ésáahóxe’anóhénovotse They didn’t clean them
Ésáahóxe’anéhané Ésáahóxe’anéhanéhótsé They were not cleaned

Transitive Inanimate Independent Negative relational verbs

'not see (something)'
Násáavóohomóvóhe I didn’t see his ___ Násáavóohomóvóhenotse I didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Nésáavóohomóvóhe You didn’t see his ___ Nésáavóohomóvóhenotse You didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Ésáavóomóvóhe He didn’t see his (obv) ___ Ésáavóomóvóhenotse He didn’t see his (obv) ___ (pl)
Násáavóohomóvóhenóne We (ex) didn’t see his ___ Násáavóohomóvóhenonestse We (ex) didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Nésáavóohomóvóhenone We (in) didn’t see his ___ Nésáavóohomóvóhenonestse We (in) didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Nésáavóohomóvóhénóvo You (pl) didn’t see his ___ Nésáavóohomóvóhénovotse You (pl) didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Ésáavóohomóvóhénóvo They didn’t see his ___ Ésáavóohomóvóhénovotse They didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Ésáavóoméhanéhésé His ___ was not seen Ésáavóoméhanénótsé His ___ (pl) were not seen

'not take (something)'
Násáahestanomóvóhe I did not take his ___ Násáahestanomóvóhenotse I took his ___ (pl)
Nésáahestanomóvóhe You did not take his ___ Nésáahestanomóvóhenotse You took his ___ (pl)
Ésáahestanomóvóhe He didn’t take his (obv) ___ Ésáahestanomóvóhenotse He took his (obv) ___ (pl)
Násáahestanomóvóhénóne We (ex) didn’t take his ___ Násáahestanomóvóhénonestse We (ex) took his ___ (pl)
Nésáahestanomóvóhénone We (in) didn’t take his ___ Násáahestanomóvóhénonestse We (in) took his ___ (pl)
Nésáahestanomóvóhénóvo You (pl) didn’t take his ___ Násáahestanomóvóhénovotse You (pl) took his ___ (pl)
Ésáahestanomóvóhénóvo They didn’t take his ___ Ésáahestanomóvóhénovotse They took his ___ (pl)
Éhestanéhésé His ___ was not taken Éhestanéhésé It wasn’t taken

'not break (something)'
Násáа’e’e’otóvéhe I didn’t break his ___ Násáа’e’e’otóvóhenotse I didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Nésáа’e’e’otóvéhe You didn’t break his ___ Nésáа’e’e’otóvóhenotse You didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Ésáа’e’e’otóvéhe He didn’t break his (obv) ___ Ésáа’e’e’otóvóhenotse He didn’t break his (obv) ___ (pl)
Násáа’e’e’otóvóhenóne We (ex) didn’t break his ___ Násáа’e’e’otóvóhenonestse We (ex) didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Nésáа’e’e’otóvóhenone We (in) didn’t break his ___ Násáа’e’e’otóvóhenonestse We (in) didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Nésáа’e’e’otóvóhénóvo You (pl) didn’t break his ___ Násáа’e’e’otóvóhénovotse You (pl) didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Ésáа’e’e’otóvóhénóvo They didn’t break his ___ Ésáа’e’e’otóvóhénovotse They didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Ésáа’e’e’ohéhanéhésé His ___ wasn’t broken Ésáа’e’e’ohéhanéhésé 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 -ȯtse, 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)**'

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<th>'them'</th>
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<tr>
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<td>Did I see?</td>
<td>Návohtanotse?</td>
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<td>Did you see?</td>
<td>Névohtanotse?</td>
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<td>Did he see?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Évohtotsehe?</td>
<td>Did he (obv) see?</td>
<td>Évohtotsenotse?</td>
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<td>Did we (excl) see it?</td>
<td>Návohtanonevotse?</td>
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<td>Névóohóntonehe?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) see it?</td>
<td>Névóohtanovotse?</td>
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<td>Névóohtanovohe?</td>
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<td>Névóohtanovotse?</td>
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'**want (something)**'

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'take (something)'

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'Some mó- prefix TI questions'

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<tr>
<td>Mónêhestanovotse?</td>
<td>Did you (plural) take them?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mónémésonotse?</td>
<td>Did you eat them?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mó'éméséstôvénêstse?</td>
<td>Were they eaten?</td>
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</table>
### Transitive Inanimate Interrogative relational verbs

#### 'see his (something)'

| Návōohotmóóhohe? | Did I see his ___? | Návōohotmóóvonotse? | Did I see his ___ (plural)? |
| Nēvōohotmóóhohe? | Did you see his ___? | Nēvōohotmóóvonotse? | Did you see his ___ (pl)? |
| Évōohotmóóhohe? | Did he see his (obv) ___? | Évōohotmóóvonotse? | Did he see his (obv) ___ (pl)? |
| Návōohotmóóvononehe? | Did we (ex) see his ___? | Návōohotmóóvononevotse? | Did we (ex) see his ___ (pl)? |
| Nēvōohotmóóvononehe? | Did we (in) see his ___? | Nēvōohotmóóvononevotse? | Did we (in) see his ___ (pl)? |
| Návēohotmóóvonovohe? | Did you (pl) see his ___? | Návēohotmóóvonovohe? | Did you (pl) see his ___ (pl)? |
| Évōohotmóóvonovohe? | Did they see his ___? | Évōohotmóóvonovohe? | Did they see his ___ (pl)? |
| Évōoometsehe? | Was his ___ seen? | Évōomenetsehe? | Were his ___ (pl) seen? |

#### 'take his (something)'

| Náhestanomóóhohe? | Did I take his ___? | Náhestanomóóvonotse? | Did I take his ___ (plural)? |
| Nēhestanomóóhohe? | Did you take his ___? | Nēhestanomóóvonotse? | Did you take his ___ (pl)? |
| Ėhestanomóóhohe? | Did he take his ___? | Ėhestanomóóvonotse? | Did he take his (obv) ___ (pl)? |
| Náhestanomóóvononehe? | Did we (ex) take his ___? | Náhestanomóóvononevotse? | Did we (ex) take his ___ (pl)? |
| Nēhestanomóóvononehe? | Did we (in) take his ___? | Nēhestanomóóvononevotse? | Did we (in) take his ___ (pl)? |
| Návēhestanomóóvonovohe? | Did you (pl) take his ___? | Návēhestanomóóvonovohe? | Did you (pl) take his ___ (pl)? |
| Ėhestanomóóvonovohe? | Did they take his ___? | Ėhestanomóóvonovohe? | Did they take his ___ (pl)? |
| Éhestanetsehe? | Was his ___ taken? | Ėhestanetsehe? | Were his ___ (pl) taken? |

### Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative

Some younger speakers regularize the paradigm by not changing the TI inanimate object agreement marker /-á/ to /-6/ in negative verbs. So they pronounce 'Didn't you see it?' as Nésáavóhtáhehe?

| Násávōohotőhehe? | Didn't I see it? | Násávōhohtőhenotse? | Didn't I see them? |
| Násávōohotőhehe? | Didn't you see it? | Násávōhohtőhenotse? | Didn't you see them? |
| Ésávōohotőhehe? | Didn't he see it? | Ésávōhohtőhenotse? | Didn't he see them? |
| Ésávōohotőhetsehe? | Didn't (he (obv) see it? | Ésávōhohtőhetsehe? | Didn't (he (obv) see them? |
| Násávōhohtőhenonehe? | Didn't we (ex) see it? | Násávōhohtőhenonevotse? | Didn't we (ex) see them? |
| Násávōhohtőhenonehe? | Didn't we (in) see it? | Násávōhohtőhenonevotse? | Didn't we (in) see them? |
| Násávōhohtőhenovohe? | Didn't you (pl) see it? | Násávōhohtőhenovohe? | Didn't you (pl) see them? |
| Ésávōhohtőhenovohe? | Didn't they see it? | Ésávōhohtőhenovohe? | Didn't they see them? |
| Ésávōoméhanehe? | Wasn't it seen? | Ésávōoméhanevotse? | Weren't they seen? |

### Some other Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative verbs

| Nésáahestanőhehe? | Didn't you take it? |
| Nésáamésēhenovotse? | Didn't you (plural) eat them? |
| Ésáamésēstovēhanevotse? | Weren't they (inanimate) eaten? |
| Ésāahō’ahéstovēhanehe? | Wasn't it wanted? |

### Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative relational verbs

| Násávōohotmóóhohe? | Didn't I see his ___? | Násávōohotmóóvonotse? | Didn't I see his ___ (pl)? |
| Násávōohotmóóhohe? | Didn't you see his ___? | Násávōohotmóóvonotse? | Didn't you see his ___ (pl)? |
| Ésávōohotmóóhohe? | Didn't he see his (obv) ___? | Ésávōohotmóóvonotse? | Didn't he see his (obv) ___ (pl)? |
| Násávōohotmóóvononehe? | Didn't we (ex) see his ___? | Násávōohotmóóvononevotse? | Didn't we (ex) see his ___ (pl)? |
| Násávōohotmóóvononehe? | Didn't we (in) see his ___? | Násávōohotmóóvononevotse? | Didn't we (in) see his ___ (pl)? |
| Násāvōohotmóóvonovohe? | Didn't you (pl) see his ___? | Násāvōohotmóóvonovohe? | Didn't you (pl) see his ___ (pl)? |
| Ésāvōohotmóóvonovohe? | Didn't they see his ___? | Ésāvōohotmóóvonovohe? | Didn't they see his ___ (pl)? |
| Ésāvōoméhanehe? | Wasn't his ___ seen? | Ésāvōoméhanevotsehe? | Weren't his ___ (pl) seen? |
# Transitive Inanimate Inferential verbs

## 'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mónávóohtōhēhe</th>
<th>I must have seen it</th>
<th>Mónávóohtōhenōtse</th>
<th>I must have seen them</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóohtōhēhe</td>
<td>You must have seen it</td>
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<tr>
<td>Móvóohtōhetsēhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have seen it</td>
<td>Móvóohtōhetsenōtse</td>
<td>He (obv) must have seen them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mónávóohtōhenōnēhe</td>
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<td>Mónávóohtōhenogēnōtse</td>
<td>We (ex) must have seen them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mónévóohtōhenōnēhe</td>
<td>We (in) must have seen it</td>
<td>Mónévóohtōhenogēnōtse</td>
<td>We (in) must have seen them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mónévóohtōhenovōhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen it</td>
<td>Mónévóohtōhenohtēnōtse</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen them</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Móvóohtōhenovōtse</td>
<td>They must have seen them</td>
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</table>

## 'take (something)'

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<td>You (pl) must have taken them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Móhestanōhenovōhe</td>
<td>They must have taken it</td>
<td>Móhestanōhenovōtse</td>
<td>They must have taken them</td>
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</table>

## 'have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Mónáho'tsēhenōtse</th>
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## Transitive Inanimate Reportative verbs

### 'see (something)'

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<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Object Case</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
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<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Object Case</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóóhtánose</td>
<td>I am said to see it</td>
<td>Návóóhtanōsestōtse</td>
<td>I am said to see them</td>
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<tr>
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### 'take (something)'

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<th>Subject Case</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
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<td>Néhestanānōvōse</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have taken it</td>
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<td>You (pl) are said to have taken them</td>
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### 'have (something)'

<table>
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<tr>
<td>Ého'tsēnēséno</td>
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<td>Ého'tsēnēsēnōsestōtse</td>
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### Some Transitive Inanimate Reportative relational verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Subject Case</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Object Case</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Case</th>
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<th>Object Case</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóóhtomóvōnose</td>
<td>I am said to have seen his (rel).</td>
<td>Návóóhtomóvōnosestōtse</td>
<td>I am said to have seen his (rel).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Náhestanomóvōnose</td>
<td>I am said to have taken his</td>
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<tr>
<td>Éhestanomóvōnose</td>
<td>He is said to have taken his (obv)</td>
<td>Éhestanomóvōnosestōtse</td>
<td>He is said to have taken his (obv)</td>
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**Notes:**
- "rel." refers to relational.
- "pl." refers to plural.
## Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative verbs

### 'not see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénóse</td>
<td>I am said not to see it</td>
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<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>
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<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhtśénóse</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>
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<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>
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<tr>
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<td>Násáavóóhtóhénósestótse</td>
<td>I am said not to see them</td>
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<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénósestótse</td>
<td>You are said not to see them</td>
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<tr>
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<td>He (obviative) is said not to see them</td>
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<td>Násáavóóhtóhénónésestótse</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to see them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóvósestótse</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénóvósestótse</td>
<td>They are said not to see them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'not take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáahestánóhénóse</td>
<td>I am said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahestánóhénóse</td>
<td>You are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahestánóhénóse</td>
<td>He is said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahestánóhtśénóse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahestánóhénónése</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahestánóhénónése</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahestánóhénóvóse</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahestánóhénóvóse</td>
<td>They are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáahestánóhénósestótse</td>
<td>I am said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahestánóhénósestótse</td>
<td>You are said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahestánóhénósestótse</td>
<td>He is said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahestánóhtśénósestótse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahestánóhénónésestótse</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahestánóhénónésestótse</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahestánóhénóvósestótse</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahestánóhénóvósestótse</td>
<td>They are said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'not have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</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’tséhtśénóse</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>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho’tséhénósestótse</td>
<td>I am said not to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho’tséhénósestótse</td>
<td>You are said not to have them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
He is said not to have them

He (obviative) is said not to have them

We (exclusive) are said not to have them

We (inclusive) are said not to have them

You (plural) are said not to have them

They are said not to have them

I am said not to have eaten it

You are said not to have eaten it

He is said not to have eaten it

He (obviative) is said not to have eaten it

We (exclusive) are said not to have eaten it

We (inclusive) are said not to have eaten it

You (plural) are said not to have eaten it

They are said not to have eaten it

Some Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative relational verbs

He is said not to have seen his ___ (rel).

They are said not to have seen his ___ (pl) (rel).

He is said not to have taken his ___ (rel).

They are said not to have taken his ___ (pl) (rel).

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.

Once upon a time he saw it

Once upon a time he saw them (inanimate)

Once upon a time they saw it

Once upon a time they saw them (inanimate)

Once upon a time he took it

Once upon a time he took them (inanimate)

Once upon a time they took it
Once upon a time they took them (inanimate)

Once upon a time he had it
Once upon a time he had them (inanimate)
Once upon a time they had it
Once upon a time they had them (inanimate)

Once upon a time he had it
Once upon a time he ate them (inanimate)

Once upon a time he ate it
Once upon a time he ate them (inanimate)

Once upon a time he ate it
Once upon a time they ate them (inanimate)

Once upon a time he rolled it
Once upon a time he rolled them (inanimate)

Once upon a time he rolled it
Once upon a time they rolled them (inanimate)

Once upon a time he did not see it
Once upon a time he did not see them (inanimate)

Once upon a time he did not see it
Once upon a time they did not see them (inanimate)

Once upon a time he did not take it
Once upon a time he did not take them (inanimate)

Once upon a time they did not take it
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’hóóhtóhtse! 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’hóóhtóhtse!</td>
<td>Vé’hoohtome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take it!</td>
<td>Hestānóhtse!</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’eotséstéstse!</td>
<td>Néxho’eotséstse!</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’anóhtse!</td>
<td>Hóxe’anome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make it/them!</td>
<td>Manēstéséstse!</td>
<td>Manēstēse!</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’hoohtomâhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take it later!</td>
<td>Hestanomeo'o!</td>
<td>Hestanomâhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat it/them later!</td>
<td>Méséo'o!</td>
<td>Mésēhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bring it/them here later!</td>
<td>Néxho’eotséstseoo'o!</td>
<td>Néxho’eotséstsehéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burn it/them up later!</td>
<td>Vonáho’homeo'o!</td>
<td>Vonáho’homâhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink it/them later!</td>
<td>Maneo'o!</td>
<td>Manéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut it/them later!</td>
<td>Tséhetaxomeo'o!</td>
<td>Tséhetaxomâhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean it/them later!</td>
<td>Hóxe’anomeo'o!</td>
<td>Hóxe’anomâhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make it/them later!</td>
<td>Manēstseo'o!</td>
<td>Manēstséhéne!</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)!'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vé’hoohtoha!</th>
<th>Let him look at it/them!</th>
<th>Vé’hoomévéha!</th>
<th>Let them look at it/them!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hestanooha!!</td>
<td>Let him take it/them!</td>
<td>Hestanomévéha!</td>
<td>Let them take it/them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néxho’eotséstseha!</td>
<td>Let him bring it/them!</td>
<td>Néxho’eotséstsevéha!</td>
<td>Let them bring it/them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manéstseha!*</td>
<td>Let him make it/them!</td>
<td>Manéstsevéha!</td>
<td>Let them make it/them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho’tseha!</td>
<td>Let him have it/them!</td>
<td>Ho’tsevéha!</td>
<td>Let them have it/them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Méséha!</td>
<td>Let him eat it/them!</td>
<td>Mésévoha!</td>
<td>Let them eat it/them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maneha!</td>
<td>Let him drink it/them!</td>
<td>Manévéha!</td>
<td>Let them drink it/them!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs

Inanimate referents can occur as subjects of TA verbs, acting on animate referents.

-a'ta'ov 'accidentally hit (someone)'

Náa'ta'oo'e  It acc. hit me  Náa'ta'óenótse  They acc. hit me
Néa'ta'oo'e  It acc. hit you  Néa'ta'óenótse  They acc. hit you
Éa'ta'oo'e  It acc. hit him  Éa'ta'óenótse  They acc. hit him
Éa'ta'óetse  It acc. hit him (obv)  Éa'ta'óetsonótse  They acc. hit him (obv)
Náa'ta'óénóne  It acc. hit us (excl)  Náa'ta'óenéstse  They acc. hit us (excl)
Néa'ta'óénóvo  It acc. hit you (pl)  Néa'ta'óenovótse  They acc. hit you (pl)
Éa'ta'óénóvo  It acc. hit them  É'ta'óenovótse  They acc. hit them

Examples in sentences
Káhámáxe éa'ta'oo'e hetane  The stick accidentally hit the man
Náa'ta'óenótse he'konótse  The bones accidentally hit us
Háomóhtáhestótse ého'éhótaetse heške  Sickness came to his mother (obviative)

-hóonȯsé'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.

Náho'éhótaa'e naamáho'héstótse. I miss my car. (lit., 'My car causes loneliness to me.')
Náho'éhótaa'eti'aenóts'te sémonótse. 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.
Épêhêveahtamàa'e. He likes to listen to it. (lit., 'It causes good listening to him.')
Épêhêveahtamàenôvó. They like to listen to it. (lit., 'It causes good listening to them.')

-taa'ov 'fit (someone)' ADD TO TOC
É-táa'ovóho heéstse'heno. His shirt fits him. (lit., 'He fits to his shirt.')
Nátáa'ovo'o navôxôheño. 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'óetsenôvó His __ (pl) acc. hit me
Néa'ta'óetse His __ acc. hit you Néa'ta'poetsenôvó His __ (pl) acc. hit me
Éa'ta'óetse His __ acc. hit him Êa'ta'óetsenôvó His __ (pl) acc. hit him
Náa'ta'óetsenône His __ acc. hit us (ex) Náa'ta'óetsenonêvó His __ (pl) acc. hit us (ex)
Néa'ta'óetsenône His __ acc. hit us (in) Néa'ta'óetsenonêvó His __ (pl) acc. hit us (in)
Né'a'ta'óëtsênôvo His __ acc. hit you (pl) Né'a'ta'óetsenôvó His __ (pl) acc. hit you (pl)
Éa'ta'óëtsênôvo His __ acc. hit them Êa'ta'óetsenôvó His __ (pl) acc. hit them

Examples in sentences
Náa'ta'óetse hemôxê'estóstëstse His pencil accidentally hit me
Hemôxê'estôñevôtse náho'ëhtôtsenôstse Their books came to us

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative relational verbs

'not accidentally hit (someone)'
Násáa'a'ta'óëhëe It did not acc. hit me Násáa'a'ta'óëhenôtse They did not acc. hit me
Nésáa'a'ta'óëhëe It did not acc. hit you Nésáa'a'ta'óëhenôtse They did not acc. hit you
Ésáa'a'ta'óëhëe It did not acc. hit him Ésáa'a'ta'óëhenôtse They did not acc. hit him
Ésáa'a'ta'óëhetse It did not acc. hit him (obv) Ésáa'a'ta'óëhetse They did not acc. hit him (obv)
Násáa'a'ta'óëhënôné It did not acc. hit us (ex) Násáa'a'ta'óëhënôstse They did not acc. hit us (ex)
Nésáa'a'ta'óëhënôné It did not acc. hit us (in) Nésáa'a'ta'óëhënôstse They did not acc. hit us (in)
Nésáa'a'ta'óëhënôvo It did not acc. hit you (pl) Nésáa'a'ta'óëhënôvó They did not acc. hit you (pl)
Ésáa'a'ta'óëhënôvo It did not acc. hit them Ésáa'a'ta'óëhënôvó They did not acc. hit them

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative relational verbs

Násáa'a'ta'óëhëtsetse His __ did not acc. hit me Násáa'a'ta'óëhëtsetse His __ (pl) did not acc. hit me
Nésáa'a'ta'óëhëtsetse His __ did not acc. hit you Nésáa'a'ta'óëhëtsetse His __ (pl) did not acc. hit you
Ésáa'a'ta'óëhëtsetse His __ did not acc. hit him Ésáa'a'ta'óëhëtsetse His __ (pl) did not acc. hit him
Násáa'a'ta'óëhëtsetse His __ did not acc. hit us (ex) Násáa'a'ta'óëhëtsetse His __ (pl) did not acc. hit us (ex)
Nésáa'a'ta'óëhëtsetse His __ did not acc. hit us (in) Nésáa'a'ta'óëhëtsetse His __ (pl) did not acc. hit us (in)
Nésáa'a'ta'óëhëtsetse His __ did not acc. hit you (pl) Nésáa'a'ta'óëhëtsetse His __ (pl) did not acc. hit you (pl)
Ésáa'a'ta'óëhëtsetse His __ did not acc. hit them Ésáa'a'ta'óëhëtsetse His __ (pl) did not acc. hit them
Násáaho'éhtôtaehëtsetse His __ did not come to me Násáaho'éhtôtaehëtsetse His __ (pl) did not come to me

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Examples in sentences

Kåhámáxe násáa’a’ta’óéhe
The stick did not accidentally hit me

Ésáa’a’ta’óehétsénôtse hemóxe’éstónéstotôtse
His (another’s) pencils did not accidentally hit him

Háomóhtáhestótse ésáaho’éhótahehtse hée’haho
Sickness didn’t come to his son.
Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Interrogative verbs

-\textit{a'ta'ov 'accidentally hit (someone)'}

\begin{align*}
\text{Náa'ta'óehe?} & \quad \text{Did it acc. hit me?} & \text{Náa'ta'óenotse?} & \quad \text{Did they acc. hit me?} \\
\text{Né'a'ta'óehe?} & \quad \text{Did it acc. hit you?} & \text{Néa'ta'óenotse?} & \quad \text{Did they acc. hit you?} \\
\text{Éa'ta'óehe?} & \quad \text{Did it acc. hit him?} & \text{Éa'ta'óenotse?} & \quad \text{Did they acc. hit him?} \\
\text{Éa'ta'óetsehe?} & \quad \text{Did it acc. hit him (obv)?} & \text{Éa'ta'óetsenotse?} & \quad \text{Did they acc. hit him (obv)?} \\
\text{Náa'ta'óenonehe?} & \quad \text{Did it acc. hit us (excl)?} & \text{Náa'ta'óenonevotse?} & \quad \text{Did they acc. hit us (excl)?} \\
\text{Néa'ta'óenonehe?} & \quad \text{Did it acc. hit us (incl)?} & \text{Néa'ta'óenonevotse?} & \quad \text{Did they acc. hit us (incl)?} \\
\text{Néa'ta'óenovohe?} & \quad \text{Did it acc. hit you (pl)?} & \text{Néa'ta'óenovotse?} & \quad \text{Did they acc. hit you (pl)?} \\
\end{align*}

-\textit{ho'ëhót 'come to (someone)'}

\begin{align*}
\text{Náho'ëhótaehe?} & \quad \text{Did it come to me?} & \text{Náho'ëhótaenotse?} & \quad \text{Did they come to me?} \\
\text{Ného'ëhótaehe?} & \quad \text{Did it come to you?} & \text{Ného'ëhótaenotse?} & \quad \text{Did they come to you?} \\
\text{Ého'ëhótaetsehe?} & \quad \text{Did it come to him?} & \text{Ého'ëhótaetsenotse?} & \quad \text{Did they come to him?} \\
\text{Náho'ëhótaenonehe?} & \quad \text{Did it come to us (ex)?} & \text{Náho'ëhótaenonevotse?} & \quad \text{Did they come to us (ex)?} \\
\text{Ného'ëhótaenonehe?} & \quad \text{Did it come to us (in)?} & \text{Ného'ëhótaenonevotse?} & \quad \text{Did they come to us (in)?} \\
\text{Ného'ëhótaenovohe?} & \quad \text{Did it come to you (pl)?} & \text{Ného'ëhótaenovotse?} & \quad \text{Did they come to you (pl)?} \\
\end{align*}

Examples in sentences

\begin{itemize}
\item Kȧhámáxe né'ta'óehe?
\item Pëhëvtanohtótse ého'ahótaetsehe hestónaho?
\item Néa'ta'óenovotse he'kon ótse?
\item Kȧhámáxe nésáa'a'ta'óehenovohe?
\end{itemize}

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Interrogative relational verbs

| \text{Náa'ta'óetsehe?} | \text{Did his \_ acc. hit me?} | \text{Náa'ta'óetsenotse?} | Did his \_ (pl) acc. hit me? |
| \text{Néa'ta'óetsehe?} | \text{Did his \_ acc. hit you?} | \text{Néa'ta'ópoetsenotse?} | Did his \_ (pl) acc. hit me? |
| \text{Éa'ta'óetsehe?} | \text{Did his \_ acc. hit him?} | \text{Éa'ta'óetsenotse?} | Did his \_ (pl) acc. hit him? |
| \text{Náa'ta'óetsenonehe?} | \text{Did his \_ acc. hit us (ex)?} | \text{Náa'ta'óetsenonevotse?} | Did his \_ (pl) acc. hit us (ex)? |
| \text{Néa'ta'óetsenonehe?} | \text{Did his \_ acc. hit us (in)?} | \text{Néa'ta'óetsenonevotse?} | Did his \_ (pl) acc. hit us (in)? |
| \text{Néa'ta'óetsenovohe?} | \text{Did his \_ acc. hit you (pl)?} | \text{Néa'ta'óetsenovotse?} | Did his \_ (pl) acc. hit you (pl)? |
| \text{Éa'ta'óetsenovohe?} | \text{Did his \_ acc. his them?} | \text{Éa'ta'óetsenovote?} | Did his \_ (pl) acc. hit them? |

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Negative Interrogative verbs

| \text{Násáa'a'ta'óehehe?} | \text{Didn't it acc. hit me?} | \text{Násáa'a'ta'óehenotse?} | Didn't they acc. hit me? |
| \text{Nésáa'a'ta'óehhehehe?} | \text{Didn't it acc. hit you?} | \text{Nésáa'a'ta'óehenotse?} | Didn't they acc. hit you? |
| \text{Ésáa'a'ta'óehhehehe?} | \text{Didn't it acc. hit him?} | \text{Ésáa'a'ta'óehenotse?} | Didn't they acc. hit him? |
| \text{Ésáa'a'ta'óehetshehe?} | \text{Didn't it acc. hit him (obv)?} | \text{Ésáa'a'ta'óehetsenotse?} | Didn't they acc. hit him (obv)? |
| \text{Nósáa'a'ta'óehenonehehe?} | \text{Didn't it acc. hit us (ex)?} | \text{Nósáa'a'ta'óehenovotse?} | Didn't they acc. hit us (ex)? |
| \text{Nésóoa'a'ta'óehenonehehe?} | \text{Didn't it acc. hit you (pl)?} | \text{Nésóoa'a'ta'óehenovotse?} | Didn't they acc. hit you (pl)? |
| \text{Ésóoa'a'ta'óehenovohehe?} | \text{Didn't it acc. hit them?} | \text{Ésóoa'a'ta'óehenovote?} | Didn't they acc. hit them? |

Examples in sentences

\begin{itemize}
\item Hemòxe'éstónestótse néa'ta'óetsehe?
\item Kȧhámáxe nésáa'a'ta'óehenovohe?
\end{itemize}
Ditransitive Independent Indicative verbs

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náméttahtse</td>
<td>I gave it to myself</td>
<td>Émétahhtsetse</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétat CONF</td>
<td>I gave it to you</td>
<td>Náméttaetsenone</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NámétoCONF</td>
<td>I gave it to him</td>
<td>Náméttaetsenone</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétamóho</td>
<td>I gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>Náméttaetsenó CONF</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nématsénóvo</td>
<td>I gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td>Émétænóvo</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétónoo CONF</td>
<td>I gave it to them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméts CONF</td>
<td>You gave it to me</td>
<td>Némétatsemeno</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétahhtse</td>
<td>You gave it to yourself</td>
<td>NámétamoneCONF</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétó CONF</td>
<td>You gave it to him</td>
<td>Námétahhtséné CONF</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamóho</td>
<td>You gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétatsemeno</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétą CONF</td>
<td>You gave it to us (ex)</td>
<td>Námétoneo’oCONF</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétónoo CONF</td>
<td>You gave it to them</td>
<td>NémétoneCONF</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméttaa CONF</td>
<td>He gave it to me</td>
<td>NámétoneCONF</td>
<td>We (in) gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétta CONF</td>
<td>He gave it to you</td>
<td>Námétamone</td>
<td>We (in) gave it to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétahht CONF</td>
<td>He gave it to himself</td>
<td>Námétahhtséné</td>
<td>We (in) gave it to ourselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>ÉmétóCONF</td>
<td>He gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétonoe’oCONF</td>
<td>We (in) gave it to them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétąenone CONF</td>
<td>He gave it to us (excl)</td>
<td>Námétsénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to me</td>
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<tr>
<td>Néméta CONF</td>
<td>He gave it to us (incl)</td>
<td>NémétôCONF</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaenóvo</td>
<td>He gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némé蓬CONF</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméta CONF</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to me</td>
<td>Némé蓬CONF</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméta CONF</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to you</td>
<td>Némé蓬CONF</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to yourselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

108 Also Námétame CONF

109 Or Émét CONF for some speakers because of its stem-final phonemic high pitch
You (pl) gave it to them  They gave it to me
Námétaenōvo They gave it to you (pl)  Námétaenōvo They gave it to you

Émétónōvo They gave it to him (obv)  Émétaenōvo They gave it to them
Námétaenone They gave it to us (ex)  Émétaenōvo They gave it to you (pl)
Némétanēnone They gave it to us (in)  Némétaenōvo They gave it to you
Némétanēnone They gave it to us (ex)  Némétaenōvo They gave it to you
Némétanēnone They gave it to us (in)  Émétaenōvo They gave it to them

Námétáne I was given it  Námétáne You were given it
Námétanénone I was given it  Námétanénone You were given it
Émetse He was given it  Námétanénone He was given it
Námétanénōne We (ex) were given it  Námétanénon  He gave them to me
Némétanénōne We (in) were given it  Námétanénōne He gave them to you
Némétanénōne We (pl) were given it  Námétanénōne He gave them to him
Némétanénōne We (pl) were given it  Námétanénōne He gave them to him (obv)
Námétanénōne We (pl) were given it  Námétanénōne He gave them to us (ex)
Námétanénōne We (pl) were given it  Námétanénōne He gave them to us (in)
Námétanénōne We (pl) were given it  Námétanénōne He gave them to you (pl)
Námétanénōne We (pl) were given it  Námétanénōne He gave them to them

Émétaenōvo They gave it to themselves  Námétaenōvo They gave it to me
Námétaenōvo They gave it to you  Námétaenōvo They gave it to you

'give (some things to someone)'

These ditransitive verbs refer to when plural inanimate objects are given to someone.

Námétatsemenôtse I gave them to myself  Námétsen I gave them to myself
Némétatsemenôtse I gave them to you  Némétsen I gave them to you
Némétatsemenôtse I gave them to him  Némétsen I gave them to him
Némétatsemenôtse I gave them to him (obv)  Némétsen I gave them to him (obv)
Némétatsemenôtse I gave them to you (pl)  Némétsen I gave them to you (pl)
Némétatsemenôtse I gave them to them  Némétsen I gave them to them
Námétanénōne I was given it  Námétanénone You were given it
Námétanénōne I was given it  Námétanénone You were given it
Émétsen He was given it  Námétanénōne He was given it
Námétanénone We (ex) were given it  Námétanénone He gave them to me
Némétanénone We (in) were given it  Némétanénone He gave them to you
Némétanénone We (pl) were given it  Némétanénone He gave them to him
Némétanénone We (pl) were given it  Némétanénone He gave them to him (obv)
Némétanénone We (pl) were given it  Némétanénone He gave them to us (ex)
Némétanénone We (pl) were given it  Némétanénone He gave them to us (in)
Némétanénone We (pl) were given it  Némétanénone He gave them to you (pl)
Némétanénone We (pl) were given it  Némétanénone He gave them to them

Émétaenôtse They gave them to me  Émétaenôtse They gave them to me
Námétaenôtse They gave them to you  Námétaenôtse They gave them to you
Émétahtsénôtse They gave them to themselves  Émétaenôtse They gave them to themselves
Námétahtsênôtse They gave them to me  Námétahtsênôtse They gave them to me
Námétahtsênôtse They gave them to you  Námétahtsênôtse They gave them to you
Námétahtsênôtse They gave them to him  Námétahtsênôtse They gave them to him
Námétahtsênôtse They gave them to him (obv)  Námétahtsênôtse They gave them to him (obv)
Námétahtsênôtse They gave them to you (pl)  Námétahtsênôtse They gave them to you (pl)
Námétahtsênôtse They gave them to them  Námétahtsênôtse They gave them to them

Námétanôno Némétanôno You (pl) gave them to me
Némétanôno They gave it to you (pl)
Némétanôno They gave it to them
Némétanôno They gave it to themselves
Émétaenôvo They gave it to them
Námétanôvo They gave it to you (pl)
Námétanôvo They gave it to them
Námétanôvo They gave it to themselves

Émétaenôvo They gave it to him (obv)
Námétanôvo They gave it to us (ex)
Némétanôvo They gave it to you (pl)
Émétahtsênôvo They gave it to themselves

Émétaenôvo They gave it to you
Námétanôvo They gave it to me
Némétanôvo They gave it to us
/-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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Subject Form</th>
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<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námétáhtsenõtse</td>
<td>I gave him to myself</td>
<td>Námétanenõtse</td>
<td>I was given him</td>
<td>Námétanenõtse</td>
<td>We (ex) were given him</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némétätasenõtse</td>
<td>I gave him to you</td>
<td>Némétanenõtse</td>
<td>I was given him</td>
<td>Némétanenõtse</td>
<td>We (ex) were given him</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námémétasenõtse</td>
<td>I gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétanenõtse</td>
<td>I was given him</td>
<td>Némétanénone</td>
<td>We (in) were given him</td>
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<td>Námétatšenõvé</td>
<td>I gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétanénone</td>
<td>We (in) were given him</td>
<td>Némétanénone</td>
<td>We (pl) were given him</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>I gave him to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némétáhtsenõtse</td>
<td>He (obv) gave him (obv') to me</td>
<td>Némétanénone</td>
<td>We (pl) were given him</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétamónono</td>
<td>I gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétanéneo</td>
<td>They gave him (obv) to us (ex)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>I gave him (obv') to them</td>
<td>Námétamónono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétanéneo</td>
<td>They gave him (obv) to us (in)</td>
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<td>Námétanovono</td>
<td>I gave him (obv') to them</td>
<td>Námétamónovo</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv') to them</td>
<td>Námétanéneo</td>
<td>They gave him (obv) to (pl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétensõtse</td>
<td>You gave him to me</td>
<td>Náménenõtse</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv') to you</td>
<td>Námététsenõvo</td>
<td>They gave him (obv) to themselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétamónono</td>
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<td>Náménenõtse</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv') to you</td>
<td>Némétamónoto</td>
<td>They gave him (obv) to him (obv)</td>
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<td>Námétañono</td>
<td>You gave him to us (ex)</td>
<td>Námétanénõvo</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to us (ex)</td>
<td>Némétamónoto</td>
<td>They gave him (obv) to him (obv)</td>
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<td>Námétsenovo</td>
<td>You gave him (obv') to you (pl)</td>
<td>Námétanénõvo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétensõtse</td>
<td>You gave him to me</td>
<td>Námétanénõvo</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to us (ex)</td>
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<td>Námétanénõvo</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to us (ex)</td>
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<td>Námétsenovo</td>
<td>You gave him (obv') to them</td>
<td>Námétanénõvo</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to us (ex)</td>
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<td>Námétensõtse</td>
<td>You gave him to me</td>
<td>Námétanénõvo</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to us (ex)</td>
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<td>Námétanénõvo</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to us (ex)</td>
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<td>Námétañono</td>
<td>You gave him to us (ex)</td>
<td>Námétanénõvo</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to us (ex)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétsenovo</td>
<td>You gave him (obv') to you (pl)</td>
<td>Námétanénõvo</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to us (ex)</td>
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</table>

$\text{**RECHECK PROX/OBV of secondary object??**}$:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námétatšenono</td>
<td>He (obv) gave him (obv') to me</td>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to you</td>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to you</td>
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<tr>
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<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to you</td>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to you</td>
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<td>Námétatšenono</td>
<td>He (obv) gave him (obv') to himself</td>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to you</td>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to you</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétatšenono</td>
<td>He (obv) gave him (obv') to us (ex)</td>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to them</td>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétatšenono</td>
<td>He (obv) gave him (obv') to us (in)</td>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to them</td>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétatšenono</td>
<td>He (obv) gave him (obv') to you (pl)</td>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to them</td>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétatšenono</td>
<td>He (obv) gave him (obv') to them</td>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to them</td>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétatšenono</td>
<td>He (obv) gave him (obv') to them</td>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to them</td>
<td>Námétonono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

115 Also Námétamónono
116 Also Námétamónono
/\-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</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námétahsénoto</td>
<td>I gave them to myself</td>
<td>Námétonovo</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them (obv) to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétatsénoto</td>
<td>I gave them to you</td>
<td>Námétaenoovo</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétamónoto</td>
<td>I gave them (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Némétamónoto</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétatsénvoov'o</td>
<td>I gave them (obv') to them</td>
<td>Náméténovoo</td>
<td>They gave them (obv') to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétonovo</td>
<td>You gave them to me</td>
<td>Námétáenovo '</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétahsénoto</td>
<td>You gave them to yourself</td>
<td>Émétsenoto</td>
<td>They gave them (obv') to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétatoono</td>
<td>You gave them (obv') to him</td>
<td>Námétaenóneoo'o</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamónoto</td>
<td>You gave them (obv') to him</td>
<td>Némétáenóvoovo'o</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaménovo'o</td>
<td>You gave them to us (ex)</td>
<td>Némétatsemenoto</td>
<td>I was given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamoovo</td>
<td>You gave them to us (in)</td>
<td>Némétatsemenoo'o</td>
<td>You were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaménovo</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them (obv) to them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\$RECHECK PROX/OBV status of secondary object??:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námétaenesenoto</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to me</td>
<td>Námétamónoto</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétatessenoto</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to you</td>
<td>Námétaménovo</td>
<td>You (pl) were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétahsétsenoto</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them (obv') to himself</td>
<td>Émétsenoo'o</td>
<td>They were given them (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétatessenone</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them (obv') to us (ex)</td>
<td>Námétatsemenoo'o</td>
<td>They were given them (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétatessenone</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them (obv') to us (in)</td>
<td>Némétatsemenoo'o</td>
<td>They were given them (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamenone</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them (obv') to me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamenone</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them (obv') to you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamenone</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them (obv') to them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamenone</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them (obv') to pl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamenone</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétáenono</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétáenono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Námétáenono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them (obv') to us (ex)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Némétáenono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them (obv') to us (in)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétáenono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them (obv') to you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétáenono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them (obv') to them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Némétáenono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them (obv') to them</td>
<td></td>
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<td>We (ex) gave them (obv') to us (ex)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>We (ex) gave them (obv') to us (in)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Némétáenono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them (obv') to you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>We (ex) gave them (obv') to us (ex)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétáenono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them (obv') to you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétáenono</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them (obv') to them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

117 This can also be translated as 'him (obv') since obviatives can be either singular or plural.
118 Also Námétamónone
119 Also Némétamónone
Ditransitive primary and secondary objects (insert in TOC)

Explain. Cite Rhodes (1990a) cited in Oxford "Algonquian" (p. 10)

Discuss and show examples:

Ná-ho'entsétohntáho. 'I brought it to him.'

Ná-ho'entsétohntáhónoto oekéséhesono. 'I brought a puppy (obv) to him (obv).'</ná-ho'entsétohntáhónoto oekéséhesono. '

Né-ho'entsétohntáhntsónóvo. 'I brought it to you (pl).'

Some other Ditransitive Independent Indicative verbs

| Návóó'séhonóto | I showed them (inan) to him |
| Évóó'séhonóto | He showed them (obv') to him (obv) |
| Návóó'séhaenónó | He showed it to us (exclusive) |
| Návóó'séhaenóto | He showed them (obv) to me |
| Nánomáhtséhaenótse | He stole them (inan) from me |
| Nánomáhtséhaenóto | He stole him (obv) from me |

Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs

| Násáamétóhe | I didn't give it to him |
| Násáamétaáhe | He didn't give it to me |
| Násáavóó'séhaéhe | He didn't show it to me |
| Násáamétóhoenótse | I didn't give them (inan) to them |
| Ésáamétaehehénóvo | He (obviative) didn't give it to them |
| Násáamétohénónéstse | We (exclusive) didn't give them (inan) to him |
| Násáamétohénónone | We (inclusive) didn't give it to him |
| Násáamétahénovótse | They didn't give them (inan) to you |
| Násáamétahénovóto | They didn't give him/them (obv) to me |
| Násámanóhhtséhóhenótse | I did not steal them (inan) from him |

Some Ditransitive Independent Interrogative verbs

| Némétohe? | Did you give it to him? |
| Émétohevohe? | Did he give it to him (obviative)? |
| Némétonovohe? | Did you (plural) give it to him? |
| Émétonovohe? | Did they give it to him (obv)? |
| Nmétaenótohe? | Did he give them (inan) to you? |
| Nmétaenotohe? | Did he give him (obviative) to you? |
| Névóó'séhónovótohe??? | Did you (plural) show them (inan) to them? |

Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Interrogative verbs

| Násáamétóhénovohe?? | Didn't you (plural) give it to them? |
| Násáamétahénovótse?? | Didn't he give them (inan) to you? |
| Ésáamétahénohe?? | Didn't he (obv) give him (obv') to him? |

Some Ditransitive Independent Inferential verbs

| Mómétóhe | He must have given them (inan) to him (obv) |
| Mónávóó'séhaenótohe?? | He must have shown him (obviative) to me |
Mónánomáhtséhaehéhe  He must have stolen it from me

**Some Ditransitive Imperative verbs**
Métseha!  Give it to him!
Néhmetséstse!\(^{120}\)  Give it to me!

**Some Ditransitive Hortative verbs**
Métoha!  Let him give it/them to him (obv)!
Vóó'séhóvóha!??  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\(^{121}\) 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.

- tséhnéménése\(^{122}\)  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 mâh-. Suffixes in the potential for third person subjects require an /ht/ whereas third person suffixes in the indicative are usually /s/.

- mâhméovóonā'o  when it is morning
- mâhnéxho‘éhnéstse  when he arrives

\(^{120}\) 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.

\(^{121}\) 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 conjunct 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.

\(^{122}\) Some speakers also say tséhnéménéstse. It is unclear what, if any, difference there is between tséhnéménése and tséhnéménéstse.
Conditional
This mode uses the potential prefix and adds the preverb vé' to it, creating a conditional:

máhvénéménéstse if he sings
máhvé'háomóhtähévóhtse 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'tonétó whenever it was cold

Habitual
The habitual mode refers to how things typically occur. Its prefix is ôh-, but this prefix is difficult to hear and is often omitted. The habitual mode suffix /-ht/ is added after person and number suffixes.

Épéhévoéstomo'he. 'She is kind.' Response: òhnauóotseséstse! 'when she's asleep'
(humorous response about a sister-in-law)
òhméovóona'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 –nëše and sometimes also the preverb kánome-.

hó'néšenéménéstse even if he sings, even though he sang
hó'nëšë-hoháetonétó 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 háomóhtäheto. 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'énómo. 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.

éóngéménéstse whether/if he sang (e.g. I wonder if he sang)
Násáahéne'enóhe éóhoo'kōho 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-nemeotötse, page _____) has a verb in the oratio oblique mode:

$$INCLUDE SONG
The verb is tséhméhaevoneotsevo 'when I used to be lost (removed)'. Note that the –vo suffix contrasts with the /-tó/ suffix of the regular conjunct indicative verb, tséhméhaevoneotséto 'when I was lost'. $$TRY TO GET A CLEARER DESCRIPTION OF THE SEMANTIC DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO FORMS

tséhvoneotse-vo when I was lost (removed)
tséhvoneotse-vöse when you were lost (removed)

Infinitive
$$RECHECK: This mode takes the prefix é- plus the me'- 'should' preverb and the heše-complementizer preverb.

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'kohóhane?? 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-. SEPARATE
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsénéménéstse</th>
<th>the singer (i.e. the one who sings)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsénéménese</td>
<td>the singers (those who sing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškese</td>
<td>the one who is his mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsétséhéstáhese (Tsitsistas)</td>
<td>Cheyennes (i.e. those who are Cheyennes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséháóénáhtse</td>
<td>the one who prays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsépéhéva’ee’estse</td>
<td>those things (inanimate) which are good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséa’kasétoo’estse</td>
<td>those things (inanimate) which are round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévéstoemo</td>
<td>my spouse (lit. the one I sit with)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséameohtséhaesee’e</td>
<td>those who are leading you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséohkéeháhané’oevose</td>
<td>those (obv) who are close to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaesee</td>
<td>those (obv) who love him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhóó’xevomotahóvose Ma’heóneva</td>
<td>those who announce for God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénéheséháta’ósee</td>
<td>those who depend on you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótónono</td>
<td>those who I love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhnésésee</td>
<td>the two of you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhno’káhéto</td>
<td>I alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstóxése</td>
<td>all of us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles are required when a verb is needed to ask Cheyenne questions about 'What?' (e.g. Hénáá’e) and 'Who?' (e.g. Névááhe): $$RECHECK$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Névááhe tsénéménéstse?</th>
<th>Who is singing?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Névááhe tsénéméseestse? ??</td>
<td>Who is eating?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néváaseo’o tsénaóotsese? ??</td>
<td>Who (plural) are sleeping?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névááhe tséhestánóhtse? ??</td>
<td>Who took it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névááhe tsého’aese? ??</td>
<td>Who wants it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névááhe tsého’tséstse? ??</td>
<td>Who has it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névááhe tsévéstoemóhtse?</td>
<td>Who are you married to?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névááhe(??) tsévéstoemose?</td>
<td>Who is he married to?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névéaseo’o tsépéhévatsésto___ ??</td>
<td>Who (plural) likes them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hénáá’e tsévéohtomo? ??</td>
<td>What do you see?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hénáá’e tsého’áheto? ??</td>
<td>What do you want?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hénová’ehötse tsémésése? ??</td>
<td>What (plural) did you (plural) eat?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Conjunct Order morphology summary**

("tse" = /te/; "est" = /eht/; /eht/ = "est")

(´ without a segment specified indicates word-final phonological high pitch)

AI

-tó 1 [-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
-tse-se /-te-se/ 3'
-tsé 1PL
-sé 2PL
-se 3PL

AI iterative
-tó 1
-to 2
-h’t
-tse-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
-vos + -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)
-a’è + -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
-a’è + -tse + -s (INV-OBV-3.CJT) 3’:1
-áta’ + -osé 3(PL)’-2
-ae + -s (INV-3.CJT) 3’:3
-a’è + -vo + -s’ (INV-3PL-3.CJT) 3PL:1

Conjunct Order TA Habituals and Participles take the -ht suffix instead of -s:

-ht 2:3
-a’è + -ht 3:1
-ht’ 3:3’
-ae + -ht 3’:3
-a’è + -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 + -tsé 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'

tsénhémenéto123 when I sang

123 It is uncertain whether a penultimate pitch is mid or high when it is preceded by one or more low pitches.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsénémeneto</td>
<td>when you sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhnéménelse</td>
<td>when he sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhnémenentsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhnémenétse</td>
<td>when we sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhnémenése</td>
<td>when you (plural) sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhnémenév</td>
<td>when they sang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **-mane 'drink'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhmanéto</td>
<td>when I drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmaneto</td>
<td>when you drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmanése</td>
<td>when he drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmanetsy</td>
<td>when he (obviative) drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmanétsé</td>
<td>when we drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmanése</td>
<td>when you (plural) drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmanév</td>
<td>when they drank</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **/-háóéná/ 'pray'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséxháoénáto</td>
<td>when I prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháoenato</td>
<td>when you prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháoénése</td>
<td>when he prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháoensése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháoénétse</td>
<td>when we prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháoénése</td>
<td>when you (plural) prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháoénév</td>
<td>when they prayed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **-mésehe 'eat'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsémésehéto</td>
<td>when I ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméseheto</td>
<td>when you ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméseese</td>
<td>when he ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémésehetsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémésehétse</td>
<td>when we ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémésehése</td>
<td>when you (plural) ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémésehévose</td>
<td>when they ate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **/-sévánó/ 'ski, skate'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséssévanóto</td>
<td>when I skated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssévanoto</td>
<td>when you skated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssévanése</td>
<td>when he skated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssévanetsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) skated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssévanétse</td>
<td>when we skated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssévanése</td>
<td>when you (plural) skated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssévanévose</td>
<td>when they skated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **/-oveš(ná)/ 'go to bed'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé’ovéšenáto</td>
<td>when I went to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé’ovéšenato</td>
<td>when you went to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé’ovéšése</td>
<td>when he went to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé’ovéšenatsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) went to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé’ovéšenátse</td>
<td>when we went to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé’ovéšenése</td>
<td>when you (plural) went to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé’ovéšenévose</td>
<td>when they went to bed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

124 There is no difference between exclusive and inclusive 'we' subjects of Cheyenne AI conjunct verbs.
/-néé/ 'be standing'
- tséhnééto when I was standing
- tséhnééto when you were standing
- tséhnééêse when he was standing
- tséhnééêse when he (obviative) was standing
- tséhnééêsetse when we were standing
- tséhnééêse when you (plural) were standing
- tséhnééêvôse when they were standing

-hoo’e -/hoe/ 'be at'
- tséxhoéto when I was (here/there)
- tséxhoeto when you were (here/there)
- tséxhoo’êse when he was (here/there)
- tséxhoetsêse when he (obviative) was (here/there)
- tséxhoêtse when we were (here/there)
- tséxhoêse when you (plural) were (here/there)
- tséxhoêvôse when they were (here/there)

-éestse 'speak'
- tsé’éestséto when I spoke
- tsé’éestseto when you spoke
- tsé’éestsêse when he spoke
- tsé’éestsetsêse when he (obviative) spoke
- tsé’éestsetse when we spoke
- tsé’éestsêse when you (plural) spoke
- tsé’éestsévôse when they spoke

/-émá/ 'take a sweat'
- tsé’émáto when I took a sweat
- tsé’émato when you took a sweat
- tsé’émâse when he took a sweat
- tsé’ématsêse when he (obviative) took a sweat
- tsé’émâtse when we took a sweat
- tsé’émâse when you (plural) took a sweat
- tsé’émâvôse 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:

- tséhnéehóvéto as for myself $\$RECHECK GLOSSES
- tséhnéehôveto as for you
- tséhnéehôvése as for him/her
- tséhnéehôvôsêse?? as for him/her (obviative)
- tséhnéehôvêtse as for us
- tséhnéehôvêse as for you (plural)
- tséhnéehôvôse as for them

néh- prefix conjunct verbs
- Some conjunct verbs take a néh- prefix and conjunct indicative third person suffixes but have

\[125\text{ It is uncertain if the penultimate pitch is high or mid when it is preceded by one or more low pitches.}\]
meanings more like participles:

'the one alone'

néhno'kâhéto  I alone
néhno'kâheto  you alone
néhno'kaese  he/she alone
néhno'kâhetsése??  he/she (obviative) alone
néhno'kâhétse??  we alone
néhno'kâhése??  you (plural) alone
néhno'kâhévôse  they alone

'both of'

néhnhéséte  both of us
néhnhésése  both of you
néhnhésévôse  both of them
néhnhéshêstse??  both of them (obviative)

'all of'

nêstôxétse  all of us
nêstôxése  all of you (plural)
nêstôxévôse  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 nâhtapêhêvetanóotse 'When you sing I’ll be happy'.

/-némené/ 'sing'

mâhnémenéto  when I sing
mâhnémeneto  when you sing
mâhnéménéstse  when he sings
mâhnémenetséstse  when he (obviative) sings
mâhnémenétse  when we sing
mâhnémenése  when you (plural) sing
mâhnémenévôhtse  when they sing

/-hâóéná/ 'pray'

máxhâóénáto  when I pray
máxhâoenató  when you pray
máxhâóénátse  when he prays
máxhâoenatséstse  when he (obviative) prays
máxhâóénâtse  when we pray
máxhâóénése  when you (plural) pray
máxhâóénávôhtse  when they pray

201
### -mésehe 'eat'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>máhméséheto</td>
<td>when you eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhméséheto</td>
<td>when he eats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhméseestse</td>
<td>when (obviative) eats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhméséhetséstse</td>
<td>when he (pl) eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhméséhétse</td>
<td>when we eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhméséhése</td>
<td>when they eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### /-sévanó/ 'ski, skate'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>másévanóto</td>
<td>when I skate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>másévanoto</td>
<td>when you skate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>másévánóhtse</td>
<td>when he skates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>másévánotséstse</td>
<td>when (obviative) skates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>másévánótse</td>
<td>when we skate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>másévanóse</td>
<td>when you (pl) skate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>másévanóvótse</td>
<td>when they skate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### /-ovešé(ná)/ 'go to bed'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma’ovēšenáto</td>
<td>when I go to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’ovēšenato</td>
<td>when you go to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’ovēšéstse</td>
<td>when he goes to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’ovēšenatséstse</td>
<td>when (obviative) go to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’ovēšenátse</td>
<td>when we go to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’ovēšenáse</td>
<td>when you (pl) go to bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’ovēšenávôse</td>
<td>when they go to bed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

#### /-nénéné/ 'sing'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséssáanénénénénéheto</td>
<td>when I did not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáanénénénénéheto</td>
<td>when you did not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáanénénénénénése</td>
<td>when he did not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáanénénénénénésésése</td>
<td>when (obviative) did not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáanénénénénénéhétse</td>
<td>when we did not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáanénénénénénénésé</td>
<td>when you (pl) did not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáanénénénénénénénésé</td>
<td>when they did not sing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### -mésehe 'eat'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséssáaméséhéséheto</td>
<td>when I did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáaméséhéséheto</td>
<td>when you did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáaméséhéséhése</td>
<td>when he did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáaméséhéséhésésése</td>
<td>when (obviative) did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáaméséhéséhétse</td>
<td>when we did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáaméséhéséhése</td>
<td>when you (pl) did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáaméséhéséhésése</td>
<td>when they did not eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### /-háóéná/ 'pray'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséssáaháóénáheto</td>
<td>when I did not pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáaháóenáheto</td>
<td>when you did not pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáaháóenáése</td>
<td>when he did not pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáaháóenáhésése</td>
<td>when (obviative) did not pray</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tséssáahóóénáhéétse  when we did not pray  
tséssáahóóénáhéése  when you (plural) did not pray  
tséssáahóóénáhévéose  when they did not pray

/-néé/ 'be standing'

  tséssáanééhéto  when I was not standing  
  tséssáahnéeheto  when you were not standing  
  tséssáanééése  when he was not standing  
  tséssáanééhetsése  when he (obviative) was not standing  
  tséssáanééhétsése  when we were not standing  
  tséssáanééhéhése  when you (plural) were not standing  
  tséssáanééhévévése  when they were not standing

-hoo'e /-hoe/ 'be at'

  tséssáahoehēto\textsuperscript{126}  when I was not (here/there)  
  tséssáahoeheto  when you were not (here/there)  
  tséssáahoéése  when he was not (here/there)  
  tséssáahoehetsése  when he (obviative) was not (here/there)  
  tséssáahoehētsese  when we were not (here/there)  
  tséssáahoehēhése  when you (plural) were not (here/there)  
  tséssáahoehēvévése  when they were not (here/there)

\textsuperscript{126} 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'

másáanénemenhéto when I do not sing
másáanémenéheto when you do not sing
másáanénénééstse when he does not sing
másáanénénèhetséstse when he (obviative) does not sing
másáanénénénèhéstse when we do not sing
másáanénénèhéstes when you (plural) do not sing
másáanénénèhévóhtse when they do not sing

-/mésehe 'eat'

másáamésèhèhèto when I do not eat
másáamésèhèheto when you do not eat
másáamésèhèéstse when he does not eat
másáamésèhèhetséstse when he (obviative) does not eat
másáamésèhèhétse when we do not eat
másáamésèhèhése when you (plural) do not eat
másáamésèhèhévóhtse when they do not eat

-/háóéná/ 'pray'

másáaháóénèhèto when I do not pray
másáaháóenèheto when you do not pray
másáaháóënèéstse when he does not pray
másáaháóenèhetséstse when he (obviative) does not pray
másáaháóënèhétse when we do not pray
másáaháóënèhéstse when you (plural) do not pray
másáaháóënèhévóhtse when they do not pray

-/néé/ 'be standing'

másáanènéhéto when I am not standing
másáahnènéheto when you are not standing
másáanééeéstse when he is not standing
másáanéèhetséstse when he (obviative) is not standing
másáanéèhéstse when we are not standing
másáanéèhéstse when you (plural) are not standing
másáanéèhévóhtse when they are not standing

-/hoo'e /-hoe/ 'be at'

másáahoehéto\textsuperscript{127} 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)
másáahoehéstse when you (plural) are not (here/there)
másáahoehévóhtse when they are not (here/there)

\textbf{Animate Intransitive Conjunct Habitual verbs}

This mode refers to action which habitually occurs. The ôh- prefix is difficult to hear and is

\textsuperscript{127} 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'**

(óh)naóotsétonótse when I sleep  
(óh)naóotsétoséstse when you sleep  
(óh)naóotseséséstse when he sleeps  
(óh)naóotsétéséséstse when he (obviative) sleeps  
(óh)naóotsétéeéstse when we sleep  
(óh)naóotséseenéstse when you (plural) sleep  
(óh)naóotsévoséstse when they sleep

**-/ho'sóé/ 'dance'**

xho'sótotonótse when I dance  
xho'sótoséstse when you dance  
xho'sóeséséstse when he dances  
xho'sóetséséséstse when he (obviative) dances  
xho'sóetseeéstse when we dance  
xho'sóoseéstse when you (plural) dance  
xho'sóevoséstse when they dance

**-mésehe 'eat'**

to'séméséhétonótse when I'm going to eat  
to'séméséhétoséstse when you are going to eat  
to'séméséheséséstse when he is going to eat  
to'séméséhtéséséstse when he (obviative) is going to eat  
to'séméséhtéeéstse when we are going to eat  
to'séméséheseéstse when you (plural) are going to eat  
to'séméséhévóséstse when they are going to eat

**Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Generic**

sáanaóotséhétonótse when I do not sleep  
sáanaóotséhoséstse when you do not sleep  
sáanaóotséheséséstse when he does not sleep  
sáanaóotséhteséséstse when he (obviative) does not sleep  
sáanaóotséheseéstse when you (plural) do not sleep  
sáanaóotséhevóséstse when they do not sleep

**Examples in sentences**

- Óhnaóotsétoséstse néohkenésó’énome.\(^{128}\) When(ever) you sleep you snore.  
- Xho’sótotonótse néohkéhohátsé’tóó’e he’eo’o.\(^{129}\) When I dance the women laugh at me.  
- Tsévéstemo éohkéhéhene’ëna to’séméséhétonótse. My wife knows when I'm going to eat.  
- Ma’heo’o éohképéhávátséstse ohméhósanéséestse. God likes it when we love.

---

\(^{128}\) Some speakers consider the iterative mode more natural: Ho'naóotseto néohkenésó’énome 'Whenever you sleep you snore.'

\(^{129}\) Some speakers consider the iterative mode more natural: Ho’ho’sóéto néahkéhohátsé’tóó’e he’eo’o 'Whenever I dance the women laughed 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’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hó'némenéto</td>
<td>whenever I sang/sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'némeneto</td>
<td>whenever you sang/sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'néménéstse</td>
<td>whenever he sang/sings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'néménetséstse</td>
<td>whenever he (obviative) sang/sings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'némenétse</td>
<td>whenever we sang/sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'némenése</td>
<td>whenever you (plural) sang/sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'némenévöhhtse</td>
<td>whenever they sang/sing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-a’xaame 'cry’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hó’ea’xaamēto</td>
<td>whenever I cried/cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’ea’xaameto</td>
<td>whenever you cried/cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’ea’xaãmēstse</td>
<td>whenever he cried/cries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’ea’xaametséstse</td>
<td>whenever he (obviative) cried/cries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’ea’xaamētse</td>
<td>whenever we cried/cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’ea’xaamēse</td>
<td>whenever you (plural) cried/cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’ea’xaamēvōhtse</td>
<td>whenever they cried/cry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

Hó’némenéto éhohátseo'o he'eo'o  Whenever I sang, the women laughed
Hó’ea’xaameto néohkevéståhématanō'továtse  Whenever you cried, I wanted to help you

130 It is uncertain whether the penultimate pitch is mid or high.
### Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential verbs

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'nómenéto 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-némené/ 'sing'</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nómenéto</td>
<td>I must not have sung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nómeneto</td>
<td>You must not have sung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nóménéstse</td>
<td>He must not have sung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nómenetséstse</td>
<td>He (obviative) must not have sung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nómenésé</td>
<td>We must not have sung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nómenése</td>
<td>You (plural) must not have sung</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-mésehe 'eat'</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nóméséhéto</td>
<td>I must not have eaten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nóméséheto</td>
<td>You must not have eaten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nóméseestse</td>
<td>He must not have eaten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nóméséhetséstse</td>
<td>He (obviative) must not have eaten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nóméséhétse</td>
<td>We must not have eaten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nóméséhévóhtse</td>
<td>They must not have eaten</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-háóéná/ 'pray'</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóháóénáto</td>
<td>I must not have prayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóhaoenato</td>
<td>You must not have prayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóháóénáhtse</td>
<td>He must not have prayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóhaoenatséstse</td>
<td>He (obviative) must not have prayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóháóénátses</td>
<td>We must not have prayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóháóénáse</td>
<td>You (plural) must not have prayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóháóénávóhtse</td>
<td>They must not have prayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Animate Intransitive Conjunct Participles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-némené/ 'sing'</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenéto</td>
<td>I who sing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémeneto</td>
<td>you who sing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénéménéstse</td>
<td>he who sings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénéménetsese</td>
<td>he (obviative) who sings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénéménéstse</td>
<td>we who sing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénéménése</td>
<td>you (plural) who sing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémeneesse</td>
<td>they who sing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-hetanéve/ 'be a man'</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhetanéveto</td>
<td>I who am a man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhetanéveto</td>
<td>you who are a man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tséhetanevëstse he who is a man
*tséhetanévetse* he (obviative) who is a man
*tséhetanévetse* we who are men
*tséhetanévése* you (plural) who are men
*tséhetanévese* they who are men

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

tséháóénáto I who pray
*tséháoenato* you who pray
*tséháóenáhtse* he who prays
*tséháoenatsese* he (obviative) who prays
*tséháóénátse* we who pray
*tséháóénáse* you (plural) who pray
*tséháoenase* they who pray

-tséhéstæhe 'be Cheyenne'

Tsétsëhéstahéto I who am a Cheyenne
Tsétsëhéstaheto you who are a Cheyenne
Tsétsëhéstæstse he who is a Cheyenne
Tsétsëhéstahéstse he (obviative) who is a Cheyenne (practical spelling: Tsitsistaists)
Tsétsëhéstahéstse we who are Cheyennes (practical spelling: Tsitsistats)
Tsétsëhéstahéstse you (plural) who are Cheyennes
Tsétsëhéstahéstse they who are Cheyennes (practical spelling: Tsitsistas)

-hotse'oho 'work'

*tséhotse'óheto* 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'óhése* you (plural) who work
*tséhotse'óhese* they who work

Examples in sentences

Tsénémenese étséhéstahéo'o The singers are Cheyennes
Hóhtséme tséheóvaestse étáhpéta The ball that is yellow is big
Hetane tséhotse'óöestse?? ékahaneotse The man who is working is tired

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Participles

/-nénëné/ 'sing'

*tséssáanénenëhéto* I who do not sing
*tséssáanénenëheto* you who do not sing
*tséssáanénenëéstse* he who does not sing
*tséssáanénenëhetsese* he (obviative) who does not sing
*tséssáanénenëhéstse* we who do not sing
*tséssáanénenëhése* you (plural) who do not sing
*tséssáanénenëhese* they who do not sing

/-hetanévé/ 'be a man'

*tséssáahetanévéhéto* I who am not a man
*tséssáahetanévéheto* you who are not a man
*tséssáahetanévééstse??* he who is not a man
tsésáahetanéhevetsese  she (obviative) who is not a man
tsésáahetanévėhētse  we who are not men
tsésáahetanévėhēse  you (plural) who are not men
tsēhetanévėhēse  they who are not men

/háóéná/ 'pray'
- tsésáaháóénahēto  I who do not pray
- tsésáaháoenaheto  you who do not pray
- tsésáaháóénāéstse??  he who does not pray
- tsésáaháoenahetsese??  he (obviative) who does not pray
- tsésáaháóénahētse  we who do not pray
- tsésáaháoenahēse  you (plural) who does not pray
- tsésáaháóenahēse  they who does not pray

-hotse'ohe 'work'
- tsésáahotse'ōhéhéto  I who do not work
- tsésáahotse'ōheheto  you who do not work
- tsésáahotse'ōééstse??  he who does not work
- tsésáahotse'ōhehetsese  he (obviative) who does not work
- tsésáahotse'ōhéhētse  we who do not work
- tsésáahotse'ōhéhēse  you (plural) who does not work
- tsésáahotse'ōhehēse  they who does not work

Examples in sentences
- Nánóhtsevátámo tsésáahōéstse??¹³¹  I miss the one who isn't here
- Náněševátámo tsésáaháóenāéstse  I pity the one who doesn't pray
- Mómáta'eehovevéhe hetanóho tsésáahotse'ōhehetsese  He must be angry at the man (obviative)
  who isn't working

¹³¹ A participle does not need to have a noun that it modifies.
Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Indicative verbs

- tséhvóna’o when it was morning
- tséxhoo’kóho when it rained
- tséxhó’ta when it was (here/there)
- tséxho’taa’estse\(^{132}\) when they (inanimate) were (here/there)
- tsé’ó’o when it was dry
- tsé’ó’oo’estse when they (inanimate) were (here/there)

Examples in sentences:

Tséhvóna’o nátatséhe’ohtse É’èxováhtóva This morning I went to Billings
Nátavóóhta mèxe’éstoo’o tséxhó’ta máheéne I saw the book when/where it was in the house

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Indicative Relational verbs

- tséhvóna’otse when it was morning (relational)
- tséxhoo’kóhótsé when it rained (relational)
- tséxhó’tatse when it was (here/there)
- tséxho’tatsee’èstse(èstse??) 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’kèšenàhèhe tséhvóna’otse He must have gotten stuck this morning (relational)
Èaseohtse tséxhoo’kóhótsé He left when it was raining (relational)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

- tséssáahoo’kóhóhàne when it did not rain
- tséssáaho’tahàne when it was not (here/there)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Generic verbs

II conjunct generics refer to actions or states which habitually occur.

- òhvóona’o’o’estse in the mornings
- òhtonétoo’estse when it's cold
- xhoo’kóhoo’estse when it rains
- xho’èetoo’estse when it snows
- to’séháho’taa’estse when it’s going to be hot
- òhméshéhéstovee’estse when there is eating

Examples in sentences

Hátšéskheho èokkhéhénee’enánóvo to’séhoo’kóhoo’estse Ants know when it's going to rain
(Òx)háoho’taa’estse nàohkeametó’hóna When it's hot I swim

\(^{132}\) Some speakers use the singular subject forms to refer to both singular and plural inanimate subjects.
Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Generic relational verbs

(o) xho’eëtotsee’estse when it snows (relational)
to’semésëhéståtootsee’estse when there’s going to be eating (relational)

Examples in sentences
(Ö)xho’eëtotsee’estse eöhkevá’nenãoootse ma’háhkéso When it snows (rel) the old man just sleeps.
Épëhévetanoo’o öhmésëhéståtootsee’estse 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.

(Mó)ho’nóhoo’kóho It must not have rained
(Mó)ho’nópéhéva’e It must not be good
(Mó)ho’nópéhéva’ee’estse They (inanimate) must not be good
(Mó)ho’nómesëhéståto There must not have been eating

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential relational verbs

(Mó)ho’nópéhéva’e It (relational) must not be good
(Mó)ho’nómesëhéståto There must not have been eating (relational)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Participles

tséheóvo that which is yellow
tséheóvoo’estse those which are yellow

tséheóvëstséavó’o’e yellow flower (lit., that which is yellow-headed plant)
tséheóvëstséavó’o’ee’estse yellow flowers

tséhéesevó’ta that which boils
tséhéesevó’taa’estse those (inanimate) which are boiling

tsépéhéva’e that which is good
tsépéhéva’ee’estse those (inanimate) which are good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Participles

tsésáaaho’tánhane that which is not (here/there)
tsésáaaho’táhanéhee’estse those which are not (here/there)

tsésáaheóvóhane that which is not yellow
tsésáaheóvóhanéhee’estse those which are not yellow

tsésáapéhéva’éhane that which is not good
tsésáapéhéva’éhanéhee’estse those which are not good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Relational Participles

tséhéóvotse that (relational) which is yellow
tséhéóvotsee’estse those (relational) which are yellow

tséhéesevó’tatse that (relational) which is boiling
tséhéesevó’tatsee’estse those (relational) which are boiling
tsépêhêva’etse  |  that (relational) which is good  
tsépêhêva’ètsee’èstse(??)  |  those (relational) which are good  

**Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Relational Participles**

| tsésáaho’táhanéhetse | that (relational) which is not (here/there)  
tsésáaho’táhanéhetsee’èstse | those (relational) which are not (here/there)  
| tsésáaheóvóhanéhetse | that (relational) which is not yellow  
tsésáaheóvóhanéhetsee’èstse | those (relational) which are not yellow  
| tsésáapéhéva’èhanéhetse | that (relational) which is not good  
tsésáapéhéva’èhanéhetsee’èstse | those (relational) which are not good  

**Examples in sentences**

Éhestâna ho’évohkötse tsésáapéhéva’èhanéhetse  He must have taken the meat that (rel) isn't good.  
Nátavóóhta hemáheè’o tsésáaheóvóhanéhetse  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'.

-évóom 'see (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomáhtsēto</td>
<td>when I saw myself</td>
<td>tséhvóoma'évóose</td>
<td>when they saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomātse</td>
<td>when I saw you</td>
<td>tséhvóomata'őse</td>
<td>when they saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomo</td>
<td>when I saw him</td>
<td>tséhvóomov'őse</td>
<td>when they saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamo</td>
<td>when I saw him (obv)</td>
<td>tséhvóomaētse</td>
<td>when they saw us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomatsēse</td>
<td>when I saw you (pl)</td>
<td>tséhvóomaēse</td>
<td>when they saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomōno</td>
<td>when I saw them</td>
<td>tséhvóomáhtsēv'ōse</td>
<td>when they saw themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóometo</td>
<td>when you saw me</td>
<td>tséhvóomanēto</td>
<td>when I was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóómáhtseto</td>
<td>when you saw yourself</td>
<td>tséhvóomaneto</td>
<td>when you were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomōse</td>
<td>when you saw him</td>
<td>tséhvóomēse</td>
<td>when he was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamōse</td>
<td>when you saw him (obv)</td>
<td>tséhvóometsēse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomenemeno</td>
<td>when you saw us (ex)</td>
<td>tséhvóomanētse</td>
<td>when we were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomōse</td>
<td>when you saw them</td>
<td>tséhvóomēvōse</td>
<td>when you (pl) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomā'ēse</td>
<td>when he saw me</td>
<td>tséhvóomēv'ōse</td>
<td>when they were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomāta'e</td>
<td>when he saw you</td>
<td>tséhvovéstomōtse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) helped him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóómahētsēse</td>
<td>when he saw himself</td>
<td>tséhvovéstahēma'ēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) fought him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomōse</td>
<td>when he saw him (obv)</td>
<td>tséxhēne'ēnōētse</td>
<td>when he knew us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaētse</td>
<td>when he saw us</td>
<td>tséhvovéstomōtse??</td>
<td>when he taught us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaēse</td>
<td>when he saw you (pl)</td>
<td>tséhmahanehe</td>
<td>when I Made him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóoma'e</td>
<td>when he saw you</td>
<td>tséhmahaneose</td>
<td>when you made him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomāta'ēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw you</td>
<td>tséhmahaneōse</td>
<td>when he made him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaa'ēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw him</td>
<td>tséxho'eotsēhōe</td>
<td>when I brought him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomāhtsētse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw himself</td>
<td>tséxho'eotsēseo</td>
<td>when you brought him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaētse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw us</td>
<td>tséxho'eotsēhōtse</td>
<td>when he brought him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw you</td>
<td>tséhnemenē'sehe</td>
<td>when I Made him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomōvēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw them</td>
<td>tséhnemenē'sēseo</td>
<td>when you made him sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóamato</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw you</td>
<td>tséhnemenē'séose</td>
<td>when he made him (obv) sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóamā'ēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw him</td>
<td>tsé'ovéstomōtse??</td>
<td>when he taught me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóamōse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw them</td>
<td>tsé'ovéstomōtse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) taught him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóamatsēse</td>
<td>when we (ex) saw you</td>
<td>tsé'ovéstomōtse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) taught them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomatse</td>
<td>when we saw you</td>
<td>tsé'ovéstomōtse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) taught them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomatse</td>
<td>when we saw you</td>
<td>tsé'ovéstomōtse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) taught them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomāhtmōtse</td>
<td>when we saw him</td>
<td>tsé'ovéstomōtse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) taught them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomāhtsētse</td>
<td>when we saw ourselves</td>
<td>tsé'ovéstomōtse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) taught them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomatsemenoto</td>
<td>when we (ex) saw you</td>
<td>tsé'ovéstomōtse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) taught them</td>
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<tr>
<td>tséhvōomamōto</td>
<td>when we saw him (obv)</td>
<td>tsé'ovéstomōtse??</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomatsemenoto</td>
<td>when we (ex) saw you</td>
<td>tsé'ovéstomōtse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) taught them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōmōtse</td>
<td>when we saw them</td>
<td>tsé'ovéstomōtse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) taught them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomésē</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw me</td>
<td>tsé'ovéstomōtse??</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomōse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw me</td>
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<td>when he (obv) taught them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomamōse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw him</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomenemoto</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw us</td>
<td>tsé'ovéstomōtse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) taught them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomātsēse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw yourselves</td>
<td>tsé'ovéstomōtse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) taught them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōmōse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw them</td>
<td>tsé'ovéstomōtse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) taught them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

133 Also pronounced as tsé'ovéstomōtse
The "ov" at the end of TA verb stems contracts in the inverse voice.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>2nd Person Singular</th>
<th>2nd Person Plural</th>
<th>3rd Person Singular (Oblique)</th>
<th>3rd Person Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enóvahtseto</td>
<td>when I knew myself</td>
<td>tséxhéne'енóvahtseto when we (ex) knew you</td>
<td>tséxhéne'enóvahtseto when we knew him</td>
<td>tséxhéne'енóvahtseto when we knew ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovato</td>
<td>when I knew you</td>
<td>tséxhéne'enovato when we knew you</td>
<td>tséxhéne'enovato when we knew him (obv)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'enovato when we knew oursevles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovo</td>
<td>when I knew him</td>
<td>tséxhéne'enovo when we knew him</td>
<td>tséxhéne'enovo when we knew you (pl)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'enovo when we knew you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovamo</td>
<td>when I knew him (obv)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'enovamo when we knew him (obv)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'enovamo when we knew you (pl)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'enovamo when we knew you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'еновотсес</td>
<td>when I knew you (pl)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновотсес when we knew you (pl)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновотсес when we knew you (pl)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновотсес when we knew you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enoveto</td>
<td>when you knew me</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновето when you (pl) knew me</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновето when you (pl) knew him</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновето when you (pl) knew them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enовахтето</td>
<td>when you knew yourself</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновахтето when you (pl) knew yourself</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновахтето when you (pl) knew him (obv)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновахтето when you (pl) knew us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enовомо́с</td>
<td>when you knew him (obv)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновомо́с when you (pl) knew him (obv)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновомо́с when you (pl) knew us (ex)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновомо́с when you (pl) knew oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enовое́</td>
<td>when you knew them</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновое́ when you (pl) knew them</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновое́ when you (pl) knew us (ex)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновое́ when you (pl) knew ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enовотсес</td>
<td>when you knew me (pl)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновотсес when you (pl) knew me (pl)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновотсес when you (pl) knew himself</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновотсес when you (pl) knew oursevles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovatsemenoto</td>
<td>when you knew you (pl)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еноватсеменото when you (pl) knew you (pl)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еноватсеменото when you (pl) knew himself</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еноватсеменото when you (pl) knew ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'еновамо́с</td>
<td>when you knew yourself</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновамо́с when you (pl) knew yourself</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновамо́с when you (pl) knew him (obv)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновамо́с when you (pl) knew oursevles</td>
</tr>
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<td>tséxhéne'еновомо́с</td>
<td>when you knew him (obv)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновомо́с when you (pl) knew him (obv)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновомо́с when you (pl) knew us (ex)</td>
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<td>tséxhéne'enовое́</td>
<td>when you knew them</td>
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<td>tséxhéne'еновое́ when you (pl) knew us (ex)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновое́ when you (pl) knew ourselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'еновая́тсес</td>
<td>when you knew yourself</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновая́тсес when you (pl) knew yourself</td>
<td>tséxhéne'еновая́тсес when you (pl) knew him (obv)</td>
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<td>when you knew him (obv)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'енова́тсес when you (pl) knew him (obv)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'енова́тсес when you (pl) knew us (ex)</td>
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<td>tséxhéne'енова́тсес</td>
<td>when you knew them</td>
<td>tséxhéne'енова́тсес when you (pl) knew them</td>
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<td>tséxhéne'enovato</td>
<td>when you knew yourself</td>
<td>tséxhéne'enovato when you (pl) knew yourself</td>
<td>tséxhéne'enovato when you (pl) knew him (obv)</td>
<td>tséxhéne'enovato when you (pl) knew oursevles</td>
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<td>tséxhéne'enovato</td>
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<td>tséxhéne'enovato when you (pl) knew ourselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Animate Conjunct Potential verbs

-vóom 'see (someone)'

máhvóomahtsēto when I see myself
máhvóomatse when I see you
máhvóomo when I see him
máhvóomamo when I see him (obv)
máhvóomatsēse when I see you (pl)
máhvóomōno when I see them

máhvóomētse when you see me
máhvóomāhtseto when you see yourself
máhvóomōhtse when you see him
máhvóomamōhtse when you see him (obv)
máhvōomemenoto when you see us (ex)
máhvōomōsē when you see them

máhvóomā’ēstse when he sees me
máhvóomāta’e when he sees you
máhvóomahāstse when he sees himself
máhvóomōhtse when he sees him
máhv्ōomāētse when he sees us
máhvōomaētse when he sees you (pl)

máhvōoma'etsēse when he (obv) sees me
máhvōoma'abase when he (obv) sees you
máhvōoma'āstse when he (obv) sees him
máhvōomahtsetsēse when he (obv) sees himself
máhvōomētse when he (obv) sees us
máhvōomaētse when he (obv) sees you (pl)
máhvōomaēvōse when he (obv) sees them

máhvōomatsemeno to when (ex) see you
máhvōomōtse when we see him
máhvōomamōtse when we see him (obv)
máhvōomahōtse when we see ourselves
máhvōomatenoto when we (ex) see you (pl)
máhvōomōtse when we see them

máhvōomēse when you (pl) see me
máhvōomē when you (pl) see him
máhvōomamōse when you (pl) see him (obv)
máhvōomemenoto when you (pl) see us (ex)
máhvōomāhtsēse when you (pl) see yourselves
máhvōomōse when you (pl) see them

máhvōoma'ēvōtse when they see me
máhvōoma'ātse when they see you
máhvōomōtse when they see him
máhvōomamōtse when they see him (obv)
máhvōomatsēse when they see you (pl)
máhvōomōnō when they see them

máhvōomaēse when they see you (pl)
máhvōomahtsēvōhtse when they see themselves
máhvōomanētse when I am seen
máhvōomaneto when you are seen
máhvōomēstse when he is seen
máhvōometse when he (obv) is seen
máhvōomanētse when we are seen
máhvōomēnētse when you (pl) are seen
máhvōomēvōhtse when they are seen

Other examples
máhvéstahēma’ēstse when he (obv) helps him
máhvēota’etsēse when he (obv) fights him
máxhēne’ēnōēstse when he knows us
máhvovēstomōētse when he teaches us
máxhoeotseho when I bring him
máxhoeotseose when you bring him
máxhoeotseōse when he brings him (obv)
máxhoeotsēhōtse when we bring him
máxhēne’enōōēstse when he knows me
máxhēne’enoo’ēstse when he (obv) knows him
ma’ovēstomōōēstse when he teaches me
ma’ovēstomoo’ēstse when he (obv) teaches him
máxhēne’enōvēōtse when he (obv) knows them
ma’ovēstomēvōhtse when he (obv) teaches them
ma’ēestsēstovo when I speak to him
māxheto when I tell him
māxhāōena’tovo when I pray to him
māsē’a’hamo when I throw him in

Examples in sentences
Māhnōhtsēvōhtse nēstsevēståhema. When you ask him, he'll help you.
Māhnōhtsēvōhtse nēstsevēståhema. When you ask him, he'll help you.
Māhνētstēvōhtse nāhtseaseōhtse. When he fights him (obv), I'll leave.
Māhνētstēvōhtse nāhtseaseōhtse. When he fights him (obv), I'll leave.
Māhvēstahēmā’ēstse nāhtsepehēvetāno. When he (obv) helps him, I'll be happy.
Māhvēstahēmā’ēstse nāhtsepehēvetāno. When he (obv) helps him, I'll be happy.

134 Also pronounced as ma’ovēstomōētse
Transitive Animate Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

-vóom 'see (someone)'

-when I did not see myself
-when I did not see you
-when I did not see him
-when I did not see him (obv)
-when I did not see you (pl)
-when I did not see them
-when you did not see me
-when you did not see yourself
-when you did not see him
-when you did not see him (obv)
-when you did not see us (ex)
-when you did not see you (pl)
-when you did not see them
-when he did not see me
-when he did not see you
-when he did not see himself
-when he did not see him
-when he did not see you (pl)
-when he did not see them
-when we (ex) saw you
-when we saw him
-when we saw him (obv)
-when we saw ourselves
-when we (ex) saw you (pl)
-when we saw them
-when you (pl) did not see me
-when you (pl) did not see you
-when you (pl) did not see him
-when you (pl) did not see him (obv)
-when you (pl) did not see us (ex)
-when you (pl) did not see yourselves
-when you (pl) did not see them
-when they did not see me
-when they did not see you
-when they did not see him
-when they did not see him (obv)
-when they did not see us (ex)
-when they did not see you (pl)
-when they did not see themselves

Other examples

tséssáavéstahémaēeše when he (obv) did not help him
tséssáaméotaēe when he (obv) did not fight him
tséssahéne’enoēhēte when he did not know us
tséssáavéstahémaēeše when he did not teach us
tséssáahéne’enoēhēte when he did not bring him
tséssáahéne’enoēhēte when he did not bring him (obv)
tséssáahéne’enoēhēte when he did not bring him
ntséssáahéne’enoēhēte when he (obv) did not know them
tséssáavéstahémaēeše when he (obv) did not teach them

tséssáahléheto when I was not seen
tséssáavómânéhēte when you (pl) were not seen
tséssáavómânéhēte when they were not seen

Also pronounced as tsésáa’ovéstomōēte

---

135
### Transitive Animate Conjunct Iterative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vómáhtsēto</strong></td>
<td>whenever I saw myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vómätse</strong></td>
<td>whenever I saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vómōmo</strong></td>
<td>whenever I saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vómamamo</strong></td>
<td>whenever I saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vómatsēse</strong></td>
<td>whenever I saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vómōno</strong></td>
<td>whenever I saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vómētse</strong></td>
<td>whenever he saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vómātse</strong></td>
<td>whenever he saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vōmamaētse</strong></td>
<td>whenever he saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vōmaēse</strong></td>
<td>whenever he saw us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vōmaētse</strong></td>
<td>whenever he saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vōmaēse</strong></td>
<td>whenever he saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vōmaēv</strong></td>
<td>whenever he saw us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vōmaētse</strong></td>
<td>whenever he saw himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vōmaēse</strong></td>
<td>whenever he saw us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vōmaēv</strong></td>
<td>whenever they saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vōmaētse</strong></td>
<td>whenever they saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vōmaēse</strong></td>
<td>whenever they saw us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vōmaēv</strong></td>
<td>whenever they saw us (ex)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'vē'hóómōhtse</strong></td>
<td>whenever he looked at him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'mēótōtse</strong></td>
<td>whenever we fought him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'mēótā'ēstse</strong></td>
<td>whenever he discussed you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'hoxomātse</strong></td>
<td>whenever he fed us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'mē'ov</strong></td>
<td>whenever I found him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'mē'ō'ō'ēstse</strong></td>
<td>whenever he found me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hó'oomā'ēstse</strong></td>
<td>whenever he hit me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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### 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 ůh- prefix is often omitted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ůłówëmahtsétosétsë</td>
<td>when I see myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůłówëmatsëtosétsë</td>
<td>when I see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůłówëmo’ëstse</td>
<td>when I see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ů糇ëmamoo’ëstse</td>
<td>when I see (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatseeë’ëstse</td>
<td>when I see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmóméntohëstse</td>
<td>when I see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmésotëstse</td>
<td>when you see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmáhtsétëstse</td>
<td>when you see yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmósëstse</td>
<td>when you see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmaatseeë’ëstse</td>
<td>when you see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëméseeë’ëstse</td>
<td>when you see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëma’sëstse</td>
<td>when he sees me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatësëstse</td>
<td>when he sees you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmáhtsetëstse</td>
<td>when he sees himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmosëstse</td>
<td>when he sees him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmaatseeë’ëstse</td>
<td>when he sees us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmaesë’ëstse</td>
<td>when he sees you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmätzatëstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) sees me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatatëstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) sees you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmaatatëstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) sees himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) sees us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) sees you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) sees them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when we (ex) see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when we see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when we see us (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when we (ex) see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when they see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when they see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when they see (obv)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Other examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when I love you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when I love him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when I love them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when you love me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when you love him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when you love you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when you love (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when we love you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when we love him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when we love us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when we (ex) love them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) love me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) love you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) love (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when you love us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when you love (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when we (pl) love me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when we (pl) love (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when we love us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when we love (obv)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### $RECHECK:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when I look at him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when I bring him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when he teaches me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when he teaches us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when he knows me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) knows him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) helps him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) teaches him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ůحلولëmatatëtëstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) teaches them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Transitive Animate Conjunct Participles

**/ -méhót/ 'love (someone)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotahtséto</td>
<td>I who love myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótátse</td>
<td>I who love you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoto</td>
<td>the one I love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotamono</td>
<td>I who love him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotatséese</td>
<td>I who love you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótóno</td>
<td>those I love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoxeto</td>
<td>you who love me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotahtseto</td>
<td>you who love yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotohítse</td>
<td>the one you love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotamohítse</td>
<td>you who love him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoxemenoto</td>
<td>you who love us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótose</td>
<td>the ones you love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhóta'èstse</td>
<td>the one who loves me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotata'è</td>
<td>the one who loves you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotatséestse</td>
<td>the one who loves himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhóta</td>
<td>the one who loves us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaëse</td>
<td>he (obv) who loves you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótaëtsese</td>
<td>he (obv) who loves you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhota'tsese</td>
<td>we (ex) who love you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótotse</td>
<td>we who love him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotomitése</td>
<td>we who love him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhohtsésee'e</td>
<td>we who love ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhohtsee'e</td>
<td>we who love them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhóxése</td>
<td>you (pl) who love me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótose</td>
<td>you (pl) who love him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotomése</td>
<td>you (pl) who love him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoxemenoto</td>
<td>you (pl) who love us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotatséése'e</td>
<td>you (pl) who love yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotése'e</td>
<td>you (pl) who love them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaëse</td>
<td>those who love me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotata'öse</td>
<td>those who love you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotovose</td>
<td>the one(s) (obv) they love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotasee'e</td>
<td>those who love us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaese'e</td>
<td>those who love you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótahtsese</td>
<td>those who love themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoto'tsese</td>
<td>the one (obv) who loves him (obv)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsévóomo</td>
<td>the one who I see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóomata'òtsese</td>
<td>he (obv) who sees me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóomótsese</td>
<td>he (obv) who sees him (obv')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévésto</td>
<td>the one I fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévéstoemóhtse</td>
<td>he (obv) who is seen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| tsévéstoemótsese | the one I fight my spouse
| tsévóvomóó'òtsese | his/her spouse (obv) |
| tsévóvómóó'ëstse | the one who teaches me |
| tsévóvomóó'ëtse | the one who teaches us |
| tsévóvómóó'nëtse | the one who knows us |
| tsévéstahemo | the one I help |
| tsévóvómóó'nëtse | the one who teaches us |
| tsévóvómóó'nësese | the one who feeds us |

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136 Literally, 'the one who I sit with', i.e. 'the one I am married to'
Transitive Animate Conjunct Participle kinship terms

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'. Tséhestónáhétóse is glossed as 'your daughters', but a more accurate translation is 'those who you have as daughters'.

**father**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tséhéhéto</th>
<th>my father</th>
<th>tséhéhetono</th>
<th>my fathers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tshéheto</td>
<td>your father</td>
<td>tshéhéhétóse</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>tséhéhétse</td>
<td>our father</td>
<td>tséhéhetsee'e</td>
<td>our fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéhése</td>
<td>your (plural) father</td>
<td>tséhéhesee'e</td>
<td>your (plural) fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéhevose</td>
<td>their father(s)</td>
<td>tséhéhevose</td>
<td>their father(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**mother**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tséheškéto</th>
<th>my mother</th>
<th>tséheškétóse</th>
<th>his/her mother(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tshéhešketo</td>
<td>your mother</td>
<td>tshéheškétóse</td>
<td>his/her mother(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškese</td>
<td>his/her mother(s)</td>
<td>tshéheškese</td>
<td>our mother(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškétse</td>
<td>our mother</td>
<td>tshéheškétsee'e</td>
<td>our mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškése</td>
<td>your (plural) mother</td>
<td>tshéheškése'e</td>
<td>your (plural) mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséškévose</td>
<td>their mother(s)</td>
<td>tshéškévose</td>
<td>their mother(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**daughter**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tséhestónáhéto</th>
<th>my daughter</th>
<th>tséhestónáhétóse</th>
<th>my daughters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tshéhestónaheto</td>
<td>your daughter</td>
<td>tshéhestónahétóse</td>
<td>your daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestónáhese</td>
<td>his/her daughter(s)</td>
<td>tshéhestónáhese</td>
<td>his/her daughter(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestónáhétse</td>
<td>our daughter</td>
<td>tshéhestónáhetsee'e</td>
<td>our daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestónáhése</td>
<td>your (plural) daughter</td>
<td>tshéhestónáhése'e</td>
<td>your (plural) daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestónáhevose</td>
<td>their daughter(s)</td>
<td>tshéhestónáhevose</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>tséhešké’tovetoveto</th>
<th>you who have me for a mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhešké’tovése</td>
<td>you (plural) who have me for a mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhešké’tóó’čestse</td>
<td>the one who has me for a mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhešké’toese</td>
<td>those who have me for a mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhešké’tovātse</td>
<td>I who have you for a mother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive Animate Conjunct Absentative Participles

Conjunct participles take an absentative suffix\(^{137}\) when the person referred to is absent or deceased.

| tséhéhevoo'o | the one who is my absent father |

\(^{137}\) It is possible that the –vo of this absentative suffix is related to the –vo suffix of the conjunct oratio oblique mode.

220
tséheškévoo'o  the one who is my absent mother
tsétó'omemáxamoo'o  the one (obviative) who I shot stiff

$\$\$RECHECK  ?? the following "tentative" forms from earlier editions of book:
  tséhéhevóse  the one who is your absent father
  tséhéhévótsé  the one who is our absent father
  tséhéhévóse  the one who is your (plural) absent father
  tséhéhevoomoo'o  those who are my absent fathers
  tséheškévoomoo'o  those who are my absent mothers
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)'

| tséhvóóhtómo / tséhvóóhtóme | when I saw it / them |
| tséhvóóhto / tséhvóóhto | when he saw it / them |
| tséhvóóhtotsése | when he (obviative) saw it / them |
| tséhvóóhtomátse | when we saw it / them |
| tséhvóóhtomése | when you (plural) saw it / them |
| tséhvóóhtomévése | when they saw it / them |
| tséhvóóhtómo / tséhvóóhtóme | when it was seen?? |
| tséhvóóhto / tséhvóóhto | when (inanimate) were seen?? |

'listen to (something)'

| tsé'áahtómo / tsé'áahtóme | when I listened to it / them |
| tsé'áahto / tsé'áahto | when he/she listened to it / them |
| tsé'áahtotsése | when he/she (obviative) listened to it / them |
| tsé'áahtomátse | when we listened to it / them |
| tsé'áahtomése | when you (plural) listened to it / them |
| tsé'áahtomévése | when they listened to it / them |
| tsé'áahtóhohe ?? | when it was listened to |
| tsé'áahtóhe'èstse ?? | when (inanimate) were listened to |

'eat (something)'

| tséhméséto | when I ate it / them |
| tséhméseto | when you ate it / them |
| tséhmésése | when he/she ate it / them |
| tséhmésetsése | when he/she (obviative) ate it / them |
| tséhméséte | when we ate it / them |
| tséhmésése | when you (plural) ate it / them |
| tséhmésévése | when they ate it / them |
| tséhméséstove | when it was eaten |
| tséhméséstovee'èstse?? | when (inanimate) were eaten |

'have (something)'

<p>| tséxho'tsèto | when I had it / them |
| tséxho'tseto | when you had it / them |
| tséxho'tsése | when he/she had it / them |
| tséxho'tsetsése | he he/she (obviative) had it / them |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Examples in sentences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'ôte</td>
<td>'take (something)'</td>
<td>when we had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'ôte</td>
<td>when you (plural) had it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'ótse</td>
<td>when they had it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhənómoo / tséxhənómone</td>
<td>when I took it / them</td>
<td>Tséhvóóhtóm eho'évohk ȯ tse námese. 'When I saw the meat I ate it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhənómomo / tséxhənómone</td>
<td>when you took it / them</td>
<td>Tsé'éšeááhto némenestótse náéestséstōvo. 'After he listened to the radio I talked to him.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhənō</td>
<td>when he took it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhənōtsé</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) took it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhənōmátse</td>
<td>when we took it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhənōmāse</td>
<td>when you (plural) took it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhənōmēve</td>
<td>when they took it / them</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséxhəhētse'</td>
<td>'want (something)'</td>
<td>when I wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhəhētse'</td>
<td>when you wanted it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhəhētse'</td>
<td>when he did not see it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhəhētse'</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) wanted it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhəhētse'</td>
<td>when we did not see it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhəhētse'</td>
<td>when you (plural) did not see it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhəhētse'</td>
<td>when they did not see it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóōhtōhéme / tséssáavóōhtōheme</td>
<td>when I did not see it / them</td>
<td>Tséhvóóhtóm eho'évohk ȯ tse námese. 'When I saw the meat I ate it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóōhtōheme / tséssáavóōhtōheme</td>
<td>when you did not see it / them</td>
<td>Tsé'éšeááhto némenestótse náéestséstōvo. 'After he listened to the radio I talked to him.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóōhtōtōse</td>
<td>when he did not see it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóōhtōhetsé</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) did not see it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóōhtomāhétse</td>
<td>when we did not see it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóōhtomāhēse</td>
<td>when you (plural) did not see it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóōhtomēhēve</td>
<td>when they did not see it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Examples in sentences</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséssáahəhəhēme</td>
<td>'take (something)'</td>
<td>when I did not take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáahəhəhēme</td>
<td>when you did not take it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáahəhənəoōse</td>
<td>when he did not take it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáahəhəhetsé</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) did not take it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáahəhənəmāhēte</td>
<td>when we did not take it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáahəhənəmāhēse</td>
<td>when you (plural) did not take it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáahəhənəmēhēve</td>
<td>when they did not take it / them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)'

óhvóóhtomonótse  when I see it / them
óhvóóhtomoséstse  when you see it / them
óhvóóhtoséstse  when he/she sees it / them
óhvóohtotseséstse  when he/she (obviative) sees it / them
óhvóohtomátsee’éstse  when we see it / them
óhvóohtomásee’éstse  when you (plural) see it / them
óhvóohtomévoséstse  when they see it / them

'take (something)'

xhestanomonóhtse  when I take it / them
xhestanomoséstse  when you take it / them
xhestanoséstse  when he/she takes it / them
xhestanòtteséstse  when he/she (obviative) takes it / them
xhestanomátsee’éstse  when we take it / them
xhestanomásee’éstse  when you (plural) take it / them
xhestanomomévoséstse  when they take it / them

'cook (something)'

xho’oestsétomonótse  when I cook it / them
xho’oestsétoséstse  when you cook it / them
xho’oestsétséstse  when he/she cooks it / them
xho’oestséséséstse  when he/she (obviative) cooks it / them
xho’oestsétsítsee’éstse  when we cook it / them
xho’oestsétsee’éstse  when you (plural) cook it / them
xho’oestsévosétséstse  when they cook it / them

Examples in sentences

Óhvóohtomonótse vétsés’éškánoo’o náohkevé’šepéhévetáno. 'When I see frybread I get happy.'

Xho’oestsétsee’éstse váotseváheho’évohtótse náohkema’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.

'vee (something)'

| tsévóóhtómo | what I saw | tsévóóhtómónóhtse | those that I saw |
| tsévóóhtomo | what you saw | tsévóóhtómóséstse | those that you saw |
| tsévóóhto | what he saw | tsévóóhtóséstse | those that he saw |
| tsévóóhtótse | what (obv) saw | tsévóóhtóttséséstse | those that (obv) saw |
| tsévóóhtómá | what we saw | tsévóóhtómátseéstse | those that we saw |
| tsévóóhtómávé | what you (pl) saw | tsévóóhtómávééestse | those that you (pl) saw |

'eat (something)'

| tséméséto | what I ate | tsémésétonóhtse | those which I ate |
| tséméseto | what you ate | tsémésétoséstse | those which you ate |
| tsémésésé | what he ate | tséméséséséstse | those which he ate |
| tsémésesé | what (obv) ate | tséméseséséstse | those which (obv) ate |
| tsémésése | what we ate | tséméséseéestse | those which we ate |
| tsémésésévé | what you (pl) ate | tsémésésévééstse | those which you (pl) ate |

'take (something)'

| tséhestanómó | what I took | tséhestanomónóhtse | those which I took |
| tséhestanomó | what you took | tséhestanomóséstse | those which you took |
| tséhestanóhtse | what he took | tséhestanóséstse | those which he took |
| tséhestanótse | what (obv) took | tséhestanóttséséstse | those which (obv) took |
| tséhestanomá | what we took | tséhestanomáéestse | those which we took |
| tséhestanomávé | what you (pl) took | tséhestanomávééestse | those which you (pl) took |

'want (something)'

| tsého’ahtó | what I want | tsého’ahtónóhtse | those that I want |
| tsého’ahto | what you want | tsého’ahtóséstse | those that you want |
| tsého’aheste | what he wants | tsého’ahtéséstse | those that he wants |
| tsého’ahtésse | what (obv) wants | tsého’ahtéséséstse | those that (obv) wants |
| tsého’ahté | what we want | tsého’ahtééséstse | those that we want |
| tsého’ahtévé | what you (pl) want | tsého’ahtévééestse | those that you (pl) want |

'make (something)'

| tsémanéstóto | what I made | tsémanéstótonóhtse | those which I made |
| tsémanéstotó | what you made | tsémanéstótoséstse | those which you made |
| tsémanéstóte | what he made | tsémanéstótoséstse | those which he made |
| tsémanéstitése | what (obv) made | tsémanéstitéstseéstse | those which (obv) made |
| tsémanéstitése | what we made | tsémanéstitéseééstse | those which we made |
| tsémanéstótóvé | what you (pl) made | tsémanéstótóvééestse | those which you (pl) made |
| tsémanéstótóvé | what they made | tsémanéstótóvéóéstse | those which they made |

\[^{138}\text{Another pronunciation is tsévóóhtóme. Similarly, other first and second person singular subject participle forms with the TI theme -om have an alternate pronunciation with a word-final "e."}\]
### Examples in sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hénová'e tsévóohtomo?</td>
<td>What did you see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hénová'e tséméseto?</td>
<td>What did you eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hénová'e hétse tsémanéstsétonóhtse?</td>
<td>What (plural) did you make?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nápéhévétsésta tséhó'tséstse.</td>
<td>I like what he had.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsémanésteto épéhéva'e.</td>
<td>What you made is good.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Negative Participles

#### 'see (singular object)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtohémö</td>
<td>what I didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtohémö</td>
<td>what you didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtóéststse</td>
<td>what he/she didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtohetseséstse</td>
<td>what he/she (obviative) didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtomáhétsáéeséstse</td>
<td>what we didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtomáhéseséstse</td>
<td>what you (plural) didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtoméhéséstse</td>
<td>what they didn't see</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 'see (plural object)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóohtóhemonóhtstse</td>
<td>those that I didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóohtohemoséststse</td>
<td>those that you didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóohtoheséststse</td>
<td>those that he/she didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóohtohetseséststse</td>
<td>those that he/she (obviative) didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóohtomáhétsee'éststse</td>
<td>those that we didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóohtomáhesée'éststse</td>
<td>those that you (plural) didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóohtoméhevoséststse</td>
<td>those that they didn't see</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 'make (singular object)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehéto</td>
<td>what I didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehéto</td>
<td>what you didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstseéststse</td>
<td>what he/she didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehetséséststse</td>
<td>what he/she (obviative) didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehétséséststse</td>
<td>what we didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehétséséststse</td>
<td>what you (plural) didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehévoséststse</td>
<td>what they didn't make</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 'make (plural object)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstseheto</td>
<td>what I didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstseheteróhtstse</td>
<td>what you didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstseheteróséststse</td>
<td>what he/she didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehetseséststse</td>
<td>what he/she (obviative) didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehetséseéíststse</td>
<td>what we didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehesésééststse</td>
<td>what you (plural) didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehevoséststse</td>
<td>what they didn't make</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Other examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáahéstanóhémo</td>
<td>what I didn't take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáahésanóhemeséststse</td>
<td>those which he/she didn't take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáméséheto</td>
<td>what I didn't eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésámésééstse</td>
<td>what you didn't eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésámésééstse</td>
<td>what he/she didn't eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples in sentences $$\textbf{#3 "I'm looking for those who don't have them"??}$$

Tsésáaméséheto öseoépéhévééno’e.  What you didn't take tastes very good.
Tsésáhestanóeéstse ésó’hó’ta.??  What he didn't take is still here. ??
Nánóhtsevóohtanótse tsésáaho’tséhevos. 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. ($$\textbf{RECHECK THAT}$$). 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).

$$\textbf{RECHECK??}$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tséhmétahtsése</th>
<th>when I gave it to myself</th>
<th>tséhmétatsemenoto</th>
<th>when we (ex) gave it to you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétatse</td>
<td>when I gave it to you</td>
<td>tséméhótóse</td>
<td>when we gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmeto</td>
<td>when I gave it to him</td>
<td>tséhmétamótse</td>
<td>when we gave it to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétamo</td>
<td>when I gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>tséhmétasétse</td>
<td>when we gave it to ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétatsése</td>
<td>when I gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td>tséhmét</td>
<td>when we gave it to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétoto</td>
<td>when I gave it to them</td>
<td>tséhmétoto</td>
<td>when you (pl) gave it to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétseto</td>
<td>when you gave it to me</td>
<td>tséhmétotsese</td>
<td>when you (pl) gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétsetoto</td>
<td>when you gave it to yourself</td>
<td>tséhmétat</td>
<td>when you (pl) gave it to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétamóse</td>
<td>when you gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>tséhmétamóse</td>
<td>when you (pl) gave it to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétsemenoto</td>
<td>when you gave it to us (ex)</td>
<td>tséhmétseto</td>
<td>when you (pl) gave it to themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétá’ése</td>
<td>when you gave it to me</td>
<td>tséhméta’ése</td>
<td>when they gave it to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétata’e</td>
<td>when he gave it to you</td>
<td>tséhmétatvéése</td>
<td>when they gave it to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmét såhtsése</td>
<td>when he gave it to himself</td>
<td>tséhmétatse</td>
<td>when they gave it to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétósése</td>
<td>when he gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>tséhmétase</td>
<td>when they gave it to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétá’ése</td>
<td>when he gave it to us</td>
<td>tséhmétā’tése</td>
<td>when they gave it to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétá’estsése</td>
<td>when he (obv) gave it to me</td>
<td>tséhmétōnēto</td>
<td>when they gave it to themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétata’otsése</td>
<td>when he (obv) gave it to you</td>
<td>tséhmétanēto</td>
<td>when it was given to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétā’tésése</td>
<td>when he (obv) gave it to him</td>
<td>tséhmétaneto</td>
<td>when it was given to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétatséstése</td>
<td>when he (obv) gave it to himself</td>
<td>tséhmétase</td>
<td>when it was given to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétásése</td>
<td>when he (obv) gave it to us</td>
<td>tséhmétsetésése</td>
<td>when it was given to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétātesése</td>
<td>when he (obv) gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td>tséhmétanēto</td>
<td>when it was given to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétātevōse</td>
<td>when he (obv) gave it to them</td>
<td>tséhmétanēse</td>
<td>when it was given to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tséhmeto oésēškeho</th>
<th>when I gave him a dog/dogs (obviative)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhmeto mutšéške</td>
<td>when I gave him a knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmeto mútsēškehōtse</td>
<td>when I gave him knifes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétóno še’xo</td>
<td>when I gave them a duck/ducks (obviative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tséhmétóno sémonótse  when I gave them boats (inanimate)

tséhmetóse póesono when you gave him a cat/cats (obviative)
tséhmetóse sémonótse when you gave him boats

tséhmétsemenoto oéksesø when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) a dog

tséhmétsemenoto oékéseho when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) dogs

tséhmétsemenoto séémonótse when you (sg/pl) gave us boats

tséhmétá’ése oéksesø when he gave me a dog/dogs (obviative)
tséhmétá’ése mótsőse when he gave me a knife

tséhmétá’ése mótsőseho when he gave me knives

Drandtransitive Conjunct

Ditransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

tséssáamétá’otsémo when I did not give myself a boat

tséssáamétavóse when I did not give him (obv) a duck/ducks (obv)
tséhmétatsevo when I gave his ___ to you

e tc

Ditransitive Conjunct Indicative relational verbs

$RECHECK (from Petter 1952:105 ??

tséhmétsevo when you gave his ___ to me

tséhmétsevóse when you (pl) gave his ___ to me / us (ex)
tséhmétatsevo when I gave his ___ to you

e tc

Ditransitive Conjunct Participles$RECHECK

??
tsémétá’etsémo hee’haho when his son (obv) gave me a duck/ducks (obv)
tsémétá’etsése hee’haho when his son (obv) gave me a boat

Ditransitive Conjunct Indicative

$RECHECK
Examples of ditransitive participles in sentences

?? What did you give him?
?? What did he give him (obv)?
?? What did he (obv) give him?
What (plural) did you give him?
What (animate) did you give him?
Who gave it to you?
Who gave it to him (obv)?
Who (obv) gave it to him?

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:

%%%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:

%%%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.

Náméséhétáno. I want to eat.
Nánánáotsétáno. I want to sleep.
Éháóénátáno. He wants to pray.
Éo'èhnétáno. 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.
Návóoámáhtsétáno. I want to be seen.
Évóomáhtsétanoo'o. They want to be seen.
Návéstahémahtsétáno. I want to be helped.
Návéstahémahtsétanó'tóvo. I want to be helped by him.
Véstahémahtsétanó'toveha! Want to be helped by him!
Návéo'séhátanó'tóvo. I want to show it to him.
Náhestanátanó'ta. I want to take it.
Námésetanó'ta. I want to eat it.
Námésetanó'tanótse. 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'estse** amāho'héstóte '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** tsévéhoneste? 'Who is the boss?'
- **Tóne'se** néévahó'éhoo'ohtse? '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'estse néohkenéheto'éetahe! 'Always you're doing that!'
- Naa móséškanetsénoonahé mósto'sévéséetséhe'ohts'éhéhe tséhméheeothsésestotse. '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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139 The "newsworthiness" concept has been described by Mithun (1987).
140 Or it can be the second position if the first position is a discourse connector such as naa 'and'.
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 móhvóomóhevóhe 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’ameohstêsêhe 'A man was going along.' Then in the next sentence it can be said what the man saw, as in: Móhvóomóhevóhe 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

éxxaemáhê'tánêse
é- PST- xae- mâhê'tá -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

máhtamáháâhe
naa ho'oxé táháóhe tsê- h- ta- énoneo'tsé -htóve máhtamáháâhe
naa ho'oxé táháóhe tsê- h- ta- énoneo'tsé -htóve máhtamáhââhe
and end there CNJ- OBL- TRL- end.camp -IMPERS old.woman
p p p pfx- tns- dir- vai -fii na
évéeséstse
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- PST- nêsê'ená -sest -o
3PS- grandchild -OBV 3- PST- live.with -RPT -OBV
pro- na pnum pro- tns- vai -mode -num
Her grandson lived with (her).

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.005

éxhohâeanáhtóvéñése
é- PST- 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
kásováâhe
néšê'ešê

naa

na'héê'ešê
na'héê'ešê
3.days
a

éstaokvevoneotsëstse
é- 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

hévä'móhe móstaokkêhénêse'nêvâhêhe
hévä=móhe mó- PST- ta- ohke- hé- nêsê'nêvá -hé -hé

234
Apparently he would go to hunt.
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.008

c'óhkého'o'xeséstse
é- h- ohke- ho'o'x -sest
3- PST- HABIT- arrive.carrying.game -RPT
pro- tns- pv- vai -mode
taa'eva
taa'e -vá
night -OBL
ni -sfx

He would bring home game at night.
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.009

c'óhke'ó'esóvaséstse  máhtamáhááhe
é- h- ohke- ó'esóvá -sest máhtamáhááhēh
3- PST- HABIT- slice -RPT old.woman
pro- tns- pv- vai -mode na

The old lady would slice the meat.
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.010

éxhoháeesenéhés esto
é- h- ho- háeesenehe -sest -o
3- PST- very- have plenty food -RPT -3PL
pro- tns- REDUP- vai -mode -num
They had plenty to eat.
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.011

néhē'she ame
néhe'sé ame
then pemmican
p ni

mó'óhkemanéstshēhēhe
mó- h- ohke- manest -é -hé -hé
INF- PST- HABIT- make -FTI -NEG.SFX -INF.SFX
mode- tns- pv- vti -theme -sfx -sfx

Then she would make pemmican.
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.012

mó'óhkemésehenovōhe  néhnēsévōse
mó- h- ohke- mése -hé -nō -vo -hé néh- nēše -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- vēxah -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

And then a man was announcing.

Along the edge of camp he walked.

"A person (?), ... the chief has invited you (plural),

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.016

(this person?) is going to be looked for, someone to marry her," he said.

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.

Many men gathered, came inside.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.019

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.020

She was beautiful.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.021

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.022

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.023
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.
"This pemmican, take it along!" he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.028

"Just a little one, make a package!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.029

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.030

And there was great hunger.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.031

And there was great hunger.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.030
Then that old lady also went there.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

Then exactly what she had been told, she did it.

When the talking was about over, she came out.

"I'm going to cook for my grandson," she said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son
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.
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.040

éstaéva'eotseséstse
é- h- ta- éva'eotse -sest
3- PST- TRL- change -RPT
pro- tns- dir- vai -mode
She turned around.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.041

éhne'évahóheseváenánóse
é- nh- éva- hóse- heseváen -á -nó -s
3- PST- CIS- back- again- pick.up.quickly -FTI -FTI -RPT
pro- tns- dir- pv- pv- vti -theme -sfx -mode
héné ame
héné ame
that pemmican
pro ni
She quickly picked back up that pemmican.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.042

nóxa'e
nóxa'e
Wait!
p
éstähetaesesto
é- h- ta- het -ae -sest -o
3- PST- TRL- tell -INV -RPT -OBV
pro- tns- dir- vta -voice -mode -num
tsé'tóhe vého
tsé'tóhé vého
this chief
pro na
"Wait!" this chief told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.043

táaxa'e héne
táaxa'e héné
let's see that
p pro
néstóxanome
néh- tóxan -om -e
CIS- pass.around -FTI -IMPV
dir- vti -sfx -sfx
éxeséstse néhe vého
é- h- he -sest néhe vého
3- PST- say -RPT that chief
pro- tns- vai -mode pro na
"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

That man unexpectedly pemmican!
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

"Let him come over!" he told her.

When the old lady returned, she told her grandson.

(Does mȧhtamȧháâhe go with the preceding or following verb??)

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-in-law.054

éstaosáanenéhe'óhtseséstse
é- h- ta- osiáane- néhe'ohtsé -sest
3- PST- TRL- so- go there -RPT
pro- tns- dir- pv- vai -mode
néhe kásovááhe
néhe kásováahé
that young man
pro na
That young man went there.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.055

éstáho'ehneséstse
é- h- ta- ho'ehné -sest
3- PST- TRL- come -RPT
pro- tns- dir- vai -mode
He arrived.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.056

éhnóhtséstóesesto vého
é- h- nóhtsést -óe -sest -o vého
3- PST- ask s.o. -INV -RPT -OBV chief
pro- tns- vta -voice -mode -num na
He was asked by the chief.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.057

néhóheseneséhéméne
né- ho- háesenehe -mé -s
2- very have.much.food -1/2PL -RPT
pro- REDUP- vai -num -mode
"You (pl) have plenty to eat.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.058

hóxe'anáhtseo'o
hóxe'an -ahtse -o
clean -REFL -IMPV.DEL
vta -sfx -mode
Prepare (lit., clean) yourself!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.059

néxhéeseeheo'o
néh- hé- éseehe -o
CIS- PURP- move.in -IMPV.DEL
dir- pv- vai -mode
Move in here!

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

éstaéváhóö'öhtseséstse
é- h- ta- éva- hóö'öhtsé -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

hevéškemo
he- vésekm -o
3PS- grandmother -OBV
pro- na -num
móstanéhetóhevóhe
mó- h- ta- nê- het -ó -hé -vo -hé
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

éstano'vé'öhtsémóstesto
é- h- ta- no'- véöhtsém -ó -rest -o
3- PST- TRL- also- accompany -DIR -RPT -OBV
pro- tns- dir- pv- vta -voice -mode -num
tséohkéhóö'xevátsese
tsé- ohke- hóö'xevá -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

éhnéxhóö'xeváséstse
é- h- neh- hóö'xevá -rest néhe hetane
3- PST- CIS- announce -RPT that man
pro- tns- dir- vai -mode pro na
That man announced.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.068

eñhñohtö'ènöhtse
ñeh- nóhtö'en -ó -ht
CIS- fetch.by.wagon -FTI -IMPV
dir- vta -theme -mode
"Come after it!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.069

ñéaméhnéstse
ñeh- amehné -ht
CIS- walk -IMPV
dir- vai -mode
Walk toward (me)!
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.070

Come after your food!" the chief was told.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.071

And then that's how this young man received the young lady who was beautiful.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.072

That's all.

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'
- hé'e 'woman'
- hetane 'man'
hohpe 'soup'
šéšé 'duck'
vé'ho'e 'non-Indian'
vo'e 'cloud'

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'ho'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'é-otóá'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'ěstóne-māheö'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:

éškòse-mëšë-hotame141 'pig' (literally, sharp-nose-domesticated.animal)
ka'-ènë-hótame 'bulldog, cat'142 (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal)
vóhp-ó'ha 'white horse' (literally, white-horse)143
to-óöm-ášëše-stótse 'soda pop, cold drink' (lit., cool-liquid-drink-NOM)
Mo'ohtáv-áhahtá-tane 'Blackfeet Indian' (lit., black-foot-person)

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141 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.

142 Southern Cheyennes have used the word ka'ěnéhótame 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'eeséhotame (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal) for 'cat'. Petter began his work in Oklahoma, before moving to Montana perhaps Southern Cheyenne have used both ka'ěnéhótame and ka'eeséhotame for a cat.

143 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 consist of verb stem plus a nominalizer (a suffix that turns a verb into a noun):

ame’ha-htôte 'airplane' (literally, flying-thing)
mésêhe-stóte 'food' (literally, eating-thing)
éškós-éné-hé 'greyhound' (literally, sharp-face-being)
tsêhe’se-esé-he 'elephant' (literally, long-nose-being)
vovéstomósané-he 'teacher' (literally, teaching-being)
hoéstónéhe '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-146 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. 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:

144 This is the most general of the Cheyenne nominalizers. It is phonemically /-htot/. It can create either animate or inanimate nous from verbs.
145 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 vovéstomósanéhe 'teacher', literally 'teaching-being' or 'teaching-person'.
146 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 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-tšē-he’késtaha. 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-tsē-he’tōsesto. 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**

$$\text{RECHECK TO DETERMINE IF /neh-/ WAS IN ERROR AS FAR PAST IN THE EARLIER GRAMMAR??}$$

- Ná-nēh-vóómo. I saw him a long time ago.
- É-nēh-mésehe. 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:

- Ná-h-tse-mésehe. I shall eat.
- Nē-stse-vé’néhešéve! Don’t do that (in the future)!
- Tse-névéóhta. (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.

- Ná-h-ta-vé’háhtse. I will go along.
- Nē-sta-évahó-sevóomáte. 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-/ . 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'-amoo'kōho. Rain is approaching.
É-nēs-tsēheta'hāhtse. He threw it toward here (that is, toward the speaker).

Imperative cislocatives
Néh-metséstse! Give it to me!
Nēx-hēsānōhtse! 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-ēšēta'ēhne ēše'he. The sun has set.

Preverbs
Preverbs give aspecual and adverbial 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
   2-FUT-TRL-back-again-see-AOAM-INV:1
   I will see you again.

2. Nā-ohkē-sāā-'onē'sōmé-pēhēvē-tsēhést-o'anē-he.
   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{147}

\textsuperscript{147} 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-nës-sáa'-évá-ho'e-anôhe-ohtsé-he.
   He won't come back down. (The Whiteman and the Indian)

5. É-sta-nëšé-hétóse-ame-néhov-ó-sest-o.
   3-FUT-TRL-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.

   3-PST-CIS-commence-about-continue-REDUP-throw.on-FTI-IOAM-RPT
   It's said he began to throw it on.

   2-FUT-TRL-again-ANA-REL-give.s.t.-PSV
   It will again be given to you this way.

10. É-s-ta-évá-në-heše-ho'-hóo'-ôhtsé-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-hôe-évo'soo'e.
    FUT-morning-out-play
    He will come out to play early in the morning.

12. tsé-s-tâ-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-DETRANS-RPT
   It's said he was constantly explaining a lot. (Sweet Medicine)

17. Éh-ne'-osáane-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-REcip-RPT-3PL
   It's said they simply all piled in on each other.

19. Éx-he'ké-hešé-hosó-hnée-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'óhké-sáa-sé'hove-évá-ho'-éhnee-he-hoo'o.
   3-PST-HAB-suddenly-back-arrive-walk-NEG-PRET
   Once upon a time he would suddenly not come back.

   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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>áahtse'</td>
<td>simultaneously</td>
<td>e'(e)-</td>
<td>upward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhane-</td>
<td>extremely</td>
<td>e'se-</td>
<td>afraid to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'ene-</td>
<td>forever</td>
<td>émoose-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-</td>
<td>along</td>
<td>éne-</td>
<td>end, stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anóhe-</td>
<td>down</td>
<td>ése-</td>
<td>in, into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ase-</td>
<td>start</td>
<td>éše-</td>
<td>already</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Aspectual preverbs

Some preverbs are primarily aspectual in nature, including:

- back
- heavy, respected
- much
- badly
- have
- for the purpose of
- more
- up
- easily
- slowly, softly
- hard
- too much
- for such reason
- manner
- in evening
- continually
- to such extent
- out from
- arrive
- go home
- mistakenly
- again
- cleanly
- although
- all over
- all
- tiredly
- sacredly
- complete
- big, much
- suddenly, in a group
- used to
- should
- appear
- early morning
- recently
- referring back
- toward, cislocative
- previously
- continue
- while
- fast
- differently
- know how to
- also, included
- aside
- over
- might
- regularly
- bypass
- mistakenly
- might
- truly
- try to
- proper
- commence
- intense
- good, well
- good, well
- not
- down into
- suddenly
- middle
- through
- still
- at night
- exactly
- disappear
- by self
- slightly
- on top
- going to
- how?, somehow
- along the edge
- referring forward
- never
- little
- nevertheless
- just
- complete
- prohibit
- with
- simply, ordinarily
Examples with aspectual preverbs
Máheameóestse nëhéno é-méhae-‘éevó’éstanéheve. All Runner used to live there. (1987:182)
Tse-nonáháxe-pe’pe’eotse. There might be trouble. (1987:27)
È’-osáane-asénoovósesto. He began to sing to them. (1980:45:18)

Path preverbs
Other preverbs indicate a path for the action of the verb:

anôhe-
e’(e)-
ése-
eh'ame-
hóe-
no’hé-
sé’e-
sé’hove-
sóhpe-
só’(e)-
táxe-
tóxe-

Examples with path preverbs

Quantity preverbs
Some preverbs communicate information about quantity and intensity:

áhane-
háe-
hehpe-
heóme-
máhe-
ma'xe-
osee-
táve-
tšéške'-

Examples with quantity preverbs

**Quality preverbs**
Other preverbs focus on quality:

hávéséve-
hóxe'e-
péhéve-
véhóne-
xaे-, xamae-

Examples with quality preverbs

**Temporal preverbs**
Some preverbs focus on time:

a'ene-
hetóéve-
méo-
taa'éve-

Examples with temporal preverbs

**Important preverb combinations**
Some combinations of preverbs coalesce (contract together):

ta- + to'se- > tao'še-
Tšéške'e né-tao'se-vá'néhóhta'haovatsénóvo naméšéme. '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-méšéhe. '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-héstsevévéšéhéhe. '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'éstomeve. 'You should have told me.'
oh-to'se-: almost but failed
Ná-oh-to'sé-hovánee'e. 'I almost died.'

sáa-tónēše-: cannot, unable to
Ná-sáa-tónēše-tséhe'ohtsehé. 'I am not able to go (there).'</ná
És-sáa-tónēše-éne-e'kóó'óheséstse. 'It's said he just couldn't stop looking out.' (1987:298)

sáa-tšēhe'se-: never
Né-sáa-tšēhe'se-vóomatséhe. 'I never see you.' (= I haven't seen you in ages)

tó'e-ase-: almost
Náhóhpo éheše'hāna; mó-tó'e-ase-ávoonéhéhe. 'He ate up absolutely all of his food; he must have been (almost) starved.'

tó'-tae-
tónēše-hé-
vé'-hé-

Verb stem formation

Verb stems are the central core of verbs. Verb stems are built from roots, initials, medials, and finals. Even though pronominal prefixes are not part of verbs stems, they will be included in our examples, following, so that there are complete verbs which may be pronounced as words.

Roots

A verb stem may consist of just a root. A root cannot be divided into any smaller meaning parts, nor does it need any other parts to complete its meaning. A root can stand alone as a complete verb, as long as it has any required grammatical affixes, such as person prefixes and suffixes. Here are some Cheyenne roots:

<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'áhe</td>
<td>want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-ho'sóe/</td>
<td>dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-homosé/</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>-méšehe</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/-mó'é/  invite to a meal
/-naa'é/  doctor
/-nae/  die
/-néé/  be standing
/-némené/  sing
/-néne/  nurse (of a baby)
-nomáhtse  steal
/-ohaé/  arise
/-sévanó/  skate, slide
/-to'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-mésehe.  He's eating.
É-mó'é.  He's inviting to a meal.
É-néé'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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'e'-</td>
<td>separate (be)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'enó'n-</td>
<td>dark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'k-</td>
<td>round</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'kón-</td>
<td>squat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a't-/a's-</td>
<td>accidentally</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ae'ta'é-</td>
<td>face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aéstom-</td>
<td>false</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahko'-</td>
<td>roll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahto('h)-</td>
<td>under</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am-</td>
<td>along</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ames(t)-</td>
<td>crosswise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-</td>
<td>down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ane'k-</td>
<td>prick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ase(t)-</td>
<td>away/start</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axe-</td>
<td>scratch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é'(k)om-</td>
<td>oily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é'-</td>
<td>break</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ém(ooh)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>én-</td>
<td>end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ést-</td>
<td>into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éstov-</td>
<td>blow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éš-/éx-</td>
<td>already/finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éškos-</td>
<td>pointed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>év-</td>
<td>about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éxov-</td>
<td>warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'(k)os-</td>
<td>turn over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'-</td>
<td>up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e's-</td>
<td>dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e't-/e's-</td>
<td>fear</td>
</tr>
<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>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>háahp-</td>
<td>large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hánoot-/háno-</td>
<td>back (head posture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hávéšév-</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hahé-</td>
<td>rub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hap-</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>héesév-</td>
<td>boil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héhno-</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
heóv-  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
hómes-  escape
hóna'(ov)-  add
hóné()-  pile
hóoht-/hóo'-  home
hóom-  shelter/protect
hótoaná-  difficult
hótoxá-  crisscross
hóvoht-/hóvos-  store
mé'- appear
mē'š-/mē'h- hairy
mén- dig
me'to'- exchange
mṓhe- 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
náhahest- avoid/forbid
nae- numb
nanévesév- clear/transparent
né't-/né's- extract/doff
néhov- stand/arise
né- slanted
néma'- circular/revolve
nésh-/néš- two
nétáhév- different
név- four
néh(e)- wipe
nehp- cover/obstruct
neó'k- tight fit
nes-/neš- heat/hot
nèše'(h)- wash
nèšev- rapid
néxahp- dull
néxoóht- cute
né'oes(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
pano' - spread on
pé(n) - grind
péhp - loose/shaggy
péhév - good
pe'pe' - rough/troubled
pó(k) - gray
pó' - explode/pop
pó(n) - hit/slap
póh - swell
pónoma' - uncovered
po' - off of
popé' - rough
sé' - into/center
sé'h-/šé'š- awake
sé'ho' - stake in
sé'se(n) - scrape
sé(hp) - stretch
séet - same
sét-/séš- remain
sétov - middle
sóhkom - slender
sóhp - through
sóv - diminish
šé(š)/šé(x) - free
táh-/táx - top
tátse - antagonize
táv - goofy
ta' - disappear
ta'ov - angry
ta'p - weak
ta'lt - open/unlock
taeváh - measure
táhe' - big
tam - stubby
tó'ès(t) - long
tó'h - stop
tó'hov - between
tó'kes(t) - short
tó'om - steady/firm
tó'ov - for good
tó(n)ov - thick
tóhp - poke
tóhto(n) - flat
tóhtom - aimless
tónet-/tónèš - how?
tóoxe' - copy
tóv- stubborn
tóva- imitate/pattern
tóx- edge/around
tóhovó- gap (cf. slit)
to(n)- cold
toést- string (e.g. bead)
toe(n)- hold
tóhkom- few
tomòht/-tomòs- raise
toxx- low
tovó’k- slit (cf. gap)
tséo'- sprawl
tséva(n)- dusty
tséhés(t)- Cheyenne
tséhe’és(t)- long
tséhe’kés(t)- short
tséške'- small
vá’óht/-vá’ós- complete
vé'h- contain
vé’ke- sweet
vé’óhk- bitter/sting/pain
vé’s- rapid
véhon- chiefly
véhp- empty/hollow
vén- disagreeable/cross
vés(t)- with
ve'ev- concave
vó'(k)om- white
vó'ho'- light/shine
vó’n- light
vó(hp)- light (color)
vóeše- rejoice
vóhk- bend
vóho'oes- discard
vóhpon- strict
vóon- all night
vós- hole/depression
vóvo'k- naked
von- remove
vonó- lift
vovéh- scarred
vovó’h- spotted (white)
vovó- first/ahead
xá’xán- massage
xanov- straight
xo’- salve (put on)
**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-nēše'x-ahtse. He gargled. (lit., he-wash-mouth)
- É-pēhēvé-éxāné. 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-óêna. He's praying secretly. (lit., he-secret-pray)
- É-he'kon-ose. He's frozen hard. (lit., he-hard-cold)
- É-pēhēv-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-ā'a. He moved the water with his foot. (lit., he-along-water-by-foot)
- Ná-to-óom-ān-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'ahms148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>-'pa'ōná</td>
<td>ma'p̴a'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belly</td>
<td>-asé</td>
<td>matonēše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>-ma'emá</td>
<td>ma'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breast, udder</td>
<td>-tanahá</td>
<td>matāṇa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calf</td>
<td>-sevá</td>
<td>hésevo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>-'éstá</td>
<td>máhtovōo'otse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elbow</td>
<td>-htsē'ooná</td>
<td>máhtsē'oo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>-'éxané</td>
<td>ma'ēx̣a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>face</td>
<td>-éné</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td>-(hk)osé</td>
<td>mo'ēško</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot / feet</td>
<td>-hahtá</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

148 Ma'ahms 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’ė-škóhtá-xe. I fell and broke my leg.
Ênéxoós-éne. He has a cute face.
Êma’e-esé-vose. He has a red nose from the cold.
Néše’së-he’óná-htse! Wash your hands!
Êhese-na’éva-otse. He has cramps in his arms.
Êhese-nomá-otse. He has cramps in his thigh.
Êóko’kev-be-notóva. He has a black dirty neck. (lit., he-crowlike-neck)
Êtséhe’se-na’éva. He has long arms.
Êtotséške’-êsta. His ears stick out.
Êvóhe-tanévá. He has thrush. (lit., he-white-tongue)
Nápoe-ntséá-hno. I punched him in the head.
Êtáhe’-ase. He has a big belly.
Êó-óhta. He is constipated. (lit., he-dry-bowels)
Êhévoe-tanáhá-no’háme. He's milking. (lit., he-squeeze-udder-livestock).
Náéxo’-haftá-ho’he. I’m warming my feet. (lit., I-warm-foot-by-heat)
Êhéšk-onéné-o’o. He (especially a dog) is showing his teeth (for example, when snarling at someone).

Néste’se hetsé’ehno êše’he! Néstsematse-óse. 'Don't point at the sun (or moon)! You'll get an infected finger.'
Taa’ëva néste’se’no’o’ehotséme! Méstaa’e néstseném-áhtsená-o’haévo. 'Don't eat outside at night! A ghost will give you Bell's palsy (lit., crooked mouth).'

---

149 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(^{50})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snow</td>
<td>-één</td>
<td>héta’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>-'évá</td>
<td>náhtse’eme(^{51})</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.
Éanóh-óné-ána. He lowered it with a rope.
Éto-óom-aše’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), -óht (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>

\(^{50}\) Naéhame 'my husband' is obsolescent. Today Cheyennes usually say tsévéstoemo 'the one who is my spouse' for either a husband or wife.

\(^{51}\) Literally, 'my woman'. This word is obsolescent, replaced by tsévéstoemo. 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'-ōhn-o. I broke him off with a tool. (lit., I-off-by.tool-him)
Nápo'-ēs-o. I cut him off. (litl, I-off-by.cutting-him)
Éa't-āx-a. He accidentally cut it. (lit., I-accidentally-by.cutting-it)
Nápěhév-átám-o. I like him (lit., I-good-regard-him)
Étšěške'-óóva. It shrunk from washing. (lit., it-small-by.water)
Éta'p-ose. He gets cold easily. (lit., he-weak-by.cold)
Éhe'kon-ōhta. 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)
Nápěhév-ém-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>-ōése(ná) (AI), -ōésta (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
Ésétov-oéstá. It's noon. (lit., it-middle-hang)
Éov-ēše. He went to bed. (lit., he-prostrate-lie)
Návéhp-ēš-mo. I emptied him. (e.g. a jug; lit., I-empty-lie-him)
Éha'óón-ō'o'e. He prayed standing up. (lit., he-pray-stand)
Énomon-oo'o'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>-aséšše</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-sëvo. 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-ahe. He is good.
- Épèhév-a'e. It is good
- Éhe'kot-ahe. 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 heš- 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-\(^{152}\) performs the same anaphoric discourse function as does the heš-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:

**Examples with relative roots**

Oóxésta ná-hešta. 'Same as always, that's how I am.'
Névé'-né-hešéve! 'Don't do that!'
"Nápéhévomóhtahe," é-hevoo'o.\(^{153}\) "I'm feeling good," that's what he said.
'é-héso 'it's that way'

**Examples with the relative preverb**

Kovááhe ná-heše-véhe. 'Youngman, that's how I am called (named).'
Táháóhe hákó'e tósa'e hoháá'ëse móstá-hešë-heétoó-ëhehevóhe. 'Far away somewhere that's where they were taken to prison.' (1987:185)

**Examples with the relative initial**

Mónáoseeháeanáhëhe; náhahpo ná-heš-e'hána. 'I must have been very hungry; everything,

---

\(^{152}\) The pronunciation heš- is used before the "e" vowel; het- is used before "a" and "o".

\(^{153}\) The verb of saying in quote margins functions as a relative root.
that's what I ate.'

ná-‘het-áhtomóné 'I heard (it) that way'

eá-‘het-óhta’hāne 'he told the story that way.'

'have' stems

he- $\$DEVELOP THIS SECTION OR COMBINE IT WITH THE PREVIOUS SECTION ON 'have' stems UNDER AI VERBS

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'kōhomó’héstôtse. I ate with a fork.
Námésehe ane'kōhomó’héstó-vá. I ate with a fork.

$\$ARE THE EXAMPLES FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF THE BOOK NATURAL ENOUGH TO INCLUDE?? TRY TO INCLUDE SOME NATURAL EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS BELOW.

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 kāhámáxe. ?? He hit me with a stick.

Ho’évohkōtse ná-vé’šé-háomóhtáheótse. The meat made me sick.
Kokōhéáxa ná-vé’šé-háomóhtáheotsénótse. The chicken (animate) made me sick. $\$IS THIS A NATURAL EXAMPLE??

Instrumental suffix –vá
The suffix /–vá/\textsuperscript{154} marks a noun which is used to perform some action.

Náooma kāhamáxéhé-va. He hit me with a stick.
Náa'táxestse mútšeské-va. I accidentally cut myself with a knife.

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: $\$HOW NATURAL IS THIS??

Ná-vé’šé-oó’xoemáháne hóhkoxé-va. I chopped wood with an ax. $\$RECHECK

Other examples
Náoó’xoemáháne hóhkoxéva. I chopped wood with an ax.
Návé’šeoó’xoemáháne hohkoxe. I chopped wood with an ax.

\textsuperscript{154} 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:

I prayed
I prayed for him
I prayed for you
We (exclusive) prayed for you (sg/pl).

-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.

I worked for him (that is, I worked in his place).

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:

I worked for him (that is, he employed me)
He worked for me (that is, I employed him)
They worked for me (that is, I employed them)

Other benefactive finals
Some abstract TA finals can express a benefactive meaning with certain verb stems:

I sang.
I sang for him (benefactive).
He sang for me (benefactive).
I baked it.
I baked it for him.
I baked them (inan) for him.
I baked them (inan) for me.

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:

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.

Náméséhé'sého. I made him eat.
Náovéséná'sého. I made him go to bed.
Nánaóotsé'sého. I made him sleep.
Náhotse'óhé'sého.?? I made him work.
Náhomósé'sého. I made him cook.

Náméséhé'sehatsenótse.?? I made you eat him (e.g. a duck).
Náméséhé'sehatsénoto.?? I made you eat them (animate).
Éméséhé'šéhónoto.?? He made him (obv) eat him (obv).
Néméséhé'šéseóstse.?? You made me eat him.

Návóó'sého. I showed it to him (lit. I caused him to see it).
Návóó'séhonótse 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:

Éhohátsemóho. He made him (obv) laugh. (Éhohatse = He laughed)
Éhetótaemóho. He made him (obv) rejoice.
Éháestáhémóho. He angered him (obv).

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
néhe'še  then
nonohpa  so that

Some connectives occur in combinations:

naa māto  and also
naa oha  but

$\text{\$GIVE EXAMPLES. INCLUDE DESCRIPTION AND EXAMPLES OF DISCOURSE USE OF \textit{naa} to mark discourse "episodes" (paragraphs?).}$

**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 ká'ëškóne  this child
- hé'tóhe māheon'ôte  these houses
- tá'tóhe mő'éhno'ha  that horse
- há'tóhe máheó'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 refers 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'ëhe  something, nothing
- hovánee'e  no one
- nevá'eséstse  someone
- nevá'esesto  include glosses for this and following forms??
- néséhoo'o
Interrogative particles
Interrogative particles ask questions: $\text{GLOS}\text{S THESE PARTICLES}$

névááhe
névááso
neváaseo’o
neváasóho
hénová’e
hénová’ehótse
hénová’éto
hénová’etotse
hénová’etse
hénová’ętsénèse
hénová’etotsénèse
hénáá’e
hénáá’énèse
tóne’šë
tósa’e

$\text{ADD OTHERS}$

Command particles
Some particles function as commands:

Nóheto! Let's go!
Nóxa’e! Wait!
Ótahe! Listen!
Táaxa’e! Let's see! ($\text{FUNCTIONS AS COMMAND??}$)

Location particles
Location particles refer to locations:

åhtóno’e under
anòheto below
he’ama up
heama side
taxeto 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.

óotâma especially
hotâhtse unexpectedly, lo and behold
aose right?
ta'se like
hámó'ňhtse for instance
mé'tó'e on the other hand
óntáhtse instead
ótséhámóhe oops
hé Oh, I made a mistake
ta'sótse I mistakenly thought (contracted from ta'se hótáhtse)
héva maybe
héa'e maybe
héá'ëhâma maybe
tá'sëhâma maybe
nóháse anything, whatever
nóhásëhâma just any way
hévámóhe 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.

Šaa! / Éaa! Wow! (traditionally said by males, but said today by some females also)
Náoo! / Nóoo! 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
- anóheto: down
- hehpeto: later
- hóseto: again
- oné'sésemeto: truly
- sóhpeto: through
- táxeto: on top

Examples with emphatic particles
- hehpeto tsé'éšéméoese Tséhe'ėsta'éhe 'after the battle with Long Hair (Custer)' (1987:59)

Naa nēhē'she hóseto, "Amēške nēstseó'komatsénoho vóohe." 'And then again (he would say), "Fat, I'll take a small bite of you, stop."' (Croft 1988:18)

Numbers
Cheyenne numbers are expressed through several well developed systems. 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. Others are parts of verbs. Let's examine the various number systems.

Cheyennes usually teach children Cheyenne numbers in bilingual school programs. They teach children to count in Cheyenne, since they, the teachers, 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. And it is questionable how useful reciting numbers is for learning to converse in Cheyenne.

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'néhešévé!" 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 inflected for animacy of a noun that they modify.

**Cardinal numbers**

Cardinal numbers tell how many things there are. Things counted can be anything, such as trees, cars, tepees, babies, men, women, dogs, cats, deer, books, or chokers. The pronunciation of a number does not change if the noun it modifies is animate or inanimate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne Number</th>
<th>Arabic Numeral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na'ëstse</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nešë</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'he</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neve</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noho</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naesohto</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nészotó</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nañohto</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sóóhto</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhtohto</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóhtó)hóhtahná'ëstse</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóhtó)hóhtahnáše</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nészó'ë</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nészó'ëhóhtahnáëstse</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nészó'ëhóhtahnáše</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nészó'ëhóhtahnáhe</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nó'ë</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nó'ëhóhtahnóho</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névó'ë</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóhónó'ë</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naészóhtóhnó'ë</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nészóhtóhnó'ë</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nóhtóhnó'ë</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sóóhtóhnó'ë</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no'ka máhtóhtóhnó'ë ??</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of numbers of things
- na’ēstse hetane  one man
- na’ēstse kahámáxe  one stick
- nešė máheonótse  two houses
- neve he’eo’o  four women
- noho ka’ēškóneho  five children
- naesohto póesono  six cats
- nésó’e mo’kéhanótse  twenty shoes

Multiplicative numbers
Multiplicative numbers tell how many times some action was done. This set of numbers end with -a for 1-5 and -ha for 6-10.
- no’ka  once
- nexa  twice
- na’ha  3 times
- neva  4 times
- nóhona  5 times
- naesóhtoha  6 times
- nésóhtoha  7 times
- na’hóhtoha  8 times
- sóhtoha  9 times
- máhtóhtoha  10 times
- (mahtóhtoh)hóhtahnoko  11 times
- (mahtóhtoh)hóhtahnexa  12 times
- nésó’e  20 times (same pronunciation as for 20 things)
- no’ka máhtóhtóhnó’e  100 times (same pronunciation as for 100 things)
- no’ka vonoéstónéstóva  1000 times (lit., once lost-count)

Examples of numbers of times
1. Nó’ka nénaeotse. 'You fainted one time.'
2. no’ka ho’néné’éstóva 'one step length' (lit., 'once by step'; this is approximately one yard)
3. nexa hámohötséhnséstóva tsénéhe’ésévoénèstse '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’séva.?? '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
- névé  four groups
- nóhónóve  five groups
- naesóhtóhnóve  six groups
nésōhtōhnóvé seven groups
na'néhtōhnóvé eight groups
sóhtōhnóvé nine groups
máhtōhtōhnóvé ten groups

Examples of numbers of groups
nésóvé mo'kēhanótse two pairs of shoes
névévéxamaevō'ēstaneo'o four tribes of Indians
nóhónóvé nótaxeo'o five bands of warriors

Numbers of days
A number preverb can occur with a noun suffix /-ēš/ meaning 'day' to indicate how many days (actually overnights) of time have elapsed.

no'kēē'ēše one day
néšéé'ēše two days
na'heëē'ēše three days
névéé'ēše four days
nóhonéé'ēše five days

Examples in sentences:
Néšéé'ēše náévaho'ēhtse. 'I returned four days ago.'
Névéé'ēše móhnéma'eméohehevóhe. 'For four days they ran around.' (The Great Race, W. Leman, 1987:245)

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'ë. 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'ë. It was four overnights ago.
Vé'ho'éotó'a tse-néve-ōhta. The cow will have four legs. (Sweet Medicine's prophecy)
É-nóhone-aénáma. He is five years old.

156 That is, an overnight.
**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-oeme. 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-néseo’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-néveo’o. There are four of them (animate).
- É-nóhono’o. There are five of them (animate).
- É-naesóhtóxéo’o. There are six of them (animate).
- É-na’nóhtóxéo’o. There are eight of them (animate).
- É-sóóhtóxéo’o. There are nine of them (animate).
- É-máhtóhtóxéo’o. There are ten of them (animate).
- É-néso’oheo’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-néxânéstse. There are two of them (inanimate).
- É-na’hanêtse. There are three of them (inanimate).
- É-névánêtse. There are four of them (inanimate).
- É-nóhonânêtse. There are five of them (inanimate).
- É-naesóhtôhânêtse. There are six of them (inanimate).
- É-nésóhtôhânêtse. There are seven of them (inanimate).
- É-na’nóhtôhânêtse. There are eight of them (inanimate).
- É-sóóhtôhânêtse. There are nine of them (inanimate).
- É-máhtóhtôhânêtse. 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'káhéto: by myself, I alone
- néh-no'káhéto: I alone
- néh-néšése: both of you (plural)
- tsé-néšése: the two of them (animate)
- tsé-na'hese: the three of them (animate)
- tsé-névése: the four of them (animate)
- tsé-nóhonese: the five of them (animate)
- tsé-naesóhtoxese: the six of them (animate)
- hotóhkeo'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**

- tsé-nó'ka'e: that which is number one
- tsé-néxa'e: that which is number two
- tsé-na'ha'e: that which is number three
- tsé-néva'e: that which is number four

**Ordinal numbers**

Ordinal numbers tell what place something has in sequential order. The Cheyenne final /-a'ónéto/ indicates number sequence. Ordinal 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.
- É-néxa'ónéto: the first one
- tsé-néxa'ónéto: It is the second one
- tsé-na'ha'ónéto: the second one
- É-néva'ónéto: It is the fourth one.
- tsé-nóhona'ónéto: the fifth one
- tsé-naesóhtohna'ónéto: the sixth one
- tsé-nésóhtohna'ónéto: the seventh one
- tsé-na'nóhtohna'ónéto: the eighth one
- tsé-sóohtohna'ónéto: the ninth 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-nésóvahe'o.: There are three groups (animate).
- É-névóvahe'o.: There are four groups (animate).
- É-névóvátónéstse.: 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:157

- **Éno'keéno’e.** Tuesday (lit., 'It's the first day.')
- **Énéšeéno’e.** Wednesday (lit., 'It's the second day.')
- **Éna'heéno’e.** It's Thursday (lit., 'It's the third day.')
- **Énéveéno’e.** It's Friday (lit., 'It's the fourth day.')
- **Étséške ma’heóneéšeève.** It's Saturday (lit., 'It's the little holy day.')
- **Éma’heóneéšeève.** It's Sunday (lit., 'It's the holy day.')
- **Éénema’heóneéšeève.** It's Monday (lit., 'It's the end of the holy day.')

**Montana days of the week**

- **No’ka éšeēva** Monday (lit., 'on the first day')
- **Nexa éšeēva** Tuesday (lit., 'on the second day')
- **Na’ha éšeēva** Wednesday (lit., 'on the third day')
- **Neva éšēeva** Thursday (lit., 'on the fourth day')
- **Nóhona éšēeva** Friday (lit., 'on the fifth day')
- **Tšéške ma’heóneéšeēva** Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day')
- **Ma’heóneéšeēva** 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.

---

157 From Internet webpage: http://www.swosu.edu/academics/catc/dictionary/c04.aspx
ame (PA *pemyi, "grease")
he’e (cf. PA *weθkweni, "his liver")
hē’e (PA **eθkwe·wa, "woman")
hetane (PA *er*$enyiwa, "man")
matana (PA *meθenyi, "milk")
šé’šé
sémo
xāo’o
pe’e
netse
hotóá’e
neše
na’he

%%RECHECK PA AND ADD MORE EXAMPLES

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>

$$_{others}$$

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>hóhtséme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siouxs</td>
<td>Ohoomoheo</td>
<td>Ho’óhomo’eo’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>oxooxzz</td>
<td>cf. hoxo’ohtsévō’ëstse 'grass' $$DELETE EXAMPLE??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$$_{(OTHERS??)}$$

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>traditional pronunciation</th>
<th>younger speaker pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>māhtamāhāáhe</td>
<td>tamāhāahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book</td>
<td>móxe'éstoo'o</td>
<td>xe'éstoo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I asked him</td>
<td>nánõhtséstóvo</td>
<td>nánestóvo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berries</td>
<td>menõtse</td>
<td>menéstse ??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your pet</td>
<td>néstõtse</td>
<td>stõtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kills On The Water</td>
<td>Māhpévana'hāne</td>
<td>Pevana'hāne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I see you</td>
<td>nēvōomātse</td>
<td>nēvōoméstse ??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regularization

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>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'óhomoo'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>hése</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>še'še</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>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fly (insect)</td>
<td>/hé'sé/</td>
<td>hése</td>
<td>hésóho ($$ RECHECK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>/ho'honáé/</td>
<td>ho'honáá'e</td>
<td>ho'honáóho($$ RECHECK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>/note/</td>
<td>notse</td>
<td>nótóho($$ RECHECK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nighthawk</td>
<td>/pé'e/</td>
<td>pe'e</td>
<td>pé'óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>/šé'sé/</td>
<td>šé'se</td>
<td>šé'xóho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</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>émo'o</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>/-néše/</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>násáavóóhtáhe</td>
<td>I did not see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhestána</td>
<td>he took it</td>
<td>ésáahestánghé</td>
<td>ésáahestanáhe</td>
<td>he did not take it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'éná</td>
<td>I know it</td>
<td>násáahéne'énóhe</td>
<td>násáahéne'énáhe</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:
irregular  regular

nénové 'my home'  navénové ??
nétové  navétové ??
néséne 'my friend'  navéséne ??

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 tòhévøse, phonetically [tʰɔvɪc]. 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
Pévevéoná'o 'Good morning'
Péveéšéeva 'Good day'
Pévehetóéva '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:

Épévevónā'o 'It's a good morning'
Épéveéšeeve 'It's a good day'
Épévéhetóeve 'It's a good evening'
Épévetaa'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:

Nêsta'évahósevóomátse 'I'll see you again later.'

**Other loan translations**

The Cheyenne verb náé'ahe 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'tae)pónóhta $$?? toóneoeo'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-ma'xemené-he'anáto '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'anáto/ meaning. We then had fun combining this new preverb with other verbs, such as Êma'xenéhtoanáto '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
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'ēševötse 'baby', ka'ēškóne 'child', oeškēse 'dog', mahpe 'water', hoohtsēstse 'tree', and mé'estse '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), kāsovááhe, 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'ēškóne, 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'ēškóne"? 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>kāsovááhe</td>
<td>young man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāse'éehe</td>
<td>young 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>Éméšehe.</td>
<td>He (or She) is eating (or He, or She, ate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ékoká’a’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>Nééšemésehéhe?</td>
<td>Did you already eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épéhéva’ë.</td>
<td>It's good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo’kóho.</td>
<td>It's raining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáatséhe’sevóomatséhe.</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 languages 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.

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne Expression</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Énéšetaneva.??</td>
<td>He lies. (lit., he is two-tongued).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhéstova'kehe.</td>
<td>He is duplicitous. (lit., he is dual-natured??)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'néhevēhōhtse.</td>
<td>She outsmarts men. (lit., she has wolf footprints)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épéeēese.</td>
<td>He is a hellraiser. (lit., he has a ground up nose)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhesó'xo'ēsta.</td>
<td>He doesn't listen. (lit., he has slippery ears)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énéhestáha.</td>
<td>He's gets angry easily. (lit., he is quick-hearted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó'köhôme</td>
<td>sly, conniving person (lit., coyote)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éó'köhoméheve'éxáne.</td>
<td>He is sly/he cheats. (lit., he has coyote eyes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éného'poše ma'ēno.</td>
<td>It's foggy. (lit., the turtle is hanging shrouded)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námévéá'ē.</td>
<td>They gossiped about me. (lit., they ate me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heávohe nétáxe'há'tova.</td>
<td>You are in a bad mood. (lit., the devil is hanging over you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hesevávónó'e a'e hestonovónó'e!</td>
<td>Wow, that's amazing! (lit., wow, close to a drymeat rack)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vó'kéme éhonóva.</td>
<td>It has snowed and snow is hanging on tree branches. (lit.,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Old Man Winter is hanging drymeat)

oonahā’e máxhéevéívódtse  never (lit., when frogs have teeth)
Móšētónáhēxévėšēhēhē.  He's "crazy". (lit., he's about to have horns)
Ého'eoh'tóó'e hávēsēvévévévéhēhe. He's angry. (lit. The mad drummer came to him)
Náto'semahēe'tóó'honā’á'e.  I'm going to be stubborn. (lit., I'm going to swallow a rock)
Náno’ee’eha’onótse voohe. I got up really early. (lit., I put on my shoes with the morning star)
Névááhe tséheaxévenonēstse?  Who is the boss? (lit., Who has the bell? This idiom is based on the image of the lead cow wearing a bell)
Éhonē'a vé’ho’émahpe.  He drinks all the time. (lit., he is clothed with whiskey)
Émaa’e.  He's courting. (lit., he's barking)
Étaoméhótsenóhtévenesstse napáhpóneehéhame. My stomach is growling. (lit., my tapeworm can almost talk by itself)

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

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.
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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>I. It is ___</th>
<th>2. He is ___</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>émo?kóhtávo</td>
<td>émo?kóhtávaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>émo?kóhtávo</td>
<td>émo?kóhtávaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue</td>
<td>éotá?távo</td>
<td>éotá?tavahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown</td>
<td>émo?kóhtávo</td>
<td>émo?kóhtávaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown, tan</td>
<td>éno?nó</td>
<td>éno?nóhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gray</td>
<td>épó?o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td>éhoxo?mítsévo</td>
<td>éhoxo?mítsévaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orange</td>
<td>éma?míhóvo</td>
<td>éma?míhóvaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pink</td>
<td>éma?mímítsévo</td>
<td>éma?mímítsévaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purple</td>
<td>éhoxo?míkótsó</td>
<td>éhoxo?míkótsaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>émá?o</td>
<td>émá?ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>évó?mímo</td>
<td>évó?mímahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>évó?mímo</td>
<td>évó?mímahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white, light</td>
<td>évó?mího</td>
<td>évó?míphahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>éhé?óvo</td>
<td>éhé?óvaha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Éóévóvóva | He is yellow-furred. |
| Éóévóvóva | He has nice fur. |
| Éóévóvéóvo | He (e.g. a horse) is bay-colored. |
| Éóévóvéóvo | He is chestnut-colored. |
| Éóévóvéóvo | He is brown-black-colored. |
| Éóévóvéóvo | He is buckskin. |
| Éóévóvéóvo | He is tan-colored. |
| Éóévóvéóvo | He is pinto. |

**COLOR PARTICIPLES:**
- tséhó?vo the yellow one (inan)
- tséhó?voú?êstse the yellow ones (inan)
- tséhó?véêstse the yellow one (an)
- tséhó?véâhese the yellow ones (an)
- tséhó?téêstse the red ones (an)
- tséhó?komó?êstse the white ones (inan)

**COLORS AS "ADJECTIVES":**
- heóvé-m?e?e yellow feather
- heóvé-m?e?e yellow house
- otá?tava-amâño?nestó?tsé blue car
- vórhe-nâhkohe polar bear (white-bear)

**COLORS IN VERB CONSTRUCTIONS:**
- éhovóvéóvóse He has yellow hair.
- éma?éêâse He has a red nose.
- émo?kóhó?êxânam He has brown eyes.
### 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>tséhéstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhéhto</td>
<td>father, paternal uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséheškéto</td>
<td>mother, maternal aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheméšéméstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséheméšéméto</td>
<td>grandfather, fa-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevéškénéstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhevéškéméto</td>
<td>grandmother, mo-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhee?hahéstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhee?hahéto</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestónahḛ́stovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhestónahéto</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevéxahéstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhevéxahéto</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestatanéméstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhestatanéméto</td>
<td>brother (of female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheménéstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséheméhéto</td>
<td>older sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevéseméstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhevéseméto</td>
<td>younger sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?néhéstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhe?néhéto</td>
<td>older brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevéšsónéstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhevéšsónéto</td>
<td>sibling (incl. cousin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheaxšáʔéheméstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséheaxšáʔéheméto</td>
<td>sister (man's), sis-in-law(fem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheštovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhešeto</td>
<td>maternal uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhešamónéstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhešamónéto</td>
<td>maternal aunt, stepmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe vḛ́tovḛ́stovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhévḛ́tóvéto</td>
<td>paternal aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevḛ́tovḛ́stovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhévḛ́tovéto</td>
<td>cross sibling-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?haménéstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhe?haménéto</td>
<td>brother-in-law (man's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?tonahéstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhe?tonahéto</td>
<td>cross niece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?amḛ́stovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhe?áméto</td>
<td>cross nephew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhehamóstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhehamóto</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhehamónéstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhehamónéto</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?hhamónéstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhe?hhamónéto</td>
<td>niece, stepdaughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhehamónéstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhehamónéto</td>
<td>nephew, stepson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?onahéstovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhe?onahéto</td>
<td>paternal uncle, stepfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?onahḛ́stovḛ́stse</td>
<td>tséhe?onahéto</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: see other material on kinship terms under TRANSITIVE ANIMATE CONJUNCT PARTICIPLES.)
Medical terms

Néto'sev'd'hoomátse.
Tósa'e nénháma'cta?
Tósa'e nénozněctse?
Néhaamá'tahe ketoněye?
Néhoše'eh?
Nétoñèstóhe'ehama?
Nénozněctsehe hétochóhe?
Néase'nóhochtshe, OR,
Néàntãoche?
Né'seestse'hénatse?
Né'to'xótohiteitse?
Ná'me-omotomástse!
Eneomotómeotséstse!
Náto'sev'hóóta nástovo'o'tse.
Néto'sésonoománe.
Néhoveo'ëstse!
Hámésto'ëstse!
Náto'séahtaa nástestesta.
Nástesta épéháva'ë.e.
Nétoñèstóhe'sánáma?
Étoñèstóhe'sánáma?
Nétotóne'ëMénoómóhtahe?
Nétótoñémóhtahe?
Néhe'sevo'mómohtse?
Néhe'sevo'mómohtse?
Néhe'sevo'mómohtse.
Néhaamóhtahe.
Nétoñèstóhñoóhe?
Néhaamá'továhtse?
Nétóne'xováháomóhtahe?
Náté'éëke'háomóhtahe.
Néhozáháomóhtahe.
Névé'keemáspémohtáhee?
Návé'keemáspémohtáhee.
Nénés'hóha'he?'ha?
Néohkep'éhevenaóotshe,
Néohkep'éhevenomáse?
Néo'óhtahe?
Némomóhtohtse?
Námomóhtoht.
He'ko he'seño'o'tse améhestanome'o!?
He'ko he'seño'o'tse amemáne'o!
No'ka he'seño'me'o!
másáa'ëmmáséhéhe'to!
Nexa he'seño'me'o!
másáa'ëmmáséhéhe'to!
Na'ëtsse he'seño'me'o no
'no'ka-eëseva!
Évè'óhxekohtsche?
Néohkéheheotsotsche?
Náhtsëma'amëhe'amoësá.
Néhe'hahe?
Néhe'haa'eh.
**Names**

**Taste**

**Time**

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’koéhasēo'o, which literally means 'ticking thing’. This word is also animate.

**Questions about time**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tóne’še ého'oešé éšé'he? ??</td>
<td>What time is it? (lit., When has the sun arrived hanging?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tóne’še ého'oeštá?</td>
<td>What time is it? (lit., When has it arrived hanging?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étóne’ého'oešé (éšé’he)?</td>
<td>What time is it? [lit. How high is he (the sun) hanging?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étóne’ého'oeštá?</td>
<td>What time is it? (lit., How high is it hanging?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Times of the day**

Independent order verbs can be used to refer to times of a day:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éasevónéohtse.</td>
<td>It's daybreak. (lit. it's starting to get light)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhosóvoománo’e.</td>
<td>It’s dawn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhosóvoomaeñohtse.</td>
<td>It’s dawning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émévōono’a.</td>
<td>It’s early morning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évono’a</td>
<td>It’s morning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésēhévoesta.</td>
<td>It’s noon. (lit., it's eating time)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésētovoesta.</td>
<td>It’s noon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėsē(hehpē)šetovoesta.</td>
<td>It’s afternoon. [lit., it's already (past) noon]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhumoése.</td>
<td>It’s almost sunset time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ékahōése.</td>
<td>It’s close to evening [lit., he (the sun) is hanging close]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhetóeve.</td>
<td>It’s evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étaa’eve.</td>
<td>It’s night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésētohtaa’eve.</td>
<td>It's midnight. (lit., it's middle-night)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Past times**

Conjunct indicative verbs are used to refer to time which is already past:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhméovōono’a</td>
<td>when it was early morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōono’a</td>
<td>when it was morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssētovoesta</td>
<td>when it was noon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhetóeve</td>
<td>when it was evening</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tséstaa'ève when it was night
tséssétóhta'ève when it was midnight

Future times
Conjunct potential verbs are used to refer to time which has not yet occurred:
máhméovóna'ó when it is early morning
máhvióna'ó when it is morning, when it is tomorrow
másétovóéstá when it is noon
máxhétőëve when it is evening
?? when it is night
mássétóhta'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:
eše day
táa'e night

Temporal particles
The temporal / locative suffix /-vá/ is added to time nouns to refer to periods of time:
éšeéva in the daytime, yesterday
hetóéva in the evening
taa'êva at night
sétohtaa'ëva at midnight, in the middle of the night
oéšeëva daily
totáa'ëva 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'kóxe'ohe. It's 1 o'clock.
Ééšenésőxe'øhe. It's 2 o'clock.
Ééšena' nóxe'øhe. It's 3 o'clock.
Ééšenévőxe'øhe. It's 4 o'clock.
Ééšenóhonóxe'øhe. It's 5 o'clock.
Ééšenaesóhtóxe'øhe. It's 6 o'clock.
Ééšenésóhtóhnóxe'øhe. It's 7 o'clock.
Ééšena' nóhtóxe'øhe. It's 8 o'clock.
Ééšesóohtóxe'øhe. It's 9 o'clock.
Ééšemáhtóhtóxe'øhe. It's 10 o'clock.
Ééšéhtóhtáño'kóxe'øhe. It's 11 o'clock.
Ééšéhtánhénsőxe'øhe. It's 12 o'clock.
It's 2 o'clock in the morning.

It's 10 o'clock at night.

It's 4:30.

Past hours

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 o'clock</td>
<td>tséhno'kóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 o'clock</td>
<td>tséhnésókóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 o'clock</td>
<td>tséhna'nóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 o'clock</td>
<td>tséhnévóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 o'clock</td>
<td>tséhnóhonóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 o'clock</td>
<td>tséhnaesóhtóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 o'clock</td>
<td>tséhnésōhtōhnóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 o'clock</td>
<td>tséhna'nóhtóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 o'clock</td>
<td>tséssóhtóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 o'clock</td>
<td>tséhmáhtóhtóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 o'clock</td>
<td>máxhóhtáhnó'kóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 o'clock</td>
<td>máxhóhtáhnhésóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Future hours

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 o'clock</td>
<td>máhno'kóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 o'clock</td>
<td>máhnésókóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 o'clock</td>
<td>máhna'nóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 o'clock</td>
<td>máhnévóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 o'clock</td>
<td>máhnóhonóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 o'clock</td>
<td>máhnaesóhtóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 o'clock</td>
<td>máhnésōhtōhnóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 o'clock</td>
<td>máhna'nóhtóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 o'clock</td>
<td>mássóhtóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 o'clock</td>
<td>máhmáhtóhtóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 o'clock</td>
<td>máxhóhtáhnó'kóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 o'clock</td>
<td>máxhóhtáhnhésóxe'ohé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seasons

Names for the seasons are constructed from a noun stem and the temporal / locative suffix /-vá/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>winter</td>
<td>aénéva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spring</td>
<td>matsé’oméva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>summer</td>
<td>méanéva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall, autumn</td>
<td>tónóéva</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'éhaséèneše'he, Drying Up Moon: March
Véhpoteéše'he, Leaf Moon: April

Énano'éše'he, Planting Moon: June
Méanése'he, Summer Moon: July
Oenenése'he, Harvest Moon: August
Tonóése'he, Cool Moon: September
Sé'énéhe, Facing Into: October (This name refers to when thin ice begins to form on ponds and rivers.)
He'koneneése'he, Hard Face Moon: November
Ma'xéhe'koneneése'he, Big Hard Face Moon: December

Some alternative names are:
He'koneneése'he, Hard Face Moon: January (instead of November)
Tšëške'hohtseéše'he, Little Hoop Moon: February
Pónoma'a'éhaséènehe, Drying Up: March (or April)
Heše'kévénéhe, Dusty Face: March (also, variant Heše'événéhe)
Heše'événéhéésé'he, Dusty Face Moon: March (or April)
Véhpoteése'he, Leaf Moon: May (perhaps part of April also)
É'omeése'he, Fattening Up Moon: latter part of June and first part of July
Sétovévééneéšéhe, Midsummer Moon: July
Hémotsééšéhe, Breeding Moon: latter part of August and first part of September
Tonóvévééšéhe, Cool Moon: September
Sé’eneéšéhe, Facing Into Moon: October
Se’má’omevévééšéhe, Starting To Freeze Moon: October
Heše’kévénéstse, Dirt In the Face (Moon): October
Sétovévéééneéšéhe, 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

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No’ka éšéeva</td>
<td>Monday (lit., 'on the first day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nexa éšéeva</td>
<td>Tuesday (lit., 'on the second day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na’ha éšéeva</td>
<td>Wednesday (lit., 'on the third day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neva éšeeva</td>
<td>Thursday (lit., 'on the fourth day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nóhona éšeeva</td>
<td>Friday (lit., 'on the fifth day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tšéške’má’heónééšéeva</td>
<td>Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma’heóneéšéeva</td>
<td>Sunday (lit., 'on the holy day')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Oklahoma days of the week

Here are days of the week for Oklahoma, as listed by Cheyenne language teacher Lenora Holliman:159

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éno’keéno’e.</td>
<td>Tuesday (lit., 'It's the first day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énéšééno’e.</td>
<td>Wednesday (lit., 'It’s the second day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éna’heéno’e.</td>
<td>It's Thursday (lit., 'It's the third day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énévééno’e.</td>
<td>It's Friday (lit., 'It's the fourth day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étšéške’má’heónééšéeve.</td>
<td>It's Saturday (lit., 'It's the little holy day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma’heónééšéeve.</td>
<td>It's Sunday (lit., 'It's the holy day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éénema’heónééšéeve.</td>
<td>It’s Monday (lit., 'It's the end of the holy day.')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Montana past days of the week

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No’ka tsé’éšéeeve</td>
<td>when it was Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nexa tsé’éšéeeve</td>
<td>when it was Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na’ha tsé’éšéeeve</td>
<td>when it was Wednesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neva tsé’éšéeeve</td>
<td>when it was Thursday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nóhona tsé’éšéeeve</td>
<td>when it was Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tšéštšéške’má’heónééšéeeve?</td>
<td>when it was Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhma’heónééšéeeve</td>
<td>when it was Sunday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Montana future days of the week

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No’ka ma’éšéeeve</td>
<td>when it is Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nexa ma’éšéeeve</td>
<td>when it is Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na’ha ma’éšéeeve</td>
<td>when it is Wednesday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

159 From Internet webpage: http://www.swosu.edu/academics/catc/dictionary/c04.aspx
Neva ma'éšeeve  when it is Thursday
Nóhona ma'éšeeve  when it is Friday
Máhtšéške'ma'heóneéšeeve?? when it is Saturday
Máhma'heóneéšeeve?? when it is Sunday

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-améstőheéño'e.  It is a week.
ma'taaméstőheéno'e  in the coming "days" (lit., overnights)
ma'tahóseaméstőheéno'e  next week

-éno'tse final
The verb final –eno'tse refers to how many nights of camping:

Éno'keenő'tse.  He camped one night.
Énéšeenő'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'kée'éšé  one day
néšée'éšé  two days
na'heé'éšé  three days
névéé'éšé  four days
nóhonée'éšé  five days
naesóhtohéé'éšé  six days
nésóhtohéé'éšé  seven days
na'nóhtohéé'éšé  eight days
sóhóhtohéé'éšé  nine days
máhtóhtohéé'éšé  ten days

Numbers of weeks

Numbers of months

A number preverb plus the verb stem -éšé'hamá refers to how many months old someone is or how many months have transpired: ??
Éno’keéšé’hāma. He's one month old.
Énéveéšé’hāma. He's four months old.

Other preverbs can occur with this verb stem:

Étönéstōhe-éšé’hāma? How many months old is he?/ How many months pregnant is she?
Énéhestōhe-éšé’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.
Éno'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
néšeāā'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 soon160
t’a’e until
hehpeto later
nenóveto shortly, a little while later
maato in the future161
hákó’e far in the past162
tótseha long ago
évaveto back then
nómóse a long time
séetó’e’se 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/:
kášexe’xóvéva for a short time
hášexe’xóvéva for a long time

160 Á’e can also refer to being physically close.
161 Maato can also refer to being physically ahead.
162 Hákö’e 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:

- **há'a'éšé-** for a long time, late
- ** nenóvé-** for a short while
- **he'ěšé-** as long as
- **he'še-** during
- **éšé-** already
- **móne-** recently
- **nésta-** previously
- **vone'še-** for a long time
- **vóone-** all night
- **sé'hove-** suddenly

Examples of verbs with temporal preverbs

References from dictionary
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šé’seno</td>
<td>rattle</td>
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<td>šé’senovótse</td>
<td>snake</td>
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<tr>
<td>Évávahe.</td>
<td>He's swinging.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heváváhkema</td>
<td>butterfly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'po’ého’hóvahtótse</td>
<td>firecracker, motorcycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épó’ého’he.</td>
<td>He was fired / He had a blowout.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pó’ého’hémahpe</td>
<td>beer (lit., exploding water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pó’po’ého’hémahaemenótse</td>
<td>popcorn (lit., popping corn kernels)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épá’panestse.</td>
<td>He repeatedly farted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokohéaxa</td>
<td>chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kó’konoxe’estónestótse</td>
<td>typewriter (lit., pecking thing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kó’ko’ehasēō’o</td>
<td>clock (lit., ticking thing; an Oklahoma Cheyenne word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevovetāso</td>
<td>whirlwind, dragonfly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'.

Cheyennes did the same thing when they created the word for 'car, automobile'. They took a verb already widely used by Cheyennes, -amahó'he 'to go along by heat' and turned it into nouns, animate amáho'héhe and inanimate amáho'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 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'e émōna'e 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'e émōna'e 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 émōnā'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'kōhomōxháaheta 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)
Nátáa'anótse hóhkéhá'ěstse. The caps fit me. (lit., I fit to the caps)

Compare corresponding TA verbs:

Nátáá'ōvo éstse'he. The shirt fits me. (lit., I fit to the shirt)
Nátáa'ovoo'o éstse'heno. 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 –pěhévé'áhtá:

Nápěhévé'áhta ho'évohkėtse. 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 –pěhévoemeh 'cause (someone) to value good.'

Nápěhévoemeha. I think well of him. (= 'He is of good value to me.')
Nápěhévoemēho. He thinks well of me. (= 'I am of good value to me.')

The translation process

If you are asked to translation 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’éstse káse'éehe  éhnóhtséstovósesto heške,
One young woman asked  her mother,

“Éohkeóxóhevoöne oonáhá’e  óhmónenéstoohévoséstse?”
“What do they say, frogs, when they first croak (in the spring)?”

“Héméhe, naa  kováááhe, éohkéhevoöne, éxheséstse.
“Oh, well, 'kovaahe,' they say," she said.

náa  éxohátse'tôheséstse  məhtamâhááhe,
And she was laughed at, the old lady, (because)

Kovááhe  móxhevéhehevóhe  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. $$

The Brothers-in-law163

Tséhéno he'ameo'hé'e ehéstahé hetane. Aénōhenéstoohe éohkéhestohe.
There up the river he is from, a man. Hawk Howler he is called.

Naa náohkeévená'so'émähte'se164. Néhestoháa óhvóomoo'estse  tséhéóhe máhoéve'ho'llo,
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  évéota'hoháó'éne," náohkéheta. "Nésáa'aéstoméhevé'tove'tovatséhe,
Your brother-in-law is very thirsty," he says to me. "You are not my brother-in-law for nothing,"
náohkéheta.
he tells me.

163 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.
164 This text illustrates Cheyenne humor of joking relationships. Cheyenne culture encourages brother-in-law joking.
"Nétónume'éhevéhevéthévemaa'he'éhóhehóte?" néhe'se?" náhéto.
"How am I a brother-in-law to you then?" I told him.

"Heé, naa némáhevéstoemoo'o naaxaa'éhemo, néhéne'enosátse," náheta.
"Yes, and you married all my sisters, I know you," he told me.

"No, you are lying," I told him. "You must just think of me that way," I told him.

"No, I know you very well. You married all my sisters," he told me.

"Nonótovéhémanóxehe é'tóve!" náheta.  "Náota'ééváháá'éne," éhevo'o.
"Hurry give a drink to your brother-in-law!" he told me. "I am very thirsty," he said.

Naa vo'éstane óhstsévého'éhótaatsee'este tséohkevévéhešemoméno'esté estadove
And whenever a person comes to us where they always stand in bunches

Tséhéohe máhoéhe'ho'eno náohkéhósema, "Ts'étohe né'tóve," náohkéheta,
here in town, he always tells about me, "This one, my brother-in-law," he says about me,

"he married all my sisters. That's how I am a brother-in-law to him," he says about me.

Naa néhé'se hó'ótóva táháóhe Nomá'heo'he'é mótaéetséhe'ôhstséhéhe.
And then all of a sudden over there to Kingfisher165 he must have gone.

Násáanahaxeeévávóomóhe.  Étanés'háa'xóvetse.
I had not seen him for awhile. Quite a while went by.

Naa hó'ótóva náho'seeévávóomóhe. Tséhéno éné'ameôhtse háp'ó'é
And all of a sudden I saw him again. Here he was coming along just

tssétáameohtsevo.  Sé'ée'é éné'éexaéméné'oo. Naa náho'ëhóto,
when I was going along. Right away he was smiling. And I went to him.

"Éaa! Tósa'ee néa'enéhááse?" néhéto.  "Nésatšéhe'sévóomatséhe," néhéto.
"My! Where have you been all the time?" I said to him. "I never see you," I said to him.

"Naa táháóhe Nomá'heo'hé'é nátaéetséhe'ôhtse. Náhá'ohe / návéea'ënoo'ë, " néhéto.
"Well, over there to Kingfisher I went. There I stayed all this time," he told me.

"Héná'aé náháóhe tsétáhe'señoeto? Hea'é náháóhe nétáhe'ëtán'o tósa'é
"Why there did you stay so long? Maybe there you wanted a woman somewhere at
Nomá'heo'hé'é," néhéto.
Kingfisher," I told him.

"Heé, ovánèhoo'ëstse! Hea'é néhéne'ënoo Kéha'éne'é.  Náháóhe náho'ëhéto,
"Hey, keep quiet! Maybe you know Squint Eye Woman. There I came to her.

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165 Literally, 'Fish River'.
I got used to her,” he told me.

“Yes,” I told him. "And you always accuse me of your sisters. That Squint Eye Woman
náhe’haméhenòtse, mónétašéhevévxahé'tovatséhéhe," náhéto. "Né’tóve,
is my niece, you must (therefore) already be my son-in-law," I told him. "Brother-in-law,
néohkévé’eéváhe’e. Naméšéme né’ohkéhešéstse néhe’še.
don’t again call me that. Father-in-law, always call me from now on.
Nétašéhevévxahé'tovatsémo!166” náhéto.
You are already now my son-in-law!” I told him.

"Hová’aháne," éhevoo’o. "Nééšétá’hóxéhevé’tove’továtse,
"No,” he said. "I am so used to being a brother-in-law to you,
ésáatónéšéévanetáhévéotséhane,” náheta.

it cannot be made different,” he said to me.

"Heé, hée’tóhe émóná’e, nétašéšemónenohóéve," náhéto.
"Hey, this is brand new, this is the first time you’ve been married," I told him.

"Néstatséenéšéhevévxahé’tovatsé. ‘É’tóve, hémanóxhaha!
"You are just going to be my son-in-law. Your brother-in-law, give him a drink!

néohkévé’e, náhéto.” “Naa néhe’šé háp’o’e hétsétséha, Hémanóxhaha
you always tell me,” I told him. "And from now on likewise now, ‘Give a drink to
neméšéme!’ nétahtétátse,” náhéto. “Nénatséhe’ohtsešéstse tséhéohe
your father-in-law!’ let me tell you," I told him. "Come take me here
pó’ho’he-máhpé-máheóne néhe’šé néhéma’xhéhámanoxéstse!” náhéto.
to the saloon167 then give me a big drink!” I told him.

Éhohatse. "He’e, táxó’é néstsésáa’énénéhéhe, vo’estane
He laughed. "Hey, again and again don’t keep repeating that, someone
nétsenéstova. Nésta’ée’avó’estomo’he (?),
will hear you. You will have them all start thinking that way,
náhtsenópahkeéemaenéstamáne. Nává’nehkeévééestéstóvo tsé’tóhe Kéhaéné’e," I
will be thought of that way. I always just talk to this Squint Eye Woman,”

éhevoo’o.
he said.

166 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.
167 Literally, 'popping-water-house-LOCATIVE'.
"Heé, nééšetaomevé'néhetóhta'haove naa," náhéto.
"Hey, you had already told me that story yourself and," I told him.

"Náhtaémaenéhetoo'o tsé'tóhe tséohkeévéévěhnese vo'estaneo'o," náhéto,
"I'm going to tell all these who go around, people," I told him.

"tsétemáhehéne'enohe tséhešhevaxahetovátse," náhéto.
"so then it will all be known that you are my son-in-law," I told him.

"Nésáatónéšenonháaxe'tanóhe," náhéto.
"Ohkeepéhévé'tovéstse, ohkeéhémanóxeváenéstse
"You have no way to get out of it," I told him. "Always treat me good, always give me a drink
má'ohkevéometo nonópha néstanéhešepéhevéxehahetovátse!" náhéto //
whenever you see me so that way you will be a good son-in-law to me!" I told him.

Éhohatse. "Táxó'e néstaa'avó'éstomo'he (?)
He laughed. "Again and again you will have them start thinking that way.

nèsenó'ka nèhešeha!" náheta //
Not even once again say it!" he told me.

"Heé, nésáahotómenéhetatséhe neaxaa'éhemo tséhmáhehévéxestoemono,
"Hey, I didn't complain to you, (that) your sisters I had married them,
tséohke'evéhehto'ha'haneto," náhéto.
the way you always tell the story," I told him.

"Naa náoné'se'oméhetóme, émáhehéne'enohe," éhevoo'o.
"Well, I really tell the truth., it is all known," he said.

"Heé, névéááhe tsémahehéne'eno? Névé'ááéheno'kenéheve169
"Hey, who is it that knows all of it? You are the only one who says that

Nátaeënëseameeo'evótáchtsémé. Hená'hanéhe héne
We went along quarreling with each other. That's it, that's

náohkeéenéhešená'so'ëemahätzéme tsé'tóhe hetane, Aëñoheéstoohe
how we always tease each other, this man, Hawk Howler,
tséohkehéstoeestse.
as he is called.

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168 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-.

169 The preferred order of morphemes in this word would be néohkevá'neéeno'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. Ke’éehe 'grandma' and mémééhe 'grandpa' are also affectionally used by older people speaking about their grandparents.

- keeso 'puppy'
- ke’éehe 'grandma'
- kókó'e 'bread'
- mànóóhe '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:

tóotseha 'a very long time ago' (lengthened version of tótseha 'long ago')
Névááááhe? 'Who?!' (this lengthened version of Névááhe typically indicates that the speaker emphatically does not know who someone is)
Névááááso? 'Who?! (emphasized form of Névááso?)
Noóóoo! Wow! (emphasized form of Nóoo! 'Wow!')
Véetsêno! 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'èhase'o'ó (onomatopoeic; literally, ticking thing)
   md: éše'he (orig. meaning of 'sun' and continues to mean this in both od and md)
2. apple: od: má'xeme (inanimate); ma'xemenö'tse 'apples'
   md: má'xeme (animate); ma'xemeno 'apples'
3. watermelon: od: máhoo'o (in md, as well as od, this also has the more general meaning of 'melon')
   md: nëxó'mévéhe (lit. raw eating thing)
4. cucumber: od: heškóve-máhoo'o (lit. thorny-melon)
   md: mata (the same word used for 'peyote'; some md speakers may use heškóve-máhoo'o for 'cucumber', also ??)
5. 25 cents: od: tóhëvetse (loan translation from English 'two bits')
   md: tséháónóto (lit. that (coin) which is thick)
6. cat: od: ka'ënë-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. éškôseesë-hotame 'pig' (lit. sharp-nosed-dog); for md speakers, and perhaps for some od speakers, too, this means 'bulldog')
   md: póésö (we suspect this s a sound translation from an English word for cat, "pussy")
7. pay: od: éhöeotsésane 'he got paid' (lit. he's bringing (something) out; refers to bringing money out of the office)
md: éonénéxóhemohe he got paid' (lit. it was destroyed to him; perhaps refers to destroying an indebtedness)

8. crackers: od: tóhkoneve-kóhkonóheonótse (lit. skinny little breads; it is said that od speakers call crackers this, in teasing imitation of the md word)
   md: mo‘óhkonave-kóhkonóheonótse (lit. dried little breads)

9. potatoes: od: aéstome-méséhéstopo (lit. false eating things)
   md: méséhéstopo (lit. eating things)

10. washboard: od: nēška’ösé’o or hahéhaseo’o (lit. rubbing-thing)
    md: nēškéhásé’o

11. He’s really a strong Christian (typically said with derision):
    od: éhoháestahe (lit. he-very.much-baptized(?))
    md: éhoháéma’heónev’ého’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’hestote, 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’énè-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 náhtotse, 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?
Cheyenne discourse

$\text{Fill out this section; include typical beginnings of discourse.}$

Monologues ($\text{máto'sähösémo, etc.}$), Discourse-Final Sayings: Who would add tie on anything?

That’s the way it lies, hena’bóanéhe, 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. $\text{See if anything natural enough can be imported from "Let's Talk Cheyenne".}$

Topic continuity

Questions and answers

Avoid copying "elicitation" pairs from English.

Single word utterances

Common utterances and responses ($\text{copy from dictionary, etc.}$)

$\text{Etc.}$

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 hoóma móhvo’ěstanéhehevēhōhe
\m hoóma mó- h- vo’ěstanéheve -hé -vo -hé
\g across INFER- PST- live -NEG -3PL -NEG
\p p- tns- vai -sfx -fta -sfx

\t tôsa'e.
\m tôsa'e
They lived across somewhere.

And there were some Indians near there.

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."

"We'll drown," 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.

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'heóneve\. This story, it is a story.

2) Vé'hó'e tséssáa'éšého'ěhnéhévőse hákó'e móxhésóhanéhe. Whitemen, before they came, it (the story) from long ago must be from.

3) Naa násáapéhévéhéne'enóhe. And I do not know it well.

4) naa tséohkeéevá'néhetáhtomónéto náhtanéhešeme'esta. And just the way I heard it, I'll tell it like that.

5) éohkemaetotóxeme oha násáahéne'énovóhe / -héne'enóhe / He's discussed all over, but I do not know him, -do not know it.

6) Mots'ééve³, éohkéhevo'óne, mó'ohkeévééestsétséhevo'óhe, vé'hó'e Sweet Medicine, they say, used to talk to them, whitemen tséssáa'éšého'ěhnéhévősé. before they came.

7) Naa mó'ohkeéemé'ěstomóeheno'óhe hová'ěhe, héva tséstosého'ěhnéto'tse, And he used to explain to them something maybe that was going to come, hová'ěhe. something.

8) naa hétsetseha náto'vá'ne/=ta'se=tšéške'mé’ěsta⁴// hetoo // And now I'm just going to tell, like, a little. Uh,

9) néto'sého'a'ô'tóévo // vo'ěstane éxhesanëstse // "He'll come to you, a person," (Sweet Medicine) said.
10) tsemâhevé'senohe éxhe-/éxeséstse ///
  "He'll be all sewed up," he-, he said.

11) ho'évôtse tseohkëhestohe 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'sëho'a'o'tóése.
    who is going to come to you.

13) néto'vonéano'táe'vo / netao'o hová'éhe / tséméhæe/'óhkeéene'étamése5 ///
    He'll destroy for you everything that you used to depend on.

14) "Éto'semȧh evonéanōhtse," éxhetósesto.
    "He'll destroy everything," he told them.

15) "Naa / máto / néto'sëho'a'ó'tóévo mo'éhno'ha /
    "And also it will come to you, the horse.

16) "Mo'éhno'ha,"6 nêtstseohkhëhetóvo éxheséstse, "hóva."
    "Horse," you will call it," he said, "(this) animal."

17) tseňevoiehta / (tse)něxanetotse hestovootötse
    It will have four legs. There will be two, his ears.

18) naa he'ęxnéstse máto tsenéxanetotse, éněxanetotse.
    And his eyes also there will be two, there are two.

19) naa hestse'konótse tseňevoiehta ///
    And his legs, there will be four.

20) nêtstseohkëtháóenóvo hoháá'ėše
    You'll ride him very far away.

21) nêtstseohkëtséhe'óhtséháévo,
    He will take you there,

22) tsé'tóhe mo'ehno'ha / nêtstseohkëhetóvo ///
    this horse, you will call him that.

23) tséohkësó'tó'ome'ého'óése éše'he
    It will still hang firm (in the sky), the sun (during your travels)
24) nėstseohkėho'ehōmé hákó'e / éxhesaneséstse / you will arrive far away,” he said.

25) nėstsenēheše/vo'ēstanēhēvéme "You will live like that.

26) nėstsenēhešeéva'xėme / tsě'töhe mo'éhno'ha tsěhešeévoa'xėse / exhesaneséstse / You will be on the go the way this horse rolls his eyes,” he said.

27) naa // máto vé'ho'éotóá'e nėstseohkēhetóvo And also (will come), (the cow) 'whiteman-buffalo', you will call it that.

28) máto tsenéveóhta // Also it will have four legs.

29) tsenēše'ēsta It will have two ears.

30) naa / mátō=he'ēxānēstse tsenēxanetotse / And also his ears, there will be two.

31) hestēhēvā'xe / tseohkemāhexóneeheatse / ho'ēva / His tail will reach all the way to the ground.

32) tsenēsōhkonāvéhāhta // hestōohevono tsenēsōhkonaho / éxheséstse / It will have split hooves, his hooves will be split," he said.

33) naa hoto / tsē'töhe hóva nėstseohkemévóvo / And, uh, this animal (cow), you will eat it.

34) Vé'ho'éotóá'e nėstseohkēhetóvo / Ve'ho'etoa'e you will call it.

35) hohā'ēše tseohkēhešemē'a'xe éxheséstse / From very far away he'll be smelled," he said.

36) Éxhetősesto néhe hovāhne, "Vé'ho'éotóá'e," tsēoöhētōse. He told them (about) this animal, "Cow," as you'll call it.

37) naa tsē'töhe tsēto'sėho'ā'tōēse And this one who will come to you

tsemāhetāeotsē'ta ho'é tsēxhetaa'ōma'ō'e / will take over all the land throughout the world.

38) Totōsa'e nėstseohkeevemē'a'ēmé.
Here and there your heads will appear (in various places).

39) "Néstseohkemo'kóhtávéstséáme," éxhesaneséstse /  
"You will have black hair," he said.

40) Naa móbha- / má'tamáséhanéése / másaá'évatóxetanó'tomahése / nésta  
"But if you are crazy, if you do not think about the way previously  
tséheševo'ñestahvéése, néstamóhkevóhpa’émé," éxhesaneséstse.  
how you used to live, you’ll have gray hair," he said.

41) naa máto mé'éševötse tséhowevéése7 /  
And also a baby will come out (be born) with teeth."

42) Éstaaéséhetósema'xemé'éstomósaneséstse.  
He was constantly explaining a lot.

43) Nává'ñehetaa'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-.

5 The usual order of preverbs here, probably preferred by this narrator also, is ohkeéeméhae.

6 The 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'.

7 The 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’ēva.
\m é- h- ho’hooné’tá -né -s taa’ēva
\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’ováxenásesto hetaneo’o.
\m é- h- ováxená -sest -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’ó é’ahkóheohtsésesto
\m naa tsé- h- vóona’ó é- h- ahkóheohtsé -sest -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 kásováaheho.
\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 éxoháetanevoo’énése.
\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’šé éhváxeésesto.
And then they were dressing fancy.

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).

"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.
This meat and corn, she told them.

They were in a hurry (to eat).

They got full.
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.

Corn was simply waving.

It was already tasseled.
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 then these child.
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.

A calf appeared playing.

And then the next sized one.
And then a buffalo came out last.

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 exhonótovésesto še'xo ho'estáva.
And in the evening they roasted a duck in the fire.

Naa tsé'éšééxáho'hetsése é'àhto'hoňovésesto páéva.
And when it was done cooking they buried it in the ashes.

Naa mósto'seovéšenáhevóhe.
And they were going to lie down.

Naa néhe'se vé'ho'e éhnéhetóøesto tsé'tóhe xaevo'ëstanóho.
And then the whiteman told this Indian,

“Tsépóvéevóxéøetse hétsetseha 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'ëstane é'ämáhtovóøesto tsé'tóhe vé'ho'e.
And this Indian agreed with this whiteman.

Naa néhe'se é'ovéšenáøesto.
And then they lay down.

Naa tséhvóøona'otse vé'ho'e é'oseméoto'eséstse.
And when it was morning the whiteman got up really early.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevo'ëstane é'éšéahtse'tótoëšenáøéstse.
But this Indian was already lying with his eyes open.

Naa vé'ho'e é'osehóhta'hanétáøenéstse.
And the whiteman really wanted to tell his story.

Éhnéhetóøesto tsé'tóhe xaevo'ëstanóho, “Nátavóvéhóséstä
He told this Indian, "Let me be first to tell

naováxeøöstse!" éxhetóøesto.
my dream!" he told him.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevo'ëstane éhpéhévátséstánóse.
And this Indian thought well of that.

Naa néhe vé'ho'e é'aséstóhta'haneséstse.
And that whiteman started telling his story.

Éhnéhetóøesto tsé'tóhe xaevo'ëstanóho.
He told this Indian,

"Tsé'ováxeønáto vé'ho'á'e'o tséhetsënoonëse éhne'anóheéšëné.
"When I dreamed white women who had wings (= angels) were coming down.

"Naa tséhéóhe tsé'éšëho'oëšenáøøse e'evonóhó'o éhne'anóheneëøotse,"
"And here where they were a ladder came down,"

éxheséstse.
he said.
"Naa néhe'še nátaase'eoh'tse,"
"And then  I started to go up,"

éxhetóhta'haneséstse    tsé'tóhe vë'ho'e.
That's how he told the story, this  whiteman.

Naa néhéóhe tséstaéšého'óhta'hanése    tsé'tóhe
And there  when he got to that point in the story this

xaev'o'estane éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe vë'hó'e,
Indian told this whiteman,

"Hee, hápó'e  náto'estó'néheto'ováxe
"Hee, likewise I dreamed about the same

tséheto'ováxenáto,"  éxheséstse.
the way I dreamed," he said.

"Naa hápó'e  vëtséóhe tó'néhe'xóvéva
"And likewise then  at exactly the same time

mónaováxenáhe,'  éxheséstse tsé'tóhe xaev'o'estane.
I must have dreamed," said this  Indian.

"Hénéhéohe nétavóomátse. E'vevonóhó'o'óne
"There  I saw you  On a ladder

nétaame'e'ohtse,'  éxhetósesto.
you were going up," he told him.

"'Naa tsenésáa'éváho'eanóhowhti'sehe,' néhóovéhesétamátse,'"
"'And he won't come back down,'  I mistakenly thought about you,'" 
éxhetósesto.
he told him.

"Tsé'tóhe še'se 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  éhmóheeohtséhoono hováhne
Once long ago they met,  animals.
Once long ago the animals met.

2.  naa mato hapo'e  móhmóheeohtséhvóhe vë'késeho tséohkhéhetaa'eame'hávóse
And also likewise they met,  birds  those who fly.
And also likewise birds, those who fly, met.
3. naa móséškanetsénoonáhe mósésto'sevéséetse'óhtséhēhe
   And bat was also going to go to
   And a bat was also going to go to

4. tséhmóheeoohtséstovetse
   where there was a meeting.
   the meeting.

5. éstatsēhe'óhtsēhoo'o hovāhne tséhmóheeoohtsetsēse
   He went to animals where they were meeting.
   He went to where the animals were meeting.

6. hovāhne étsēhetaesesto nésāahovāhvéhe névé'késēheve
   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. tatsēhe'óhtsēstse vé'kēseho tséhmóheeoohtsēvōse
   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 épēhéva'ė éxhetóhoono
   And, "That's good," he told them.
   "Well, that's good," he told them.

10. nāhtaévatsēhe'ōhtse vé'kēseho tséhmóheeoohtsēvōse 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. éstatsēhe'óhtsēhoo'o móséškanetsénoonáhe tséhmóheeoohtsetsēse
    He went to, bat, where they were meeting,
    The bat went to where the birds were meeting.

    vé'kēseho
    birds.

12. naa hánaháóhe tséstāho'éohtsēse énèxhósepéohehoo'o
    And over there when he arrived he was again rejected.
And when he arrived there he was rejected again.

13. tatséhe'öhtséstse hováhne tséhmóheeohsévôse
   "Go over to    animals   where they are meeting!
   "Go to where the animals are meeting!

14. nésáavé'késéhévéhe néhováheve    éxheöstóhehoo'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'evaaseohséhoo'o
   He came away.
   He left.

16. naa námé'tatónéšévêmáse
   And "What should I do?
   "Well, what in the world should I do?

17. tósa'e   náho'xéstähêmáse    éxheöstetanóhoo'o
   Where do I belong?" he thought.
   Where do I belong?" he wondered.

18. tá'šé=hótáhtse    náhováheve
   "I thought I was an animal,
   "I thought I was an animal,

19. naa vé'késo náhetane
   and 'bird'    I am called.
   but I am called a bird.

20. naa tséhešésáavé'késéhévéheto
   And since I am not a bird,
   But since I am not a bird,

21. tósa'e   náho'xéstähêmáse
   where do I belong?
   where in the world do I belong?

22. násáaxahéne'enôhe
   I just do not know."
   I just don't know."

23. tsé'tóhe hóhta'áhê'o éhešenêhetôsêšê
   This       story       thusly lies (is told that way).
   That's how this story is told.
24. tósa'e éssáho'xéseotséheséstse móséshkanetsénoonáhe
Someplace he does not belong, bat.
The bat doesn't belong anywhere.

25. mó'óhkéhéssééveahtoešenáhée éšeéva
That must be why he hides in daytime.
That must be why he hides in the daytime.

26. tósa'e heva ma'tää'e heva véhpotséva éohkeahtoešenáhée éstóšésta
Someplace maybe in forest or leaves he is said to hide.
Someplace, maybe in the forest or in leaves, he is said to hide.

27. tósa'e móho'nóhk ééam héstse táhta
Someplace he doesn't go around in open.
He doesn't go around anywhere in the open.

28. naa hena'háanehe énéhe'éstóšésta
And that's all. It is thusly told.
And that's how the story is told.

Text Information:
Original Transcriber: Olson
Location: Oklahoma
Date: ca. 1965

The Frog and Her Brothers, by Ed Riggs (Oklahoma)

\ref FROG2 clause 1
\tx Tótseha éstáho'kónoehoo' oonáha'ë'héhe
\mr tótseha -h -táho'kónoe-hoon oonáha'ë'héhe
\mg long.ago 3-PST-sit.upon -PRET frog:FEM

\tx ma'xého'honáevá.
\mr ma'xe-ho'honáé-vá
\mg big -rock -OBL

\ft Long ago a frog sat on a big rock.

\ref FROG2 clause 2
\tx Ehnéneméehoo'o.
\mr é-h -némené-e -hoon
\mg 3-PST-sing -sit-PRET

\ft She sat singing.

\ref FROG2 clause 3
She would say,

"When my brothers look nice (dancing) I am happy,"

The two young men danced.

Both of those who danced had tailfeathers stuck in their hair on their heads.

The two young men danced.
While they danced, the frog spoke,

"Nahtatanemo ohpêhévenenoohé'xevoséstse
\nahtataném-o oh -pêhêve-nenoohé'sé-vó -s-et
\n1POSS-brother -PL whenever-good -appear(?) -3PL-3-ITER

náohkevóešetâno,"
\n1-HABIT-joyful-mental

"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 tséméhaevéstomo.  
   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’hāne.  
   he told the story that way.

5. “Nēhe’še ma’aetano’e náxhéseváéna.  
   “Then the rifle, I grabbed it.

6. Nāhtae’eamoo’o tséhnēšema’xemétónove’hávose.  
   I shot up at them while they were thickly flying.

   Here, one I accidentally shot.

8. Náhtató’omemāso.  
   I shot him stiff.

9. Éhne’ameanā’o.  
   He was falling down.

10. Nēhe’še éhma’xepe’pe’e’háooheo’o nēhe henā’e.  
    Then they were really hollering flying, those geese.

11. Éhne’èvaanohénéheobé’tovovo néhe na’èstse tséméhaetó’omemáxamoo’o.  
    They followed him down, that one that I shot stiff.

12. É’évanāha’ènovo.  
    They caught him.

13. Éstaévaasēhe’ame’hao’o.  
    They started to fly back up.
14. Éstaévähe’ameno’ase’hánovo.
   They took off upward with him.

15. Éstaévató’nēseasévëseame’ha néhe tséméhaet’omemasso,”
   Right then he also started flying again, that one that I shot stiff,”

16. éxhetóhta’hāne.
   he told the story that way.

**I'm Beading Moccasins**, by Jeanette Howlingcrane (Oklahoma)

1. Tséxho’èhneto náoxa’öhēne.
   When you came I was beading.

2. Mo’kēhanótse námanéstsenótse.
   Moccasins, I was making them.

3. A’e nāhtaéxananótse.
   Soon I’ll finish them.

4. Hé’ tôohe mo’kēhanótse námanésttootâhtahtsenótse.
   These moccasins I’m making them for myself.

5. Náto'setaomêmëno’kēhanenótse,
   They are going to be my own moccasins,

6. naa mátō=héva vo’estane máxho'aestse nāhtanēshëhohtóvanótse.
   or someone if he wants (them), I’ll sell them.

7. Móme’hēhaomënëstse.
   They surely won't be expensive.

8. Éohkevá’ nemāhtōhtōhanoemënëstse.
   They just cost ten (dollars).

**How Birney Got the Name Oevemanaheno**, by Elaine Strange Owl (Montana)

   Naa tséheškëto nánohtsëstóvo hé’ tôhe tséhmano’évôse Oévemanahëno
   And my mother I asked her (about) this where they have a village, Scabby Place,

tséhestohe. Hëno’vë tséohkëhësenëhestohe hé’ tôhe Oévemanahëno, nâhëto.
   as it is called. "Why is it called that, this Scabby Place?" I said to her.

   Naa hákóke téótsëa tséhéôhe tséssaa’ëshëmano’ëhévôse vo’estæne o’o,
   “Well, long ago here when the people did not yet have a village,”

   éhevoo’o, netao’o háá’ëse mómëhænonon’ëkevö’estänëhevéhevévôhe tsé’ tôhe Oévemanaho,
   she said, "all over far away they used to live by themselves, these Scabbies,

   tséohkëhestôhese hétsetësa, naa tséssaa’ëshëmano’ëhévôse, éhevoo’o.
   as they are called now, and when they did not yet have a village," she said.
Mó’óhkeméhae'ovóenéhestóhehanéhe Tó’éséhahtámáhoéve'ho'éno,
"It first used to be called Longfoot Town,
mó’óhkeméhaehestóhehanéhe. Hetane néhéóhe móhvo’estanéhevéhéhe.
it used to be called that. A man lived there.
Móxhoháa’éstáhehéhéhe naa móhtó'éséhahtahéhéhe. Tó’éséhahtámáhoéve’ho'éno,
He was tall and he had long feet. Longfoot Town,
'éohkeméhae'ovóehestohe, éhevoo'o. Naa tsé’tóhe hetane móhnéhešévéhéhéhe
it first used to be called," she said. "And this man was named
Oévemana. Naa hétsetseha Oévemanâhéno tsétaokhéhóséhestohe, éhevoo'o. Naa Scabby. And now Scabby Place as it is again called," she said. "And
néhe’xóvéva ésáa’ésemáhoéstovéhane hetséhéóhe, éhevoo'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 hätšéseke.
\mr háhkota naa hätšéseke
\mg grasshopper and ant
\ft The grasshopper and the ant.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 2
\tx Hátšéseke éhma’xéhostse’óheséstse.
\mr hätšéseke é-h -ma'xe-hotse’óhe-sest
\mg ant 3-PST-big -work -REPORT
\ft An ant worked hard.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 3
\tx éhnésema'xeéstoffôhtsénôse héstame hemáheóne.
\mr é-h -nésé-ma'xe-éstofohtse -nó -s hé -htámé he -máheón-é
\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 Méanêva hová'èhe mó'éeho'tséhéhe
\mr méane-vá hová'èhe mó-h -ée -ho'tsé -hé -hé
\mg summer-OBL something DUB-PST-about-have.s.t.-NEG -NONAFFIRM
In the summer she had something where she had her house.

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’áháne,"

"No,"

said the grasshopper.

"I'm gonna dance.

and also I'm gonna sing.

I don't want to work.

It's too sunny."
mr néhe'se tsé-h -ta -tonéto -tse
mg then CJT-PST-TRANSLOC-be.cold-OBV
	x éstaosáneméséhétanoséstse.
mr é-h -ta -osáane -mésehe-tanó-sest
mg 3-PST-TRANSLOC-commence-eat -want-REPORT

ft Then when it was cold, he wanted to eat.

ref GRASSHOP clause 17
	x "Otséhámóhe,
 mr \ otséhámóhe
 mg \ oh.yes

ft "Oh yes,

ref GRASSHOP clause 18
	x hátšeške éma'xeéstóvóhtse héstáme
 mr hátšeške é-ma'xe-éstovohtse hé -htamé
 mg ant 3-big -put.in.s.t. 3POSS-food

tx hemáheónę.
 mr he -máheón-é
 mg 3POSS-house -LOC

ft the ant stored a lot (of) her food in her house.

ref GRASSHOP clause 19
	x Náto'séhéméséhétáno,"
mr ná-to/se-hé -mésehe-tanó
mg 1 -gonna-INTENT-eat -want

ft I want to go eat,"n

ref GRASSHOP clause 20
	x éxheséstse.
 mr é-h -hé -sest
 mg 3-PST-say-REPORT

ft he said.

ref GRASSHOP clause 21
	x Estáhéméséhétanoséstse.
mr é-h -ta -hé -mésehe-tanó-sest
mg 3-PST-TRANSLOC-INTENT-eat -want-REPORT

ft He went to eat.
\ref GRASSHOP clause 22
\tx E'ëseméhaenêhetaesesto,
\mr é-h -ëše -méhae -né -het -ae -sest -o
\mg 3-PST-already-previous-Anaph-say.to.s.o.-Inv-Report-OBV
\ft She had already told him,
\ref GRASSHOP clause 23
\tx "Nëtsësâahoxomatsëhé máxháeanato,"
\mr ne -htse-sâa-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 éstanëšëševátamósesto hâtšëške
\mr naa é-h -ta -nëšë-ševátam-ó -sest -o hâtšëške
\mg but 3-PST-Transloc-Cont-pity -Dir-Report-OBV ant
\tx hâhkotaho
\mr hâhkotah -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) nětato?sěhőséstomėsatsenėno sē?šenovotse naa hōkkehesono
   I'm going to tell you about a snake and little mice.

2) sē?šenovotse ēstaamēvonēnēhoo?o 3) ēstāho?evonēhontance vōxe
   A snake was crawling along. He came upon a hole (den).

4) naa ēstāsēvonēnēhoo?o 5) ho?tāse ūxohooono hōkkehesono
   And it crawled inside. Behold, there were little mice (there).

6) ēxhēmāsetstōēhooono 7) va?ohtama tsēsehnestse ēxhetōhono
   They really welcomed him. "In place-of-honor go sit!" they told him.

8) hōkkeheso ēstsehetōhono henēsono tsē?tohe nemōsēmēvo
   The mouse said to her children, "This (is) your grandfather.

   He came to visit you," she told them. Then after a little while
   ēstsehetōhono na?ēstse henēsono nēkhōsestanomēveha kāhamañēstse
   she told one (of) her children, "Go fetch firewood!

11) na?htāmōhontōōche?tōvo nemōsēmēvo ēxhetōhono
    I'll cook for your grandfather," she told him.

12) ēstaosānēhōva?xāhoo?o 13) tsēstāsēshēnenōvo?nōhtāse
    He went outside. After he had been gone a little while
   ēxhōsēnēhētōhono na?ēstse nēxhōnehōhōmēveha mawpe
   she told one (child), "Go fetch water!

14) na?htāmōhontōōche?tōvo nemōsēmēvo 15) tsētamēsēhēctse ēxhetōhono
    I'll cook for your grandfather. He'll eat," she told him.

16) ēstaosānēhōsēhōva?xāhoo?o 17) tsēstāsēshōsēnenōvo?nōhtāse
    He went outside. After he had been gone for a little while
   ēxhōsētsēhētōhono tsēnēsēhe?ọotsetseh sē nēsēsono tāhēnohtsovoama
   she said to the two remaining (of) her children, "Go look for them!"

18) ọotsetsehsesto 19) ētāhe?ēhohtsēo?o 20) nēxhōvāsēhōsēntsema
    What are they doing? They have been gone a long time. Go help them!"

21) ēxhetōhono 21) ēstaosānēhōsēhōva?xāhoo?o 22) tsēstāsēhōvī-
    she told them. They went outside. Again after a
   nōvō?xōvetse ēnhētēhōhono sē?šenovoto tsētama?xēhe?ēhohtsōvēse
   little while she said to the snake, "It's taking them too long."
   ūxax?ē nātāhēnohtsēvoamoo?o ēxhetōhono 23) ēstaosānēhōsēhōva?xāhoo?o
   Let's see, I go look for them," she told him. She went outside.

24) tsēstāsēsēhōsnēse henēsono ēstaasevēno?ochtsēhono 25) naa nēhe?ēse
    *When she got outside, her children began moving from danger. And them
   sē?šenovotse hōpōvévēta tsēsēsē?ēnēhēnētsose ēnē?ēvānēvoonēnēhoo?o
   the snake likewise when they did not return crawled back out.

26) tsēstāsēhēvōnēsnēse hōpōvévēta tsētseto?ōse ēxamaahohvōhēhōono
    After crawling outside, upon looking around, they were simply gone.

27) hōna?hāanehe hōpōvévēta tsēhēkēhēshōsēstomēnto he?tche hōhta?ēheo?o
   That is it, likewise, what was told to me, this story,
   tsēstē?kēhehōto 28) hōna?hāanehe
   when I was young. That is all.
**Corn Pemmican**, by Elva Killsontop (Montana)

1) nahko'eehe emanestse ho'xestoha

2) máheemenôtse ees'étahonohtanôtse hononestova

3) tse'ešeexáho'tatse eeevaanonanôtse

4) epeenanôtse

5) naa nêhe'še ehohpe'ha amêške

6) eaesto'enanôtse máheemenôtse ve'kee-mahpe naa nêhe'še amêške

7) eova'kanenéstse

Eesetahonohtanotse
Sheput
mahaemenotse hononestova. corn inthe oven.
Tse' geexaho'tatse
men shetook it out.
Epeenanotse. 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 éstaamenéheohtsé'ta noho meo'o.
   bear followed it path
   A bear was following a path.

3. Hápó'e náháóhe ó'kóhóme móñhénéheohtsé'tóhéhe.
   Likewise there coyote followed it
   Likewise there a coyote was following it.

4. Nêhe'še éstó'o'ováhtséhoono.
   Then they met
   Then they met.
5. Náhkohe éstatséhetóhoono ó'kóhomehó,  
  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'ahane,  
  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'éšío'evotáhtsevóse éxhe'kemé'éhnéhoo'o xao'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'kéhešéhosóhnéhoo'o.  
he slowly backed up  
He slowly backed up.

19. Tséhvómovóse éstanéséhe'névo'áhéotséhoono.  
when they saw him they took off in two directions  
When they saw him they took off in two different directions.

20. Essáanáha'óoméhesesto tósa'ë tséhešaseta'xévóse.  
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'êstse menôtse

2) eohkeovoheo'enenëstse

3) naa eohkéhoxe'anenëstse

4) eohkepeenëstse naa mátô=héva eohkepenôhenëstse

5) eohkeova'kanenëstse

6) hešeešë eohkeo'ëšemenëstse

7) naa eohkeonee'osenenëstse kokahkëse

8) (naa eohkene'evavoomeo'o ve'këseho) naa òhtšëseo'eotsee'êstse

    hoo'henova eohkeeto'ehenëstse

9) tosa'ë tse'o'o eohkëho'henëstse

$$REVISE TEXT AND DELETE FOLLOWING DEFECTIVE SCAN$
eohkeoe'Memenestse    naa
In the sun they are dried and

eohkeonee'osenenestse kokahkese.  NaaohMeo'eo'tsee'estse
they are turned over every little while. And when they become dry,
hoo'henova eohkeeto'henestse.  Tosa 'tse' o eohkeho'henestse.
in a bag   they are put.  Someplace where it is dry they are kept.

COMMENTS ON THE TEXTS

CORRECT DEFECTIVE SCAN

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
credit in the text; speakers who live in Oklahoma have (ok). Some stories are told by men,
others by
women. Some stories are 1st-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 White Man 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 these stories are told, but the oppressor is now the

"wealthy" Mexican national land-owner. 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 ve'hoé. 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'hoé" 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 "véhoé". Today I8 speakers know that
vé'hoé 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 enohe ('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'eve. 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. Tsétsséhéstâhese 'Cheyennes', (2) nótse'o 'other tribes' and (3) vé'hô'e. Cheyennes and other tribes are sometimes grouped together and designated as xamaa-vo'estâneo'o (or xaa-vo'estâneo'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'ho'ee), me'gees -v 'hb'e Mexicans' (hairy-nosed (moustached)-v 'hb'e), and mo'ohtae-ve'hô'e are 'Negroes' (black-ve'ho'ee). 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-ve'hô'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 use passive forms. There are some Generic Conjoint 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 two 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, Crows or Sioux!). There are some Conjunct Intensive Negative verbs, e.g.
Cheyennes. The present text describes the coming of the white man, the horse, and the cow. There are some reportative verb forms, e.g. éhñëmëéstse 'he is said to have said' and éxhëtōöesto 'he is said to have told them'. There are some verb forms with body-part medials, e.g. tsenëvéóhta 'he will have four legs' and tsenëše'ésta 'he will have two ears. There are some conjunct potential verb forms toward the end of the text, ma'tamásénéése 'if, when you (pl) are crazy' and máaaaa'ēvatōxetanó'tomáhëssé 'if, when you (pl) do not want to discuss it'.

The story about "The Geese" has an interesting verb form, tsëmëhëåëtô'omëmåxamoo'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 ēstahô'konehoo'o and ēhnëmenëëhoo'o. The verb òhphëvévénënoohëvévéstse (??) 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 ēhnëmenëhëhoo '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, móme'hëhaomenëéstse 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 'Oevamanâheno'" 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, tseohkevé14(??)eamoohöstostovetsee'ststse. 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 hëvéhmëmëstanehevého (??) 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 eevahoseamee'ehotsee'o 'they went back up again' there are at least three preverbs, -eva- 'back', -hose- 'again', and -ame- 'along'. The verb eanohesevanoo'o (??) contains the preverb -anohe- 'down', and the verb évahōsevëho Meanahà'xoo'o(??) 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 culturaltrickster (subsequently applied to the white man). Thereis
a question and answer dialogue in hëna’â’tseohkee’tome? and hová’êhe
náohkêsáaa’e’tôhe••• The latterform 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’êhe naelta would mean I am afraid of

something but if’â-le add hova I ehe to the verb nasaa I e I tohe I am not afraid of

it we get hova’êhe nasaa’e’tôhe 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 formness and "pushiness" of the white man in the text "The! <j>hiteman 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 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 /nót'a'ë/\(^{170}\) 'woman from another tribe'
   notse /nótë/ 'person from another tribe'

2. h-Assimilation (h-Assim)
   Phonemic /h/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a following voiceless fricative:

   \[ h \rightarrow [\alpha \text{ PLACE}] / \_ [\alpha \text{ PLACE}] \]

   [\text{-voiced}]

   éssóhpeohstsëstse /é-h-sóhpeohté-seht/ 'it is said he walked through'
   tséssáanéménëhëto /té-h-sáa-némëné-hé-tó/ 'when I did not sing'
   tséssëëësëse /té-h-sëëë-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":

   \[ h \rightarrow s / e \_ \_ t \]

---

\(^{170}\) As noted earlier, orthographic "e" is typically pronounced as phonetic [i]. 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!'
Néstséhe'ooestse! /néh-tehe'ooeht/ 'Come here quickly!'

Náhtona /na-htónah/ 'my daughter'
Nédstona /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.

Néspahávéameotšéšemeno! ¬ néhpahávéameotšéšemeno! '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'espâhô'ta 'it's not done'
Ého'íspermásóho '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 → š / e __ k

Náhko'éhe /ná-hko'éhe/ '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 → x / __ V
[+back]

Še'xo /šéš-o/ 'duck (obviative)' (cf. še'sše 'duck')
Néxahe /néšahe/ 'my grandchild' [cf. néše /néšé/ 'Grandchild! (vocative)']
Éháóénáxe /éháóénášé/ 'he's lying praying'
Énéše'xahtse /éneše'sahté/ 'he gargled (lit., he washed his mouth; cf. énéše'sévéóéne 'he washed his face')
Énéxánéstse /énešánét/'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 → š / __ e š

Note: This rule is optional when the /e/ is voiced, but obligatory when it is voiceless.
hátšèške ~ hátseške /hátehke/ 'ant'
éameotšèšemeno /néameotešemeno/ 'you led us'
hémótšeške ~ éhemótšèške /éhemótehke/ 'he has a knife'
méššèške /métehke/ 'knife'
chéshèške ~ chémótšèške /chémeoehke/ 'he is there'
Énóahešéve [í n óᵗ a h ı š ʃ f] 'he is giving away'

Sometimes it is difficult to hear the difference between a non-phonemic [ʷ] 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 instance, we can tell that énóvahe 'he is slow' has a phonemic /v/, rather than the phonetic [w] glide, when the word is pluralized, énóvahas [ɪ n ó ś ʃ ɪ f] '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/:

\[C \]

\[V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / C _{-\text{voiced}} [C _{-\text{voiced}} C _{-\text{voiced}} V \ [\text{[-high]} \ \ [\text{[+cont]}] \]

PPD applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

\[\text{tåhpøno} /\text{tahponon}/ 'flute'\]
\[\text{kōsanē} /\text{kosanē}/ 'sheep (plural)'\]
\[\text{mōxe'ēstoo'o} /\text{mošēehtōon}/ 'paper, book'\]
\[\text{namēšēme} /\text{namešēmé}/ 'my grandfather'\]
\[\text{måhnohtsēstovōtse} /\text{mahnohtehtovot}/ 'if you ask him'\]

13. Penultimate Devoicing (PD)

\[V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / C _{-\text{voiced}} (h) C # \]

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.

\[\text{hōhōkxe} /\text{hōhkoš}/ 'ax'\]
\[\text{tsētāhpētāhtse} /\text{tētahpetāht}/ 'the one who is big'\]
\[\text{tsēxhonōnévōse} /\text{téhhonónévōs}/ 'when they baked'\]
\[\text{ēsēnēstse} /\text{ēsēnēt}/ 'days'\]
\[\text{vōhpomā'ōhtse} /\text{vōhpomā'oht}/ 'salt'\]

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éheóvaheséstse /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 å h i] 'he drank'
máhtamáhááhe [m á t a m h á: h] 'old woman'
éheóvo [í h ö f ø] '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'
émóheehtseo'o 'they are gathering'
nápóáhtsenáhno '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]

ééšépéhéva'e ~ ééšépéhéva'e /ééše+pehéva'e/ 'it's already good'
énéšépéhéva'e ~ énéšépéhéva'e /énéše+pehéva'e/ 'it's okay'

The same rule applies at the boundary between an initial and a following voiceless stop:

($$COMBINE RULES??)

éaséta'xe ~ éaseta'xe /éase+tašè/ 'he started to run'
asetánóhtse ~ asetánóhtse /ase+tanóht/ 'Pass it!'
nánéhešétáño ~ nánéhešétáño '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-:

ésáa'a'xaaméhe 'he did not cry'
násáa'éšeméséhehe '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:

\[
C \rightarrow \emptyset / \_ \_ \# \\
\text{[-obs]}
\]

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'hāme /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'éstse /hóhkeha ét/ 'hats'
ého'tánéstse /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.

\[
C \rightarrow C^h / \_ \_ V \ h \ \_ \ V^{171}
\]

tóhohko /tohohkon/ [tʰ ʰ o h k ʰ o] 'hammer'
máhēō'o /maheón/ [mʰ āv ʰ o ʔ o] 'house
énóváheó'o /énóvaheó/ [i nófʰ ʰ a ⁷ o ʔ o] 'they are slow'

---

\[171\] \( V \) stands for a voiceless vowel here.
páhoešestótse /pahoešéstot/ [pʰə: sɨ s t ə c] 'cradleboard'

22. Diphthongization
The two vowels of a complex syllable form a diphthong:

\[ \text{V} \rightarrow [\text{-syl}] / \_ \_ \text{V} \]

Mo'kēhanótse [m o kʰ a n ə c] 'moccasins, shoes'
Náohkēhomóse [n ə kʰ o m ə s] 'I regularly cook'
Páhoešestótse [pʰə: sɨ s t ə c] 'cradleboard'
Nátáhéovēšë [n á tʰ ə w ʔ s] 'I'm going to lie down'
Máheó'ō [mʰ ə ʔ ə ə] 'house'
Náhkkôhā'e [n ə h kʰ ə ʔ ı] '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:

\[ h \rightarrow \emptyset / \_ \_ \text{V} \]

Tsééna'héštse [c i ə n ə c] 'the one who is old'
Tséhá'é'náhtse [c i ə kʰ ə c] 'the one who is praying'
Héstānóhtse! [h stənəc] 'Take it!'
Vonáhó'hóhtse! [v o nʰ ə ʔ ə 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: ′ (high), ^ (raised high), ¯ (mid), and ` (low)\textsuperscript{172}.

A high is pronounced as a raised high when it is followed by a word-final high and not preceded by another high:

\[ ′ \rightarrow ^ / \_ \_ ^ / \_ ^ \] 172

Šē'se /šē'sē/ 'duck'
Sémo /sémón/ 'boat'
Éma'ovēšë /éma'ovēšë/

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:

\[ ′ \rightarrow ′ / ′ \_ ′ / \_ ^ \]

Méšéne /méšené/ 'ticks'
Návóómo /návóomó/ 'I see him'

\textsuperscript{172} The grave accent low pitch mark is only used in the pitch rules themselves when it is needed. Otherwise, low pitches are left unmarked.
26. **High-Leveling (HL)**

A low is raised to a high if it is preceded and following by high pitches:

```text
\' \rightarrow \' / \' \_ (Y) ($) \' #
```

One or 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'
náhtóóhévo /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.)

```text
\' \rightarrow \_ / \' #
```

kōsa /kosán/ 'sheep (singular)'
he’e /he’ë/ 'woman'
éhomöse /éhomosé/ 'he is cooking'
étahpe’ăse /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:

```text
\' \rightarrow \^ / \' (( C V [\_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.

éhâméstoo’e /éhâmehtoe/ 'he sat down'
émësehe /émësehe/ '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):

\[ V \rightarrow ^\prime / \__ \] \text{stem} $s_2$

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.

eémáné-stove 'there is drinking' (cf. émane 'he is drinking')
edta'pósé-stove 'there is getting cold easily (éta'pose 'he gets cold easily')
náméséhé-otse 'I ate quickly' (cf. námésehe 'he ate')
méséhé-stoto 'potatoes'
amáhó'hé-stotóte 'cars' (cf. éamáho'he 'he's going along by car')
esáanaóotsé-heo'o 'they are not sleeping' (cf. énáootse 'he is sleeping')
esáapéhévéa'é-hane 'it is not good' (cf. épéhévéa'e 'it is good')
tsépéhévéa'é-tséé'sétsé 'those (things) which are not good'
éhé'kotahé-sesto 'they are said to be quiet (reportative mode) (cf. éhe'kotahé 'he is quiet)
é'ameohé-hoo'o 'Wow, he quickly walked!' (preterit mode) (cf. é'ameohe 'he quickly walked')
esáapéhévéénóóhé-hehoono 'Wow, they do not look good!' (cf. épéhévéénóóhe '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:

\[ ^\prime \rightarrow ^\prime / ^\prime / \__ \]

As formulated, HPO must be preceded by HR (High-Raising). HPO applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

néhâoënama /néháóénáma/ 'we (incl) prayed'
némèhotone /némèhótóne/ 'we (incl) love him'
náméhosanême /náméhósanémé/ 'we (excl) love'

31. High-Lowering (HL)
A high is pronounced as a low\textsuperscript{173} preceding a word-final low:

\[ ^\prime \rightarrow ^\prime / \__ \]

173 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'
motšéške /mótehk/ 'knife'
éhé’eve /éhé’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).

\[
V \rightarrow ` / ___ &
\]
návōomo#náhkohé 'I saw a bear'
évōohta#máhē’ō '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.

\[
` \rightarrow \{ ` \} / ___ ?
\{ ` \}
\]

ó'óséó'o /ó'oéseon/ 'clothesline'
óová'hasēó'o /óova’haseon/ 'pump'
éhestó'tonóhnóho. /éhehto'tonohnóho/ 'he braided his (someone else's) hair.'
tséévēhestá'amáxesé /téevhehta'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.\(^{174}\)

\[
\begin{align*}
Ø & \rightarrow \begin{align*}
V & \quad [α \text{ back}] & ? & / [γ \text{ PITCH}] & ___ & [α \text{ back}] & ___ & ( [+\text{obs}]) & \# \\
& & [β \text{ high}] & & & & & & & [γ \text{ PITCH}]
\end{align*}
\end{align*}
\]

VS applies if a voiceless obstruent (/s/, /š/, 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'

---

\(^{174}\) This process was first observed in Cheyenne by Algonquianist Ives Goddard and described in a slightly different
formulation (1978).
néšéé'ěše /néšéěš/ '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:

vée’ėse /vées/ 'tooth', instead of expected vee’ėse
séo’otse /séot/ 'ghost, corpse', instead of expected seo’otse

$\text{IS THERE ANY INTERACTION WITH / INFLUENCE FROM IAH (IMPERMANENT ANTEPENULTIMATE HIGH)?}$

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’é/ 'he doctored (cf. énaa’e /énæe/ 'he died')
náné’póó’o /nánè’póo’ó/ 'I peeked over'
éméó’e /éméó’é/ '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:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
V & \rightarrow & V \\
[-\text{back}] & / & [\alpha \text{ back}] \\
& [\beta \text{ high}] & \text{C}
\end{array}
\]

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 [náwóomá:ʔí:] 'they saw me'
névóomaene [nívóoma:.fní] 'he saw us (incl)'
ěho’oéstse [íhóʔóːsc] 'he cooked it'
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'ëstoo'o. [ná fnô xw i ò ò ò ò ò ò s t ò ò] 'I wrote a book.'
Násáavóomôhe nähkohke. [nássâawô:mô:#nâhkoh] 'I did not see the bear.'

h-Loss also occurs with some word-medial sequences in natural rapid speech:

éméhaemane [í mí:a:mañí] 'he used to drink'
étsêhe'kêhahe [êh i k í ah] 'he is young'
éhoháetonéto [íy oh á:ton í 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/:

\[ C \rightarrow \emptyset / w / o \ [\text{+back}] \_\_ \ [\text{+high}] \ [\text{+cont}] \]

oha [ohwâ] 'only'
namôxe'ëstoo'o [na° m òxw i ò ò ò ò ò s t ò ò] 'my book'

38. **Palatalization**

Cheyenne /h/ is palatalized if it is preceded by /e/ and followed by /a/ (??) or /o/:

\[ C \rightarrow \emptyset / y / e \_\_ \ [\text{+high}] \ [\text{+cont}] \]

eho /ého/ [í y ò ò] 'your father'

$$_{\text{OTHER EXAMPLES??}}$$

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/:

\[ V, h V_2 \rightarrow V_i V_2 h / \_\_ h t \# \]

Méseestse! /mésehe-ht/ 'Eat!'
Né'esto'hahtse! /né'eho'haaha-ht/ 'Take your gloves off!'
Po'oôhtse! /po'oh-ô-ht/ 'Break it off (by tool)!
tsénôvaestse /té-nôvahe-ht/ 'the one who is slow'

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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=hméméstanêhevéhohe '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=mé'èšévòtsé 'this baby'
- hé'tóhe 'this one (animate)'; hé'tó=mahèó'o 'this house'
- néhe 'that one (referred to; animate); né=ka'èškóne 'that (referred to) child'
- móhe 'True?, Really?'; mó=nèháéána? 'Are you hungry?'; mó=hèva 'maybe'; mó=nèhe 'You mean that one (animate)'
- nèhéóhe 'there'; nèhéó=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='èháohó'ta 'Is it hot?'
- mó='èšépèhéva'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 \text{óe} / \_\_ \text{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’énóó’e ‘they know me’ (cf. náhéne’enova ‘he knows me’)
nánéhóó’e ‘they chased me’ (cf. nánehova ‘he chased me’)
nénéhööe? ‘Did he chase you?’
néhéne’enooe? Does he know you?
návovéstomóó’e ‘he taught us (excl)’ (cf. návovéstomeva ‘he taught me’)
névovéstomóóëne ‘he taught us (incl)’
\tséhvovéstomóó’e ‘when he taught me’
\tséxhéne’enoétse ‘when he knew us’

$$Suggestions from Rich Rhodes:$$

h \rightarrow s /\_\_/ [+obs, -lab] (i.e., t, s, k, š)

s \rightarrow $$/ \_\_/ [+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 {\text{Ø}} / \_\_ \text{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.

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