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

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The Cheyenne Language

Wayne Leman and ??

Chief Dull Knife College
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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. 305
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. 305

Hohtseéše’he, Hoop Moon: January 305
Ma'xéhohtseéše’he, Big Hoop Moon: February 305
Pónoma’a'éhasenéeše’he, Drying Up Moon: March 305
Véhpotseéše’he, Leaf Moon: April 305
Énano’eéše’he, Planting Moon: June 305
Méanéeše’he, Summer Moon: July 305
Oenenéeše’he, Harvest Moon: August 305
Tonóeše’he, Cool Moon: September 305
Sé’énéhe, Facing Into: October (This name refers to when thin ice begins to form on ponds and rivers.) 305
He’koneneéše’he, Hard Face Moon: November 305
Ma’xéhe’koneneéše’he, Big Hard Face Moon: December 305
Some alternative names are: 305
He’koneneéše’he, Hard Face Moon: January (instead of November) 305
Tšéške’hohtseéše’he, Little Hoop Moon: February 305
Pónoma’a'éhasenéhe, Drying Up: March (or April) 305
Heše’kévénéhe, Dusty Face: March (also, variant Heše’évenéhe) 305
Heše’évenéheéše’he, Dusty Face Moon: March (or April) 305
Sétoveméanéeše’he, Midsummer Moon: July 306
Hémotséeše’he, Breeding Moon: latter part of August and first part of September 306
Tonóeveéše’he, Cool Moon: September 306
Sé’eneeše’he, Facing Into Moon: October 306
Se’ma'omeveeše’he, Starting To Freeze Moon: October 306
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The Geese, by Maude Fightingbear (Montana) 352
I'm Beading Moccasins 353
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The Grasshopper and the Ant 354
The Snake and Mice 359
Corn Pemmican 360
The Bear, the Coyote, and the Skunk 360
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2. h-Assimilation (h-Assim) 367
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7. h-Dissimilation (h-Diss) 369
8. a-Backing (a-Back) 369
9. y-Glide Insertion (YGI) 369
10. w-Glide Insertion (WGI) 369
11. Phrase-Final Devoicing (PFD) 370
12. Prepenultimate Devoicing (PPD) 370
13. Penultimate Devoicing (PD) 370
14. Consonant Devoicing (CD) 371
15. Special a and o Devoicing (SD) 371
16. Preverb Devoicing 371
17. Preverb Glottal Stop Epenthesis (PGSEp) 371
18. e-Epenthesis (e-Ep) 372
19. Non-obstruent Deletion (ND) 372
20. s-Epenthesis (e-Ep) 372
21. Complex Syllable Formation (CSF) 372
22. Diphthongization 373
23. h-Absorption (h-Ab) 373
24. High-Raising (HR) 373
25. Low-to-High Raising (LHR) 373
26. High-Leveling (HL) 374
27. Low-to-Mid Raising (LMR) 374
28. Word-Medial High-Raising (WMHR) 374
29. Stem-final Raising (SFR) 375
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31. High-Lowering (HL) 375
32. Word-Final Lowering (WFL) 376
33. Glottal Raising (GR) 376
34. Vowel-Stretching (VS) 376
35. Vowel Assimilation 377
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39. h-Metathesis (h-Met) 378
40. Cliticization 379
41. Glottal Stop Epenthesis (GSEp) 379
42. Contraction 379

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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-éšëhe '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, émëšehe, but, instead, we simplify pitch marking to émésehe in this edition of the book. One reason not to use the ` symbol is that it was used (when the ` symbol was not available) to mark voiceless vowels in some earlier publications and we do not want to confuse readers with the use of the ` symbol for two different purposes.

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

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

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

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

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

Language viability

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

Cheyenne dialects

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

Family, district, and idiolectal differences

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

5 Some other Algonquian languages are Arapaho, Blackfoot, Cree, Fox, Massachusetts, Menominee, Miami, Mikmaq, Ojibwe, and Shawnee.
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>k pronunciation</th>
<th>old man pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hat</td>
<td>hóhkéha'e</td>
<td>hóhtšéha'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>hóhkéehe</td>
<td>hóhtšeehe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female twin</td>
<td>hestáhkéhá'e</td>
<td>hestáhkéhá'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regularly</td>
<td>ohke-</td>
<td>ohtše-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Suhtai dialect

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

---

6 This pronunciation is the same as for the preverb hōse- meaning 'again'.
7 Spelled So'taeo'o in the official orthography used in this book.
8 Mutual understanding between the Cheyennes and Suhtaio is mentioned by Mrs. Albert Hoffman in her Cheyenne story, "When Cheyennes Crossed the Ice", found in the Texts section near the end of this book. Mrs. Hoffman refers to the Suhtaio as xaevo'ėstaneo'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 [ɪpʰe'vaʔi], 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 [u].

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: ȧ, ē, ȯ.

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

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

**Cheyenne h**

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

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

- hat
- horse
- heavy
- rehearsal

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

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

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

- mahpe 'water'
- póhkéso 'kitten'
- évóhko 'it's bent'
- méhne 'water serpent'
- séhpato'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 [ˈɪ m a ŋ ɪ] 'he drank'
- máhpēva [f̥n á p í f ā] 'in the water'
- máhtamáháāhe [f̥n á t a m̥ 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\(^\text{11}\) 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', nahkoheo'oo (or in simpler spelling, nahkooyo’o). As perceived, the "g" sound of 'bear' changes to a "k" sound even though the meaning of 'bear' remains the same when we add the ending to make the word for 'bears'.

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ashes, powder</td>
<td>paa'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitten</td>
<td>pohkeso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on top</td>
<td>taxeto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the middle</td>
<td>setove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ěškone</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bread</td>
<td>kohkonòheo'oo</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 has also been used by many linguists to transcribe this sound, called an alveopalatal fricative. It's fine to write this Cheyenne sound with the letters "sh" if you prefer. Do not be confused by the symbol "š" and write the letter "s". The letters "s" and "š" represent different sounds in Cheyenne. It's better to use the letters "sh" if those who are reading your writing do not know how to pronounce the symbol "š".

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

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>Ešeamêhe’e</td>
<td>Ishiamhi’i / Ishiamhi’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Woman</td>
<td>Ešeeva’e</td>
<td>Ishiiva’i / Ishiiva’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising Sun</td>
<td>Eš’he Öhme’ehnêéstse</td>
<td>Iší’ Öhmí’ihnsts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Moon</td>
<td>Eš’he Öhnêseéstse</td>
<td>Iší’ Önînîsts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusty Nose</td>
<td>Heš’e’evesehe</td>
<td>Hishi’iviisih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcupine</td>
<td>Heškovêstse</td>
<td>Hishkovsts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alights On the Clouds</td>
<td>Ho’eváhtoešéstse</td>
<td>Ho’ivahtoishsts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lying Wolf</td>
<td>Ho’nehešéeše</td>
<td>Ho’nihihiish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden Thigh</td>
<td>Kamáxevêšeo’o</td>
<td>Kamáxivilshio / Kamáxivilshio’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raccoon</td>
<td>Matšéškome</td>
<td>Machgóm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mint Woman</td>
<td>Moxéšeha’e</td>
<td>Moxshiha’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Crows</td>
<td>Okóhkeo’o Öhnešese</td>
<td>Okohkeo’o Ohnîshis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Snowbird</td>
<td>Šeheso</td>
<td>Shihsó / Shihís</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pine Woman</td>
<td>Šestoto’a’e</td>
<td>Shistota’i / Shisdodá’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Creek</td>
<td>Tšêške’eo’he’e</td>
<td>Chki’io’hi’i / Chkî’io’hi’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some other Cheyenne words with the "š" sound are: amèške ‘grease’ (simpler spelling amshk), eš’he ‘sun’ (simpler spelling ishi’), meškeso ‘bug’ (simpler spelling mishkis), neš’e ‘two’ (simpler spelling nish), náèšemésehe ‘I already ate’ (simpler spelling naishimisih), and èovêše ‘he went to bed’ (simpler spelling iowish).

**Glottal stop**

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

---

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

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

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

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

**Cheyenne x**

Cheyenne "x" has the same sound as the German letter "x". It is a voiceless velar fricative, raspier than English "h". "x" is a frequent sound in Cheyenne words, as in: xao'o 'skunk', eovaxe 'he dreamed',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>vetšėške</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for four days</td>
<td>névéé'eše</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'vanohē'o</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>vo'e</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bald eagle</td>
<td>vóaxá'e</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>váótsé'va</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He fell over</td>
<td>éává'o</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I dreamed</td>
<td>náovaxe</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's white</td>
<td>évó'komo</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He went to bed</td>
<td>éovēše</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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

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

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

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

Voiceless vowels

Cheyenne is famous for its many whispered (voiceless) vowels. The preferred symbol to indicate that a vowel is whispered is a dot over the vowel: ā, ē, ō. In some earlier publications, when a dot was not available, whispered vowels were marked with the circumflex symbol: â, ē, ō. 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:

māhpeva in the water
ka’ēškone child
semonōte boats
tāhpêno 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 maahē '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 [məhpəfi̝ə]. 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', nehpe’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:**
Kásovahehaséstse, néstooheonane, nesto’ane, nemehohtanone.
Young men, our (incl) flag, our (incl) land, we love it.

**Northern Cheyenne Flag Song, Busby version, as sung:**
Kásovahehaséstse, nestooheonane, n esto’ane, nemehohtanone.

Notice that the second person possessor prefix ne- is voiceless (whispered) in the spoken version but voiced in the sung version. This voiceless syllable nè- is difficult to hear in the spoken words néstooheónane $RECHECK PITCH$ 'our (incl) flag' and nesto'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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>he'e</th>
<th>liver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he’e</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hóoma</th>
<th>mosquito (or blanket)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hoóma</td>
<td>on the other side</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hoéstótese</th>
<th>dress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hoéstóte</td>
<td>Read it!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vé’ho’e</th>
<th>whiteman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vé’hó’e</td>
<td>whiteman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsénémenése</th>
<th>you who are singers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenese</td>
<td>those who are singers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

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

**Double vowels**

Two identical vowels in a row are pronounced as one long sound, without any interruption between them. Such so-called double vowels are pronounced twice as long as a single vowel is pronounced. However, in Cheyenne, unlike in some other languages (including some Algonquian languages), there are no actual (phonemic) double-length vowels. Compare Cheyenne ho’e 'land' which has just one metrical beat for its one "o" vowel with 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:

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>phonetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It's good</td>
<td>épéhé'va'e</td>
<td>[ípʰ é v a ʰ i]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They (an.) are good</td>
<td>épéhé'vá'eo'o</td>
<td>[ípʰ é vb o ʰ o ʰ o]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cradleboard</td>
<td>páhóešéstóte</td>
<td>[pʰ ɔː s i ř t ř c]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hammer</td>
<td>tóhóhko</td>
<td>[tʰ o h k ř]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to bed!</td>
<td>táhó'ovéšéstse</td>
<td>[tʰ ŋ̄ o w ř s c]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I'm tired</td>
<td>nákáhaneotse</td>
<td>[n á kʰ a n i y 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>aspirated</th>
<th>unaspirated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>éta'páheo'o 'they are weak'</td>
<td>éta'pahe 'he is weak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éno'káhehe 'Is he single?'</td>
<td>éno'kahe 'he is single'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésánétâhéhe 'he is not a different one'</td>
<td>énétaha 'he is a different one'</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 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 that the nasal sounds m and n also become aspirated in complex syllables:

| house       | mähëö'o            | [mʰ ą'y ő ʔ ơ] |
| then        | nêhëše             | [nʰ iʔ ş]     |
| I caught it | náñáha'ëna         | [n ā nʰ aʔ i n å] |

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’o¹⁵ ‘God’
māhēō’o ‘house’

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

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

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

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

**Phonemes**

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

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

néšē ‘Grandchild! (vocative)’, nēxahe 'my grandchild'
énēšē’sēvééne ‘he washed his (own) face’, énēšē’gāhtse ‘he gargled’
énēšēo’o ‘there are two of them (an.), énégānēstse ‘there are two of them (inan.)’
šōše ‘duck’, šē’xo ‘duck’ (obviative)

The phoneme /h-/ becomes [x] when it precedes /h/¹⁷:

É̱hnmēné ‘he sang’, É̱xho’soo’e ‘he danced’
Né̱hṃmetsēstse! ‘Give it to me!’, Né̱xhēstânōhtse! '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 –hēh. The "he" sequence of Maheo superficially looks like –hēh, but lacks the high pitch of ‘father’ as well as the morpheme-final /h/ of –hēh. 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 māhe- ‘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>hē'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soup</td>
<td>hōhp</td>
<td>hohpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>nàko</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>máheo’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’estse</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  mavōxōz  mavoxōtse
Cheyennes  Zezestassō  Tsetsēhestâhese (simpler spelling Tsitsistas recommended)
clothes  honeōnoz  hone‘oonōtse
my son  nāha  nae‘ha
his son(s)  hēhya  hee‘haho
tepee  vē  vee‘e
dress  hōstoz  hoestōtse
it’s moist  ehekōva  ehe‘koova
he barked  emāe  emaa‘e
it’s empty  evèpeha  evethpeha
it’s bad  ehavseva  ehavēseva‘e
he’s bad  ehavsevae  ehavēsevahe

Holliman alphabet

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

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

Phonetic spelling

Some Cheyennes like what they call "phonetic spelling"\(^\text{18}\). 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

\(^{18}\) 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: \(\text{Tsits}≈\text{sthas}\) or \(\text{cic}≈\text{sthas}\). 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 Tsistsistas for the name the Cheyennes call themselves. This spelling is much easier to read than the official spelling of Tsetséhestahese, or with pitch marks, Tsêtsêhestâhese. If newspapers or other publishers or signmakers leave off the dots over the vowels of the official spelling and write the name for Cheyennes as Tsetsehestahese, that is very inaccurate. No one would pronounce this very word correctly if it is spelled as Tsetsehestahese. This is one of the most important words for Cheyennes and it needs to be pronounced correctly. By the way, Grinnell's spelling of Tsistsistas (with the extra "s") is inaccurate. Cheyennes do not call themselves Tsistsistas. Instead, in both Oklahoma and Montana they call themselves Tsitsistas. If you have Internet access and can view links in this book, click on this word, 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 namêšeme. It is better to spell with "sh" instead of "s" if a newspaper or other publisher will not print the "s" letter and, instead, changes it to a regular "s". That would really be inaccurate. In the Cheyenne Dictionary we include phonetic ("simplified") spellings for many words, along with the official spellings.

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

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

51
um (or am) amshk ame amēške pemmican
boysō (or boiso) poeso poeso cat
gashgon ka'ēškone child
gi'i'ih ke'eehe grandma
Ipiwa. Epēheva'ē. 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
khai xao'o skunk
machk ma'tšēške bow
Maheo Ma'heo'o God
mhayo māheo'o house
mochk motšēške knife
nahgo nahkohe bear
nahkoyo nahkōhe'o bears
Nahka Nahkōha'e Bear Woman
Nakhoso Nahkōheso Littlebear
nahgo'i'ih nahko'eehe my mother
namshim namēšeme my grandfather
Natsisdah. Natsēhestahe. I'm Cheyenne.
niho'i'ih neho'eehe my father
nish nešē two
nishgi'i'ih neške'eehe my grandmother
nits netse eagle
Nidonshif? Netonēševe? What are you doing?
Nidonshivih? Netonēševehē? What is your name?
Nitsistahe? Netsēhestāhehe? Are you Cheyenne?
Niya'ish Nea'ēše Thank you
okin o'kōhōme coyote
oishkis oeškese duck
sh'i'ash šē'še
Tsistsistaists Tsetsēhestaestse Cheyenne (person)
Tsistsistas Tsetsēhestahese Cheyennes
Tsisinistsistots Tsēhēsenēstestōtse Cheyenne language
vick vēšēške fat
waodzif vaotseva deer
Wohihi'if Vooheheve19 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hē'e /he'ē/} & \quad \text{`woman'} \\
\text{kōsā /kosān/} & \quad \text{`sheep (singular)'}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{šēšē /šēšē/} & \quad \text{`duck'} \\
\text{émēšehe /émēšehe/} & \quad \text{`he is eating'} \\
\text{émōnā’e /émōnā’e/} & \quad \text{`it’s new'} \\
\text{mónésō’hāeanámé /mónésō’hāeanámé} & \quad \text{`Are you (plural) still hungry?'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{pe’e /pé’e/} & \quad \text{`nighthawk'} \\
\text{mene /méne/} & \quad \text{`berry'} \\
\text{motšēške /mótēhк/} & \quad \text{`knife'} \\
\text{némēhotone /némēhótone/} & \quad \text{`we (incl) love him'}
\end{align*}
\]

Impermanent antepenultimate high
Certain phonemic low pitched vowels are pronounced with high pitch if they are in the antepenultimate\(^{20}\) 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'ē/homa'ē/ 'beaver' (cf. homā'ē/ beavers)$\text{RECHECK PLURAL PITCHES}$

ma'hákō'ē/ma'hahkō'ē/ 'badger' (cf. ma'hahkō'ē 'badgers')
tśēške' /tshēške'/ 'a little' (cf. étśēškē'ō 'it's little')
énē'ta'ē/éne'ta'ē/ 'it's important' (cf. éne'ta'ēhe 'Is it important?')
hótame/hotame/ 'dog' (cf. hotāme 'dogs')$^{21}$
koohkōvā'ē/koohkova'ē/ 'quail, bobwhite' (cf. koohkova'ē 'quails, bobwhites')
héstā'se/hehta'se/ 'snow' (cf. hesta'sóho 'snow (obv); éhesta'sēve 'it is snow, there is snow')
nóma'ne/nomá'ne/ 'fish (singular) [cf. nomá'ne 'fish (plural)']
hexovā'ē/hešova'ē/ 'bedbug' (cf. hexova'ē 'bedbugs')
hétā'e/heta'e/ 'gland' (cf. hetā'e 'glands')
hó'nehe/ho'nehe/ 'wolf' (cf. ho'néheo'o 'wolves')
koohkōva'ē/koohkova'ē/ 'quail, bobwhite' (cf. koohkova'ē 'quails, bobwhites')
hó'nehe' /ho'nehe'/ 'umbilical cord'
mó'óhta'e/mo'ohta'en/ 'turnip', (cf. mo'ohtá'éne 'turnips')
mó'ôte'e/mo'ote'/ 'blade of grass' (cf. mo'ōtē'me 'grass')
mó'óhta'ē/mo'óhta'ēen/ 'turnip', (cf. mo'óhta'ēne 'turnips')
nóma'he/nóma'he/ 'fish (singular) [cf. nomá'he 'fish (plural)']
ó'he'e/o'he'e/ 'river' (cf. o'hē'ē 'at the river', o'hē'estse 'rivers')
má'xemeno 'apples (Northern Cheyenne),
ma'xemen 'plums' (Southern Cheyenne)]
hést'ae/hehta'he/ 'twin' (cf. hest'āhe 'twins')
mo'óhta'e/mo'ohta'en/ 'turnip', (cf. mo'ohtá'éne 'turnips')
mo'óhta'ē/mo'óhta'ēen/ 'turnip', (cf. mo'ohtá'éne 'turnips')
mo'óhta'ē/mo'óhta'ēen/ 'turnip', (cf. mo'ohtá'éne 'turnips')
mo'óhta'ē/mo'óhta'ēen/ 'turnip', (cf. mo'ohtá'éne 'turnips')
mo'ōhta'ē/mo'ōhta'ēen/ 'turnip', (cf. mo'ohtá'éne 'turnips')
mo'ōhta'ē/mo'ōhta'ēen/ 'turnip', (cf. mo'ohtá'éne 'turnips')
mo'ē'e/mo'ē'e/ 'blade of grass' (cf. mo'ē'estse 'grass')
ná'heeho' /nahéeho/ my auntie/auntie (voc.) (cf. ná'heeho' /nahéeho/ 'my auntie/auntie (voc.)'
ésáam'ōn'ō'ēháne  it's not beautiful
épēhévatamáno'e /éphéhvatamáno'e/ 'it's nice weather (cf. éshapéhvatamáno'eháne 'it's not nice weather', épéhévatamáno'ehé 'Is it nice weather?')

$^{21}$ This is an older Cheyenne word for 'dog'. For several decades the most commonly used word for has been oeškēse. Since it was displaced by oeškēse, hótame has largely shifted in meaning to something like 'domesticated animal'. It is mostly used in compound nouns today, such as éskōseesé-hotame 'pig (lit., sharp-nosed-domesticated.animal)

$^{22}$ The singular is also pronounced as nóma'he.
énó'ka'e /éno'ka'e/ 'there is one (inan.)' (cf. éno'ka'ehe '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. henamósêsto 'on the left side')
Táhpeta 'Bigman' (cf. étâhpéta 'he is big')
Tâhpéee'èse 'Big Nose'
Má'ee'ése 'Red Nose' (cf. éma'ëëe 'he has a red nose')
Pâ'ee'ése 'Lump Nose' (cf. épa'ëëe 'he has a lump nose')
Á'ee'ése 'Pug Nose' (cf. éa'ëëe 'he has a pug nose')
Mámahke 'Curly' (cf. émamáhkâ'e 'he has curly hair')

**Parts of speech**

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

- tsé'tóhe: this, these (animate)
- hé'tóhe: this, these (inanimate)
- tátóhe: that, those (animate)
- há'tóhe: that, those (inanimate)
- náa: and
- máto: also
- ohá: but, only
- nóxa'e: Wait!
- nóheto: Let's go!
- na'èstse: one
- nešé: two
- no'ka: once
- nexa: twice
- hêva: 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'evohkote 'meat', and vétsēškéavonoo'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

---

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

**tse'tohe things:**

oeškese  
poesono  
vaotseva  
he'eka'ěškone

hoohtsėstse  
nėxo'mevehe  
eše'he  
hotohke

mo'eško  
hestahpe  
hestsetato  
ho'honea'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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vo’estane</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’e</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka’eskóne</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>póéso</td>
<td>cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>váótséva</td>
<td>deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vě’kése</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>netse</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vóhkóóhe</td>
<td>rabbit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’heono</td>
<td>sacred powers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méstaeo’o</td>
<td>spooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoohtséstse</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maxe</td>
<td>log</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méséhéstse</td>
<td>potatoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>henene</td>
<td>tomato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éše’he</td>
<td>sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taa’e-éše’he</td>
<td>moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hotohke</td>
<td>star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho’honáeo’o</td>
<td>rocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestahpe</td>
<td>brain</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inanimate nouns

- ame: pemmican
- mahpe: water
- ho'évohkótse: meat
- méséhestótse: food
- menótse: berries
- ma'xemenótse: apples (in Oklahoma, but animate ma'xemenótse in Montana)
- hetanémenő'e: juneberry bush
- mo'ţi'estse: hay
- heséóvo'e: sand
- mo'kéhanótse: shoes
- hôhkéha'e: hat
- hoestáto: belt
- káhamaxe: stick
- évo'sóeső'o: toy
- mo'şiškonótse: rings
- me'ko: head, hair
- ma'ẽxánéstse: eyes
- maãihe: arrow
- määheo'o: house
- he'e: liver
- he'po: lung
- ho'ěsta: fire, stove
- motšeske: knife
- ta'ta'ohō'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>hátseške</td>
<td>hátšėškeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mė'čševôtse</td>
<td>mė'čševoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkohe</td>
<td>náhkọhe'o  o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>hähnomaha</td>
<td>hähnomahoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vé'kése</td>
<td>vé'keseho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póéso</td>
<td>póesono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'ěškkóne</td>
<td>ka'ěškóneh  o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clam</td>
<td>hexovo</td>
<td>hexovono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comb</td>
<td>tseene'éheo'o</td>
<td>tseene'éheono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oeškese</td>
<td>oeškeseho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghost</td>
<td>24 se'o'ótse</td>
<td>sèoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dress</td>
<td>hoestôtse</td>
<td>hoestoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šé'še</td>
<td>šé'še'o'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feather</td>
<td>mee'e</td>
<td>méeno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td>mo'čško</td>
<td>mo'čškonoh  o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>hése</td>
<td>héseo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monster</td>
<td>méhne</td>
<td>méhne'o'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nighthawk</td>
<td>pe'e</td>
<td>pé'eo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pipe</td>
<td>he'ohko</td>
<td>he'ohkonoh  o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>porcupine</td>
<td>heškovéstse</td>
<td>heškoveto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rabbit</td>
<td>vôhkóóhe</td>
<td>vôhkooheho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shirt, coat</td>
<td>ėstse'he</td>
<td>ėstse'heno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomato</td>
<td>henene</td>
<td>heneno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>hōva</td>
<td>hovahne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>kokhėáxa</td>
<td>kokhėaxåne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>váótséva</td>
<td>váotsevåhne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>kōsa</td>
<td>kōsåne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tick</td>
<td>meše</td>
<td>mēšåne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>ma'ēno</td>
<td>ma'enåne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>xā'o</td>
<td>xaōne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badger</td>
<td>ma'háhko'e</td>
<td>ma'hahkō'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>hōma'e</td>
<td>homa'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goose</td>
<td>hēna'e</td>
<td>henå'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white man</td>
<td>vē'ho'e</td>
<td>vē'hō'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>horse</td>
<td>mo'ēhno'ha</td>
<td>mo'ēhno'håme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cougar</td>
<td>nanósê'hame</td>
<td>nanósê'håme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Inanimate plural nouns**

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

24 The word se'o'ótse 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, -nȯtse, -estse, and -nėstse.

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

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

The two animate pluralizers are -o and -é. The two inanimate pluralizers are -ot and -ét. (Because of a phonological rule of Cheyenne, these last two will actually be pronounced as -ȯtse and -ėstse.) 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.

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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 actract 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>háťšēke</td>
<td>háťšēkeh</td>
<td>háťšēškeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mé’eševôtse</td>
<td>mé’eševot⁶⁶</td>
<td>mé’eševoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bean</td>
<td>mónéške</td>
<td>mónéškeh</td>
<td>mónéšškeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkohe</td>
<td>náhkohe</td>
<td>náhkoheo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>háňnomaha</td>
<td>háňnomah</td>
<td>háňnomaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vé’kése</td>
<td>vé’keséh</td>
<td>vé’késeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póésō</td>
<td>póesón</td>
<td>póesono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka’eškóne</td>
<td>ka’eškóneh</td>
<td>ka’eškóneho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comb</td>
<td>tseene’éheo'o</td>
<td>tseene’éheon</td>
<td>tseene’éheono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šé’šē</td>
<td>šé’šē</td>
<td>šé’šeo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feather</td>
<td>mee’e</td>
<td>méén</td>
<td>méeno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rabbit</td>
<td>vôhkoóhe</td>
<td>vôhkoohéh</td>
<td>vôhkooho'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Animinate 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>hóhköxe</td>
<td>hóhkoxeh</td>
<td>hóhkóxehótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>he'ko</td>
<td>he'kon</td>
<td>he'konóte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoe</td>
<td>mo'këha</td>
<td>mo'kehán</td>
<td>mo'këhanótse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plurals ending in -ôtse**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>belt</td>
<td>hoestátó</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>hóhkëhæ'e</td>
<td>hóhkëhæ'</td>
<td>hóhkëhæ'éstse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁶⁶ 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'kesého 'birds'. If we subtract -h from the end of the stem, we get the pronunciation for the singular vé'kése.27

Including the -h at the end of the stem for 'bird' is not simply an ad hoc solution to derive the singular and plural pronunciations easily. There is additional support from Cheyenne grammar for the spellings of the noun stems.28 The presence of the stem-final -h for 'bird' is found in so-called equative verbs. In the story of The Bat (included in the texts section of this book), a bat is told, "Névé'kèséheve," 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'se, 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 -ótse and -étstse, 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 ó by a phonological rule, giving us the actual pronunciation spelling of the plural, hóhkoxehôtse. If we subtract -h from the hóhkoxeh stem, we get the spelling, hóhkoxe. The the second "o" is again devoiced to ó by phonological rule. Finally, the high pitched first ó is lowered, resulting in the actual pronunciation spelling of the singular hóhkóxe.

If we add -ôtse to the stem for 'shoe', we get the plural spelling mo'këhanótse. A phonological rule causes the first /e/ to devoice, giving us the actual plural spelling, mo'këhanôtse. 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'këhaneve '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, hoestátónestse. When we subtract the -n from the stem, we get the proper spelling for the singular, hoestáto '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.
CHECK TO SEE IF THIS INFO IS ADEQUATELY INCLUDED IN WHAT PRECEDES THIS:

ANIMATE NOUNS taking pluralizer -o

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>underlying stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>nőtse</td>
<td>nőtseo?o</td>
<td>nőte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien (female)</td>
<td>nőtáʔa</td>
<td>nőtaʔo?o</td>
<td>nőtáʔá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>háťseška</td>
<td>háťšeškeho</td>
<td>háťehkán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antelope</td>
<td>voʔkaʔaʔa</td>
<td>voʔkaʔeho</td>
<td>voʔkaʔáh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apple</td>
<td>maʔxeme</td>
<td>maʔxemen</td>
<td>maʔxemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>méʔeševótse</td>
<td>méʔeševoto</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
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<td>hóhtsemόno</td>
<td>hóhtamόn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bandit</td>
<td>ššenováʔa</td>
<td>ššenováʔәheoʔo</td>
<td>ššenováhә</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bean</td>
<td>móńeška</td>
<td>móńeškeho</td>
<td>móńehkán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>nákhohe</td>
<td>nákhohe?o</td>
<td>nákhohe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>hámnomə</td>
<td>hámnoməho</td>
<td>hámnoməh</td>
</tr>
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<td>beetle</td>
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<td>hámŋməškoño</td>
<td>hámŋməškόn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>věʔkəšeho</td>
<td>věʔkəšəh</td>
</tr>
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<td>hoęmaho</td>
<td>hoęmah</td>
</tr>
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<td>móńeʔaʔo?o</td>
<td>móńeʔá</td>
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<td>hotőʔoʔo</td>
<td>hotőd</td>
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<td>neʔʔaʔoʔo</td>
<td>neʔʔaʔa</td>
</tr>
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<td>hevəváhkaməho</td>
<td>hevəváhkaməh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>button</td>
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<td>hōneʔkəʔmoʔo</td>
<td>hōneʔkəʔmoʔo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buzzard</td>
<td>ooʔheho</td>
<td>ooʔheʔo?o</td>
<td>ooʔheho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>playing card</td>
<td>móhënəšəmo</td>
<td>móhënəšəmoʔno</td>
<td>móhënəšəmən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póʔso</td>
<td>póʔsoʔno</td>
<td>póʔsoʔno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póʔso</td>
<td>póʔsoʔnəho</td>
<td>póʔsoʔnəh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitten</td>
<td>póʔkəšo</td>
<td>póʔkəšoʔno</td>
<td>póʔkəšoʔnə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chief</td>
<td>vəŋno</td>
<td>vəŋnoʔo</td>
<td>vəŋnoʔo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>kaʔʒəkəʔne</td>
<td>kaʔʒəkəʔnəho</td>
<td>kaʔʒəkəʔnəhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clam</td>
<td>hexəvo</td>
<td>hexəvoʔno</td>
<td>hexəvoʔnə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cockle-burrs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comb</td>
<td>təʔeəʔheoʔo</td>
<td>təʔeəʔheoʔono</td>
<td>təʔeəʔheon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corpse</td>
<td>səʔtəʔse</td>
<td>səʔtoʔo</td>
<td>səʔtəʔto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coyote</td>
<td>oʔkohəmə</td>
<td>oʔkohəməho</td>
<td>oʔkohəməh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crane</td>
<td>neʔʔoʔtəʔse</td>
<td>neʔʔoʔtəʔseoʔo</td>
<td>neʔʔoʔtəʔtɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cricket</td>
<td>həʔskəʔsəʔma</td>
<td>həʔskəʔsəʔməho</td>
<td>həʔskəʔsəʔməh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crow</td>
<td>oʔkəʔoʔkə</td>
<td>oʔkəʔoʔkəho</td>
<td>oʔkəʔoʔkəhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curtain</td>
<td>nəʔpəʔasəʔoʔo</td>
<td>nəʔpəʔasəʔaʔono</td>
<td>nəʔpəʔasəʔoʔon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oəʔkəʔoʔo</td>
<td>oəʔkəʔoʔoʔo</td>
<td>oəʔkəʔoʔoʔo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>həʔtəʔme</td>
<td>həʔtəʔmeʔo</td>
<td>həʔtəʔmeʔo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doll</td>
<td>məʔəʔkəʔoʔo</td>
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<tr>
<td>dragonfly</td>
<td>hevəvətəʔso</td>
<td>hevəvətəʔsəʔno</td>
<td>hevəvətəʔsəʔnə</td>
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<tr>
<td>dress</td>
<td>həʔstəʔsəʔme</td>
<td>həʔstəʔsəʔmoʔo</td>
<td>həʔstəʔsəʔməh</td>
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<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šəʔʒəʔe</td>
<td>šəʔʒəʔeʔo</td>
<td>šəʔʒəʔeʔe</td>
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<td>duckling</td>
<td>šəʔʒəʔkəʔoʔo</td>
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<td>eagle</td>
<td>natəse</td>
<td>natəseʔoʔo</td>
<td>natəseʔoʔo</td>
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<tr>
<td>bald eagle</td>
<td>vəʔaxəʔʔeʔo</td>
<td>vəʔaxəʔʔeʔoʔo</td>
<td>vəʔaxəʔʔeʔe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: Forms preceded by a plus sign (+) have special complications with the vowels -e and -o.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hungarian</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hungarian</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Hungarian</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>queen</td>
<td>véhóna?e</td>
<td>quit</td>
<td>honó?ko</td>
<td>queen</td>
<td>véhóna?e</td>
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<td>honó?ko</td>
<td>quiver</td>
<td>éstóso</td>
<td>quilt</td>
<td>honó?ko</td>
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<tr>
<td>rabbit</td>
<td>vóhkoeho</td>
<td>rabbit</td>
<td>vóhkoeho</td>
<td>rabbit</td>
<td>vóhkoeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raccoon</td>
<td>mat?šák?me</td>
<td>rat</td>
<td>nó?katseho</td>
<td>raccoon</td>
<td>mat?šák?me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rat</td>
<td>nó?katseho</td>
<td>rattle</td>
<td>nó?katseho</td>
<td>rat</td>
<td>nó?katseho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scorpion</td>
<td>vóhkáhevá?séhe</td>
<td>scorpion</td>
<td>vóhkáhevá?séhe</td>
<td>scorpion</td>
<td>vóhkáhevá?séhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shirt, coat</td>
<td>éstse?he</td>
<td>snake</td>
<td>sé?šenov?útse</td>
<td>shirt, coat</td>
<td>éstse?he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snail</td>
<td>néma?ke</td>
<td>sock</td>
<td>no?éé?e</td>
<td>snail</td>
<td>néma?ke</td>
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<tr>
<td>young woman</td>
<td>ho?honáé?o</td>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>ho?honáé?o</td>
<td>young woman</td>
<td>ho?honáé?o</td>
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<tr>
<td>woodpecker</td>
<td>ho?honáé?o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>ho?honáé?o</td>
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PLURALIZATION: ANIMATE NOUNS having é 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>hóva</td>
<td>hováhne</td>
<td>hován</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blackbird</td>
<td>he?heño</td>
<td>he?heenöne</td>
<td>he?heenón</td>
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<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>kokohéaxa</td>
<td>kokóheáxáne</td>
<td>kokohéaxán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chipmunk</td>
<td>néške?esta</td>
<td>néške?estähne</td>
<td>néške?estáhn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>váotséva</td>
<td>váotséváhne</td>
<td>váotséváhn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magpie</td>
<td>mo?e?ha</td>
<td>mo?e?háne</td>
<td>mo?e?hán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>kósáno</td>
<td>kósáño</td>
<td>kosán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tick</td>
<td>méšene</td>
<td>méšene</td>
<td>méšen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>ma?enño</td>
<td>ma?enño</td>
<td>ma?enón</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Nouns which retain -n word-internally:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>mého?ôxénó</th>
<th>mého?ôxénóne</th>
<th>maho?ôxénón</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gourd</td>
<td>máhó?o</td>
<td>máhó?one</td>
<td>mahóon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melon</td>
<td>máhôkóko</td>
<td>máhóhkóne</td>
<td>mahóhkon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cantelope</td>
<td>heo?ôhtátó</td>
<td>heo?ôhtátóne</td>
<td>heo?ôhtátón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salamander</td>
<td>xaô?o</td>
<td>xaône</td>
<td>xaón</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Nouns with pitch change:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>ma?hânko?e</th>
<th>ma?hákô?e</th>
<th>ma?hakko?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>badger</td>
<td>hóma?e</td>
<td>homé?e</td>
<td>homa?</td>
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<tr>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>hexóva?e</td>
<td>hexová?e</td>
<td>hexová?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedbug</td>
<td>hotâme</td>
<td>hotâme</td>
<td>hotam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>nomá?he</td>
<td>nomá?he</td>
<td>nomá?h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>oonâha?e</td>
<td>oonâhá?e</td>
<td>oonâha?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frog</td>
<td>héná?e</td>
<td>héná?e</td>
<td>hena?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geese</td>
<td>hésko?e</td>
<td>hésko?e</td>
<td>heko?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gopher</td>
<td>estséma?e</td>
<td>estséma?e</td>
<td>estséma?</td>
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</table>

Nouns which retain -m word-internally:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>mo?én==no?ha</th>
<th>mo?én==no?háme</th>
<th>mo?én==no?ham</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mare</td>
<td>hetané?hame</td>
<td>hetané?háme</td>
<td>hetané?ham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male horse</td>
<td>nanóse?hame</td>
<td>nanóse?háme</td>
<td>nanóse?ham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lion</td>
<td>nanóse?hame</td>
<td>nanóse?háme</td>
<td>nanóse?ham</td>
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</table>
## INANIMATE NOUNS taking pluralizer -ot

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Underlying Stem</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>airplane</td>
<td>ameʔháhtotse</td>
<td>ameʔháhtotótse</td>
<td>ameʔháhtot</td>
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<tr>
<td>answer</td>
<td>noʔéstaʔtötse</td>
<td>noʔéstaʔtótse</td>
<td>noʔéstaʔtot</td>
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<tr>
<td>apple (So. Ch)</td>
<td>maʔxeme</td>
<td>maʔxemenótse</td>
<td>maʔxemen</td>
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<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>maʔahtse</td>
<td>maʔahtsenótse</td>
<td>maʔahtsen</td>
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<tr>
<td>armpit</td>
<td>matseno</td>
<td>matsenonótse</td>
<td>matsenon</td>
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<tr>
<td>arrow</td>
<td>maʔné</td>
<td>maʔnéótse</td>
<td>maʔné</td>
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<td>axe</td>
<td>hohkóxe</td>
<td>hohkóxhótes</td>
<td>hohkóxhó</td>
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<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>maʔpáʔo</td>
<td>maʔpáʔontótse</td>
<td>maʔpáʔo</td>
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<tr>
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<td>méʔhahtse</td>
<td>méʔhahtsenótse</td>
<td>méʔhahtsen</td>
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<tr>
<td>bed</td>
<td>ṣeʔéséstótse</td>
<td>ṣeʔéséstotótse</td>
<td>ṣeʔéséstotot</td>
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<td>berry</td>
<td>mene</td>
<td>mënótse</td>
<td>mën</td>
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<tr>
<td>boar</td>
<td>sémon</td>
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<td>sémon</td>
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<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>heʔko</td>
<td>heʔkonótse</td>
<td>heʔkon</td>
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<td>maʔtšěʔške</td>
<td>maʔtšěʔškenótse</td>
<td>maʔtšěʔšken</td>
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<tr>
<td>branch(tree)</td>
<td>hestaaʔe</td>
<td>hestaaʔenótse</td>
<td>hestaaen</td>
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<td>bread</td>
<td>kóhkonônheoʔo</td>
<td>kóhkonônheonótse</td>
<td>kóhkonônheon</td>
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<td>breech-cloth</td>
<td>hóxásəo</td>
<td>hóxásəonótse</td>
<td>hóxásəon</td>
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<td>bókkirnóoʔo</td>
<td>bókkirnónótse</td>
<td>bókkirnón</td>
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<tr>
<td>broom</td>
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<td>máxheon</td>
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<td>ear</td>
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<td>hammer</td>
<td>tóhchko</td>
<td>tóhkonótse</td>
<td>tóhkon</td>
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<td>méʔkon</td>
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<td>heart</td>
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<td>hestahéh</td>
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<td>máheón</td>
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<td>lung</td>
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<td>heʔpóntot</td>
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<td>hoʔévokot</td>
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<td>hoʔévootot</td>
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<td>honóvokó</td>
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<td>vēhéstotótse</td>
<td>vēhéstotot</td>
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<td>heʔtótse</td>
<td>heʔtóptótse</td>
<td>heʔtót</td>
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<td>nose</td>
<td>maʔavo</td>
<td>maʔavotótse</td>
<td>maʔavot</td>
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<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>maʔavoʔo</td>
<td>maʔavonótse</td>
<td>maʔavon</td>
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<td>kaʔáměshtotótse</td>
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<td>méʔón</td>
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<td>honónoonótse</td>
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<td>moʔkaʔkenótse</td>
<td>moʔkaʔken</td>
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<td>year, winter</td>
<td>ṣeʔe</td>
<td>ṣeʔnótse</td>
<td>ṣeʔn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## INANIMATE NOUNS taking pluralizer -ēt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>underlying stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>axe</td>
<td>hohkoxe</td>
<td>hohkoxéstse</td>
<td>hohkox(eh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bead</td>
<td>onénavo?ke</td>
<td>onénavo?késtse</td>
<td>onénavo(eh)</td>
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<tr>
<td>belt</td>
<td>hoestâto</td>
<td>hoestâtônéstse</td>
<td>hoestâtôn(eh)</td>
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<td>ma?tšēškéstse</td>
<td>ma?teh</td>
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<td>ma?tāno</td>
<td>ma?tānonéstse</td>
<td>ma?tān</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>vo?éstse</td>
<td>vo?</td>
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<tr>
<td>coin</td>
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<td>ma?keâtanéstse</td>
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<td>ména?o?</td>
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<td>ēse</td>
<td>ēšenéstse</td>
<td>ēšen</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ma?èxânéstse</td>
<td>ma?èxán</td>
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<td>fire</td>
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<td>ho?estâanéstse</td>
<td>ho?estâ(n)</td>
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<td>nonôncô(e)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>mo?e?e</td>
<td>mo?e?éstse</td>
<td>mo?e?</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ne?hâne</td>
<td>ne?hânênéstse</td>
<td>ne?hânén</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>hē?e</td>
<td>hē?éstse</td>
<td>hē?(e)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>hē?e</td>
<td>hē?eníestse</td>
<td>hē?en</td>
</tr>
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<td>heséec?ótéstse</td>
<td>heséecot</td>
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<td>taa?e</td>
<td>taa?éstse</td>
<td>taa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>taa?e</td>
<td>taa?eníestse</td>
<td>taa?en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rib</td>
<td>hē?pe</td>
<td>hē?peéstse</td>
<td>hē?pe(é)</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>vôhtâne</td>
<td>vôhtânéstse</td>
<td>vôhtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forest</td>
<td>ma?tāe</td>
<td>ma?tāe?éstse</td>
<td>ma?tāe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year, winter</td>
<td>sā?e</td>
<td>sā?éstse</td>
<td>sā(e)</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>séšənovótse</td>
<td>šéšənovoto</td>
<td>šéšənovoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grasshopper</td>
<td>háhkota</td>
<td>háhkotahō</td>
<td>háhkotahō</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>nāhtónahō</td>
<td>nāhtónahō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>váótséva</td>
<td>váótsévahne</td>
<td>váótsévahne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>xāō'o</td>
<td>xaō'ne</td>
<td>xaō'ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetaneo'o</td>
<td>hetanóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>hē'e</td>
<td>he'eo'o</td>
<td>he'óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šéš'e</td>
<td>šéš'eo'o</td>
<td>šéš'xo36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>éše'he</td>
<td>éše'heo'o</td>
<td>éše'ho'ho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>nāhkohe</td>
<td>nāhkoheo'o</td>
<td>nāhkohého</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>ho'honá'ē'e</td>
<td>ho'honá'o'o</td>
<td>ho'honaa'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white woman</td>
<td>vé'ho'ā'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).
Énóomaevóho henésónēhèvóho.  Their children (obv) called them.
Oeškēso ématómóho xaō'ne.    The dog smelled a skunk/skunks (obv).
Oeškēseho ématómovo xaō'ne.  The dogs smelled a skunk/skunks (obv).

34 Or ma'heóneva
35 This is the animate Montana pronunciation. Oklahoma pronunciation is inanimate ma'xemenōtse.
36 An alternate pronunciation is šéš'xo'ho.
Éméhótóho\(^{37}\) 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 máhéō’o 'house':

namáhéō’o 'my house'
neḿahéō’o 'your house'
hemáhéō’o 'his/her house'

The prefixes indicating possession are:

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

We will study verbs in the next section of this book, but for now notice that the possessor prefixes are low pitched while the person prefixes on verbs are high pitched\(^{38}\):

Ná-mésehe. 'I'm eating.' (or 'I ate.')</n
Né-mésehe. 'You're eating.' (or 'You ate.')</n
É-mésehe. 'He (or She) is eating.' (or 'He/She ate.')</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>sémonôtse 'boats'</td>
<td>hesémonôtse 'his boats'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo’keha 'shoe'</td>
<td>namo’keha 'my shoe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo’kēhanótse 'shoes'</td>
<td>namo’kēhanótse 'my shoes'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Possessor pluralization**

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

**singular possessor**

| namáhéō’o 'my house' |
| neve'e 'your tepee'
| hesto’e 'his land'
| nenéso 'your child'

**plural possessor**

| namáheónáne 'our (excl) house'
| nevéenévo 'your (pl) tepee'
| hestō’éstse 'their lands'
| nénésónéhévo 'your (pl) child'

**Inclusive and exclusive 'our' possessors**

In English, without other clues, we cannot tell whether or not the word "our" includes the

\(^{37}\) Or Éměhoto.

\(^{38}\) 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.39 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inclusive 'our'</th>
<th>Exclusive 'our'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nevéenane 'our (incl) tepee</td>
<td>navéenâne 'our (excl) tepee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neamáho'héstonane 'our (incl) car'</td>
<td>namáho'héstónâne 'our (excl) car'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nenésonéhane 'our (incl) child'</td>
<td>nánésónéhâne 'our (excl) child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstotséhane 'our (incl) pet'</td>
<td>náhtotséhâne 'our (excl) pet'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inclusive 'we'</th>
<th>Exclusive 'we'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nénémenema 'we (incl) sang'</td>
<td>nánémenēme 'we (excl) sang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névóomone 'we (incl) saw him'</td>
<td>návoomóne 'we (excl) saw him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhetaene 'he told us (incl)'</td>
<td>náhetaēne 'he told us (excl)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Obviated possessives**

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

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

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

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

**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.
TEMPLATES DISCUSSION

māheō'o 'house' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namāheō'o</td>
<td>my house</td>
<td>namāheónótse</td>
<td>my houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemāheō'o</td>
<td>your house</td>
<td>nemāheónótse</td>
<td>your houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemāheō'o</td>
<td>his house</td>
<td>nemāheónótse</td>
<td>his houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namāheóñáne</td>
<td>our (excl) house</td>
<td>namāheónótse</td>
<td>our (excl) houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemāheónanne</td>
<td>our (incl) house</td>
<td>nemāheónótse??</td>
<td>our (incl) houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemāheónevóvo</td>
<td>your (pl) house</td>
<td>nemāheónevótse</td>
<td>your (pl) houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemāheónevóvo</td>
<td>their house</td>
<td>hemāheónevótse</td>
<td>their houses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vee'e 'tepee, dwelling' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>navee'e</td>
<td>my tepee</td>
<td>naveenótse</td>
<td>my tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevee'e</td>
<td>your tepee</td>
<td>nevéenótse</td>
<td>your tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevee'e</td>
<td>his tepee</td>
<td>hevéenótse</td>
<td>his tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navéénāne</td>
<td>our (excl) tepee</td>
<td>navéenanótse</td>
<td>our (excl) tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevééenæne</td>
<td>our (incl) tepee</td>
<td>nevéenanótse??</td>
<td>our (incl) tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevééenëvo</td>
<td>your (pl) tepee</td>
<td>nevééenevótse</td>
<td>your (pl) tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevééenëvo</td>
<td>their tepee</td>
<td>hevééenevótse</td>
<td>their tepees</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mo'keha 'shoe' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namo'keha</td>
<td>my shoe</td>
<td>namo'kéhanótse</td>
<td>my shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemo'keha</td>
<td>your shoe</td>
<td>nemo'kéhanótse</td>
<td>your shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemo'keha</td>
<td>his shoe</td>
<td>hemo'kéhanótse</td>
<td>his shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namo'kéhanāne</td>
<td>our (excl) shoe</td>
<td>namo'kéhanánótse</td>
<td>our (excl) shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemo'kéhanane</td>
<td>our (incl) shoe</td>
<td>nemo'kéhanánótse??</td>
<td>our (incl) shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemo'kéhanévo</td>
<td>your (pl) shoe</td>
<td>nemo'kéhanévótse</td>
<td>your (pl) shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemo'kéhanévo</td>
<td>their shoe</td>
<td>hemo'kéhanévótse</td>
<td>their shoes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

amáho'hestótse 'car' (possessed)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naamáho'hestótse</td>
<td>my car</td>
<td>naamáho'héstotótse</td>
<td>my cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neamáho'hestótse</td>
<td>your car</td>
<td>neamóho'héstotótse</td>
<td>your cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heamáho'hestótse</td>
<td>his car</td>
<td>heamóho'héstotótse</td>
<td>his cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naamáho'héstónáne</td>
<td>our (excl) car</td>
<td>naamáho'héstotanótse</td>
<td>our (excl) cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neamáho'héstonane</td>
<td>our (incl) car</td>
<td>neamáho'héstotanótse</td>
<td>our (incl) cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neamáho'héstovévo</td>
<td>your (pl) car</td>
<td>neamáho'héstovevótse</td>
<td>your (pl) cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heamáho'héstovévo</td>
<td>their car</td>
<td>neamáho'héstovevótse</td>
<td>their cars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**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'.

75
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', nàhto'e 'my land', nésto'e 'your land', hesto'e 'his/her land'
- htōtse 'pet', nàhtōtse 'my pet', nēstōtse 'your pet', hestōtseho 'his/her pet(s)'
- éxa 'eye', naéxa 'my eye', naēxānestse 'my eyes', heēxānēstse 'his/her eyes'
- evo 'nose', na'evō 'my nose', ne'evō 'your nose', he'evō 'his/her nose'
- me 'older sister', name 'my older sister', hemeho 'his/her older sister'

**Dependent stem ma- prefix**

Some possessive noun stems require the prefix ma- for them to be pronounced as complete words. This prefix has no meaning, unlike my claim in earlier editions of this book that it referred to an unspecified possessor, 'someone'. So, ma'ëxa simply means 'eye', not 'someone's eye', as I previously claimed. I also erred previously when I wrote this word with a raised high pitch, ma'ëxa. 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'ëvo 'nose'
- ma'ah'tse 'arm'
- manēstānē 'knee'
- máh'tāmē '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>máh'tse'ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brain</td>
<td>hesta'hpe</td>
<td>máh'tsēstahpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gland</td>
<td>hētā'ē</td>
<td>máh'tsē'tahē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>hēsta</td>
<td>máh'tsēta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thigh</td>
<td>hēnō'me</td>
<td>máh'tsēnō'me</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'ëxā 'eye'
- maēxānēstse 'eyes'
- máh'tsēstahō'tse 'hearts'

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

- amāhō'hē-māh'tse'ko 'tire' (literally, car-leg)

**Possession suffix -am**

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

ka'ēškóne 'child', naka'ēškónéhame⁴² 'my child'
ma'hēo'o 'god', nama'heóname 'my god'
mé'ēševótse 'baby', namé'ēševotame 'my baby'

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

motšēške 'knife', namotšēške 'my knife', namotšēškame '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>Possessor</th>
<th>Noun Stem</th>
<th>Possessive Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>navóhkéha'</td>
<td>my hat</td>
<td>navóhkéha’éstse</td>
<td>my hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevóhkéha'</td>
<td>your hat</td>
<td>nevóhkéha’éstse</td>
<td>your hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevóhkéha'</td>
<td>his hat</td>
<td>hevóhkéha’éstse</td>
<td>his hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navóhkéha’âne</td>
<td>our (excl) hat</td>
<td>navóhkéha’ânótse</td>
<td>our (excl) hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něvóhkéha’âne</td>
<td>our (incl) hat</td>
<td>něvóhkéha’ânótse</td>
<td>our (incl) hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevóhkéha’ëvo</td>
<td>your (pl) hat</td>
<td>nevóhkéha’ëvótse</td>
<td>your (pl) hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevóhkéha’ëvo</td>
<td>their hat</td>
<td>nevóhkéha’ëvótse</td>
<td>their hats</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ho'e 'land' (possessive stem –hto'e)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Noun Stem</th>
<th>Possessive Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhto'e</td>
<td>my land</td>
<td>náhto’éstse</td>
<td>my lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něsto'e</td>
<td>your land</td>
<td>něsto’éstse</td>
<td>your lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesto'e</td>
<td>his land</td>
<td>hesto’éstse</td>
<td>his lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhto'âne</td>
<td>our (excl) land</td>
<td>náhto'ânótse</td>
<td>our (excl) lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něsto'âne</td>
<td>our (incl) land</td>
<td>něsto'ânótse</td>
<td>our (incl) lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něsto'ëvo</td>
<td>your (pl) land</td>
<td>něsto'ëvótse</td>
<td>your (pl) lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesto'ëvo</td>
<td>their land</td>
<td>hesto'ëvótse</td>
<td>their lands</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ma'ëxa 'eye' (possessive stem –'exa)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Noun Stem</th>
<th>Possessive Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma'ëxa</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ma'ëxánéstse</td>
<td>eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'ëxa</td>
<td>my eye</td>
<td>na'ëxánéstse</td>
<td>my eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'ëxa</td>
<td>his eye</td>
<td>he'ëxánéstse</td>
<td>his eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'ëxáéne</td>
<td>our (excl) eye</td>
<td>na'ëxáenótse</td>
<td>our (excl) eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne'ëxaene</td>
<td>our (incl) eye</td>
<td>ne'ëxaenótse</td>
<td>our (incl) eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ně'ëxáévo</td>
<td>your (pl) eye</td>
<td>ně'ëxáevótse</td>
<td>your (pl) eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hě'ëxáévo</td>
<td>their eye</td>
<td>hě'ëxáevótse</td>
<td>their eyes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Noun Stem</th>
<th>Possessive Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhtáme</td>
<td>my food</td>
<td>náhtamótse</td>
<td>my foods⁴⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něstáme</td>
<td>your food</td>
<td>něstamótse</td>
<td>your foods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héstáme</td>
<td>his food</td>
<td>hestamótse</td>
<td>his foods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtámáne</td>
<td>our (excl) food</td>
<td>náhtámánótse</td>
<td>our (excl) foods</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'. $\text{RECHECK}$
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Animate possessives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animate possessives with the -am suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oes̥ke46  'dog' (possessed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̂oes̥k̛̩s̥ẽhame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neoes̥k̛̩s̥ẽhame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heoes̥k̛̩s̥ẽhame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̂aeoes̥k̛̩s̥ẽhamean̂e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neoes̥k̛̩s̥ẽhamean̂e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neoes̥k̛̩s̥ẽhamevo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heoes̥k̛̩s̥ẽhamev̂o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veho  'chief' (possessed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̂av̂ẽh̭o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nev̂ẽh̭o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hev̂ẽh̭o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̂av̂ẽh̭oan̂e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nev̂ẽh̭oan̂e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nev̂ẽh̭oan̂evo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hev̂ẽh̭oan̂evo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'he46o  'god, sacred power' (possessed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̂ama'hẽon̂ame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̂ema'hẽon̂ame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h̭ema'hẽon̂amo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̂ama'hẽon̂an̂e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̂ema'hẽon̂an̂e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̂ema'hẽon̂an̂evo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h̭ema'hẽon̂an̂evo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child (possessed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n̂aka'eš̥k̛̩n̂en̂ẽhame47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neka'eš̥k̛̩n̂en̂ẽhame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heka'eš̥k̛̩n̂en̂ẽhame</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 oes̥ko.
47 The difference between –néso and –ka'eš̥k̛̩n̂en̂ẽhame is that –néso refers to a child born to you, that is your biological child, while –ka'eš̥k̛̩n̂en̂ẽhame refers to any person that you consider your child. A chief can call any of his people, naka'eš̥k̛̩n̂en̂ẽhamo 'my children', but he could only call his biological child(ren) nanésoneho 'my children'.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naka'ěškónéhamāne</td>
<td>our (ex) child</td>
<td>naka'ěškónéhamāneo'o</td>
<td>our (ex) children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neka'ěškónéhamane</td>
<td>our (in) child</td>
<td>neka'ěškónéhamano'o</td>
<td>our (in) children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neka'ěškónéhamēvo</td>
<td>your (pl) child</td>
<td>neka'ěškónéhamvoo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heka'ěškónéhamevōho</td>
<td>their child(ren)</td>
<td>heka'ěškónéhamevōho</td>
<td>their child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>möxe’ōetséstôte 'picture' (possessed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namōxe'ōetséstōse</td>
<td>my picture</td>
<td>namōxe'ōetséstoto</td>
<td>my pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemōxe'ōetséstōse</td>
<td>your picture</td>
<td>nemōxe'ōetséstoto</td>
<td>your pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemōxe'ōetséstoto</td>
<td>his picture(s)</td>
<td>hemōxe'ōetséstoto</td>
<td>his picture(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namōxe'ōetséstónāne</td>
<td>our (ex) picture</td>
<td>namōxe'ōetséstono'o</td>
<td>our (ex) pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemōxe'ōetséstōnane</td>
<td>our (incl) picture</td>
<td>nemōxe'ōetséstono'o</td>
<td>our (incl) pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemōxe'ōetséstvōvo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) picture</td>
<td>nemōxe'ōetséstvoo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) pictures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemōxe'ōetséstvēvo'o</td>
<td>their picture(s)</td>
<td>hemōxe'ōetséstvēvo'o</td>
<td>their picture(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Animate dependent stem possessives</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other possessed animate nouns are composed of dependent stems plus the regular possessive prefixes na-, ne-, and he-:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>child (biological; possessed)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanéso</td>
<td>my child</td>
<td>nanésonoho</td>
<td>my children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nenéso</td>
<td>your child</td>
<td>nenésonoho</td>
<td>your children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>henésono</td>
<td>his child(ren)</td>
<td>henésono</td>
<td>his child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanésoněháne</td>
<td>our (ex) child</td>
<td>nanésoněhano'o</td>
<td>our (ex) children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nenésoněhane</td>
<td>our (in) child</td>
<td>nenésoněhano'o</td>
<td>our (in) children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nenésoněhěvo</td>
<td>your (pl) child</td>
<td>nenésoněhvoo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heněsoněhěvōho</td>
<td>your (pl) child(ren)</td>
<td>heněsoněhvěvōho</td>
<td>your (pl) child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>son (possessed)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nae'ha</td>
<td>my son</td>
<td>nae'haho</td>
<td>my sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nee'ha</td>
<td>your son</td>
<td>nee'haho</td>
<td>your sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hee'haho</td>
<td>his son(s)</td>
<td>hee'haho</td>
<td>his son(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nae'haháne</td>
<td>our (excl) son</td>
<td>nae'hahano'o</td>
<td>our (excl) sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nee'hahane</td>
<td>our (incl) son</td>
<td>nee'hahano'o</td>
<td>our (incl) sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nee'hahěvo</td>
<td>your (pl) son</td>
<td>nee'hahvoo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hee'hahěvōho</td>
<td>their son(s)</td>
<td>hee'hahvěhōho</td>
<td>their son(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>daughter (possessed)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtona</td>
<td>my daughter</td>
<td>náhtónaho</td>
<td>my daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstona</td>
<td>your daughter</td>
<td>néstónaho</td>
<td>your daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestónaho</td>
<td>his daughter(s)</td>
<td>hestónaho</td>
<td>his daughter(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtónaháne</td>
<td>our (excl) daughter</td>
<td>náhtónahano'o</td>
<td>our (excl) daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něstónahane</td>
<td>our (incl) daughter</td>
<td>něstónahano'o</td>
<td>our (incl) daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něstóněhěvo</td>
<td>your (pl) daughter</td>
<td>něstóněhvoo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestóněhěvōho</td>
<td>their daughter(s)</td>
<td>hestóněhvěvōho</td>
<td>their daughter(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pet (possessed)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtötse</td>
<td>my pet</td>
<td>náhtotšeho</td>
<td>my pets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něstötse</td>
<td>your pet</td>
<td>něstotsēhoho</td>
<td>your pets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestotšeho</td>
<td>his pet(s)</td>
<td>hestotšeho</td>
<td>his pet(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtotsěháne</td>
<td>our (excl) pet</td>
<td>náhtotsēhano'o</td>
<td>our (excl) pets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něstotsēhane</td>
<td>our (incl) pet</td>
<td>něstotsěhano'o</td>
<td>our (incl) pets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něstotsěhěvo</td>
<td>your (pl) pet</td>
<td>něstotsěhvoo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) pets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestotsěhevōho</td>
<td>their pet(s)</td>
<td>hestotsěhevěhōho</td>
<td>their pet(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Brother (possessed by female)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nāhtatanéme</td>
<td>my brother</td>
<td>nāhtatanemé</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstantanéme</td>
<td>your brother</td>
<td>néstantanemó</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestatanemo</td>
<td>her brother(s)</td>
<td>hestatanemé</td>
<td>her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāhtatanémáné</td>
<td>our (ex) brother</td>
<td>nāhtatanémánéo</td>
<td>our (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstantanémáné</td>
<td>our (in) brother</td>
<td>néstantanémánéo</td>
<td>our (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něstatanémévó</td>
<td>your (pl) brother</td>
<td>něstatanémévóo</td>
<td>your (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestatanémévóho</td>
<td>their brother(s)</td>
<td>hestatanémévóho</td>
<td>their</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Grandfather (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naměšéme</td>
<td>my grandfather</td>
<td>naměšemé</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neměšéme</td>
<td>your grandfather</td>
<td>neměšemó</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heměšemo</td>
<td>his grandfather(s)</td>
<td>heměšemé</td>
<td>his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naměšémáné</td>
<td>our (ex) grandfather</td>
<td>naměšémánéo</td>
<td>our (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neměšémáné</td>
<td>our (in) grandfather</td>
<td>neměšémánéo</td>
<td>our (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neměšémévo</td>
<td>your (pl) grandfather</td>
<td>neměšémévoo</td>
<td>your (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heměšémévóho</td>
<td>their grandfather(s)</td>
<td>heměšémévóho</td>
<td>their</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Older Brother (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nā’ne</td>
<td>my older brother</td>
<td>na’neho</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>né’ne</td>
<td>your older brother</td>
<td>né’neho</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’neho</td>
<td>his older brother(s)</td>
<td>he’neho</td>
<td>his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na’néháne</td>
<td>our (ex) older brother</td>
<td>na’néhevo</td>
<td>our (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne’néháne</td>
<td>our (in) older brother</td>
<td>ne’néhevo</td>
<td>our (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne’néhevo</td>
<td>your (pl) older brother</td>
<td>ne’néhevo</td>
<td>your (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’néhevo</td>
<td>their older brother(s)</td>
<td>he’néhevo</td>
<td>their</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Older Sister (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>my older sister</td>
<td>nameho</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neme</td>
<td>your older sister</td>
<td>nemého</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemeho</td>
<td>his older sister(s)</td>
<td>hemeho</td>
<td>his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naměhéane</td>
<td>our (ex) older sister</td>
<td>naměhéaneo</td>
<td>our (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neměhane</td>
<td>our (in) older sister</td>
<td>neměhaneo</td>
<td>our (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neměhévo</td>
<td>your (pl) older sister</td>
<td>neměhévo</td>
<td>your (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heměhévo</td>
<td>their older sister(s)</td>
<td>heměhévo</td>
<td>their</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Mother (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhko’éehe</td>
<td>my mother</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neško</td>
<td>your mother</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heške</td>
<td>his mother</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něškane</td>
<td>our (incl) mother</td>
<td>něškaneo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něškévo</td>
<td>your (pl) mother</td>
<td>něškevo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heškevóho</td>
<td>their mother(s)</td>
<td>heškevóho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Relative (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>navóohestótse</td>
<td>my relative</td>
<td>navóohestoto</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevóohestótse</td>
<td>your relative</td>
<td>nevóohestoto</td>
<td>you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevóohestoto</td>
<td>his relative(s)</td>
<td>hevóohestoto</td>
<td>his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navóohestonáné</td>
<td>our (excl) relative</td>
<td>navóohestonánéo</td>
<td>our (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevóohestonane</td>
<td>our (incl) relative</td>
<td>nevóohestonaneo</td>
<td>our (incl)</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**
nevéhohestovëvo your (pl) relative  nevéhohestovevo'o your (pl) relatives
ehévóóho stovëvo'ho their relative(s) hevéhohevévë'óho their relative(s)

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)

né'tôvé⁵⁰  my (masc) brother-in-law  né'tove'o  my (masc) brothers-in-law
é'tôve  your (masc) brother-in-law  é'tove'o  your (masc) brothers-in-law
hevé'to vo  his (masc) brother-in-law  hevé'to vo  his (masc) brothers-in-law
né'tóvé'âne  our (masc excl) bros-in-law  né'tovane'o  our (masc excl) bros-in-law
é'tôvane  our (masc incl) bros-in-law  é'tovane'o  our (masc incl) bros-in-law
é'tôvëvo  your (masc pl) bros-in-law  é'tovevo'o  your (masc pl) bros-in-law
hevé'tovevëvo  their (masc) bro(s)-in-law  hevé'tovevo'o  their (masc) bro(s)-in-law

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

né'tame  my (fem) brother-in-law  né'tame'o  my (fem) brothers-in-law
étame  your (fem) brother-in-law  étame'o  your (fem) brothers-in-law
hevétâme  her brother(s)-in-law  hevétâme  her brother(s)-in-law
né'tamâne  our (fem excl) bros-in-law  né'tamane'o  our (fem excl) bros-in-law
étamâne  our (fem incl) bros-in-law  étamâne'o  our (fem incl) bros-in-law
étamâvo  your (fem pl) bros-in-law  étamevo'o  your (fem pl) bros-in-law
hevétamevëvo  their (fem) bro(s)-in-law  hevé'tamevëvo'o  their (fem) bro(s)-in-law

friend (male friend of a male; possessed) ⁵¹

né'sëne  my (masc) friend  né'sene'o  my (masc) friends
ésë'ë  your friend  ésë'ë'o  your (fem) friends
hevësenë'âho  his (masc) friend(s)  hevé'senë'âho  his (masc) friend(s)
né'senëné'âhe  our (masc excl) friend  né'senëné'âhe'o  our (masc excl) friends
ésëné'âhe  our (masc incl) friend  ésëné'âhe'o  our (masc incl) friends
ésëné'ëvo  your (masc pl) friend  ésëné'ëvo'o  your (masc pl) friends
hevësenënéhevévëvo  their (masc) friends(s)  hevé'senënéhevévëvo'o  their (masc) friends(s)

friend (female friend of a male; possessed) ⁵²

né'së'e  my (fem) friend  né'së'ë'o  my (fem) friends
ésë'e  your (fem) friend  é'se'ë'o  your (fem) friends
hevë'së'ë'ëno  her (fem) friend(s)  hevé'së'ë'ëno  her (fem) friend(s)
né'së'ëné'ë'âne  our (fem excl) friend  né'së'ëné'ë'âne'o  our (fem excl) friends
ésë'ë'ë'ë'âne  our (fem incl) friend  é'së'ë'ë'ë'âne'o  our (fem incl) friends
ésë'ë'ëvo  your (fem pl) friend  é'së'ë'ëvo'o  your (pl fem) friends
hevë'së'ëvo  their (fem) friend(s)  hevé'së'ëvo'o  their (fem) friend(s)

---

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 né'së'éhâne and névé'së'âne.
⁵⁴ Alternate forms are é'se'éhâne and névé'së'evo.
father (possessed)

ného’éehe55
my father
-----
eho
your father
-----
heho
his father
-----
néháne
our (excl) father néhaneo'o
our (excl) fathers
éhane
our (incl) father éhaneo'o
our (incl) fathers
éhevo
your (pl) father éhevo'o
your (pl) fathers
héhevóho
their father(s) héhevóho
their father(s)

grandmother (possessed)

néške’éehe
my grandmother
navéškemo
my grandmothers
éškeme
your grandmother
éškemo
your grandmothers
hevéškemo
his grandmother(s)
hevéškemo
his grandmother(s)
néškemāne
our (ex) grandmo. néškemaneo'o
our (ex) grandmothers
éškemane
our (in) grandmo. éškemaneo'o
our (in) grandmothers
éškemēvo
your (pl) grandmo. éškemēvo'o
your (pl) grandmothers
hevéškemevóho
their grandmother(s) héhevóho
their grandmother(s)

grandchild (possessed)

néxahe
my grandchild56
néxaho
my grandchildren
éxahe
your grandchild
éxaho
your grandchildren
hevéxaho
his grandchild(ren) héhevóho
their grandchild(ren)
néxáhe
our (excl) grandchild
néxahaneo'o
our (excl) grandchildren
éxahane
our (incl) grandchild
éxahaneo'o
our (incl) grandchildren
éxáhevo57
your (pl) grandchild
éxāhévo
your (pl) grandchildren
hevéxahévo
their grandchild(ren) héhevóho
their grandchild(ren)

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)$$RECHECK

násemáhe
my younger sibling
násemaho
my younger siblings
ésemáhe
your younger sibling
ésemaho
your younger siblings
hevásemo
his younger sibling(s)
hevásemo
his younger sibling(s)
násemáháne
our (excl) younger sibling
néxahaneo'o
our (excl) grandchildren
ésemáhane
our (incl) younger sibling
ésemáhaneo'o
our (incl) grandchildren
ésemáhévo
your (pl) younger sibling
ésemáhevo'o
your (pl) grandchildren
hevásemevóho
their younger sibling(s) héhevóho
their younger sibling(s)

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>
</table>
| my lodge/home        | nénóve     | navénove58   | $$

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
my body?? nétove navétové
my brother-in-law né'tóve navé'tóve
your brother-in-law né'tóve navé'tóve
my sibling né'séseo navéséseo
your sibling né'séseo navéséseo

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'háhkëšëso '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'háhkëso. And you could call an even older man a ma'háéso, which is less diminutive than ma'háhkëso.

**/-{(h)k/ diminutives**

Some other diminutives are also marked by addition of of /k/ or /hk/: 60

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>diminutive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>améstó'eeseso'o</td>
<td>travois</td>
<td>améstó'keeseso'o</td>
<td>little travois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amó'ënë'ó'o</td>
<td>wagon</td>
<td>amó'kenë'ó'o</td>
<td>children's wagon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ao'éseto</td>
<td>hailstone</td>
<td>ao'késeto</td>
<td>little hailstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hásoo'o</td>
<td>crowbar</td>
<td>hásóhko</td>
<td>lance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesó'xo'ënéë'ó'o</td>
<td>sled</td>
<td>hesó'xo'eneško</td>
<td>children's sled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóma'ë</td>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>hóma'ke</td>
<td>little beaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásó'ee'ë</td>
<td>kettle</td>
<td>kásó'ëške</td>
<td>jug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhëó'o</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>máhëško</td>
<td>shed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhóó'o</td>
<td>melon 61</td>
<td>máhóhko</td>
<td>small melon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé'ëšëvo'tse</td>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mé'ëškevo'tse</td>
<td>baby (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méstaa'e</td>
<td>owl, spook</td>
<td>méstahke</td>
<td>screech owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mó'ësá'ë</td>
<td>calf</td>
<td>mó'késá'ë</td>
<td>calf (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tôhoo'o</td>
<td>club</td>
<td>tôhóhko</td>
<td>hammer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó'he'ë</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>ó'he'ke</td>
<td>creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oónåha'ë</td>
<td>frog</td>
<td>oónåha'këso</td>
<td>little frog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho'honáä'ë</td>
<td>rock</td>
<td>ho'honåhke</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sásóóvéta</td>
<td>watersnake</td>
<td>sásóhkövéta</td>
<td>watersnake (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šéštótó'ë</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 nähtóo'öhtstotëse '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.
tse'némoo'o tobacco tsé'némohko tobacco (dim)
váótséva deer váhkót séva little deer
vé'ho'e whiteman vé'ho'ke little white boy
vé'ho'séō'o suitcase vé'ho'šeško purse, small suitcase

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>diminutive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>É'ometāā'e</td>
<td>Greasy River</td>
<td>É'ometaēso</td>
<td>Little Greasy River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heávohe</td>
<td>devil</td>
<td>heávohésō</td>
<td>little devil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'éhe</td>
<td>maggot</td>
<td>he'éhésō</td>
<td>rice (kernel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhkheehe</td>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>hóhkheehešō</td>
<td>little mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhkoxe</td>
<td>ax</td>
<td>hóhkoxésō</td>
<td>little ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'nehe</td>
<td>wolf</td>
<td>ho'néhésō</td>
<td>little wolf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ěškóne</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'ěškóněhésō</td>
<td>little child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káse'ěhe</td>
<td>young lady</td>
<td>káš'eehésō</td>
<td>young teenage girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásovááhe</td>
<td>young man</td>
<td>kásováāhésō</td>
<td>young teenage boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóhkono'hő'o'o</td>
<td>bread</td>
<td>kóhkonoheonēso</td>
<td>cracker (od), little bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokhéáxa</td>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>kokhéaxésō</td>
<td>chick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'hááhe</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'háésō</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'hamésō</td>
<td>colt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhkohe</td>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkōhésō</td>
<td>little bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóma'he</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>nomá'héškésō</td>
<td>little fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oeškēse</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oeškésēhésō</td>
<td>pup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé'kēse</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vé'késēhésō</td>
<td>little bird</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>diminutive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hóma'e</td>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>homa'kēso</td>
<td>little beaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ēno</td>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>ma'enō'kēso</td>
<td>small turtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'hááhe</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'háhkésō</td>
<td>old man (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'hááhe</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'háhkésēhésō</td>
<td>little old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'éhno'ha</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>mo'kéhno'hamésō</td>
<td>colt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóma'he</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>nomá'héškésō</td>
<td>minnow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šé'sē</td>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šé'sēškésō</td>
<td>duckling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé'ho'ē</td>
<td>whiteman</td>
<td>vé'ho'kēso</td>
<td>little white boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé'ho'á'ē</td>
<td>white woman</td>
<td>vé'ho'ká'kēso</td>
<td>little white girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xāō'o</td>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>xaóhkésō</td>
<td>little skunk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

62 The /n/ appears in diminutive plurals, such as vé'ho'késōnó 'little white boys'.
**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>něške’éehe</td>
<td>my grandmother</td>
<td>Něške’e</td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namēšéme</td>
<td>my grandfather</td>
<td>Námēšeme</td>
<td>My grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namēšemo</td>
<td>my grandfathers</td>
<td>Namēšémasēstse</td>
<td>My grandfathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navěškemo</td>
<td>my grandmothers</td>
<td>Něške’eehēhasēstse</td>
<td>My grandmothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka’ěškőneho</td>
<td>children</td>
<td>Ka’ěškőnēhasēstse</td>
<td>Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naněsonëho</td>
<td>my children</td>
<td>Něsonēhasēstse</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>nāhtona</td>
<td>my daughter</td>
<td>Nāhtse</td>
<td>My daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāhtōnaho</td>
<td>my daughters</td>
<td>Nāhtōnāhasēstse</td>
<td>My daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néxahe</td>
<td>my grandchild</td>
<td>Nēše</td>
<td>My grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’eo’o</td>
<td>women</td>
<td>He’esēstse</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetaneo’o</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>Hetanesēstse</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásováahëho</td>
<td>young men</td>
<td>Kásováahēhasēstse</td>
<td>Young men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kášë’éeheho</td>
<td>young women</td>
<td>Kášë’eehēhasēstse</td>
<td>Young women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nětóvé</td>
<td>my brother-in-law</td>
<td>Nětovasēstse</td>
<td>My brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>véhoo’o</td>
<td>chiefs</td>
<td>Véhonasēstse</td>
<td>Chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho’honáëo’o</td>
<td>rocks</td>
<td>Ho’honáesēstse</td>
<td>Rocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhtamáahëheho</td>
<td>old women</td>
<td>Máhtamáahëahēhasēstse</td>
<td>Old women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’háhkëseho</td>
<td>old men</td>
<td>Ma’háhkësēhehasēstse</td>
<td>Old men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něšësóno</td>
<td>my siblings</td>
<td>Něšěsónēhasēstse</td>
<td>Siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navō’ëstanemo</td>
<td>my people</td>
<td>Navō’ëstanēmasēstse</td>
<td>My people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navōohestoto</td>
<td>my relatives</td>
<td>Navōohestonasēstse</td>
<td>My relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’heonëo</td>
<td>sacred spirits</td>
<td>Ma’heónasēstse</td>
<td>Sacred spirits</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LOCATIVES**

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

Váséta'êno –no suffix
Vohpoométanêno White River Place
É’ëxováhtôva Billings, Montana (lit., sawing-place)

ETC.$$ ANALYZE SUFFIXES MORE
Proper names

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

Noun phrases

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

Quantifier noun phrases

Quantifiers

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

- na'ěstse hetane 'one man'
- neše he'eo'o 'two women'
- háesto ka'ěškóneho 'many children'
- tōhkomo kahámáxěstse '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 môxe'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 môxe'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'ōhtávé-hohpe 'coffee' (literally, black-broth)
- ma'è-ho'évohkótse 'corned beef' (literally, red-meat)
- ma'xè-háhnoma 'bumblebee' (literally, big-bee)
- heóve-amáho'hestótse 'schoolbus' (literally, yellow-car)
- táxe-méséhestótse '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 prenound with a morpheme-final /e/ when it acts as an adjectival prenound:

ma'aatae-meo'o 'railroad' (literally, iron-road)
matanaé-ve'ho'e 'policeman' [literally, (badge on) chest-whiteman)]
möxe'estóoné-mähéó'o 'post office' (literally, letter-house)
séotsé-amáho'héstótsé 'hearse' (literally, corpse-car)
vé'ho'é-otóá'e 'buffalo' (literally, whiteman-buffalo)
vé'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)
hohtóva-mähéó'o 'store' (literally, buying-house)
möxe'estóne-mähéó'o 'school' (literally, writing-house)
öhtaané-mähéó'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 tséhéne'enovaestse 'educated man' (lit., man who is educated)
kásovááhe tséháa'estaestse 'tall young man' (lit., young man who is tall)
ma'háhkéso tséhe'keomestse 'fat old man' (lit., old man who is fat)
amáho'héstótsé tséháoeme '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'haováte.
   Let me tell you a story.

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

3. Hápó'e  náháóhe  ó'kóhóme  móhnénéheohtsé'tóhéhe.
   Likewise there a coyote was following it.
4. Néhe'se éstó'o'ováhtséhoono.
Then they met.

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

6. "No'héhnéstse!
"Move aside!

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

8. éxhetóhoono.
he told him.

9. "Hova'áhane,
"No,

10. hàpó'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'éšeéoo'evotáhtsevóóse 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'kéhešéhosóhnéhoo'o.
He slowly backed up.

19. Tséhvóomovóóse éstanéshe'névo'ahéotséhoono.
When they saw him they scattered in two different directions.

20. Essáanáha'óoméhesesto tósa'ę tséhešeasetaxevóóse.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé'tóhe</td>
<td>this, these (animate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tatóhe</td>
<td>that, those (animate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'tóhe</td>
<td>this, these (inanimate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>há'tóhe</td>
<td>that, those (inanimate)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>néhe</td>
<td>this, these (animate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héne</td>
<td>this, these (inanimate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhe</td>
<td>that, those (animate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>háne</td>
<td>that, those (inanimate)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative Particle</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhéóhe</td>
<td>here (proximal; new location in discourse?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hétséhéóhe</td>
<td>over here $$RECHECK GLOSSES FOR THE LONGER FORMS ??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhéóhe</td>
<td>there (previously mentioned location)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hénéhéóhe</td>
<td>over there (previously mentioned)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
taháóhe  farther?? there (distal; new location in discourse)
hátaháóhe  over there (previously mentioned)
naháóhe  farther?? there (distal; previously mentioned location)
hánaháóhe  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/.

**INCLUDE GLOSSES**
tséhéno  here (proximal; new location in discourse??)
hétséhéno  over here
néhéno  there (previously mentioned location)
hénéhéno  over there (previously mentioned)
táhéno  farther?? there (distal; new location in discourse)
hátáhéno  over there (new location)
náhéno  farther?? there (distal; previously mentioned location)
hánáhéno  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. **RECHECK THESE CLAIMS AND GLOSSES; REVISE BASED ON "CHEYENNE PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL FUNCTIONS" AND CHEYENNE DEIXIS PAPERS**

**Inanimate predicative pronouns**

heta’háánéhe  that's the one (proximal cataphoric??)
hetá’hanehe (contracted form)
heta’háanevótse  those are the ones

hena’háánéhe  it's the one, that's it (proximal anaphoric)
hená’hanéhe (contracted form)
hena’háanevótse  there they are; they are the ones

hata’háánéhe  that's the one (distal cataphoric??)
hatá’hanehe (contracted form)
hata’háanevótse  there they are; those are the ones (farthest?? cataphoric??)

hana’háánéhe  there it is; that's the one (distal?? anaphoric)
haná'hanéhe (contracted form)
hana'háanevótse those are the ones

Animate predicative pronouns

tsea'háanéhe here he is; he's the one (proximal cataphoric/pointing at??)
tseá'hanehe?? (contracted form)
tsea'háanevóhe here they are; they are the ones

nea'háanéhe he's the one (proximal anaphoric??)
néa'hanehe?? (contracted form)
nea'háanevóhe there they are; they are the ones

táa'háanéhe he's the one (distal cataphoric)
táa'hanehe (contracted form)
táá'háanevóhe?? there they are; they are the ones

naa'háanéhe he's the one (distal anaphoric)
náa'hanehe (contracted form)
naa'háanevóhe they are the ones

nevá'hanéhe he is the one (only about a hero)

Predicative pronouns in sentences

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

Temporal deictics

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

nèhe'še then (marks temporal sequence)
tchéhe'še at this time

nèhe'xo'véva at that time
tchéhe'xo'véva at this time

nèhetáa'e from then on
tchéhetáa'e from this time forward

Deictic preverbs

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

nè- examples

é-nè-hétóhoono he said it that way to him (obv) (preterit mode)
é-nè-hétóhta'hane that's how he told the story
é-né-hešenéméne  that's the way he sang
né-he’xóvéva  at that time

tsé- examples
és-tsé-hetóhoono  he told like this (preceding a quote) (preterit mode)
é-tšé-hešenéméne63  he sang like this
tsé-he'xóvéva  at this time

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

63 The cataphoric preverb tsé- is pronounced as tš- preceding /ʃ/ of the relative preverb hešé-.
-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’éeto.</td>
<td>It’s snowing.</td>
<td>Ého’éeto-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>Néhestána.</td>
<td>You took it.</td>
<td>Néhestána-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>

$\text{REVISE:}$ 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-: ($\text{INCLUDE discussion of the functions of word-internal question words and the reportative mode (e.g. étónosévés esto 'What in the world are they doing?', or, námé'tatónëševémase '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 word\(^{64}\). 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'ěškóne</td>
<td>boy</td>
<td>Mó-hetanéka'ěškóne?</td>
<td>The boy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nééšëho'soo'e.</td>
<td>You've already danced.</td>
<td>Mó-nééšëho'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?(^{66})</td>
<td>It's raining?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhéxé'āna.</td>
<td>You cleaned it.</td>
<td>Mó-néhéxé'āna?</td>
<td>You cleaned it?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mó- questions and evidential modes

Sarah Murray (p.c.) ($\text{cite exx. from dissertation}$) 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'-éxhó'ťehaváhoo'o? Given what was narrated (preterit), did he win?

\(^{64}\) 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'ostseto? What are you cooking / boiling?
- Hénová'e tséhonóhtomo? What are you baking / roasting?
- Hénová'e tsépéenomo? What are you grinding?
- Hénová'e tsémanéstseto? What are you making?
- Hénová'e tsémóxe'ohomo? 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'ëhneséstse? 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 tséháóénahntse? Who is praying?
- Neváaseo'o tséháoenase? Who (plural) are praying?
- Névááhe tsévéstoemóhtse? Who is your spouse? (lit., Who is the one you sit with?)
- Neváasóho tsévéstoemose? Who (obviative) is his spouse?
- Neváasóho tsémehotovose? Who (obviative) do they love?
Névááhe tsémanestséstse? Who made it?
Névááhe tséhóxe’anótse? Who cleaned it?
Névááhe tsémétata’e? Who gave it to you?
Nevásóho tsémétata’èse? Who (obviative) gave it to him?

**Whose questions**

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

Névááhe tsé-he-vóhk’a’èstse? Whose hat is this? / Who has on the hat?
Névááhe tsé-he-mo’k’éhánéstse? Whose shoe is this? / Who has on the shoe?
Névááhe tsé-he-voestóv’èstse? 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 vóhpoma’ohtse? Which one is the salt?
Táasévoonéstse nemótšéskéhótsê? Which are your knives?
Táasévoo’e tsévéstoemóhtse? Which is your spouse?
Táasévoone tséomata’ošê? Which ones (animate) hit you?
Táasévoone hoemaho tsémanéhóšê? 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-oomóhtse? Why did you hit him?
Hénová’e tsé-hés-he’oénéahótsê? Why is he praying?
Hénová’éto tsé-hést-á’xaneto? Why are you crying?
Hénáá’e tsé-hése-aséohótsê? Why did you (plural) leave?

**When questions**

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

Tóne’šé ého’eohótsê? When did he arrive?
Tóne’šé néévaho’eohe? When did you return?
Tóne’šé nêto’seaseohótsê? When are you going to leave?

**How long questions**

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

---

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

*Where questions*

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

Tósa’e néto'sétséhe'óhtse?  Where are you going to go?
Tósa’e néohkéhotse’ohe?  Where do you work?
Tósa’e ého'oe?  Where is he?
Tósa’e néhohtóva?  Where did you buy it?
Tósa’e névéómo?  Where did you see him?
Tósa’e éhó’ta namó’xééstóo'o?  Where is my book?
Tósa’e éto'semó’xéehséestóvhe?  Where is the meeting going to be?
Tósa’e nénxéxhéstahé?  Where are you from?

*How questions*

How questions are expressed by the preverb tónéšē-, initials tónet-, tónèst-, 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-tónéšē-véhe?  What's your name? (lit., How are you called?)
Né-tónéšē-ho’éhne?  How did you come?
Né-tónéšē-héne’enovo-o’o?  How do you know them?
Né-tónéšē-táno?  How do you feel (mentally/emotionally)?
Né-tónet-ómóhtahe?  How are you (in terms of wellness)? $$RECHECK GLOSS
Né-tónés-étsésta?  What do you think of it?
Né-tónés-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-aó’o?  What size is it?
É-tónet-ónóto?  How thick is it?
É-tónet-o’etame?  How deep is it? (water)
É-tóne’-éhotoo’e?  How deep is it? (a hole or cave)
É-tóne’-ého’oésta?  How high is it hanging?
É-tóne’-ého’oése?  How high is he hanging?
É-tóne’-éstahe?  How tall is he?
É-tóne’-éhahe?  How old is he?
É-tóne’xóv-anánó?  How much does it weigh?
É-tóne’xóv-aneta?  How much does he weigh?
É-tónet-a’ene’hó’ota?  How much room is there?
É-tóne’-ého’o’e?  How long is he staying / How long did he stay?
É-tónet-otse’ohe?  What is his work?
É-tóne’-éhoma’ó’e?  How far away it is?
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?

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

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

What is/are ___ doing?

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?

Questions asking how many are formed with the preverb tönëštôhe- or the initial tönëst-.

How many (fish) did you catch?

How old are you? (lit., How many are you yeared?)

How many months old is he?

How many nights did you camp?

How many of them (an.) are there?

How many of them (inan.) are there?

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

How many times did you dance?
To what degree questions consist of the preverb tóne’xóve- within an independent order verb.

To what degree questions

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

Other question forms

Some content questions are created with forms unrelated to the tóneš(e)- / tónést- preverbs, initials, and roots.

Nnévéva’ève? Who are you?
Éhová’ève? 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’ève? What kind of a day is it? (cf. -tónešééseeve, with the same meaning)
Éhová’eéseeve? What kind of a tree is it?

‘What say’ questions

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

Ná-óxò-heve? What did I say?
Né-óxò-heve? What did you say?
É-óxò-hevoo’o? What did he/she say?
É-óxò-hevoóne? 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’hestôtse? 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’së ‘sometime’, tósa’e ‘somewhere’, tónëšë- ‘somehow’ (include Rolling Head sentence). ‘something’, hénáá’énëše ‘something’, etc.

Tóne’së móho’eohtsëhéhe. ’He must have come sometime.’
Tósa’e nóháso móstanéšëma’xetónešëhe’ame-pónenenëhéhe. ’He just shot in any direction up

Tónéstoha éamo’ahéotseo’o? How many times did they run?
in the air.' (1987:277)
Naa oha tónesto tséhetaa'he'konahétsé hétshéhéhe náho'manéstésénóne. 'But however many of us who were healthy, we made it back here.' (1987:37)
Naa hénahanehe náéšéhóhtahání tónetáa'e tséhééné enómó. 'And I have told however much I know.' (1987:97) $$CAN tónetáa' e FUNCTION AS A QUESTION WORD?? (perhaps Tónetáa' e némesé? 'How much did you eat?)"

Héa'ee éto's-tónéstá otse. 'Maybe something is going to be wrong (with him).' (1987:195)
Móhmóne-tónéstóhe aénamahéhe. 'She was sometime in early age.' (1987:21)
Naa móš-tónéstóxévóhe mótaaséshétoo'éhehevóhe. 'And however many (suspects) there were, they were taken away to prison.' (1987:185)
Naa néhe'shémóhnes-tónés'ésho'pó'éhétóhanhéhe. 'And then the (rolling) head came through somehow.' (1980:54)
Naa vé'ho' e mósta-tónéshenéstómóhnhéhe. '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-tónéšévóhe. | I'm not doing anything. |
| Násáa-tónéšetanóhe. | I'm not feeling anything. |
| Násáa-tóné'xóvomóhtáhe. | I'm not feeling anything. |
| Ésáa-tónéštáhe. | There's nothing wrong with him. |
| Ésáa-tónéshóhe. | There's nothing wrong with it. |
| Násáa-tónéstå'tovóhe. | 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:

| Násáa'-óxóhéhe. | I didn't say anything. |
| Néstsevé'é-óxóhéto! | Don't say anything to him! |

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

| Násáahó'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 ésáahóhéhe. No one was there.
Develop section here or elsewhere in book, e.g. nevá'eséstse 'someone', nevá'ésesto, néséstse, néséhoo'o, etc. Also be sure there is/are (a) section in the book which covers the polarity behavior of hová'ēhe, hováñee'e, the semantic relationship between hová'ēhe and hénáá'ēnëse, etc. Nea'hánëhe and related forms, Énéehove and related forms. Also relationship to tsé'tóhe and hé'tóhe 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahe'évéhehe!</td>
<td>Are you not a woman!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névë'hétónéšëve!</td>
<td>Why did you do that!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névë'hénémëné! ??</td>
<td>Why did you sing! <strong>RH Q??</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névë'hëoxëhetoo'o!</td>
<td>Why did you say that to them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónâne'hëtone'otse! ??</td>
<td>Nothing would happen to me!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónëême'hë-tone'oëto.</td>
<td>You won't be able to do anything to him. (e.g., he's more powerful than you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáatónëëseñoëétóhane!</td>
<td>How does it not stop snowing!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hámëtoo'ëstse!</td>
<td>Sit down!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He'kotoo'ëstse!</td>
<td>Be quiet! / Sit still!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mëseetse!</td>
<td>Eat!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Né’éstse’hēstse!  Come in!
Né’tōhkēh’āhtse!  Take your hat off!
E’seéstse’hēnāhtse!  Put your coat on!
Né’seéstse’hēnāhtse!  Take your coat off!
E’ēhā’ōhtse!  Put your shoes on!
Né’tó’ēstse!  Take your shoes off!
Tāhēovēšēstse!  Go to bed!
Āhtovēstse!  Listen to me!
Nēhmanoxēstse!  Give me a drink!
Nēšē’šēvēnēstse!  Wash your face!
Nēšē’šēhe’ōnāhtse!  Wash your hands!
Vē’hōóhtōhtse!  Look at it!

**Plural addressees**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Háméstoo’e!</td>
<td>Sit down!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He’kotoo’e!</td>
<td>Be quiet! / Sit still!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Méšehe!</td>
<td>Eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né’éstse’hēne!</td>
<td>Come in!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E’tōhkēh’ā’a!</td>
<td>Put your hat on!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né’tōhkēh’ā’a!</td>
<td>Take your hat off!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E’sēéstse’hēnā!</td>
<td>Put your coat on!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né’seéstse’hēnā!</td>
<td>Take your coat off!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E’ēhā’ō!</td>
<td>Put your shoes on!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né’tō’ē!</td>
<td>Take your shoes off!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāhēovēšēse!</td>
<td>Go to bed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Āhhtove!</td>
<td>Listen to me!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nēhmanoxe!</td>
<td>Give me a drink!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nēšē’šēhe’ōna!</td>
<td>Wash your hands!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vē’hootome!</td>
<td>Look at it!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Háméstoo’o!</td>
<td>Sit down later! (singular addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Háméstoehehéné!</td>
<td>Sit down later! (plural addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhmétseo’o!</td>
<td>Give it to me later! (singular addressee)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Néhmétséhéne! Give it to me later! (plural addressee)
Né'évahósého'èhneo'o! Come again later! (singular addressee)
Né'évahósého'ènhéhéne! Come again later! (plural addressee)

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

Né-me'-mésehe. You should eat.
Né-mé'-mèsèhéme. You (plural) should eat.
Né-me'-héstana. You should take it.
Né-me'-mèhotåhtsème. 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'-mèséhé-stove. There should be eating.
É-me'-mèhotåhtsè-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'- if the next letter in the word is a vowel. Otherwise, it is pronounced as vé'e-.

Né-vé'-néhéséve! Don't do that! (said to one person, a singular addressee)
Né-vé'-néhésévéme! 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'e'-vé'hóóhta! Don't look at it! (singular addressee)
Né-vé'-vé'hóóhtánóvo! Don't look at it! (plural addressee)
Né-vé'e'-óxóheve! 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-néhésévé. You (singular) shouldn't do that.
Né-mé'-sáa-néhésévéme. You (plural) shouldn't do that.
Negative 'should' impersonal commands

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

$$RECHECK DATA$$

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

$$RECHECK THAT CLAIM$$

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

Rhetorical question commands

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

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

Negative interrogatives

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

Né-sáa-mésèhe-he-he?! Aren't you eating?!
Né-sáa-'-ovéšená-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’hoohtoha! 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-évó’sóémáne! Let’s play!
Né-ta-néšeasema! Let’s just leave!

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

Né-tá-hé-méséhémáne! 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 Táhóvéšéstse!'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 constrast, if someone says the mitigated command, Êmé’méséhéstove 'There should be eating!' there is some social distance intended. Such a mitigated command might be used, for instance, by a woman, who is trying to get her son-in-law to eat, but she cannot speak to him directly due to the Cheyenne taboo against her speaking to her son-in-law. $$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 Ÿohkésá’aあhtōmōnehe 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</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émésēhēe.</td>
<td>Émese.</td>
<td>He's eating it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóósáne.</td>
<td>Návóóhta ame.</td>
<td>I see pemmican.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Verbs and animacy

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

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

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

\(^{68}\) 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>Nénémenhē'ī. 'Did you sing?'</td>
<td>Éhoo'kōho. 'It's raining.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma'ovése. 'He has red hair.'</td>
<td>Éma'ohēe. 'Is it red?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náovāxe. 'I dreamed.'</td>
<td>Ésētovōēsta. 'It's noon.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenēsone. 'She had a child.'</td>
<td>Éhāōhō'ta. 'It's hot.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émēsehe. 'He's eating.'</td>
<td>Émēsehēstovē. 'There is eating.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TA</th>
<th>TI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nápēhēvāno. 'I fixed him up.'</td>
<td>Nápēhēvāna. 'I fixed it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóómo. 'I saw him.'</td>
<td>Névōohtahē. 'Did you see it?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhxōomohōe. 'Did you feed him?'</td>
<td>Násaahēstahnōhe. 'I didn't take it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námēhohōta. 'He loves me.'</td>
<td>Éhō'tse. 'He has it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áahtōvostē. 'Listen to me!'</td>
<td>Nāāāhtā. 'I'm listening to it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násaa'oomōhe. 'I didn't hit him.'</td>
<td>Násaa'oohtōhe. 'I didn't hit it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émevo. 'He ate him (obv).'</td>
<td>Émēse. '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 or negative. This is called polarity. Negative verbs are marked with the negative preverb sāa- 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>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émā'o. It's red.</td>
<td>Ésāāma'ōhane. It's not red.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Interrogatives**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>statement</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>interrogative</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Énémēne.</td>
<td>He's singing.</td>
<td>Énémēnehe?</td>
<td>Did he sing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étāhpē'o.</td>
<td>It's big.</td>
<td>Étāhpē'o?</td>
<td>Is it big?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestāna.</td>
<td>I took it.</td>
<td>Náhestahnēhe?</td>
<td>Did you take it?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Imperatives**

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

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

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

**Independent verbs**

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

Énaóotse.  He's sleeping.
Námese.    I'm eating it.
Éoseepéhévééno’e.  It tastes really good.
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:

tséhnaóotsése  when he was sleeping
tséhóvóna’o    when it was morning
ma’énésétovoésta    when it’s afternoon

**Orders**

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

**Independent order verbs**

Some examples of independent order verbs are:

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

**Conjunct order verbs**

Some examples of conjunct order verbs are:

- tséhméseese when he ate
- tsénémense when those who are singing
- éóháoénávóhtse whether they were hungry
- máxho‘éhnéstse when he comes

**Imperative order verbs**

Some examples of imperative order verbs are:

- Hámanééhéstse! Sit down!
- Tháhóvééšéstse! Go to bed!
- Né’éváhósého‘éhño'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.
- Épéhévééno'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.
Éhnèévátamósesto. It is said that he took pity on him.

**Inferentials**

A commonly used evidential is the inferential mode\(^{70}\). Inferential verbs are used by speakers who have not personally seen what happened, nor been told it by others, but concluded what happened based on other evidence available to them.

Verbs in the inferential mode begin with mó-\(^{71}\), and can be translated with words like "He must have ___" or "It must be ________________":

Móhoo'kóhóhanéhe It must have rained
Mónémésehehe It must have eaten

$\text{INCLUDE A TEXT WITH INFERENTIALS}$

**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.

$\text{INCLUDE A TEXT WITH PRETERITS}$

**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, "Noo, étséhésenéstsého'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 on what they are saying, and in the case of a surprise, where the speaker has been so uninformed ("distanced", perhaps) from prior knowledge of what they are saying that they are surprised.

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

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

**Interrogative mode**

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

- Nénémene-he? Did you sing?
- Émésèhevo-he? Did they eat?
INTRODUCTION TO VERBS (cont'd)

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 Algonquian 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:

INDDEPENDENT VERBS

náhoo'soo'ee
némshéhe
móömohnéveñohe (hetaneo'o)
éséevé'hoohóhe

CONJUNCT (DEPENDENT) VERBS

táshnoménesé
 táshnménesee
ášǒná'dásse
máshoo'ehmátese

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, émášhe '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: émášeséastse 'It is said that he drank', and éómóóseto '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: móóho'ó kóhóhanehe 'it must have rained', mónnéšeméséhehe 'you must have eaten already', and mówámoóhítáhóhe '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 éhñèhèna'hoo'o 'he sang' and 
éñèhèvalènèho '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 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 è-. 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:

náمسàha I ate.
néمسàha you (singular) ate.
èمسàha He (or She) ate.

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

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

In the discussion preceding the lists of possessed nouns, earlier, it was mentioned that an animate noun becomes "obviated" (moved out of the spotlight) when it is possessed by a third-person. We will call the
obviated person a "fourth-person". For all of the other persons there can be a singular or a plural. But, the fourth-person can be either singular or plural. It was pointed out, earlier, for instance, that hee’hahó 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,

\begin{align*}
\text{énuméne} & \quad 3 \quad \text{he sang} \\
\text{hee’hahó énuménúho} & \quad 4 \quad \text{his son sang}
\end{align*}

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 hétane and hē'sa, respectively. Their obviative forms are hétamóho and hē’cho, 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.

\begin{align*}
\text{1-3 Névóómo hétane.} & \quad \text{I saw a man.} \\
\text{1-3 Névóómo hē’sa.} & \quad \text{I saw a woman.} \\
\text{2-3 Névóómo hétane.} & \quad \text{You saw a man.} \\
\text{3-4 Hétane évóómóho hē’cho.} & \quad \text{The man saw a woman.} \\
\text{3-4 Hē’é évóómóho hétamóho.} & \quad \text{The woman saw a man.}
\end{align*}

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 évóómóho, above, with the "3-4" person combination. For instance,

\begin{align*}
\text{4-3 Ne’ké évóómáa’e hétané-ka’ká’ké.} & \quad \text{His (the boy’s) mother saw the boy.} \\
\text{4-3 Hémeho évóóstáhénáá’e.} & \quad \text{Her big sister helped her.}
\end{align*}

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);

\begin{align*}
\text{1-3 Névóómo} & \quad \text{(direct)} & \quad \text{I saw him.} \\
\text{2-3 Névóómo} & \quad \text{(direct)} & \quad \text{You saw him.} \\
\text{3-1 Névóóma} & \quad \text{(inverse)} & \quad \text{He saw me.} \\
\text{3-2 Névóóma} & \quad \text{(inverse)} & \quad \text{He saw you.}
\end{align*}
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, nē-. This means that second-person is the "highest" person on the Cheyenne person-hierarchy. Note the following local forms:

nēvō'ome  You saw me.  
nēvō'matsē  I saw you.  
nēvō'matsāme  I saw you (plural).  
nēvō'memē  You (plural) saw me.

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

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

I-I nēho'ēdhtā  I came to it.  
I-II nēho'ēdhtanētsē  I came to them (inanimate).  
I-1 nēho'ēdhtasē  It came to me.

In the third form, here, the singular inanimate "thing" being talked about is the "subject" of the verb, but, because it is lower on the person-hierarchy than "we", 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-, -neh', 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 Transitive (II) final is -6, seen as the last vowel of the following II verbs:
áta'pê'o It is big.
hoo'koho It is raining.
átonêto It is cold.
hâhe'ovó It is yellow.
hâmô' It is red.

A common Animate Intransitive (AI) final is -a, seen as the last vowel of the following AI verbs:
hâmâsehe He ate.
hâmane He drank.
hâho'soo'a He danced.
hâovâtomâsehe He taught.
hâpâhâvahe He is good.

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

see 1-3: návóómo (m-ô) 1-I: návóóte (ht-ô)
carry 1-3: námaatseho (h-ô) 1-I: námaatse (ht-ô)
love 1-3: nâmêno'tô ('t-ô) 1-I: nâmênoht (ht-ô)
be good to 1-3: nápehe'vetô'o ('tov-ô) 1-I: nápehe'vet (ht-ô)
make 1-3: nâmênoho (h-ô) 1-I: nâmênoht (ht-ô)
break 1-3: nâmêno'ôhô ('h-ô) 1-I: nâmênoht (ht-ô)
dampen 1-3: nâmâ'kóovó'tô ('tôv-ô) 1-I: nâmâ'kóovóhtse (ht-ô)
find 1-3: nâmê'ôvo (ov-ô) 1-I: nâm'ôvo (ô-ô)
have 1-3: nâmâ'ôho ('h-ô) 1-I: nâmâ'ôhtse ('t-ô)
INTRODUCTION TO VERBS (cont'd)

are verbs which usually need some other verb(s) to help them out. From English grammar, this second type of verb is called a "dependent" verb. It is traditional with people who study Algonquian languages to use another label for this type of verb, "conjunct". In these notes, the label "conjunct" will be used. But, remember that you can use the label "dependent" if it is more meaningful to you.

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

INDEPENDENT VERBS

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

Modes

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

Outline of the Cheyenne verb system

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>translation</th>
<th>outline category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Épêhévahe.</td>
<td>He's good.</td>
<td>I.A.POS.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésâapêhévâhéhe.</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>Môpêhévâhehehe.</td>
<td>He seems to be good.</td>
<td>I.C.POS.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mó)ho'nôpêhevaestse.</td>
<td>He seems to be not good.</td>
<td>II.I.NEG.AI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...$\text{CORRECT AND REVISE THE FOLLOWING SCAN}$-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.  
nodoubt he is not good

when it was good  
whenever it is good
when it rains  
when 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.
nodoubt it was not good

when I fixed him up

when I fix him up  
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.
nodoubt he did not fix him up

when I fixed it up

when  
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.
nodoubt 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-OBIATIVE/NUMBER

(OBIATIVE/NUMBER appears after the REPORT and PRET mode markers; otherwise OBIATIVE/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
- hené IMPV.PL.ADDRESSEE

Hortative

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

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

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

#### -mésehe 'eat'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Námésehe</th>
<th>I ate / I am eating **INCLUDE INTERLINEAR GLOSSES for AI, II, TA, TI, &amp; MODES &amp; VERB TEMPLATES DISCUSSION (INNER &amp; OUTER AGREEMENT, FROM OXFORD), ETC.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némésehe</td>
<td>You ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésehe</td>
<td>He ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméséhóho</td>
<td>He (obv) ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméséhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméséhema</td>
<td>We (incl) ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméséhéme</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>Námanéme</td>
<td>We (excl) drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némanema</td>
<td>We (incl) drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némanéme</td>
<td>You (pl) drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émaneо'o</td>
<td>They drank</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

####-/nomené/ 'sip'

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

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

####-/hotse'óhe/ 'work'

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

####-/hoe/ 'be at'

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

---

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/
Éhoeo ??  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/
Éhoeo’o  They are (here) /é-hoe-o/

/-ho’sōe/ ’dance’
Náho’soo’e  I danced
Ného’soo’e  You danced
Ého’soo’e  He danced
Ého’sóho  He (obv) danced
Náho’sóéme  We (excl) danced
Ného’sóema  We (incl) danced
Ného’sóéme  You (pl) danced
Ého’sóeo’o  They danced

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

/-háóéná/ ’pray’
Náháoénána  I prayed
Néháoénána  You prayed
Éháoénána  He prayed
Éháóénáho  He (obv) prayed
Náháóénáme  We (excl) prayed
Néháoénama  We (incl) prayed
Néháóénáme  You (pl) prayed
Éháoena’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 73  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 73 They dreamed

73 Common alternative pronunciations are éovēšēne and éovēšēna.
-véstahe 'help'

Návéstahe  I helped
Névéstahe  You helped
Évéstahe   He helped
Évéstahóho He (obv) helped
Névéstahéme We (excl) helped
Névéstahéma We (incl) helped
Névéstahéme You (pl) helped
Évéstáheo'o They helped

/-méó'é/ 'fight'

Náméó’e  I fought
Néméó’e  You fought
Éméó’e   He fought
Éméó’óho He (obv) fought
Náméó’éme We (excl) fought
Néméó’ema We (incl) fought
Néméó’éme You (pl) fought
Éméó’eo'o They fought

/-naa'é/ 'doctor'

Nánaa’e  I doctored
Nénaa’e  You doctored
Énaa’e74 He doctored
Énaa’óho He (obv) doctored
Nánaa’éme We (excl) doctored
Nénaa’ema We (incl) doctored
Nénaa’éme You (pl) doctored
Énaa’eo'o They doctored

-naóotse 'sleep'

Nánaóotse I slept
Nénaóotse You slept
Énaóotse He slept
Énaóotóho He (obv) slept
Nánaóotséme We (excl) slept
Nénaóôtsema We (incl) slept
Nénaóotséme You (pl) slept
Énaóotseo'o They slept

/-némené/ 'sing' and /-néméné/ 'have a crooked face'

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>Nánéméne</th>
<th>I sang</th>
<th>Náménméne</th>
<th>I have a crooked face</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nénéméne</td>
<td>You sang</td>
<td>Nénéméne</td>
<td>you have a crooked face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énéméne</td>
<td>He sang</td>
<td>Énéméne</td>
<td>He has a crooked face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énémenóho</td>
<td>He (obv) sang</td>
<td>Énéménóho76</td>
<td>He (obv) has a crooked face</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

74 Cf. énaa’e 'he died'.
75 Cf. énaeo'o 'they died'.

124
Nánémenéme  We (excl) sang  Nánéménéme  We (excl) have crooked faces
Nénémenema  We (incl) sang  Nénémenema  We (incl) have crooked faces
Nénémenême  You (pl) sang  Nénémenême  You (pl) have crooked faces
Énémeno'o  They sang  Énémenoe'o  They have crooked faces

-tséhéstaha 'be Cheyenne'
One of the most important verbs for a Cheyenne person to learn is nátséhéstaha '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>Nátséhéstaha</td>
<td>I'm Cheyenne</td>
<td>Natsistah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nétséhéstaha</td>
<td>You're Cheyenne</td>
<td>Nitsistah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étséhéstaha</td>
<td>He's Cheyenne</td>
<td>Itsistah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étséhéstahóho</td>
<td>He (obv) is Cheyenne</td>
<td>Itsistaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nátséhéstahéme</td>
<td>We (excl) are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Natsistam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nétséhéstahéme</td>
<td>We (incl) are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Nitsistama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nétséhéstahéme</td>
<td>You (pl) are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Nitsistam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étséhéstahéo'o</td>
<td>They are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Itsistayo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

-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.

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nánéehove</td>
<td>I am the one.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénéehove</td>
<td>You are the one.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énéehove</td>
<td>He is the one.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ênéehóvóho??</td>
<td>He (obv) is the one.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nánéehóvéme</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are the ones.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénéehóvéma</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are the ones.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénéehóvéme</td>
<td>You (plural) are the ones.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ênéehóveo'o</td>
<td>They are the ones.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

**-he-nésone 'have a child'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I have a child(ren)</th>
<th>You have a child(ren)</th>
<th>He has a child(ren)</th>
<th>He (obv) has a child(ren)</th>
<th>We (excl) have a child(ren)</th>
<th>We (incl) have a child(ren)</th>
<th>You (pl) have a child(ren)</th>
<th>They have a child(ren)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhenésone</td>
<td>I have a child(ren)</td>
<td>You have a child(ren)</td>
<td>He has a child(ren)</td>
<td>He (obv) has a child(ren)</td>
<td>We (excl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>We (incl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>You (pl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>They have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésone</td>
<td>I have a child(ren)</td>
<td>You have a child(ren)</td>
<td>He has a child(ren)</td>
<td>He (obv) has a child(ren)</td>
<td>We (excl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>We (incl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>You (pl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>They have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésone</td>
<td>I have a child(ren)</td>
<td>You have a child(ren)</td>
<td>He has a child(ren)</td>
<td>He (obv) has a child(ren)</td>
<td>We (excl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>We (incl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>You (pl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>They have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésónhéóho</td>
<td>I have a child(ren)</td>
<td>You have a child(ren)</td>
<td>He has a child(ren)</td>
<td>He (obv) has a child(ren)</td>
<td>We (excl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>We (incl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>You (pl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>They have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhenésónhéème</td>
<td>I have a child(ren)</td>
<td>You have a child(ren)</td>
<td>He has a child(ren)</td>
<td>He (obv) has a child(ren)</td>
<td>We (excl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>We (incl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>You (pl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>They have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésónhéémema</td>
<td>I have a child(ren)</td>
<td>You have a child(ren)</td>
<td>He has a child(ren)</td>
<td>He (obv) has a child(ren)</td>
<td>We (excl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>We (incl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>You (pl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>They have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhenésónhéémeme</td>
<td>I have a child(ren)</td>
<td>You have a child(ren)</td>
<td>He has a child(ren)</td>
<td>He (obv) has a child(ren)</td>
<td>We (excl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>We (incl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>You (pl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td>They have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

**Animate Intransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs**

**-mane 'drink'**

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

**-mésehe 'eat'**

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

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

/-ho'sóé 'dance'

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

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

-oveše 'go to bed'

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

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

-ováxe 'dream'

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

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

/-hé 'say'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I did not say</th>
<th>You did not say</th>
<th>He did not say</th>
<th>He (obv) did not say</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáahéhe</td>
<td>Nésáahéhe</td>
<td>Ésáahéhe</td>
<td>Ésáahéheho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

127
-he-nése'one 'have a child'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáahenésónhéhe</td>
<td>I do not have a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahenésónhéhe</td>
<td>You do not have a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahenésónhéhe</td>
<td>He does not have a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahenésónhéheho</td>
<td>He (obv) does not have a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahenésónhéhehema</td>
<td>We (excl) do not have a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahenésónhéhehema</td>
<td>We (incl) do not have a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahenésónhéhehema</td>
<td>You (pl) do not have a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahenésónhéhehoe'o</td>
<td>They do not have a child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 éhoóhtsetséveo'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>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Êhováheve</td>
<td>It is an animal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émééševotseve</td>
<td>He is a baby.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énhakóheve</td>
<td>It is a bear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoma'eve</td>
<td>It is a beaver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évé'késéheve</td>
<td>It is a bird.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhotóave</td>
<td>It is a buffalo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épóesónhéheve</td>
<td>It is a cat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évéhóneve</td>
<td>He is a chief.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êkáéškónéheve</td>
<td>He is a child.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êó'köhoméheve</td>
<td>It is a coyote.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éváotsevéheve</td>
<td>It is a deer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoestove</td>
<td>It is a dress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êsé'seve</td>
<td>It is a duck.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énetseve</td>
<td>It is an eagle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóaxaa'eve</td>
<td>It is a bald eagle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émo'éheve</td>
<td>It is an elk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émo'ékšoneve</td>
<td>It is a finger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énomá'heve</td>
<td>It is a fish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhéseve</td>
<td>It is a fly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma'heóneve</td>
<td>It is a sacred power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émo'éhno'haméheve</td>
<td>It is a horse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhetaneve</td>
<td>He is a man.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Émo'e'háheve  It is a magpie.  Émo'e'háheve'o  They are magpies.
Épé'eventse  It is a nighthawk.  Épé'eventse'o  They are nighthawks.
Éma'háhkéséheve  He is an old man.  Éma'háhkéséheve'o  They are old men.
Éšéstotó'eventse  It is a pine.  Éšéstotó'eventse'o  They are pines.
Évóhoohéve  It is a rabbit.  Évóhoohéve'o  They are rabbits.
Éxaóneve  It is a skunk.  Éxaóneve'o  They are skunks.
Éhotóhkeve  It is a star.  Éhotóhkeve'o  They are stars.
Éhoóhtsetseve  It is a tree.  Éhoóhtsetseve'o  They are trees.
Érótxeve  He is a warrior.  Érótxéve'o  They are warriors.
Évé'ho'eventse  He is a whiteman.  Évé'ho'éve'o  They are whitemen.
Éhe'ève  She is a woman.  Éhe'éve'o  They are women.

Animate Intransitive Independent Interrogative verbs
There are two ways to create yes/no questions in Cheyenne:

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

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

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

-he suffix yes/no questions

-mane 'drink'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námáhémanehe?</td>
<td>Did I drink?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némáhémanehe?</td>
<td>Did you drink?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émáhémanehe?</td>
<td>Did he drink?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émáhémanevóhe?</td>
<td>Did he (obv) drink?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námáhánahmémanehe?</td>
<td>Did we (excl) drink?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némáhánahmémanehe?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) drink?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némáhánahmémanéhe?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) drink?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émáhémanévóhe?</td>
<td>Did they drink?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-mésehe 'eat'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námésehehehe?</td>
<td>Did I eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némésehehehe?</td>
<td>Did you eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésehehehe?</td>
<td>Did he eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésehehevohe?</td>
<td>Did he (obv) eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námésehémémanehe?</td>
<td>Did we (excl) eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némésehémémanehe?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némésehéméméhe?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésehehevóhe?</td>
<td>Did they eat?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

77 Also called polar interrogatives.
-oveš 'go to bed' interogatīves

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náověšenaha?</td>
<td>Did I go to bed?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néověšenaha?</td>
<td>Did you go to bed?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éověšenaha?</td>
<td>Did he go to bed?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éověšenavohe?</td>
<td>Did he (obv) go to bed?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náověšenamehe?</td>
<td>Did we (excl) go to bed?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néověšenámanehe?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) go to bed?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néověšenámehe?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) go to bed?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éověšenavavohe?</td>
<td>Did they go to bed?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-he-nésone 'have a child' interogatīves

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhenésonéhehe?</td>
<td>Do I have a child(ren)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésonéhehe?</td>
<td>Do you have a child(ren)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésonéhehe?</td>
<td>Does he have a child(ren)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésonéhevohe?</td>
<td>Does he (obv) have a child(ren)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhenésonéhevohe?</td>
<td>Do we (excl) have a child(ren)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésonéhémenehe?</td>
<td>Do we (incl) have a child(ren)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésonéhémenehe?</td>
<td>Do you (pl) have a child(ren)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésonéhevohe?</td>
<td>Do they have a child(ren)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-he 'say' interogatīves

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhehe?</td>
<td>Did I say?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhehe?</td>
<td>Did you say?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhehe?</td>
<td>Did he say?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhevohe?</td>
<td>Did he (obv) say?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhemanehe?</td>
<td>Did we (excl) say?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhemanehe?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) say?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhemanehe?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) say?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhevohe?</td>
<td>Did they say?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónééšemésehe?</td>
<td>Did you already eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéhááña?</td>
<td>Are you hungry?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéstsenoménë?</td>
<td>Will you drink (something heated, especially coffee)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónémóévéºhö’éhoe?</td>
<td>Did you just get back?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móéháomóhtahë?</td>
<td>Is he sick?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó’sé‘tõhe?</td>
<td>Did he sing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó-tse‘tõhe?78</td>
<td>This one?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó-néhe?</td>
<td>You mean that one?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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?
Nésáa'ovëšenåhehe? Didn't you go to bed?
Nésáahotse'óhehehe? Didn't you work?
Nésáanaoötsëhehehe? Didn't you (pl) sleep?
Ésátahpetåhehe? Isn't he big?

mó- prefix negative questions

Mónésáa'ëšemëhehe? Didn't you eat yet?
Mó'ésáa'ovëšenåo'o? Didn't they go to bed?
Mó'ëšaanaoëmenëo'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 /-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

-**mane 'drink'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mómanéhēhe</td>
<td>I must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónémanéhēhe</td>
<td>You must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mómanéhēhe</td>
<td>He must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mómanéhevōhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónamanéhemanēhe</td>
<td>We (excl) must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónemanéhemanēhe</td>
<td>We (incl) must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónemanéhemēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mómanéhevōhe</td>
<td>They must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-/**háeaná/ 'be hungry'*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónáháeanahēhe</td>
<td>I must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéháeanahēhe</td>
<td>You must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháeanahēhe</td>
<td>He must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháeanhevōhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónaháeánahemanēhe</td>
<td>We (excl) must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéháeánahemanēhe</td>
<td>We (incl) must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháeánahemēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháeánhevōhe</td>
<td>They must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-/**háéená/ 'pray'*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónáháóéenahēhe</td>
<td>I must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéháóéenahēhe</td>
<td>You must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháóéenahēhe</td>
<td>He must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháoéenhevōhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónaháóéenahemanēhe</td>
<td>We (excl) must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéháóéenahemanēhe</td>
<td>We (incl) must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháóéenahemēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháoéenhevōhe</td>
<td>They must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-/**táhoe/ 'ride'*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónátáhoehehe</td>
<td>I must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónétáhoehehe</td>
<td>You must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mótáhoehehe</td>
<td>He must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mótáhoehevōhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónátáhoehanēhe</td>
<td>We (excl) must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónétáhoehanēhe</td>
<td>We (incl) must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móntáhoehemēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mótáhoehevōhe</td>
<td>They must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónánēhehēhe</td>
<td>I must have said that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēnēhehēhe</td>
<td>You must have said that.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móhehēhe</td>
<td>He must have said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móhehevōhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónāhehemanēhe??</td>
<td>We (excl) must have said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēhehemanēhe??</td>
<td>We (incl) must have said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēhehemēhe??</td>
<td>You (pl) must have said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móhehevōhe</td>
<td>They must have said.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Inferential pitch template**

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

**Animate Intransitive Negative Inferential verbs**

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

**-mésehe 'eat'**

| (Mó)ho'nómēsēhēto | I must not have eaten.          |
| (Mó)ho'nómēseheto | You must not have eaten.        |
| (Mó)ho'nómēseestse | He must not have eaten.        |
| (Mó)ho'nómēsēhetsēstse | He (obv) must not have eaten. |
| (Mó)ho'nómēsēhētse | We must not have eaten.         |
| (Mó)ho'nómēsēhēse | You (pl) must not have eaten.   |
| (Mó)ho'nómēsēhēvōhtse | They must not have eaten.      |

**-mane 'drink'**

| (Mó)ho'nómanēto | I must not have drunk.          |
| (Mó)ho'nómaneto | You must not have drunk.        |
| (Mó)ho'nómanēstse | He must not have drunk.        |
| (Mó)ho'nómanetsēstse | He (obv) must not have drunk.  |
| (Mó)ho'nómanētse | We must not have drunk.         |
| (Mó)ho'nómanēse | You (pl) must not have drunk.   |
| (Mó)ho'nómanēvōhtse | They must not have drunk.      |

---

80 Mónánēhehēhe, with the anaphoric preverb nē-, sounds more natural than Mónāhehēhe. Móhehēhe, with a third person subject and without that preverb, does sound natural.

81 Cheyenne ho'nó- appears to function parallel to Cree pwaaw, which, like ho'nó-, only occurs with conjunct order verbs.

82 There is no distinction in conjunct verbs between inclusive 'we' and exclusive 'we'.
Animate Intransitive Reportative verbs

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

-**mésehe 'eat'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I am said to have eaten.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náméséhémáse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméséhémáse</td>
<td>You are said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméséheséstse</td>
<td>He is said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméséhesesto</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméséhémánése</td>
<td>We (excl) are said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméséhémánése</td>
<td>We (incl) are said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméséhémése</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméséhesesto</td>
<td>They are said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-**mane 'drink'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I am said to have drunk.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námanémáse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némanémáse</td>
<td>You are said to have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émaneséstse</td>
<td>He is said to have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émanésesto</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námanémánése</td>
<td>We (excl) are said to have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némanémánése</td>
<td>We (incl) are said to have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némanémése</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émanésesto</td>
<td>They are said to have drunk.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-**he/ 'say'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I am said to have said.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhémáse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhémáse</td>
<td>You are said to have said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheséstse</td>
<td>He is said to have said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhésesto</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to have said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhémánése</td>
<td>We (excl) are said to have said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhémánése</td>
<td>We (incl) are said to have said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhémése</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have said.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhésesto</td>
<td>They are said to have said.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Animate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I am said to have not eaten.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáaméséhémáse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhémáse</td>
<td>You are said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséheséstse</td>
<td>He is said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhesesto</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaméséhémánése</td>
<td>We (excl) are said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhémánése</td>
<td>We (incl) are said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhémése</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhesesto</td>
<td>They are said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.
- Éhnáehoo’o He died.
- Éhnáehoono They died.
- Éhnna’éhoo’o He doctored.
- Éhnna’éhoono They doctored.
- Éhméséhéhoo’o He ate.
- Éhméséhéhoono They ate.
- Éxhéhoo’o He said.
- Éxhéhoono They said.

Animate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs

-́Éssáánénéhéhoo’o He did not sing
-́Éssáánénéhéhoono They did not sing.
-́Éssáahonónéhéhoo’o He did not bake
-́Éssáahonónéhéhoono They did not bake.
-́Éssáaháoenáhéhoo’o He did not pray.
-́Éssáaháoenáhéhoono They did not pray.
-́Éssáaháeanáhéhoo’o He was not hungry.
-́Éssáaháeanáhéhoono They were not hungry.
-́Éssáahovánéhéhoo’o He was not gone.
-́Éssáahovánéhéhoono They were not gone.
-́Éssáanaehéhéhoo’o He did not die.
-́Éssáanaehéhéhoono They did not die.
-́Éssáanaa’éhéhéhoo’o He did not doctor.
-́Éssáanaa’éhéhoono They did not doctor.
-́Éssáméséhéhéhoo’o He did not eat.
-́Éssáméséhéhéhoono They did not eat.
-́Éssáahéhéhoo’o He did not say.
-́Éssáahéhéhoono 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/83. 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’éstse!</td>
<td>Ho’soo’e!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to bed!</td>
<td>Táchéovēšéstse!</td>
<td>Táchéovēše!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pray!</td>
<td>Háóénahstse!</td>
<td>Háóéna!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing!</td>
<td>Néménéstse!</td>
<td>Néméne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work!</td>
<td>Hotse’óestse!</td>
<td>Hotse’ohe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get up!</td>
<td>Tō’éstse!</td>
<td>Tō’e!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be happy!</td>
<td>Pēhévetānohtse!</td>
<td>Pēhévetāno!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look!</td>
<td>Tséhetőó’óhtse!</td>
<td>Tséhetőó’óhe!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Animate Intransitive Delayed Imperative

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>command one person</th>
<th>command persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eat (later)!</td>
<td>Méséheo’o!</td>
<td>Méséhéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit down (later)!</td>
<td>Háméstoo’eo’o!</td>
<td>Háméstoehéne!$$RECHECK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance (later)!</td>
<td>Ho’sóeo’o!</td>
<td>Ho’sóéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to bed (later)</td>
<td>Táchéovēšenao’o’o</td>
<td>Táchéovēšenahéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pray (later)!</td>
<td>Háóenao’o’o!</td>
<td>Háóénahéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing (later)!</td>
<td>Néménéo’o’o!</td>
<td>Néménéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work (later)!</td>
<td>Hotse’óheo’o’o!</td>
<td>Hotse’óhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get up (later)!</td>
<td>To’eo’o’o!</td>
<td>To’éhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be happy (later)!</td>
<td>Pēhévetanoo’o’o!</td>
<td>Pēhévetanóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look (later)!</td>
<td>Tséhetőó’oo’o’o!</td>
<td>Tséhetőó’óhe!</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 state what you want a single person to do. Or it can state what you want more than one person to do. We can translate Cheyenne hortatives with the English words "Let him (or her, or them) _____!" where the blank space is filled in whatever it is we want him (or her, or them) to do.

hortatives said about one person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ho' sóéha!</td>
<td>Let him dance!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Méséheha!</td>
<td>Let him eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Táchéovëšenaha!</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'oheha!</td>
<td>Let him work!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hortatives said about more than one person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ho' sóevoha!</td>
<td>Let them dance!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Méséhëvoha!</td>
<td>Let them eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Táchéovënávoha!</td>
<td>Let them go to bed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némenëvoha!</td>
<td>Let them sing!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotse'ohevoha!</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:

hortatives said about one person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sáaho’sóéheha!</td>
<td>Don’t let him dance!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáaméséhéheha!</td>
<td>Don’t let him eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tásáa'ovëšenáheha!</td>
<td>Don’t let him go to bed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáanëmenëheha!</td>
<td>Don’t let him sing!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáahotse'oheheha!</td>
<td>Don’t let him work!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

hortatives said about more than one person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sáaho’sóehëvoha!</td>
<td>Don’t let them dance!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáaméséhéhevoha!</td>
<td>Don’t let them eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tásáahëovëšenáhevoha!</td>
<td>Don’t let them go to bed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáanëmenëhevoha!</td>
<td>Don’t let them sing!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sáahotse'ohehevoha!</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>Verbal Stem</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
<th>Equative Stem</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éhó’ta.</td>
<td>It's (there).</td>
<td>Ého’tánéstse.</td>
<td>They are (there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épêhéva’e.</td>
<td>It's good.</td>
<td>Épêhéva’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhávésea’e.</td>
<td>It's bad.</td>
<td>Éhávésea’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étâhpé’o.</td>
<td>It's big.</td>
<td>Étâhpé’ónéstse.</td>
<td>They are big.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étsêské’o.</td>
<td>It's small.</td>
<td>Étsêské’ónéstse.</td>
<td>They are small.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éséso.</td>
<td>It's the same.</td>
<td>Éséso’néstse.</td>
<td>They are the same.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého’éeto.</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>Épêh.</td>
<td>It's wet.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émótš.</td>
<td>It's a knife.</td>
<td>Émótšékévéno’énéstse.</td>
<td>They taste good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émú.</td>
<td>It's a trail/road.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émâ.</td>
<td>It's a trail/road.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émótšéškeve.</td>
<td>It's a knife.</td>
<td>Émótšéškévéno’énéstse.</td>
<td>They taste good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehe’eve.84</td>
<td>It is liver.</td>
<td>Ehe’événo’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are livers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheséebtseve.</td>
<td>It is medicine.</td>
<td>Éheséebtsevéno’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are medicines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émo’êškoneve.85</td>
<td>It is a ring.</td>
<td>Émo’êškonevéno’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are rings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméoneve.</td>
<td>It is a trail/road.</td>
<td>Éméonevéno’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are trails/roads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméta’xe.</td>
<td>It is a scalpel.</td>
<td>Éméta’xevéno’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are scalps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émo’kéhanéve.</td>
<td>It is a shoe.</td>
<td>Émo’kéhanévéno’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are shoes.</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 máheō’o means 'house'. If this noun stem is incorporated into the equative verb frame, the result is émáheōneve which means 'it is a house'. Equative verbs can be pluralized like other II verbs. So émáheōnevéno’énéstse 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>Verbal Stem</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
<th>Equative Stem</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émótšéškeve.</td>
<td>It is a knife.</td>
<td>Émótšéškévéno’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are knives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ehe’eve.84</td>
<td>It is liver.</td>
<td>Ehe’événo’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are livers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheséebtseve.</td>
<td>It is medicine.</td>
<td>Éheséebtsevéno’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are medicines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émo’êškoneve.85</td>
<td>It is a ring.</td>
<td>Émo’êškonevéno’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are rings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméoneve.</td>
<td>It is a trail/road.</td>
<td>Éméonevéno’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are trails/roads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméta’xe.</td>
<td>It is a scalpel.</td>
<td>Éméta’xevéno’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are scalps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émo’kéhanéve.</td>
<td>It is a shoe.</td>
<td>Émo’kéhanévéno’énéstse.</td>
<td>They are shoes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

84 This sounds the same as Ehe’eve 'she is a woman'.
85 This sounds the same as Émo’êškoneve 'it (animate) is a finger'.

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**Impersonals**

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

| Émanéstove. | There is drinking. | Émanéstovénstse. | There are drinkings. |
| Éméséhéstove. | There is eating. | Éméséhéstovénstse. | There are eatings. |
| Éháeanáhtove. | There is hungering. | Éháeanáhtovénstse. | There are hungerings. |
| Éháoenáhtove. | There is praying. | Éháoenáhtovénstse. | There are prayers. |
| Énemenéstove. | There is singing. | Énemenéstovénstse. | There are singings. |
| Esévanóhtove. | There is sliding. | Ésévanóhtovénstse. | There are slidings. |
| Éhenove. | It is said.?? | Éhenóvénstse.?? | ?? |
| Éhestohe.?? | ?? | Éhestóhénstse.?? | ?? |

**Impersonals with reflexive/reciprocal stems**

Transitive Animate (TA) reflexives and reciprocals\(^{86}\) 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. |
| Éméhohtáhtséstove. | There is love for themselves/one another. |
| Éoó'evótáhtseo'o. | They argued with each other. |
| Éoó'evótáhtséstove. | There is arguing with each other. |

**Inanimate Intransitive Independent Indicative relational verbs**

Unlike animate nouns, inanimate nouns with third person possessors are not marked for obviation. However, II verbs which have subjects possessed by third persons act like they are marked for obviation. But there are some important differences between animate obviation and what could be called inanimate obviation. Because of these differences, those who study Algonquian languages differ on whether to use the label inanimate obviation\(^{87}\). Some prefer, instead, to call the "obviated" II verbs relational verbs\(^{88}\). 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:

```
Namȧhē'o étāhpe'è 'My house is big'; Hemȧhē'o étāhpe'otse 'His house is big (rel).'
Neamȧhȧ'hestōtse émȧ'o 'Your car is red'; Heamȧhȧ'hestōtse émȧ'otse 'His car is red (rel).'
Nămȧx'estoo'o éhō'ä'ta 'My book is here'; Hemȧx'e'estoo'o éhō'tatse 'His book is here (rel).'
```

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

```
Namaaha évōhko 'My arrow is bent.'
Hemaaha évōhktse '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 nonāmē'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>English</th>
<th>Yei'ii</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is not (here)</td>
<td>It is not (here)</td>
<td>They are not (here).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not good</td>
<td>Épēhéva'ēhanehótse.</td>
<td>They are not good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not bad</td>
<td>Ésāahavēsēva'ēhanehótse.</td>
<td>They are not bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not big</td>
<td>Ésāatāhpe'ōhanehótse.</td>
<td>They are not big.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not small</td>
<td>Ésāatsēške'ōhanehótse.</td>
<td>They are not small.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not the same</td>
<td>Ésāaséesōhanehótse.</td>
<td>They are not the same.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not snowing</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not raining</td>
<td>----</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not white</td>
<td>Ésāāvō'komōhanehótse.</td>
<td>They are not white.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not yellow</td>
<td>Ésāahēvōhanehótse.</td>
<td>They are not yellow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not red</td>
<td>Ésāama'ōhanehótse.</td>
<td>They are not red.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not dry</td>
<td>Ésāā'ō'ōhanehótse.</td>
<td>They are not dry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not wet</td>
<td>Ésāāhe'kōvāhanehótse.</td>
<td>They are not wet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not heavy</td>
<td>Ésāahāenāntōhán</td>
<td>They are not heavy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's not sharp</td>
<td>Ésāā'ēstovōhanehótse.</td>
<td>They are not sharp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It tastes good</td>
<td>Ésāapēhēveéno'énéstse.**</td>
<td>They do not taste good.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impersonal Negative verbs**

Impersonals may be negated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is not eating</td>
<td>Ésāamésēhéstovēhane.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are not eatings</td>
<td>Ésāamésēhéstovēhanehótse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is not hungering</td>
<td>Ésāahāeanáhtovēhane.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There are not hungerings</td>
<td>Ésāahāeanáhtovēhanehótse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is not said.</td>
<td>Ésāahenóvēhane.**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is not loving each other</td>
<td>Ésāaméhotáhtséstovēhane.</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 namāhēō'o ésāama'ōhán 'my house is not red'. But if there is a third person possessor, the verb is marked as relational: hemāhēō'o ésāama'ōhanēhetse 'his house is not red (rel)'. Some other examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is not (here) (rel).</td>
<td>Ésāaho'táhanēhetse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They are not (here) (rel)</td>
<td>Ésāaho'táhanēhenetótse.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ésáheóvóhanéhetse. It is not yellow (rel).
Ésáheóvóhanéhenetótse. They are not yellow (rel).

Ésáapéhëva'ëhanéhetse. It is not good (rel).
Ésáapéhëva'ëhanéhenetótse. They are not good (rel).

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

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

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

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

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

**Inanimate Intransitive Interrogative verbs**

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

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

**-he suffix II Interrogative verbs**

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

Épëhëva'e. It's good.
Épëhëva'ënëstse. They are good.

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

Épëhëva'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 –pëhëva'e, plural suffixation, plus the interrogative suffix –he. Here is the phonemic spelling of all these parts:

/é-pëhëva'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:

Épêhéva'enevotse? Are they good?

Some other II interogatives are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Spelling</th>
<th>Relational Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tahe?</td>
<td>Is it (there)?</td>
<td>Ého'tanevotse? Are they (there)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étähpe'ohe?</td>
<td>Is it big?</td>
<td>Étähpe'onevotse? Are they big?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'éetohe?</td>
<td>Did it snow?</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo'kôhohe?</td>
<td>Did it rain?</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évó'komohe?</td>
<td>Is it white?</td>
<td>Évó'komonevotse? Are they white?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheóvohe?</td>
<td>Is it yellow?</td>
<td>Éheóvenotse? Are they yellow?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhávésēva'ehe?</td>
<td>Is it bad?</td>
<td>Éhávésēva'enevotse? Are they bad?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éó'ohe?</td>
<td>Is it dry?</td>
<td>Éó'onevotse? Are they dry?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma'ohe?</td>
<td>Is it red?</td>
<td>Ema'onevotse? Are they red?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éstotovehe?</td>
<td>Is it sharp?</td>
<td>Éstovonevotse? Are they sharp?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émanéstovehe?</td>
<td>Is there drinking?</td>
<td>Émanéstovenevotse? Are there drinkings?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êmësëhëstovehe?</td>
<td>Is there eating?</td>
<td>Êmësëhëstovenevotse? Are there eatings?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhâanâhtovehe?</td>
<td>Is there hungering?</td>
<td>Êhâanâhtovenevotse? Are there hungerings?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êháoenâhtovehe?</td>
<td>Is there praying?</td>
<td>Êháoenâhtovenevotse? Are there praying?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

Nemôxe'estoo'o ého'tahe? Is your book there?
Hemôxe'estoo'o ého'tatsehe? Is his book there (rel)?
Hemôxe'estoonôtse ého'tanetsevotse? Are his books there (rel)?
Éhâanâhtovetsehe? Is there hungering (rel)?
Éháanâhtovenevotsevotse? Are there hungerings (rel)?

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Êsáahoe'tâhananehe?</td>
<td>Isn't it (there)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êsáahoe'tâhanevotse?</td>
<td>Aren't they (there)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êsâapêhéva'êhananehe?</td>
<td>Isn't it good?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êsâapêhéva'êhanevotse?</td>
<td>Aren't they good?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êsâatâhpe'ôhananehe?</td>
<td>Isn't it big?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êsâatâhpe'ôhanevotse?</td>
<td>Aren't they big?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êsâahoe'êtôhananehe?</td>
<td>Isn't it snowing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êsâahoo'kôhôhananehe?</td>
<td>Isn't it raining?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanehe? Isn’t there hunger?
Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanevotse? Aren’t there hungerings?

**Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative relational verbs**

Ésáaho'táhanéhetsethe? Isn’t his __ (there) (rel)?
Ésáaho'táhanéhetotsethe? Aren’t his __ (there) (rel)?

Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetsethe? Isn’t his __ good (rel)?
Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetotsethe? Aren’t his __ good (rel)?

Ésáahéóvohanéhetsethe? Isn’t his __ yellow (rel)?
Ésáahéóvohanéhetotsethe? Aren’t his __ yellow (rel)?

Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanéhetsethe? Isn’t there hungering (rel)?
Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanéhetotsethe? Aren’t there hungerings (rel)?

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

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

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

Mó'ésáapéhéva'êhane? Isn’t it good?
Mó'ésáapéhéva'êhanéhótse? Aren’t they good?

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

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

Mó'ého'édeto? Is it snowing?
Mó'émësëhéstove? Is there eating?

**Inanimate Intransitive Inferential verbs**

Mópëhéva'ëhanéhe. It must be good.
Mópëhéva'ëhanévótse. They must be good.

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

Móheóvohanéhe. It must be yellow.
Móheóvohanévótse. They must be yellow.

Móhoo'kóhóhanéhe. It must have rained.
Móméséhestovéhanēhe. There must have been eating.
Móméséhestovéhanevōtse. There must have been eatings.

Inanimate Intransitive Inferential relational verbs
Heamáho’héstotōtse móma’óhanetsēhe. His car must be red (rel).
Heamáho’héstotōtse móma’óhanetsévōtse. His cars must be red (rel).
Hemóxe’estoo’o mópēhéva’ēhanetsēhe. His book must be good (rel).
Hemóxe’estōonōtse mőpēhéva’ēhanetsévōtse. His books must be good (rel).
Hemāhēō’o móheōvōhanetsēhe. His house must be yellow (rel).
Hemāheonōtse móheōvōhanetsévōtse. His houses must be yellow (rel).

Inanimate Intransitive Reportative verbs
Ého’tánese. It's said to be (here/there).
Ého’tánésestōtse. They are said to be (here/there).
Éhoo’kohónése. It's said to be raining.
Évóhkônése. It's said to be bent.
Évóhkônésestōtse. They are said to be bent.
Éma’ónése. It's said to be red.
Éma’ónésestōtse. They are said to be red.
Éheòvónése. It's said to be yellow.
Éheòvónésestōtse. They are said to be yellow.
Épēhéva’énése. It's said to be good.
Épēhéva’énésestōtse. They are said to be good.
Émésèhéstovenése. It's said there is eating.
Émésèhéstovenésestōtse. It's said there are eatings.

Inanimate Intransitive Reportative relational verbs
Ého’tátsénése. It's said his ___ is (here/there) (rel).
Ého’tátsenésestōtse. It's said his ___ are (here/there) (rel).
Évóhkótésénése. It's said his ___ is bent (rel).
Évóhkotsenésestōtse. It's said his ___ are bent (rel).
Éma’ótsénése. It's said his ___ is red (rel).
Éma’ótsenésestōtse. It's said his ___ are red (rel).
Éheóvótsénése. It's said his ___ is yellow (rel).
$$Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal construction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’táhanéhénése.</td>
<td>It's said it is not (here/there).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’táhanéhenéséstótse.</td>
<td>It's said they are not (here/there).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahoo’kóhóhanéhénése.</td>
<td>It's said it's not raining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva’éhanéhénése.</td>
<td>It's said it's not good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva’éhanéhenéséstótse.</td>
<td>It's said they are not good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhéóstovéhanéhénése.</td>
<td>It's said there is not eating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhéöstovéhanéhenéséstótse.</td>
<td>It's said there are not eatings.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$$Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative relational verbs$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal construction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’táhanéhetotsénése.</td>
<td>It's said his ___ isn't (here/there) (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’táhanéhetotséséstótse.</td>
<td>It's said his ___ aren't (here/there) (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahoo’kóhóhanéhetotsénése.</td>
<td>It's said it's not raining (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva’éhanéhetotsénése.</td>
<td>It's said his ___ is not good (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva’éhanéhetotséséstótse.</td>
<td>It's said his ___ are not good (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhééstovéhanéhetotsénése.</td>
<td>It's said there isn't eating (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhééstovéhanéhtotséséstótse.</td>
<td>It's said there aren't eatings (rel).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$$Inanimate Intransitive Preterit verbs$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal construction</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ého’táneho!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, it's (here/there)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého’tánéhoonótse!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, they are (here/there)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo’kóhóneho!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, it's raining!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épéhéva'éneho!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, it's good!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épéhéva’énéhoonótse!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, they are good!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméséhééstoveneho!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, there is eating!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.’
Inanimate Intransitive Preterit relational verbs
Ého'tátsenéheneho! Surprisingly, his ___ is (here/there) (rel)!
Ého'tátsenéhooñónötse! Surprisingly, his ___ are (here/there) (rel)!
Éhoo'kóhótsenéheneho! Surprisingly, it's raining (rel)!
Épëhéva'êtsenëheneho! Surprisingly, his ___ is good (rel)!
Épëhéva'êtsënhoonónötse! Surprisingly, his ___ are good (rel)!
Émésëhëstovetsënëheneho! Surprisingly, there is eating (rel)!
Émésëhëstovetsënëñoñótse! Surprisingly, there are eatings (rel)!

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs
Ésáaho'táhanéhëheneho! Surprisingly, it's not (here/there)!
Ésáaho'táhanéhënëhooñónötse! Surprisingly, they are not (here/there)!
Ésáahoo'kóhóhanëhëheneho! Surprisingly, it's not raining!
Ésáapëhéva'ëhanëhëheneho! Surprisingly, it's not good!
Ésáapëhéva'ëhanëhënëhooñónötse! Surprisingly, they are not good!
Ésámësëhëstovëhëhanëhëheneho! Surprisingly, there is not eating!
Ésámësëhëstovëhëhënëhooñónötse! Surprisingly, there are not eatings!

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit relative verbs
Ésáaho'táhanëhëhtotsënëheneho! Surprisingly, his ___ is not (here/there) (rel)!
Ésáaho'táhanëhëhtotsënëhooñónötse! Surprisingly, his ___ are not (here/there) (rel)!
Ésáahoo'kóhóhanëhëhtotsënëheneho! Surprisingly, it isn't raining (rel)!
Ésáapëhéva'ëhanëhëhtotsënëheneho! Surprisingly, his ___ isn't good (rel)!
Ésáapëhéva'ëhanëhëhtotsënëhooñónötse! Surprisingly, his ___ aren't good (rel)!
Ésámësëhëstovëhëhanëhëhtotsënëheneho! Surprisingly, there is not eating (rel)!
Ésámësëhëstovëhëhënëhooñónötse! 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)'

návóomahtse I saw myself  návóomamah návóomamah návóomamah
névóómatse I saw you  névóómatse névóómatse névóómatse
návóómo I saw him  névóómemo névóómemo névóómemo
návóómomóho I saw him (obv)  návóómomóho návóómomóho návóómomóho
návóomatsême I saw you (pl)  návóomatsême návóomatsême návóomatsême
návóomoo'ò I saw them  návóomoo'ò návóomoo'ò návóomoo'ò

névóome you saw me  névóome névóome névóome
névóomahtse you saw yourself  névóomahtse névóomahtse névóomahtse
névóómo you saw him  névóómo névóómo névóómo
névóómomóho you saw him (obv)  névóómomóho névóómomóho névóómomóho
névóómemeno you saw us (excl)  névóómemeno névóómemeno névóómemeno
névóoomoo'ò you saw them  névóoomoo'ò névóoomoo'ò névóoomoo'ò

návóoma he saw me  návóoma návóoma návóoma
névóóma he saw you  névóóma névóóma névóóma
évóomahtse he saw himself  évóomahtse évóomahtse évóomahtse
évóómo he saw him (obv)  évóómo évóómo évóómo
návóómaa'è he saw us (excl)  návóómaa'è návóómaa'è návóómaa'è
návóóma he saw us (incl)  návóóma návóóma návóóma
návóomaēvo he saw you (pl)  návóomaēvo návóomaēvo návóomaēvo
návóomaetsenoto he (obv) saw me  návóomaetsenoto návóomaetsenoto návóomaetsenoto
návóomaetsenoto he (obv) saw you  návóomaetsenoto návóomaetsenoto návóomaetsenoto
évóomaa'è he (obv) saw him  évóomaa'è évóomaa'è évóomaa'è
évóómahtóho he (obv) saw himself  évóómahtóho évóómahtóho évóómahtóho
návóómaetsenone he (obv) saw us (excl)  návóómaetsenone návóómaetsenone návóómaetsenone
návóómaetsenone he (obv) saw us (incl)  návóómaetsenone návóómaetsenone návóómaetsenone
 évóómaevóho he (obv) saw them  évóómaevóho évóómaevóho évóómaevóho
návóomatemeno we (excl) saw you  návóomatemeno návóomatemeno návóomatemeno
návóoméne we (excl) saw him  návóoméne návóoméne návóoméne
névóomamone we (excl) saw him (obv)  névóomamone névóomamone névóomamone
névóómahtsême we (excl) saw ourselves  névóómahtsême névóómahtsême névóómahtsême
névóomatemeno we (excl) saw you (pl)  névóomatemeno névóomatemeno névóomatemeno
névóoméne we (excl) saw them  névóoméne névóoméne névóoméne

névóomone we (incl) saw him  névóomone névóomone névóomone
névóomamone we (incl) saw him (obv)  névóomamone névóomamone névóomamone
névóómahtsema we (incl) saw ourselves  névóómahtsema névóómahtsema névóómahtsema
névóoméne we (incl) saw them  névóoméne névóoméne névóoméne

névóomême you (pl) saw me  névóomême névóomême névóomême

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, nonámē'tó'e, can precede this verb so that it will only mean 'they saw each other'.
/méót/ 'fight (someone)'

The stem-final "t" (from PA *θ) of /méót/ becomes "x" before "e" in second person subject local forms. The stem-final "t" becomes "h" before "e" in the passive forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náméotatse</td>
<td>I fought myself</td>
<td>néméótóvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotatse</td>
<td>I fought you</td>
<td>néméotamovo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotato</td>
<td>I fought him</td>
<td>néméoxemeno</td>
<td>you (pl) fought us (excl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotamóho</td>
<td>I fought him (obv)</td>
<td>néméotáhtséme</td>
<td>you (pl) fought yourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotatsêmë</td>
<td>I fought you (pl)</td>
<td>néméotovoo'o</td>
<td>you (pl) fought them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotoo'o</td>
<td>I fought them</td>
<td>náméótáá'e</td>
<td>they fought me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméoxe</td>
<td>you fought me</td>
<td>néméótáá'e</td>
<td>they fought you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotahhtse</td>
<td>you fought yourself</td>
<td>eméotovo</td>
<td>they fought (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméoto</td>
<td>you fought him</td>
<td>néméotaene'o</td>
<td>they fought us (excl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotamóho</td>
<td>you fought him (obv)</td>
<td>néméotaene'o</td>
<td>they fought us (incl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméoxemeno</td>
<td>you fought us (excl)</td>
<td>néméotaevoo'o</td>
<td>they fought you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotoo'o</td>
<td>you fought them</td>
<td>éméotâhtseo'o</td>
<td>they fought themselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméota</td>
<td>he fought me</td>
<td>náméotáne</td>
<td>I was fought</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméota</td>
<td>he fought you</td>
<td>náméotáne</td>
<td>you were fought</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éméotahhtse</td>
<td>he fought himself</td>
<td>eméöhe</td>
<td>he was fought</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éméótóho</td>
<td>he fought him (obv)</td>
<td>náméotanëme</td>
<td>we (excl) were fought</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotáne</td>
<td>he fought us (excl)</td>
<td>náméotanëme</td>
<td>we (incl) were fought</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotaene</td>
<td>he fought us (incl)</td>
<td>náméotanëme</td>
<td>you (pl) were fought</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotáëvo</td>
<td>he fought you (pl)</td>
<td>éméöhe'o</td>
<td>they were fought</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotaetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) fought me</td>
<td>náméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotaetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) fought you</td>
<td>náméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éméótáëvo'e</td>
<td>he (obv) fought him</td>
<td>náméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éméótáhtóho</td>
<td>he (obv) fought himself</td>
<td>náméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought ourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotaetsenone</td>
<td>he (obv) fought us (excl)</td>
<td>náméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotaetsenone</td>
<td>he (obv) fought us (incl)</td>
<td>éméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought themselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotaetsenōvo</td>
<td>he (obv) fought you (pl)</td>
<td>éméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotatsemeno</td>
<td>we (ex) fought you</td>
<td>náméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotônë</td>
<td>we (ex) fought him</td>
<td>náméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotamone</td>
<td>we (ex) fought him (obv)</td>
<td>náméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought ourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotāhtséme</td>
<td>we (ex) fought ourselves</td>
<td>náméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotatsemeno</td>
<td>we (ex) fought you (pl)</td>
<td>náméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotone</td>
<td>we (incl) fought him</td>
<td>náméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotamone</td>
<td>we (incl) fought him (obv)</td>
<td>náméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotáhtsema</td>
<td>we (incl) fought ourselves</td>
<td>náméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought themselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotone'o</td>
<td>we (incl) fought them</td>
<td>náméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméóxëme</td>
<td>you (pl) fought me</td>
<td>náméotáëvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

91 The Cheyenne stem /-méót/ reflects PA *mi:ka:θ.
92 Some speakers pronounce this as éméoto because the stem-final vowel is high pitched.
93 Or ‘they fought each other’
/-het/ 'tell (someone)'

The stem-final "t" of /-het/ becomes "š" before "e" in second person subject local forms. The stem changes to /-hestóh/ in the third person passive forms.

náhetaḥtse  I told myself  néhetóvo'o  you (pl) told them
néhetatse  I told you  náhetáa'e  they told me
náhéto  I told him  náhetáa'e  they told you
náhetamóho  I told him (obv)  éhetovo  they told him (obv)
néhetatséme  I told you (pl)  náhetaeño'o  they told us (excl)
náhetoo'o  I told them  náhetaeño'o  they told us (incl)

néheše  you told me  néhetáne  you were told
néhetaḥtse  you told yourself  éhestohe  he was told
néhéto  you told him  náhetanēme  we (excl) were told
néhetamóho  you told him (obv)  néhetanēme  we (incl) were told
néhešemenó  you told us (excl)  néhetanēme  you (pl) were told
néhetoo'ó  you told them  éhestóhe'o  they were told

náheta  he told me  náhetáa'e  they told me
néheta  he told you  néhetáa'e  they told you
éhetahṭse  he told himself  éhetovo  they told him (obv)
ácheto  he told him (obv)  náhetanēme  we (excl) were told
néhetaēne  he told us (excl)  néhetanēme  we (incl) were told
néhetaēvo  he told you (pl)  néhetanēme  you (pl) were told

néhetaetsenoto  he (obv) told me  éhetaetsenoto  he (obv) told you
néhetaetsenoto  he (obv) told you  éhetaetsenoto  he (obv) told him
echétahtóho  he (obv) told himself  néhetaetsenone  he (obv) told us (excl)
néhetaetsenone  he (obv) told us (excl)  néhetaetsenévo  he (obv) told you (pl)
éhetaetsenōvo  he (obv) told them  éhetaetsenōvo  they were told
	néhetaṭsemenó  we (excl) told you  néhetóne  we (excl) told him
náhetóne  we (excl) told him  náhetamone  we (ex) told him (obv)
náhetaḥtséme  we (ex) told ourselves  néhetamone  we (ex) told him (obv)
néhetaṭsenōno  we (ex) told you (pl)  néhetaḥtsema  we (in) told ourselves
néhetał̣neo'o  we (excl) told them  néhetaḥtsema  we (in) told ourselves

néheṣ̌eme  you (pl) told me  néheto  you (pl) told him
néheto'o  you (pl) told him  néheto  you (pl) told him (obv)
néhešemenó  you (pl) told us (excl)  néheto  you (pl) told them
néhetahtṣeme  you (pl) told yourselves  néheto  you (pl) told them

94 Or 'they told each other'
/ə'tas/ 'accidentally cut (someone)'

The stem-final "s" (from PA *š) of /ə'tas/ becomes "x" before "e". First person subject local forms, as well as reciprocal/reflexive forms, take suffixes that begin with "e" rather than the usual "a".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>néa'taxestse</td>
<td>I acc. cut myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néa'xéstse</td>
<td>I acc. cut you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'tása95</td>
<td>I acc. cut him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'taxamóho</td>
<td>I acc. cut him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'taxetséme</td>
<td>I acc. cut you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'tasoo'o</td>
<td>I acc. cut them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néa'taxe</td>
<td>you acc. cut me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néa'taxestse</td>
<td>you acc. cut yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néa'táso</td>
<td>you acc. cut him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'taxamóho</td>
<td>you acc. cut him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'taxemenon</td>
<td>you acc. cut us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'tasoo'o</td>
<td>you acc. cut them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néa'taxe</td>
<td>he acc. cut me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néa'taxe96</td>
<td>he acc. cut you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éā'taxestse</td>
<td>he acc. cut himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éā'tásóho</td>
<td>he acc. cut him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'taxeēne</td>
<td>he acc. cut us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'taxene</td>
<td>he acc. cut us (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'taxeēvo</td>
<td>he acc. cut you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'taxeetsenono</td>
<td>he (obv) acc. cut me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'taxeetsenone</td>
<td>he (obv) acc. cut you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éā'taxeē'e</td>
<td>he (obv) acc. cut him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éā'taxéstóho</td>
<td>he (obv) acc. cut himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'taxeetsenono</td>
<td>he (obv) acc. cut us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'taxeetsenone</td>
<td>he (obv) acc. cut us (in)</td>
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<tr>
<td>náā'taxeetsenōvo</td>
<td>he (obv) acc. cut you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éā'taxeévōho</td>
<td>he (obv) acc. cut them</td>
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<tr>
<td>náā'taxetsemeno</td>
<td>we (ex) acc. cut you</td>
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<tr>
<td>náā'tásóne</td>
<td>we (ex) acc. cut him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'taxamone</td>
<td>we (ex) acc. cut him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'taxetsemene</td>
<td>we (ex) acc. cut ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'tasóneo'o</td>
<td>we (ex) acc. cut you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'tásóne</td>
<td>we (in) acc. cut him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'taxamone</td>
<td>we (in) acc. cut him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'taxéstsema</td>
<td>we (in) acc. cut ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náā'tásóneo'o</td>
<td>we (in) acc. cut them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

95 This is phonemically /náā'tásó/. It reflects PA *nepeʔtešwa:wa.
96 This is pronounced the same as the verb meaning 'you accidentally cut me'.
-vovéstomev 'teach (someone)'

The stem-final "-ev" of verb stems, such as –vovéstomev, contracts to "őe" word-medially in the inverse voice. The "e" of "-ev" becomes high-pitched before a word-medial "a".

návovéstomévahtse  I taught myself
návovéstomevátse  I taught you
návovéstomévo  I taught him
návovéstomévamóho  I taught him (obv)
návovéstomévétséme  I taught you (pl)
návovéstomevoo'o  I taught them

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

návovéstomeva  he taught me
návovéstomeva  he taught you
evévóstomévahtse  he taught himself
evévóstomévóho  he taught him (obv)
návovéstomóme ne  he taught us (excl)
névévóstomévo  he taught you (pl)
návovéstomóetsenoto he (obv) taught me
návovéstomóetsenoto he (obv) taught you
évévóstomóo'é  he (obv) taught himself
návovéstomóetsenone he (obv) taught us (excl)
návovéstomóetsenone he (obv) taught us (incl)
névévóstomóetsenovó he (obv) taught you (pl)
évévóstomóevóho  he (obv) taught them

névévóstomóetsememo we (excl) taught you
návovéstomóvéne we (excl) taught him
návovéstomévamone we (ex) taught him (obv)
návovéstomévähtsemewé we (ex) taught ourselves
návovéstomévatsememo we (ex) taught you (pl)

návovéstomévahtse  I taught myself
návovéstomevátse  I taught you
návovéstomévo  I taught him
návovéstomévamóho  I taught him (obv)
návovéstomévétséme  I taught you (pl)
návovéstomevoo'o  I taught them

névévéstomóme  you taught me
névévéstomóvovo  you (pl) taught him
névévóstomóamóho  you taught him (obv)
névévéstomómenó  you taught us (excl)
névévóstomóve  you taught them

návévóstoméva  he taught me
návévóstoméva  he taught you
evévóstomévahtse  he taught himself
evévóstomévóho  he taught him (obv)
névévóstomóme  he taught us (excl)
evévóstomévo  he taught you (pl)
névévóstomóetsenoto he (obv) taught me
návévóstomóetsenoto he (obv) taught you
évévóstomóo’é  he (obv) taught himself
névévóstomóetsenone he (obv) taught us (excl)
névévóstomóetsenone he (obv) taught us (incl)
évévóstomóetsenovó he (obv) taught you (pl)
évévóstomóevóho  he (obv) taught them

návévéstomóetsememo we (excl) taught you
návévöstomóvéne we (excl) taught him
návévéstomóvamone we (ex) taught him (obv)
návévéstomóvähtsemewé we (ex) taught ourselves
névévéstomóetsememo we (ex) taught you (pl)

návévéstomóme  you taught me
návévöstomóvovo  you (pl) taught him
névévóstomóamóho  you taught him (obv)
névévéstomómenó  you taught us (excl)
névévóstomóve  you taught them

návévóstomóva  he taught me
návévöstomóva  he taught you
evévóstomóvahtse  he taught himself
evévóstomóvóho  he taught him (obv)
névévóstomóme  he taught us (excl)
énévévóstomóevóho  he (obv) taught them

Other verbs ending with -év

námé’estomévó  I explained to him.
námé’estomó’é  They explained to me.
émé’estómóévóho  He (obv) explained to them.
éhoéstomévóho  He read to him (obv).
-héné'enov 'know (someone)'

The stem-final "ov" of verb stems such as –héné'enov contracts to "óe" word-medially in the inverse voice. The "o" of "ov" becomes high-pitched before a word-medial "a".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvahtse</td>
<td>I know myself</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvatsemeno</td>
<td>we (ex) know you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovatse</td>
<td>I know you</td>
<td>náhéne'enovóne'o</td>
<td>we (incl) know them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvo</td>
<td>I know him</td>
<td>náhéne'enovone</td>
<td>we (incl) know him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamóho</td>
<td>I know him (obv)</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvamotse</td>
<td>we (obv) know him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvatsême</td>
<td>I know you (pl)</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvahstse</td>
<td>we (obv) know ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovoo'o</td>
<td>I know them</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvamove</td>
<td>we (obv) know us (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enove</td>
<td>you know me</td>
<td>náhéne'enovéme</td>
<td>you (pl) know me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvahtse</td>
<td>you know yourself</td>
<td>náhéne'enovóvo</td>
<td>you (pl) know him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvo</td>
<td>you know him</td>
<td>náhéne'enovamovo</td>
<td>you (pl) know him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovemen</td>
<td>you know us (excl)</td>
<td>náhéne'enovemen</td>
<td>you (pl) know us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovoo'o</td>
<td>you know them</td>
<td>náhéne'enovovoo'o</td>
<td>you (pl) know them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enova</td>
<td>he knows me</td>
<td>náhéne'enóo'e</td>
<td>they know me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enova</td>
<td>he knows you</td>
<td>náhéne'enóo'e</td>
<td>they know you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhéne'enóvahtse</td>
<td>he knows himself</td>
<td>éhéne'enovovo</td>
<td>they know him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhéne'enovóho</td>
<td>he knows him (obv)</td>
<td>náhéne'enóene'o</td>
<td>they know us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóene</td>
<td>he knows us (excl)</td>
<td>náhéne'enóene'o</td>
<td>they know us (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóévo</td>
<td>he knows you (pl)</td>
<td>náhéne'enóevo'o</td>
<td>they know you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóetsento</td>
<td>he (obv) knows me</td>
<td>éhéne'enóvahtseo'o</td>
<td>they know themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóetsento</td>
<td>he (obv) knows you</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvé</td>
<td>I am known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhéne'enó'o</td>
<td>he (obv) knows him</td>
<td>náhéne'enóne</td>
<td>you are known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhéne'enóvahhtóho</td>
<td>he (obv) knows himself</td>
<td>éhéne'enohhe</td>
<td>he is known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóetsene</td>
<td>he (obv) knows us (excl)</td>
<td>náhéne'enóném</td>
<td>we (excl) are known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóetseno</td>
<td>he (obv) knows us (incl)</td>
<td>náhéne'enónem</td>
<td>we (incl) are known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóetseno</td>
<td>he (obv) knows you (pl)</td>
<td>náhéne'enónem</td>
<td>you (pl) are known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhéne'enóevóho</td>
<td>he (obv) knows them</td>
<td>éhéne'enóheo'o</td>
<td>they are known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvatsemen</td>
<td>we (excl) know you</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvate</td>
<td>he listened to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovóne</td>
<td>we (excl) know him</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvamone</td>
<td>he (obv) listened to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvatsème</td>
<td>we (ex) know ourselves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other verbs ending with -ov:

cáahtovóho | he listened to him (obv)
cáahtóó'e | he (obv) listened to him
/-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Person Formed in</th>
<th>Person Formed in</th>
<th>Person Formed in</th>
<th>Person Formed in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhe</td>
<td>I measured myself</td>
<td>nátaeváhamovo</td>
<td>you (pl) m. him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaevaes</td>
<td>I measured you</td>
<td>nátaeváhemeno</td>
<td>you (pl) m. us (excl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváno</td>
<td>I measured him</td>
<td>nátaeváhestséme</td>
<td>you (pl) m. yourselves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhmo</td>
<td>I measured (obv)</td>
<td>nátaeváhnovoo'</td>
<td>you (pl) measured them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhetséme</td>
<td>I measured (pl)</td>
<td>nátaeváhée'</td>
<td>they measured me</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaevánno</td>
<td>I measured (obv)</td>
<td>étaváhnovo</td>
<td>they measured you</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhes</td>
<td>you measured me</td>
<td>nátaeváheene'o</td>
<td>they measured us (excl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhest</td>
<td>you measured yourself</td>
<td>nátaeváheene'o</td>
<td>they measured us (incl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhmo</td>
<td>you m. him (obv)</td>
<td>nátaevéheevoo'</td>
<td>they measured you (pl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhemeno</td>
<td>you measured us (ex)</td>
<td>étaváhestse'o</td>
<td>they m. themselves</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnno'o</td>
<td>you measured them</td>
<td>nátaeváhéné</td>
<td>I was measured</td>
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<td>nátaevahe</td>
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<td>nátaeváhéné</td>
<td>you were measured</td>
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<td>he measured you</td>
<td>étaváhe</td>
<td>he was measured</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhmo</td>
<td>he measured himself</td>
<td>nátaeváhenême</td>
<td>we (ex) were measured</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhéne</td>
<td>he measured us (excl)</td>
<td>nátaeváhenema</td>
<td>we (in) were measured</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváheene</td>
<td>he measured us (incl)</td>
<td>nátaeváhenême</td>
<td>you (pl) were measured</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhéévo</td>
<td>he measured you (pl)</td>
<td>étaváheo'o</td>
<td>they were measure</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetse</td>
<td>he (obv) measured me</td>
<td>nátaeváheetseno'</td>
<td>we (excl) measured you</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetseno</td>
<td>he (obv) measured you</td>
<td>nátaeváheetseno'</td>
<td>we (excl) measured him</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetséne</td>
<td>he (obv) measured him</td>
<td>nátaeváheetséne</td>
<td>we (ex) m. ourselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetseno</td>
<td>he (obv) measured us (ex)</td>
<td>nátaeváheetseno'</td>
<td>we (ex) m. you (pl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváheesnno'</td>
<td>he (obv) measured you (pl)</td>
<td>nátaeváheesnno'</td>
<td>we (excl) m. them</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetseno</td>
<td>he (obv) measured you (pl)</td>
<td>nátaeváheetseno</td>
<td>we (excl) m. him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetsema</td>
<td>we (excl) measured you</td>
<td>nátaeváheetsema</td>
<td>we (excl) m. ourselves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetseno</td>
<td>we (excl) m. you (pl)</td>
<td>nátaeváheetseno'</td>
<td>we (in) m. them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhénne</td>
<td>we (in) m. him (obv)</td>
<td>nátaeváhénne</td>
<td>you (pl) measured me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnénno'o</td>
<td>we (in) m. them</td>
<td>nátaeváhnénno'o</td>
<td>you (pl) measured him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

97 Some speakers say étavahno 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>Verbs</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>námoné'tovah'tse</td>
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<td>we (incl) chose themselves</td>
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other verbs with the –tov final:

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<td>he was good to me</td>
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<td>nápèhevé'tóvo</td>
<td>I was good to him</td>
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<td>I gave him away</td>
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<tr>
<td>náméánô'éne</td>
<td>we (excl) gave him</td>
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<td>náno'ev'éhe'tova: he is named after me</td>
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<td>I am named after him</td>
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<tr>
<td>námo'xé'ova</td>
<td>he carried me on his back</td>
<td>námo'xé'ova: he carried me on his back</td>
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<td>I carried him on my back</td>
<td>námô'xenô'tse: I carried him on my back</td>
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<td>I stole him</td>
<td>nánomáhtsenô'tse: I stole him</td>
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<td>nánomáhtsé'tó'ó'e</td>
<td>they stole me</td>
<td>nánomáhtsé'tó'ó'e: they stole me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhestônâ'hé'tová</td>
<td>I am his/her daughter</td>
<td>náhestônâ'hé'tová: I am his/her daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhestônâhenô'tse</td>
<td>she is my daughter</td>
<td>náhestônâhenô'tse: she is my daughter</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhee'ha'hé'tova</td>
<td>I am his/her son</td>
<td>náhee'ha'hé'tova: I am his/her son</td>
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<td>he is my son</td>
<td>náhee'ha'hénô'tse: he is my son</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

98 Also émoné'tovóho
99 This direct form does not change to /-not/ because the vowel preceding –tov is not phonemically high-pitched. The stem is /-pehé've'tov/ 'do good to'.
100 Literally, 'she has me as daughter'
náhee'hahénoto    they are my sons
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)
nésáavóoméméhemo you did not see us (ex)
nésáavóomóheo'o you did not see them

násáavóomaēhe he did not see me
nésáavóomaēhe he did not see you
ésáavóomahtsēhe he did not see himself
ésáavóomóheho he did not see him (obv)
násáavóomaēhéne he did not see us (excl)
nésáavóomaēhene he did not see us (incl)
nésáavóomaehévo he did not see you (pl)

násáavóomaehetsenoto he (obv) did not see me
nésáavóomaehetsenoto he (obv) did not see you
esáavóomaeheto he (obv) did not see him
násáavóomaehetsenone he (obv) did not see us (ex)
nésáavóomaehetsenone he (obv) did not see us (in)
násáavóomaehetseno he (obv) did not see you (pl)
esáavóomaeheto he (obv) did not see them

nésáavóomatséméhemo we (ex) did not see you
násáavóomohtséhéme we (ex) did not see him
násáavóomóhéne we (ex) did not see him (obv)
nésáavóomatséméhemo we (ex) did not see ourselves
násáavóomóhéne we (ex) did not see them

nésáavóomóhene we (incl) did not see him
nésáavóomamóhene we (incl) did not see him (obv)
nésáavóomáhtséméhema we (incl) did not see ourselves
nésáavóomóheneo'o we (incl) did not see them

nésáavóoméheme you (pl) did not see me
nésáavóomohévo you (pl) did not see him
nésáavóomamóheno you (pl) did not see him (obv)
nésáavóoméméhemo you (pl) did not see us (ex)
'not know (someone)'

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

\[ \text{RECHECK PARADIGM} \]

násáhéne'énôváhtséhe I do not know myself
násáhéne'énôvatséhe I do not know you
násáhéne'énôvôhe I do not know him
násáhéne'énôvamôheho I do not know him (obv)
násáhéne'énôvatséhéme I do not know you (pl)
násáhéne'énôvôheo'o I do not know them

násáhéne'énôvéhe you do not know me
násáhéne'énôváhtséhe you do not know yourself
násáhéne'énôvôhe you do not know him
násáhéne'énôvamôheho you do not know him (obv)
násáhéne'énôvathmeno you do not know us (ex)
násáhéne'énôvôheo'o you do not know them

násáhéne'énôéhe he does not know me
násáhéne'énôéhe he does not know you
esááhéne'énôváhtséhe he does not know himself
esááhéne'énôvôheho he does not know him (obv)
násáhéne'énôhéháne he does not know us (excl)
násáhéne'énôhéhe he does not know us (incl)
násáhéne'énôhévé he does not know you (pl)

násáhéne'énôhéhensotohe (obv) does not know me
násáhéne'énôhéhensotohe (obv) does not know you
esááhéne'énôhéheho he (obv) does not know him
násáhéne'énôhéhensonehe (obv) does not know us (ex)
násáhéne'énôhéhensonehe (obv) does not know us (in)
násáhéne'énôhéhensotohe (obv) does not know you (pl)
esááhéne'énôhéhevo he (obv) does not know them

násáhéne'énôvathmeno we (ex) do not know you
násáhéne'énôvôhëne we (ex) do not know him
násáhéne'énôvamôhëne we (ex) do not know him (obv)
násáhéne'énôvôhëme we (ex) do not know ourselves
násáhéne'énôvôhmëjëmeno we (ex) do not know you (pl)
násáhéne'énôvôhëmeo'o we (ex) do not know them

násáhéne'énôvéhëme you (pl) do not know me
násáhéne'énôvéhëme you (pl) do not know you
násáhéne'énôvéhëme you (pl) do not know us (excl)
násáhéne'énôvéhëmeno you (pl) do not know us (incl)
násáhéne'énôvéhëhëme you (pl) do not know themselves

násáhéne'énôvéhëme you (pl) do not know me
násáhéne'énôvéhëme you (pl) do not know you
násáhéne'énôvéhëme you (pl) do not know us (excl)
násáhéne'énôvéhëmeno you (pl) do not know us (incl)
násáhéne'énôvéhëmëjëmeno you (pl) do not know you (pl)
násáhéne'énôvéhsêsëmeno they do not know themselves

násáhéne'énônéhë he is not known
násáhéne'énônéhë you are not known
esááhéne'énôhé he is not known
násáhéne'énônëhë we (ex) are not known
násáhéne'énônëhë we (ex) are not known
násáhéne'énônëhë you (pl) are not known
násáhéne'énônëheo'o they are not known
'not choose (someone)'

$\text{RECHECK PARADIGM}$

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<th>English</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tr>
<td>násáamoné'tóvéhéhe</td>
<td>you (pl) did not choose you</td>
<td>násáamoné'tóvéhéhe</td>
<td>I am not his father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné'tóvéhéhe</td>
<td>you (pl) did not choose him</td>
<td>násáamoné'tóvéhéhe</td>
<td>he is not my father</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other negative verbs with the ‘-tóv final:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>násáapéhéve'tovóhe</td>
<td>I was not good to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáapéhévè'tóhèhe</td>
<td>he was not good to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáaméahénóte</td>
<td>I did not give him (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáaméahénóto</td>
<td>I did not give them (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáane'taméhenôto</td>
<td>I do not depend on him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáane'taméhenôte</td>
<td>He does not depend on me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahe'héhénote</td>
<td>I do not want him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahe'héhênume</td>
<td>I do not want me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahe'ho'hehênume</td>
<td>I did not steal me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahe'ho'hehênumo</td>
<td>I did not steal them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahe'stoháhe'tóhéhe</td>
<td>I am not her daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahe'stoháhe'hénumo</td>
<td>she is not my daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahe'háhe'héhênume</td>
<td>I am not the son of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahe'háhe'héhêno</td>
<td>he is not my son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahe'háhe'héhêntse</td>
<td>they are not my sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahe'ske'tóhéhe</td>
<td>I am not her mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahe'ske'héhêntse</td>
<td>she is not my mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahé'héhêntse</td>
<td>I am not his father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáahé'hehêntse</td>
<td>he is not my father</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Animate Interrogative verbs

Yes/no questions are formed with TA verbs in the same two ways that they are formed with AI verbs:

(1) Add the interrogative suffix –he
(2) Prefix the indicative form of the verb with mó-

Note that interrogative verbs with third person plural subjects or objects substitute "vo" for phonemic /o/ before the interrogative suffix –he.

-vóom 'see (someone)'

| Návóomáhtsehe? | Did I see myself? | Névóomamonehe? | Did we (in) see him (obv)? |
| Névóomatsehe? | Did I see you? | Névóomáhtsémanehe? | Did we (in) see ourselves? |
| Návóomohe? | Did I see him? | Névóomamovehe? | Did we (incl) see them? |
| Návóomamovohe? | Did I see him (obv)? | Névóomamonehe? | Did we (incl) see him (obv)? |
| Névóomatsemenohe? | Did I see you (pl)? | Névóomamemenohe? | Did we (incl) see us (excl)? |
| Návóomovohe? | Did I see them? | Névóomovovohe? | Did we (incl) see themselves? |
| Névóomehe? | Did you see me? | Névóomamovehe? | Did we (incl) see you (pl)? |
| Névóomáhtsehe? | Did you see yourself? | Névóomamonehe? | Did you (pl) see him (obv)? |
| Névóomohoe? | Did you see him? | Névóomamovehe? | Did you (pl) see us (incl)? |
| Návóomamovohe? | Did you see him (obv)? | Névóomamonehe? | Did you (pl) see us (excl)? |
| Névóomamovonehe? | Did you see us (incl)? | Névóomamonehe? | Did you (pl) see yourselves? |
| Névóomovohe? | Did you see them? | Névóomamovehe? | Did you (pl) see themselves? |

Návóomaehe? | Did he see me? | Névóomamenehe? | Did he see you (pl)? |
| Névóomaehe? | Did he see you? | Névóomamenehe? | Did he see us (incl)? |
| Évóomáhtsehe? | Did he see himself? | Névóomamenehe? | Did he see us (excl)? |
| Évóomovohe? | Did he see him (obv)? | Névóomamenehe? | Did he see us (incl)? |

Návóomaentsenohe? | Did he (obv) see me? | Névóomamánsanehe? | Did he (obv) see himself? |
| Névóomaentsenohe? | Did he (obv) see you? | Névóomamánsanehe? | Did he (obv) see us (excl)? |
| Évóomamamovehe? | Did he (obv) see him? | Névóomamánsanehe? | Did he (obv) see us (incl)? |

Návóomaentsenohe? | Did he (obv) see you (pl)? | Névóomamánsanehe? | Did he (obv) see you (pl)? |
| Évóomamamovohe? | Did he (obv) see them? | Névóomamánsanehe? | Did he (obv) see them? |
| Névóomamenohehe? | Did we (excl) see you? | Névóomamémanehe? | Did we (excl) see him (obv)? |
| Návóomamenohehe? | Did we (excl) see him? | Névóomamémanehe? | Did we (excl) see us (excl)? |
| Návóomamamenohehe? | Did we (excl) see ourselves? | Névóomamémanehe? | Did we (excl) see us (incl)? |
| Névóomamamenohehe? | Did we (excl) see you (pl)? | Névóomamémanehe? | Did we (excl) see you (pl)? |
| Návóomamovehehe? | Did we (excl) see them? | Névóomamémanehe? | Did we (excl) see them? |

Note that this can also be said as návóomáhtsémanehe.

101 Some mó- prefix yes/no questions:

Mónévóómo? | Did you see him? |
Mónévóomoo'o? | Did you see them? |
Mónévóomóvo? | Did you (pl) see him? |
Mónévóomovoo'o? | Did you (pl) see them? |

Mónéméhóto? | Do you love him? |
Mónéhoxómo? | 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>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóváhtsehe?</td>
<td>Do I do know myself?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enónenov</td>
<td>Do I know you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvohé?</td>
<td>Do I know him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamovohé?</td>
<td>Do I know him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamovenohe?</td>
<td>Do I know you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamovokásh?</td>
<td>Do I know them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamóne</td>
<td>Am I known?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamóne</td>
<td>Are you known?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamóne</td>
<td>Is he known?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamóne</td>
<td>Are we (excl) known?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamóne</td>
<td>Are we (incl) known?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamóne</td>
<td>Are you (pl) known?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamóne</td>
<td>Are they known?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Mónéhéne'enôvo? You know him?
Mónéhéne'enovoo'o? You know them?
Mónéhéne'enovâoneo'o? We know them?
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 –nótsé in its indicative form ends with –notse in its interrogative form. $$RECHECK PARADIGM$$

Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did he want me?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did he want you?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did he want you (pl)?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did he want them?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did I want myself?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did I want you?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did I want you (pl)?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did I want them?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did you want me?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did you want you?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did you want you (pl)?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did you want them?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did you (pl) want me?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did you (pl) want you?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did you (pl) want you (pl)?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did you (pl) want them?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did you (pl) want me?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did you (pl) want you?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did you (pl) want you (pl)?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did you (pl) want them?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did you (pl) want me?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did you (pl) want you?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did you (pl) want you (pl)?
Nhô'ahê'tohe? Did you (pl) want them?

Émêa'tohe? Did you give me?
Émêa'tohe? Did you give you?
Émêa'tohe? Did you give you (pl)?
Émêa'tohe? Did you give them?
Émêa'tohe? Did I give me?
Émêa'tohe? Did I give you?
Émêa'tohe? Did I give you (pl)?
Émêa'tohe? Did I give them?
Émêa'tohe? Did you give me?
Émêa'tohe? Did you give you?
Émêa'tohe? Did you give you (pl)?
Émêa'tohe? Did you give them?
Émêa'tohe? Did you (pl) give me?
Émêa'tohe? Did you (pl) give you?
Émêa'tohe? Did you (pl) give you (pl)?
Émêa'tohe? Did you (pl) give them?
Émêa'tohe? Did you (pl) give me?
Émêa'tohe? Did you (pl) give you?
Émêa'tohe? Did you (pl) give you (pl)?
Émêa'tohe? Did you (pl) give them?

Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did they give me?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did they give you?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did they give you (pl)?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did they give them?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did I give me?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did I give you?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did I give you (pl)?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did I give them?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you give me?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you give you?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you give you (pl)?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you give them?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you (pl) give me?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you (pl) give you?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you (pl) give you (pl)?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you (pl) give them?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you (pl) give me?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you (pl) give you?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you (pl) give you (pl)?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you (pl) give them?

Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did they give me?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did they give you?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did they give you (pl)?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did they give them?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did I give me?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did I give you?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did I give you (pl)?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did I give them?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you give me?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you give you?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you give you (pl)?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you give them?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you (pl) give me?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you (pl) give you?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you (pl) give you (pl)?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you (pl) give them?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you (pl) give me?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you (pl) give you?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you (pl) give you (pl)?
Amerâ'etsê'tohe? Did you (pl) give them?
not see (someone)

$RECHECK QUESTIONED FORMS

Násáavóomáhtséhehe? Didn't I see myself?
Násáavóomatséhehe? Didn't I see you?
Násáavóomóhehe? Didn't I see him?
Násáavóomamóhevohe? Didn't I see him (obv)?
Násáavóomatséhemehehe? Didn't I see you (pl)?
Násáavóomóhevohe? Didn't I see them?

Násáavóoméhehe? Didn't you see me?
Násáavóomáhtséhehe? Didn't you see yourself?
Násáavóomóhehe? Didn't you see him?
Násáavóomamóhevohe? Didn't you see him (obv)?
Násáavóoméhemenonehehe? Didn't you see us (excl)?
Násáavóomóhevohe? Didn't you see them?

Násáavóomaehehe? Didn't he see me?
Násáavóomáhtséhehe? Didn't he see himself?
Násáavóomáhtséhehe? Didn't he see him (obv)?
Násáavóomamovonehehe? Didn't he see us (excl)?
Násáavóomamovonehehe? Didn't he see us (incl)?
Násáavóomamovonehehe? Didn't he see you (pl)?

Násáavóomahtsenetohe? Didn't he (obv) see me?
Násáavóomahtsenetohe? Didn't he (obv) see you?
纳斯áavóomáhtséhevohe? Didn't he (obv) see himself?
Násáavóomáhtséhevohe? Didn't he (obv) see him (obv)?
Násáavóomamovonehehe? Didn't he (obv) see us (excl)?
Násáavóomamovonehehe? Didn't he (obv) see us (incl)?
Násáavóomamovonehehe? Didn't he (obv) see you (pl)?
Násáavóomamovonehehe? Didn't he (obv) see them?

Násáavóomatséhenehehe? Didn't we (excl) see you?
Násáavóomóhenehehe? Didn't we (excl) see him?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't we (ex) see him (obv)?
Násáavóomamhséhemenonehehe? Didn't we (ex) see ourselves?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't we (ex) see you (pl)?
Násáavóomóhenehehe? Didn't we (ex) see them?

Násáavóomóhenehehe? Didn't we (incl) see him?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't we (in) see him (obv)?
Násáavóomamséhemenonehehe? Didn't we (in) see ourselves?

Násáavóomóhenehehe? Didn't we (incl) see them?
Násáavóomóhenehehe? Didn't we (incl) see you?
Násáavóomóhenehehe? Didn't we (incl) see him?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't we (incl) see him (obv)?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't we (incl) see us (excl)?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't we (incl) see us (incl)?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't we (incl) see you?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't we (incl) see himself?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't we (incl) see them?

Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't we (pl) see them?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't we (pl) see you?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't we (pl) see him?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't we (pl) see him (obv)?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't we (pl) see us (excl)?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't we (pl) see ourselves?

Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't we (pl) see them?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't you (pl) see me?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't you (pl) see you?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't you (pl) see him?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't you (pl) see them?

Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't you (pl) see us (excl)?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't you (pl) see us (incl)?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Didn't you (pl) see themselves?

Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Did you see me?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Did you see you?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Did you see him?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Did you see him (obv)?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Did you see them?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Did you see us (excl)?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Did you see us (incl)?
Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Did you see us (pl)?

Násáavóomamhmenehehe? Did you see themselves?

Some mó- prefix negative yes/no questions:

$RECHECK

Mónésáavóomóhe? Didn't you see him?
Mónésáavóomóheo'o? Didn't you see them?
Mónésáavóomóhévo? Didn't you (pl) see him?
Mónésáahénéne'ónóvohe? Don't you know him?
Mónésáahénéne'ónóvohe? Doesn't he know you?
Mónésáahénéne'ónóvohe? Doesn't you love him?
Mónésáahénéne'ónóvohe? Doesn't he love me?
Mónésáahénomého'évo? Didn't you feed him?
Mónésáahénomého'évo? Didn't you choose him?
Mónésáahénomého'évo? Didn't you (pl) choose him?
Mó'ésáahó'ahénono? Doesn't he want him (obv)?
Mó'ésánéhovóheho? Didn't he chase him (obv)?
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>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóomáhtsêhéhe</td>
<td>I must have seen myself</td>
<td>Mónévóomóhevôhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóomatsêhêhe</td>
<td>I must have seen you</td>
<td>Mónévóomamóhevôhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóomóhêhe</td>
<td>I must have seen him</td>
<td>Mónévóoméhemenôhêne</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóomamóhevôhe</td>
<td>I must have seen him (obv)</td>
<td>Mónévóomáhtsêhemênôhêne</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóomatsêhemênôhêne</td>
<td>I must have seen you (pl)</td>
<td>Mónévóomóhevôhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóomóhêvôhe</td>
<td>I must have seen them</td>
<td>Móvóomóhêvôhe</td>
<td>They must have seen me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóoméhêhe</td>
<td>You must have seen me</td>
<td>Mónévóomaehêhôvôhe</td>
<td>They must have seen you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóomóhêvôhe</td>
<td>You must have seen yourself</td>
<td>Móvóomóhêvôhe</td>
<td>They must have seen him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóomohôvôhe</td>
<td>He must have seen him</td>
<td>Mónévóomaehêhôvôhe</td>
<td>They must have seen us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóomáhêhe</td>
<td>He must have seen you</td>
<td>Móvóoamaehêhôvôhe</td>
<td>They must have seen us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móvóómaehôvôhe</td>
<td>He must have seen himself</td>
<td>Mónévóomaehêhôvôhe</td>
<td>They must have seen us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móvóomaehôvôhe</td>
<td>He must have seen him (obv)</td>
<td>Mónévóomaehêhôvôhe</td>
<td>They must have seen us (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóomaehôvôhe</td>
<td>He must have seen us (excl)</td>
<td>Móvóomaehôvôhe</td>
<td>They must have seen themselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mónévóomaehôvôhe</td>
<td>He must have seen us (incl)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóomaehêtsêhôvôhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have seen me</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mónévóomaehêtsêhôvôhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have seen you</td>
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<tr>
<td>Móvóoamâhêtsêhôvôhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have seen himself</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóomaehêtsêhônôhêne</td>
<td>He (obv) must have seen us (ex)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóomaehêtsêhemênôhêne</td>
<td>He (obv) must have seen us (in)</td>
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<td>Móvóomaehêtsêhôvôhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have seen you (pl)</td>
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<td>Mónévóomatsêhemênôhêne</td>
<td>We (ex) must have seen you</td>
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<td>Mónévóomohôvôhe</td>
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<td>Móvóomaehôvôhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have been seen</td>
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<td>Móvóamaehôvôhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have hit him</td>
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<td>Móvóômaehôvôhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have heard him</td>
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<td>Móvóêmaehôvôhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have helped him</td>
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<td>Móvóômaehôvôhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have taken him</td>
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<td>Móvóômaehôvôhe</td>
<td>They must have fed him (obv)</td>
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<td>Móvóômaehôvôhe</td>
<td>He must have freed him (obv)</td>
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<td>Móvóômaehôvôhe</td>
<td>He must have killed him (obv)</td>
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<td>Móvóômaehôvôhe</td>
<td>He must have tied him (obv)</td>
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<td>Móvóômaehôvôhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must know him</td>
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<td>He (obv) must know him</td>
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<tr>
<td>Móvóômaehôvôhe</td>
<td>He must have chased him (obv)</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Some other TA inferential verbs:

- **Mó'métohevôhe**: He must love him (obv)
- **Mónémêtohevôhe**: He must love you
- **Móna'menôhevôhe**: He must have chosen me
- **Mónêmenôhevôhe**: You must have chosen him
- **Mónêhô'ahêhônôtôhe**: You must want him
- **Móho'ahêhônôtôhe**: He must want him (obv)
- **Móhêmahêhônôtôhe**: He must have given him (obv)
- **MónâpêÔahêhônôtôhe**: He must hate me
- **Mó'omôhevôhe**: He (obv) must have hit him
- **Mó'âhahtôhevôhe**: He must have heard him (obv)
- **Móvêståhêmôhevôhe**: He must have helped him (obv)
- **Móhêsestáhêmôhevôhe**: They must have taken him (obv)
- **Móhêsohevôhe**: They must have fed him (obv)
- **Móšêxanôhevôhe**: He must have freed him (obv)
- **Mó'nâ'hohevôhe**: He must have killed him (obv)
- **Mó'too'etôhevôhe**: He must have tied him (obv)
- **Mó'hênê'ênôhevôhe**: He must know him (obv)
- **Mó'hênê'ênôhevôhe**: He (obv) must know him
- **Mó'hênê'ênôhevôhe**: He must have chased him (obv)
### Transitive Animate Reportative verb 'see' /-vóom/

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<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>It's said you (pl) saw me</td>
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<tr>
<td>Návóomatsémése</td>
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<td>It's said you (pl) saw him</td>
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<td>Návóomatsémése</td>
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<td>It's said you (pl) saw yourselves</td>
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<td>Návóomóvosteo</td>
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<td>Névéoamóvosteso</td>
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<td>Névéómovostego</td>
<td>It's said you saw us (incl)</td>
<td>Návóamaenésetse</td>
<td>It's said they saw you (pl)</td>
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<td>Névéoamaesestse</td>
<td>It's said he saw me</td>
<td>Návóamaesestse</td>
<td>It's said they saw themselves</td>
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<td>Névéoamaesenósete</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw me</td>
<td>Névéoamanémése</td>
<td>It's said I was seen</td>
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<td>Évéómoestesto</td>
<td>It's said he saw him (obv)</td>
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<td>It's said we (ex) were seen</td>
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<td>Návóamanamánese</td>
<td>It's said he saw us (excl)</td>
<td>Návóamanémése</td>
<td>It's said we (in) were seen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Návóamanamóvosteo</td>
<td>It's said he saw us (incl)</td>
<td>Návóamanémése</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) were seen</td>
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<td>Évéómaeséstse</td>
<td>It's said he saw you (pl)</td>
<td>Évéoamésesto</td>
<td>It's said they were seen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Návóomaetsenósete</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw me</td>
<td>Návóamanésesto</td>
<td>It's said he loves him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Návóomaetenósete</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw you</td>
<td>Névéoamésestse</td>
<td>It's said he loves you</td>
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<td>Évéómaesesto</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw him</td>
<td>Éhétovostesto</td>
<td>It's said he told him (obv)</td>
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<td>Évéómaestsése</td>
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<td>Éhetaesesto</td>
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<tr>
<td>Návómaeténovósesto</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw us (in)</td>
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<td>It's said he chose me</td>
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<tr>
<td>Évéómaevósesto</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw them</td>
<td>Némonénoseséstse</td>
<td>It's said you chose him</td>
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<td>Névéómatemenóese</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) saw you</td>
<td>Ného’ahénoseséstse</td>
<td>It's said you want him</td>
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<td>Névéoméneséstse</td>
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<td>Ého’ahénosesesto</td>
<td>It's said he wants him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Névéomamóneséstse</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) saw him (obv)</td>
<td>Néméanoñeséstse</td>
<td>It's said you gave him (away)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Névéomamóntemánése</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) saw ourselves</td>
<td>Éméánosesto</td>
<td>It's said he gave him (obv) (away)</td>
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<td>Névéomateménose</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) saw you (pl)</td>
<td>Nápetoateséstse</td>
<td>It's said he hates me</td>
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<tr>
<td>Návóomóneséstse</td>
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<td>Êoamaesesto</td>
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<td>It's said we (in) saw him</td>
<td>Éáahtovóstese</td>
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<td>Névéomamántemánese</td>
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<td>Éhestanóvosteso</td>
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<td>It's said we (in) saw them</td>
<td>Éhoxomóvosteso</td>
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<td>Névéomónéséstse</td>
<td>It's said we (in) saw him (obv)</td>
<td>Éshaxónósesto</td>
<td>It's said he freed him (obv)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Some other TA reportative verbs:

- Eméhotósesto: It's said he loves him (obv)
- Néméhoateséstse: It's said he loves you
- Éhetoñesesto: It's said he told him (obv)
- Éhetoñovosteso: It's said they told him (obv)
- Éhetaesesto: It's said he (obv) told him
- Námonetoeséstse: It's said he chose me
- Némonénoñeséstse: It's said you chose him
- Ného'ahénoséstse: It's said you want him
- Ého'ahénosesesto: It's said he wants him (obv)
- Néméanoñeséstse: It's said you gave him (away)
- Éméáñosesto: It's said he gave him (obv) (away)
- Nápetañóvostese: It's said he hates me
- Éoamañosteo: It's said he (obv) hit him
- Éáahtovóstoñose: It's said he heard him (obv)
- Évéstahémósesto: It's said he helped him (obv)
- Éhestanóvosteso: It's said they took him (obv)
- Éhoxomóvosteso: It's said they fed him (obv)
- Éshaxáñósesto: It's said he freed him (obv)
Transitive Animate Negative Reportative verb 'see' /-vóom/

Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said I did not see myself
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said I did not see you
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said I did not see him
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said I did not see you (pl)
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said I did not see them
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you did not see me
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you did not see yourself
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you did not see him
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you did not see you (pl)
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you did not see them
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he did not see me
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he did not see you
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he did not see himself
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he did not see him (obv)
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he did not see you (pl)
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he did not see them
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he (obv) did not see me
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he (obv) did not see you
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he (obv) did not see himself
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he (obv) did not see him
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he (obv) did not see you (pl)
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he (obv) did not see them
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he (obv) did not see himself
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he (obv) did not see him (obv)
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he (obv) did not see us (ex)
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he (obv) did not see us (in)
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he (obv) did not see you (pl)
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he (obv) did not see them
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he (obv) did not see us (ex)
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he (obv) did not see us (in)
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he (obv) did not see you (pl)
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said he (obv) did not see them
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you (pl) did not see me
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you (pl) did not see you
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you (pl) did not see him
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you (pl) did not see us (ex)
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you (pl) did not see yourselves
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you (pl) did not see them
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you (pl) did not see me
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you (pl) did not see you
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you (pl) did not see him
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you (pl) did not see us (ex)
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you (pl) did not see yourselves
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said you (pl) did not see them
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said they did not see me
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said they did not see you
Násáavóomáhtséhémáse  It's said they did not see him (obv)
Násáavóomaehénéstesto It's said they did not see us (ex)
Nésáavóomaehénéstesto It's said they did not see us (in)
Nésáavóomaehévônesto It's said they did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóóahtséséstesto It's said they did not see themselves

Násáavóomanánhémáse It's said I was seen
Nésáavóomanánhémáse It's said you were seen
Ésáavóómêséstse It's said he was seen
Násáavóomanánhémánése It's said we (ex) were seen
Nésáavóomanánhémánése It's said we (in) were seen
Nésáavóomanánhémése It's said you (pl) were seen
Ésáavóóméhséstse It's said they were seen

Some other TA negative reportative verbs:
Ésáaméhotöhéststo?? It's said he does not love him (obv)
Nésáaméhotaeheéstse It's said he does not love you
Ésáahetöhéstse It's said he did not tell him (obv)
Ésáahetóhevônesto It's said they did not tell him (obv)
Ésáahetaehéstse It's said he (obv) did not tell him
Násáamonê'toehéséstse It's said he did not chose me
Nésáamónénôhéséstse?? It's said you did not chose him
Nésáaho'âhénôhéséstse?? It's said you do not want him
Ésáahô'âhénôhéséstse?? It's said he does not want him (obv)
Nésáamânôhéséstse?? It's said you did not give him (away)
Ésáamânôhéséstse?? It's said he did not give him (obv) (away)
Násáapêotaeheéstse It's said he does not hate me
Ésáa'oomâehéstse It's said he (obv) did not hit him
Ésáa'âhtovôhéstse It's said he did not hear him (obv)
Ésáavéstâhêhéhmôhéstse?? It's said he did not help him (obv)
Ésáahestanôhévônesto It's said they did not take him (obv)
Ésáahoxomôhévônesto It's said they did not feed him (obv)
Ésáašêxânôhéstse 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’ehnémo ho kákhése o’hé’e!
Wow, I have come close to a river! (Floating Eyes:062)

Nétáéšéhevéxahé’tovatsémohoh "náhéto.
You are already now my son-in-law!” I told him. (The Brothers-in-law)

Óméso néstanáha’enatsémohoh!
Soon I will catch you (plural)! (Bear Tepee.115)

The examples below will be given with the past tense morpheme /h/ (with its allomorphs x, s, š, and ’) since this is how preterit verbs are heard in Cheyenne legends.

English translations of the example verbs include the words "Once upon a time" to try to show a difference in meaning between these preterit verbs in legends and regular Cheyenne indicate verbs which have the remote past tense morpheme /h/. But be aware that the English words "Once upon a time" are only used in English fairy tales or other make-believe stories which everyone knows did not actually happen. Actions conveyed by the Cheyenne preterit mode may similarly be make-believe fairy tales, but they may also actually have happened. They may just have happened so long ago that no one alive today knows anyone who saw the actions, inferred the actions (inferential mode), or to whom the actions were reported (reportative mode).

Some example verbs are included which indicate surprise.

| Éhvóomóhoono | Once upon a time he saw him (obv) |
| Éhvóomaeheono | Once upon a time he (obv) saw him |
| Éhvóomaevóhoono | Once upon a time he (obv) saw them |
| Éhvóomóvéhoono | Once upon a time they told him (obv) |
| Évóomóhoono | Surprisingly, he saw him! |
| Éxhetóhoono | Once upon a time he told him (obv) |
| Éxhetaeheono | Once upon a time he (obv) told him |
| Éxhetaevóhoono | Once upon a time he (obv) told them |
| Éxhetóvéhoono | Once upon a time they told him (obv) |
| Éhetóhoono | Surprisingly, he told him! |
| Éhmévóhoono | Once upon a time he ate him (obv) |
| Éhmévaehéono | Once upon a time he (obv) ate him |
| Éhmévaevóhoono | Once upon a time he (obv) ate them |
| Éhmévovóhoono | Once upon a time they ate him (obv) |
Surprisingly, he ate him!

Once upon a time he burned him (obv) up

Once upon a time he (obv) burned him up

Once upon a time he (obv) burned them up

Surprisingly, he burned him (obv) up!

Once upon a time he accidentally cut him (obv)

Once upon a time he (obv) accidentally cut him

Once upon a time he (obv) accidentally cut them

Surprisingly, he accidentally cut him (obv)!

Once upon a time he wanted him (obv)

Once upon a time he (obv) wanted him

Once upon a time he (obv) wanted them

Surprisingly, he wanted him (obv)!

Once upon a time he freed him (obv)

Once upon a time he (obv) freed him

Once upon a time he (obv) freed them

Surprisingly, he freed him (obv)!

Once upon a time he did not see him (obv)

Once upon a time he (obv) did not see him

Once upon a time he (obv) did not see them

Surprisingly, he did not see him (obv)!

Once upon a time he did not tell him (obv)

Once upon a time he (obv) did not tell him

Once upon a time he (obv) did not tell them

Surprisingly, he did not tell him!

Once upon a time he did not accidentally cut him (obv)

Once upon a time he (obv) did not accidentally cut him

Once upon a time he (obv) did not accidentally cut them

Once upon a time they did not accidentally cut him (obv)

Transitive Animate Negative Preterit verbs
**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'hoomemeneno!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomemeneno!</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>Méhoxemeneno!</td>
<td>Méhoxemeneno!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love them!</td>
<td>Méhoxenáno!</td>
<td>Méhota!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to me!</td>
<td>Pēhéve'tovéstse!</td>
<td>Pēhéve'tove!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to yourself!</td>
<td>Pēheve'tovahtséstse!</td>
<td>Pēheve'tovahtse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him!</td>
<td>Pēhéve'toveha!</td>
<td>Pēhéve'tova!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him (obv)!</td>
<td>Pēhéve'tovaameha!</td>
<td>Pēhéve'tovaama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to us!</td>
<td>Pēhéve'tovemeneno!</td>
<td>Pēhéve'tovemeneno!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to them!</td>
<td>Pēhéve'tovenáno!</td>
<td>Pēhéve'tova!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure me!</td>
<td>Taevaestse!</td>
<td>Taevahe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure yourself!</td>
<td>Taeváhestséstse!</td>
<td>Taeváhestse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him!</td>
<td>Taeváheha!</td>
<td>Taeváha!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him (obv)!</td>
<td>Taeváhameha!</td>
<td>Taeváhama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure us!</td>
<td>Taeváhemeneno!</td>
<td>Taeváhemeneno!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure them!</td>
<td>Taeváhenáno!</td>
<td>Taeváha!</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>Ševátameneno!</td>
<td>Ševátameneno!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on them!</td>
<td>Ševátamenáno!</td>
<td>Ševátama!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

102 As explained earlier in this book, verbs with third person reflexives can also have a reciprocal meaning. So the command for this verb said to more than one person can mean either 'Look at yourselves!' or 'Look at each other!'

103 An older pronunciation is Nēševátaméstse! 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 Nānéševátámo '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'hoomáhtséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at him later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomoo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomamoo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at us later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomemenoo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomemenoo'o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at them later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomóno'o!</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>Méhotahtseo'o!</td>
<td>Méhotahtséhéne!</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>Méhotóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to me later!</td>
<td>Pēhevé'toveo'o!</td>
<td>Pēhevé'tovéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to yourself later!</td>
<td>Pēhevé'továhtseo'o!</td>
<td>Pēhevé'továhtséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him later!</td>
<td>Pēhevé'tovo'o!</td>
<td>Pēhevé'tovóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Pēhevé'tovamoo'o!</td>
<td>Pēhevé'tovamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to us later!</td>
<td>Pēhevé'tovemenoo'o!</td>
<td>Pēhevé'tovemenoo'o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to them later!</td>
<td>Pēhevé'tovóóno!</td>
<td>Pēhevé'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>Taeváhnóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Taeváhamoo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure us later!</td>
<td>Taeváhemenoo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhemenoo'o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure them later!</td>
<td>Taeváhnóóno!</td>
<td>Taeváhnóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on me later!</td>
<td>Ševátameo'o!</td>
<td>Ševátaméhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on yourself later!</td>
<td>Ševátamáhtseo'o!</td>
<td>Ševátamáhtséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on him later!</td>
<td>Ševátamo'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>Ševátameno!</td>
<td>Ševátameno!</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 –áta'e, -ata'ōse, and –aētse look like conjunct order suffixes, which we will see later.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vé'hooma'eha!</th>
<th>Let him look at me!</th>
<th>Vé'hooma'évoha!</th>
<th>Let them look at me!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vé'hoomáta'e!</td>
<td>Let him look at you!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomahtse'o!</td>
<td>Let them look at you!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vé'hoomáhtseha!</td>
<td>Let him look at himself!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomahtsévoha!</td>
<td>Let them look at themselves!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vé'hoomóha!</td>
<td>Let him look at him (obv)!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomaētse!</td>
<td>Let them look at us!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vé'hoomata'ōse!</td>
<td>Let him look at you (pl)!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomata'ōse!</td>
<td>Let them look at you (pl)!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Transitive Inanimate Independent Indicative verbs**

TI verbs have animate subjects but inanimate objects. They are marked for person of their subjects and number of their objects.

/\-vóohtá/ 'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1st person singular</th>
<th>1st person plural</th>
<th>2nd person singular</th>
<th>2nd person plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóóhta</td>
<td>I see it</td>
<td>Návóohantanótse</td>
<td>I see them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóóhta</td>
<td>You see it</td>
<td>Névóohantanótse</td>
<td>You see them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohantanótse</td>
<td>He sees it</td>
<td>Névóohantanótse</td>
<td>He see's them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohotse</td>
<td>He (obv) sees it</td>
<td>Évóohotseñótse</td>
<td>He (obv) sees them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóohotánóne</td>
<td>We (excl) see it</td>
<td>Návóohotanéñéstse</td>
<td>We (excl) see them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóohotanone</td>
<td>We (incl) see it</td>
<td>Névóohotanóñéstse</td>
<td>We (incl) see them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóohotánóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) see it</td>
<td>Névóohotanóvótse</td>
<td>You (pl) see them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohotánóvo</td>
<td>They see it</td>
<td>Évóohotanóvótse</td>
<td>They see them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóome104</td>
<td>It is seen</td>
<td>Évóoméñéstse</td>
<td>They are seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-\-mése/ 'eat (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1st person singular</th>
<th>1st person plural</th>
<th>2nd person singular</th>
<th>2nd person plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námese</td>
<td>I ate it</td>
<td>Námeñéñéstse</td>
<td>I ate them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némese</td>
<td>You ate it</td>
<td>Námeñéñéstse</td>
<td>You ate them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émese</td>
<td>He ate it</td>
<td>Émésetseñótse</td>
<td>He ate them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésetse</td>
<td>He (obv) ate it</td>
<td>Émésetseñótse</td>
<td>He (obv) ate them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námésetse</td>
<td>We (excl) ate it</td>
<td>Námeñéñéñéstse</td>
<td>We (excl) ate them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némésetse</td>
<td>We (incl) ate it</td>
<td>Námeñéñéñéstse</td>
<td>We (incl) ate them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésénóvo</td>
<td>They ate it</td>
<td>Émésetseñóñéstse</td>
<td>They ate them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméséstove105</td>
<td>It was eaten</td>
<td>Émésetseñóvénéstse</td>
<td>They were eaten.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-h\-otse 'have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1st person singular</th>
<th>1st person plural</th>
<th>2nd person singular</th>
<th>2nd person plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náho'tse</td>
<td>I have it</td>
<td>Náho'tsenótse</td>
<td>I have them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'tse</td>
<td>You have it</td>
<td>Náho'tsenótse</td>
<td>You have them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhó'tse</td>
<td>He has it</td>
<td>Éhó'tsenótse</td>
<td>He has them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tsetse</td>
<td>He (obv) has it</td>
<td>Éhó'tsetseñótse</td>
<td>He (obv) has them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náho'tsetse</td>
<td>We (excl) have it</td>
<td>Náho'tséñéñéstse</td>
<td>We (excl) have them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'tséñone</td>
<td>We (incl) have it</td>
<td>Náho'tséñóñéñéstse</td>
<td>We (incl) have them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'tsénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) have it</td>
<td>Náho'tséñovótse</td>
<td>You (pl) have them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'he</td>
<td>It is had</td>
<td>Ého'héñéstse</td>
<td>They are had</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-h\-o'he 'have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1st person singular</th>
<th>1st person plural</th>
<th>2nd person singular</th>
<th>2nd person plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náho'ahé</td>
<td>I want it</td>
<td>Náho'اهéñótse</td>
<td>I want them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'ahé</td>
<td>You want it</td>
<td>Ného'اهéñótse</td>
<td>You want them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'ahésetse</td>
<td>He wants it</td>
<td>Ého'اهéñótse</td>
<td>He wants them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'ahétse</td>
<td>He (obv) wants it</td>
<td>Ého'اهéñóñéñéstse</td>
<td>He (obv) wants them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náho'ahéñéñé</td>
<td>We (excl) want it</td>
<td>Náho'اهéñéñéñéstse</td>
<td>We (excl) want them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'ahéñéñé</td>
<td>We (incl) want it</td>
<td>Náho'اهéñéñóñéñéstse</td>
<td>We (incl) want them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'ahéñóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) want it</td>
<td>Náho'اهéñóvótse</td>
<td>You (pl) want them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'ahéñóvo</td>
<td>They want it</td>
<td>Ého'ahéñóvótse</td>
<td>They want them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'ahéstove</td>
<td>It is wanted</td>
<td>Ého'اهéñóñéñéñéstse</td>
<td>They are wanted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

104 The /-vóohtá/ and –ho’tse passives take TA stems and II plural suffixes.

105 The /-mése/ and –ho’ahe stems take the AI /-htove/ impersonal suffix for their passive forms.
### -hóxe'éná 'clean (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Case</th>
<th>Simple Form</th>
<th>Excl Form</th>
<th>Incl Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhóxe'ána</td>
<td>I cleaned it</td>
<td>Náhóxe'ananótse</td>
<td>I cleaned them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhóxe'ána</td>
<td>You cleaned it</td>
<td>Néhóxe'ananótse</td>
<td>You cleaned them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhóxe'ána</td>
<td>He cleaned it</td>
<td>Éhóxe'ananótse</td>
<td>He cleaned them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èhóxe'anotse</td>
<td>He (obv) cleaned it</td>
<td>Èhóxe'anótsenótse</td>
<td>He (obv) cleaned them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhóxe'anánóne</td>
<td>We (excl) cleaned it</td>
<td>Náhóxe'anánónéstse</td>
<td>We (excl) cleaned them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhóxe'anánóne</td>
<td>We (in) cleaned it</td>
<td>Néhóxe'anánónéstse</td>
<td>We (in) cleaned them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhóxe'anánóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) cleaned it</td>
<td>Néhóxe'anánovótse</td>
<td>You (pl) cleaned them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èhóxe'anánóvo</td>
<td>They cleaned it</td>
<td>Èhóxe'anánovótse</td>
<td>They cleaned them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èhóxe'ane</td>
<td>It was cleaned</td>
<td>Èhóxe'anēnēstse</td>
<td>They were cleaned</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### -hestá 'say (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Case</th>
<th>Simple Form</th>
<th>Excl Form</th>
<th>Incl Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhésta</td>
<td>I said it</td>
<td>Náhestanótse</td>
<td>I said them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhésta</td>
<td>You said it</td>
<td>Néhestanótse</td>
<td>You said them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhésta</td>
<td>He said it</td>
<td>Éhestanótse</td>
<td>He said them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èhestotse</td>
<td>He (obv) said it</td>
<td>Èhestósenótse</td>
<td>He (obv) said them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestánóne</td>
<td>We (excl) said it</td>
<td>Náhestánónéstse</td>
<td>We (excl) said them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénestánóne</td>
<td>We (in) said it</td>
<td>Nénestánónéstse</td>
<td>We (in) said them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhestánóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) said it</td>
<td>Néhestánovótse</td>
<td>You (pl) said them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èhestánóvo</td>
<td>They said it</td>
<td>Èhestánovótse</td>
<td>They said them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èhestohe</td>
<td>It was said</td>
<td>Èhestóhénéstse</td>
<td>They were said</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### -mane 'drink (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Case</th>
<th>Simple Form</th>
<th>Excl Form</th>
<th>Incl Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námane106</td>
<td>I drank it</td>
<td>Námanenótse</td>
<td>I drank them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némane</td>
<td>You drank it</td>
<td>Némanenótse</td>
<td>You drank them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émane</td>
<td>He drank it</td>
<td>Émanenótse</td>
<td>He drank them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èmanetse</td>
<td>He (obv) drank it</td>
<td>Èmanetsenótse</td>
<td>He (obv) drank them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námanénóne</td>
<td>We (excl) drank it</td>
<td>Námanénónéstse</td>
<td>We (excl) drank them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némanénóne</td>
<td>We (in) drank it</td>
<td>Némanénónéstse</td>
<td>We (in) drank them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némanénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) drank it</td>
<td>Némanénovótse</td>
<td>You (pl) drank them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èmanénóvo</td>
<td>They drank it</td>
<td>Èmanénovótse</td>
<td>They drank them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èmanéstővë107</td>
<td>It was drunk</td>
<td>Èmanéstóvénéstse</td>
<td>They were drunk108</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### -é'e'ó'tsé 'break (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject Case</th>
<th>Simple Form</th>
<th>Excl Form</th>
<th>Incl Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náé'e'ó'tse</td>
<td>I broke it</td>
<td>Náé'e'ótsenótse</td>
<td>I broke them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néé'e'ó'tse</td>
<td>You broke it</td>
<td>Néé'e'ótsenótse</td>
<td>You broke them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éé'e'ó'tse</td>
<td>He broke it</td>
<td>Éé'e'ó'tse</td>
<td>He broke them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èé'e'ó'tsetse</td>
<td>He (obv) broke it</td>
<td>Èé'e'ótsenötsetse</td>
<td>He (obv) broke them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náé'e'ótsénóne</td>
<td>We (excl) broke it</td>
<td>Náé'e'ótsenónéstse</td>
<td>We (excl) broke them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néé'e'ótsenone</td>
<td>We (in) broke it</td>
<td>Néé'e'ótsenónéstse</td>
<td>We (in) broke them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néé'e'ótsénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) broke it</td>
<td>Néé'e'ótsenovótse</td>
<td>You (pl) broke them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èé'e'ótsénóvo</td>
<td>They broke it</td>
<td>Èé'e'ótsenovótse</td>
<td>They broke them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èé'e'o'he</td>
<td>It was broken</td>
<td>Èé'e'óhénéstse</td>
<td>They were broken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

106 Námame, Némane, and Émane are identical in pronunciation to the AI verbs meaning 'I drank', 'You drank', and 'He drank', respectively.

107 This is identical in pronunciation to the impersonal verb meaning 'There is drinking'.

108 That is, 'They (some inanimate plural liquids) were drunk' not the meaning 'They (some people) were drunk'.

172
Some other TI Independent Indicative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náa’tǎxá.</td>
<td>I accidentally cut it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestāna.</td>
<td>He took it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náho’xátsésta.</td>
<td>I'm used to it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émē’a.</td>
<td>He found it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nápẹhévátsésta.</td>
<td>I like it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návon’a’ó’tse.</td>
<td>I lost it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návonetanó’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, Náhámáta 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.

Náhámá’ta na’évo.    My nose hurts. (lit., I hurt to my nose)
Náhámá’tonó’tse 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:

Náhámá’tóvo namo’ēško. My finger hurts. (lit., I hurt to my finger)
Náhámá’movoo’o namo’ēškono. My fingers hurt. (lit., I hurt to my fingers)

-táá’á '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’ē. The cap fits me. (lit., I fit to the cap)
Nátáá’anó’tse hóhkéhá’estse. The caps fit me. (lit., I fit to the caps)

Compare corresponding TA verbs:
Nátáa'óvo 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 -pêhêve'áhtá:

Nápêhêvé'áhta ho'évohkötse. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-vóohtomóv 'see his_'</th>
<th>-hestanomóv 'take his_'</th>
<th>-é'e'ó'tov 'break his_'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóohtomóvo I see his</td>
<td>Náhestanomóvo I took his</td>
<td>Náé'e'ó'tóvo I broke his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóohtomóvo You see his</td>
<td>Néhestanomóvo You took his</td>
<td>Néé'e'ó'tóvo You broke his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohtomóvo He sees his (obv)</td>
<td>Éhestanomóvo He took his (obv)</td>
<td>Éé'e'ó'tóvo He broke his (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóohtomóvonóne We (ex) see his</td>
<td>Náhestanomóvonóne We (ex) took his</td>
<td>Náé'e'ó'tóvóónóne We (ex) broke his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóohtomóvonóne We (in) see his</td>
<td>Néhestanomóvonóne We (in) took his</td>
<td>Néé'e'ó'tóvóónóne We (in) broke his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóohtomóvonóvo You (pl) see his</td>
<td>Néhestanomóvonóvo You (pl) took his</td>
<td>Néé'e'ó'tóvóónóvo You (pl) broke his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohtomóvonóvo They see his</td>
<td>Éhestanomóvonóvo They took his</td>
<td>Éé'e'ó'tóvóvonóvo They broke his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóometse His __ is seen</td>
<td>Éhestanetse His __ (pl) are seen</td>
<td>Éé'e'ó'hetse His __ was taken</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-é'e'ó'tov 'break his_'</th>
<th>-hestanomóv 'take his_'</th>
<th>-vóohtomóv 'see his_'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náé'e'ó'tóvo I broke his</td>
<td>Náhestanomóvo I took his</td>
<td>Návóohtomóvo I see his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néé'e'ó'tóvo You broke his</td>
<td>Néhestanomóvo You took his</td>
<td>Névóohtomóvo You see his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éé'e'ó'tóvo He broke his (obv)</td>
<td>Éhestanomóvo He took his (obv)</td>
<td>Évóohtomóvo He sees his (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náé'e'ó'tóvónóne We (ex) broke his</td>
<td>Náhestanomóvo We (ex) took his</td>
<td>Návóohtomóvo We (ex) see his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néé'e'ó'tóvóónóne We (in) broke his</td>
<td>Néhestanomóvo We (in) took his</td>
<td>Névóohtomóvo We (in) see his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néé'e'ó'tóvónóvo You (pl) broke his</td>
<td>Néhestanomóvo You (pl) took his</td>
<td>Návóohtomóvo You (pl) see his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éé'e'ó'tóvóónóvo They broke his</td>
<td>Éhestanomóvo They took his</td>
<td>Évóohtomóvo They see his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éé'e'ó'hetse His __ was broken</td>
<td>Éhestanetse His __ (pl) were taken</td>
<td>Évóometse His __ is seen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Transitive Inanimate Independent Negative Indicative verbs**

TI negatives require the sáa- preverb and –hé suffix, as do AI and TA verbs. Traditionally, a TI inanimate object agreement marker /-á/ changes to /-ó/ in negatives. Younger speakers are regularizing the TI negative paradigm so that they keep the /-á/ in both positive and negative verbs.

### 'not see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Násáavóóhtóhe</th>
<th>I did not see it</th>
<th>Násáavóohtóhenótsé</th>
<th>I did not see them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhe</td>
<td>You did not see it</td>
<td>Nésáavóohtóhenótsé</td>
<td>You did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhe</td>
<td>He did not see it</td>
<td>Ésáavóohtóhenótsé</td>
<td>He did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhetsé</td>
<td>He (obv) did not see it</td>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhetsenótsé</td>
<td>He (obv) did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóbéhénóne</td>
<td>We (ex) did not see it</td>
<td>Násáavóóhtóbéhénónsté</td>
<td>We (ex) did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóne</td>
<td>You (pl) did not see it</td>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénónsté</td>
<td>You (pl) did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénóvo</td>
<td>They did not see it</td>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénóstó</td>
<td>They did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóoméhane</td>
<td>It was not seen</td>
<td>Ésáavóoméhanehótó</td>
<td>They were not seen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'not eat (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Násáaméséhe</th>
<th>I did not eat it</th>
<th>Násáaméséhenósté</th>
<th>I did not eat them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhe</td>
<td>You did not eat it</td>
<td>Nésáaméséhenósté</td>
<td>You did not eat them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhe</td>
<td>He did not eat it</td>
<td>Ésáaméséhenósté</td>
<td>He did not eat them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhetsé</td>
<td>He (obv) did not eat it</td>
<td>Ésáaméséhetsenósté</td>
<td>He (obv) did not eat them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaméséhénóne</td>
<td>We (ex) did not eat it</td>
<td>Násáaméséhénónesté</td>
<td>We (ex) did not eat them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhénone</td>
<td>We (in) did not eat it</td>
<td>Nésáaméséhénónesté</td>
<td>We (in) did not eat them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) did not eat it</td>
<td>Nésáaméséhénónsté</td>
<td>You (pl) did not eat them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhénóvo</td>
<td>They did not eat it</td>
<td>Ésáaméséhénóstó</td>
<td>They did not eat them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséstovéhane</td>
<td>It was not eaten</td>
<td>Ésáaméséstovéhanehótó</td>
<td>They were not eaten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'not have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Násáaho'tséhé</th>
<th>I do not have it</th>
<th>Násáaho'tséhnótsé</th>
<th>I do not have them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho'tséhé</td>
<td>You do not have it</td>
<td>Nésáaho'tséhnótsé</td>
<td>You do not have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'tséhé</td>
<td>He does not have it</td>
<td>Ésáaho'tséhnótsé</td>
<td>He does not have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'tséhetsé</td>
<td>He (obv) does not have it</td>
<td>Ésáaho'tséhetsenótsé</td>
<td>He (obv) does not have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho'tséhénóne</td>
<td>We (ex) do not have it</td>
<td>Násáaho'tséhénónesté</td>
<td>We (ex) does not have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho'tséhénone</td>
<td>We (in) do not have it</td>
<td>Násáaho'tséhénónesté</td>
<td>We (in) does not have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho'tséhénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) do not have it</td>
<td>Nésáaho'tséhénónsté</td>
<td>You (pl) do not have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'tséhénóvo</td>
<td>They do not have it</td>
<td>Ésáaho'tséhénóstó</td>
<td>They do not have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'héhane</td>
<td>It is not had</td>
<td>Ésáaho'héhanehótó</td>
<td>They are not had</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'not want (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Násáaho'ahéhé</th>
<th>I don't want it</th>
<th>Násáaho'ahéhénótsé</th>
<th>I don't want them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho'ahéhé</td>
<td>You don't want it</td>
<td>Nésáaho'ahéhénótsé</td>
<td>You don't want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'ahéhé</td>
<td>He doesn't want it</td>
<td>Ésáaho'ahéhénótsé</td>
<td>He doesn't want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'ahéhetsé</td>
<td>He (obv) doesn't want it</td>
<td>Ésáaho'ahéhetsenótsé</td>
<td>He (obv) doesn't want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho'ahéhénóne</td>
<td>We (ex) don't want it</td>
<td>Násáaho'ahéhénónesté</td>
<td>We (ex) don't want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho'ahéhénone</td>
<td>We (in) don't want it</td>
<td>Násáaho'ahéhénónesté</td>
<td>We (in) don't want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho'ahéhénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) don't want it</td>
<td>Nésáaho'ahéhénósté</td>
<td>You (pl) don't want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'ahéhénóvo</td>
<td>They don't want it</td>
<td>Ésáaho'ahéhénóstó</td>
<td>They don't want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'ahéstovéhane</td>
<td>It is not wanted</td>
<td>Ésáaho'ahéstovéhanehótó</td>
<td>They are not wanted</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
'not clean (something)'
Násáahóxe’anóhe  I didn’t clean it  Násáahóxe’anóhenótse  I didn’t clean them
Nésáahóxe’anóhe  You didn’t clean it  Nésáahóxe’anóhenótse  You didn’t clean them
Ésáahóxe’anóhe  He didn’t clean it  Ésáahóxe’anóhenótse  He didn’t clean them
Ésáahóxe’anóhetse  He (obv) didn’t clean it  Ésáahóxe’anóhetsonótse  He (obv) didn’t clean them
Násáahóxe’anóhenône  We (ex) didn’t clean it  Násáahóxe’anóhenônestse  We (ex) didn’t clean them
Nésáahóxe’anóhenône  We (in) didn’t clean it  Nésáahóxe’anóhenônestse  We (in) didn’t clean them
Nésáahóxe’anóhenôvo  You (pl) didn’t clean it  Nésáahóxe’anóhenôvôtse  You (pl) didn’t clean them
Ésáahóxe’anóhenôvo  They didn’t clean it  Ésáahóxe’anóhenôvôtse  They didn’t clean them
Ésáahóxe’anéhanëhe  It was not cleaned  Ésáahóxe’anéhanëhetse  They were not cleaned

Transitive Inanimate
Independent Negative relational verbs

'n't not see (something)'
Násáavóohtomóvôhe  I didn’t see his ___  Násáavóohtomóvôhenótse  I didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Nésáavóohtomóvôhe  You didn’t see his ___  Nésáavóohtomóvôhenótse  You didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Ésáavóotomóvôhe  He didn’t see his (obv) ___  Ésáavóotomóvôhenótse  He didn’t see his (obv) ___ (pl)
Násáavóohomóvôhône  We (ex) didn’t see his ___  Násáavóohomóvôhônéstse  We (ex) didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Nésáavóohomóvôhône  We (in) didn’t see his ___  Nésáavóohomóvôhônéstse  We (in) didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Nésáavóohomóvôhôvo  You (pl) didn’t see his ___  Nésáavóohomóvôvôtse  You (pl) didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Ésáavóohomóvôhôvo  They didn’t see his ___  Ésáavóohomóvôvôtse  They didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Ésáavóomëhanëhëte  His ___ was not seen  Ésáavóomëhanëhetse  His ___ (pl) were not seen

'n't not take his (something)'
Násáahëstanomóvôhe  I did not take his ___  Násáahëstanomóvôhenótse  I took his ___ (pl)
Nésáahëstanomóvôhe  You did not take his ___  Nésáahëstanomóvôhenótse  You took his ___ (pl)
Ésáahëstanomóvôhe  He didn’t take his (obv) ___  Ésáahëstanomóvôhenótse  He took his (obv) ___ (pl)
Násáahëstanomóvôhône  We (ex) didn’t take his ___  Násáahëstanomóvôhônéstse  We (ex) took his ___ (pl)
Nésáahëstanomóvôhône  We (in) didn’t take his ___  Nésáahëstanomóvôhônéstse  We (in) took his ___ (pl)
Nésáahëstanomóvôhôvo  You (pl) didn’t take his ___  Nésáahëstanomóvôvôtse  You (pl) took his ___ (pl)
Ésáahëstanomóvôhôvo  They didn’t take his ___  Ésáahëstanomóvôvôtse  They took his ___ (pl)
Éhëstanëhanëhetse  His ___ was not taken  Éhëstanëhanëhetse  His ___ (pl) were not taken

'n't not break his (something)'
Násá’ë’e’ô’tôvôhe  I didn’t break his ___  Násá’ë’e’ô’tôvôhenótse  I didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Nésá’ë’e’ô’tôvôhe  You didn’t break his ___  Nésá’ë’e’ô’tôvôhenótse  You didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Ésá’ë’e’ô’tôvôhe  He didn’t break his (obv) ___  Ésá’ë’e’ô’tôvôhenótse  He didn’t break his (obv) ___ (pl)
Násá’ë’e’ô’tôvôhône  We (ex) didn’t break his ___  Násá’ë’e’ô’tôvôhônéstse  We (ex) didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Nésá’ë’e’ô’tôvôhône  We (in) didn’t break his ___  Nésá’ë’e’ô’tôvôhônéstse  We (in) didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Nésá’ë’e’ô’tôvôhôvo  You (pl) didn’t break his ___  Nésá’ë’e’ô’tôvôvôtse  You (pl) didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Ésá’ë’e’ô’tôvôhôvo  They didn’t break his ___  Ésá’ë’e’ô’tôvôvôtse  They didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Ésá’ë’e’ô’hehanëhetse  His ___ wasn’t broken  Ésá’ë’e’ô’hehanëhetse  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 -ótse, the interrogative suffix -he combines with it so the "o" of the ending is voiced, not whispered. Then the ending is pronounced -otse.

'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Question 1</th>
<th>Question 2</th>
<th>Question 3</th>
<th>Question 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóohtahe?</td>
<td>Did I see it?</td>
<td>Návóohtanotse?</td>
<td>Did I see them?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Névóohtahe?</td>
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<td>Névóohtanotse?</td>
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<td>Did he see them?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Évóohtotsehe?</td>
<td>Did he (obv) see it?</td>
<td>Évóohtotsenotse?</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Did we (incl) see it?</td>
<td>Névóohtanonevotse?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Névóohtanovohe?</td>
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<td>Névóohtanovotse?</td>
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<td>Was it seen?</td>
<td>Évéomenevotse?</td>
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'want (something)'

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<td>Do I want it?</td>
<td>Náho'âhenotse?</td>
<td>Do I want them?</td>
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<td>Ného'âhenotse?</td>
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<td>Êho'âhenotse?</td>
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<td>Êho'âhetsenotse?</td>
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<td>Náho'âhenonovotse?</td>
<td>Do we (excl) want them?</td>
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<td>Ného'âhenovotse?</td>
<td>Do you (pl) want them?</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Do they want it?</td>
<td>Ého'âhenovotse?</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Ého'âhéstovenevotse?</td>
<td>Are they wanted?</td>
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</table>

'take (something)'

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<td>Náhestananotse?</td>
<td>Did I take them?</td>
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<td>Éhestananotse?</td>
<td>Did he take them?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Éhestanotsehe?</td>
<td>Did he (obv) take it?</td>
<td>Éhestanotsehe?</td>
<td>Did he (obv) take them?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Náhestananchehe?</td>
<td>Did we (excl) take it?</td>
<td>Náhestananchehe?</td>
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<td>Néhestananchehe?</td>
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<td>Néhestananohehe?</td>
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<td>Néhestananohehe?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) take them?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Éhestanehe?</td>
<td>Was it taken?</td>
<td>Éhestanenevotse?</td>
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</table>

Some mó- prefix TI questions

<table>
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<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóóhta?</td>
<td>Did you see it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó'êhestâna?</td>
<td>Did he take it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónêhestanovohe?</td>
<td>Did you (plural) take them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónémésenotse?</td>
<td>Did you eat them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó'éméséstôvénéstse?</td>
<td>Were they eaten?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Inanimate Interrogative relational verbs

'see his (something)'

Návóohtomóvohe? Did I see his ___? Návóohtomóvonotsévotse? Did I see his ___ (plural)?)
Névóohtomóvohe? Did you see his ___? Névóohtomóvonotsévotse? Did you see his ___ (pl)?
Évóohtomóvohe? Did he see his (obv) ___? Évóohtomóvonotsévotse? Did he see his (obv) ___ (pl)?
Návóohtomóvononehe? Did we (ex) see his ___? Návóohtomóvononevotse? Did we (ex) see his ___ (pl)?
Névóohtomóvononehe? Did we (in) see his ___? Névóohtomóvononevotse? Did we (in) see his ___ (pl)?
Návóohtomóvonovehe? Did you (pl) see his ___? Návóohtomóvonovevotse? Did you (pl) see his ___ (pl)?
Évóohtomóvonovehe? Did they see his ___? Évóohtomóvonovevotse? Did they see his ___ (pl)?
Évóooméhanéhe? Was his ___ seen? Évóooméhanéhetsehe? Were his ___ (pl) seen?

'take his (something)'

Náhestanomóvohe? Did I take his ___? Náhestanomóvonotse? Did I take his ___ (plural)?
Néhestanomóvohe? Did you take his ___? Néhestanomóvonotse? Did you take his ___ (pl)?
Éhestanomóvohe? Did he take his ___? Éhestanomóvonotse? Did he take his (obv) ___ (pl)?
Náhestanomóvononehe? Did we (ex) take his ___? Náhestanomóvononevotse? Did we (ex) take his ___ (pl)?
Néhestanomóvononehe? Did we (in) take his ___? Néhestanomóvononevotse? Did we (in) take his ___ (pl)?
Náhestanomóvonovehe? Did you (pl) take his ___? Náhestanomóvonovevotse? Did you (pl) take his ___ (pl)?
Éhestanomóvonovehe? Did they take his ___? Éhestanomóvonovevotse? Did they take his ___ (pl)?
Éhestanetsehe? Was his ___ taken? Éhestanetsevotse? Were his ___ (pl) taken?

Negative Interrogative verbs

Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative

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

Násáavóohtóhehe? Didn't I see it? Násáavóohtóhenotse? Didn't I see them?
Nésáavóohtóhehe? Didn't you see it? Nésáavóohtóhenotse? Didn't you see them?
Ésáavóohtóhehe? Didn't he see it? Ésáavóohtóhenotse? Didn't he see them?
Ésáavóohtóhetsehe? Didn't he (obv) see it? Ésáavóohtóhetsonotse? Didn't he (obv) see them?
Násáavóohtóhenonehe? Didn't we (ex) see it? Násáavóohtóhenonevotse? Didn't we (ex) see them?
Nésáavóohtóhenonehe? Didn't we (in) see it? Nésáavóohtóhenonevotse? Didn't we (in) see them?
Návóohtóhenovehe? Didn't you (pl) see it? Násáavóohtóhenovevotse? Didn't you (pl) see them?
Ésáavóohtóhenovehe? Didn't they see it? Ésáavóohtóhenovevotse? Didn't they see them?
Ésáavóoméhanéhehe? Wasn't it seen? Ésáavóoméhanéhetsehe? Weren't they seen?

Some other Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative verbs

Nésáahesahéstovóhehe? Didn't you take it?
Nésáaméséhenotse? Didn't you (plural) eat them?
Ésáaméséhethéhinotse? Weren't they (inanimate) eat them?
Ésáaho'ahéstovóhethéhinotse? Wasn't it wanted?

Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative relational verbs

Násáavóohtomóvohehe? Didn't I see his ___? Násáavóohtomóvóhenotse? Didn't I see his ___ (pl)?
Nésáavóohtomóvohehe? Didn't you see his ___? Nésáavóohtomóvóhenotse? Didn't you see his ___ (pl)?
Ésáavóohtomóvohehe? Didn't he see his (obv) ___? Ésáavóohtomóvóhenotse? Didn't he see his (obv) ___ (pl)?
Násáavóohtomóvóhenonehehe? Didn't we (ex) see his ___? Násáavóohtomóvóhenonevotse? Didn't we (ex) see his ___ (pl)?
Nésáavóohtomóvóhenonehehe? Didn't we (in) see his ___? Nésáavóohtomóvóhenonevotse? Didn't we (in) see his ___ (pl)?
Náavóohtomóvóhenovehehe? Didn't you (pl) see his ___? Násáavóohtomóvóhenovevotse? Didn't you (pl) see his ___ (pl)?
Ésáavóohtomóvóhenovehehe? Didn't they see his ___? Ésáavóohtomóvóhenovevotse? Didn't they see his ___ (pl)?
Ésáavóoméhanéhetsehe? Wasn't his ___ seen? Ésáavóoméhanéhetotsehe? Weren't his ___ (pl) seen?
Transitive Inanimate Inferential verbs

$\$CHECK YOUNGER SPEAKER dialect: e.g. Mónávo'ohtáhe??

'see (something)'

Mónávo'ohtóhe I must have seen it Mónávo'ohtóhenótse I must have seen them
Mónévo'ohtóhe You must have seen it Mónévóohtóhenótse You must have seen them
Móvo'ohtóhe He must have seen it Móvo'ohtóhenótse He must have seen them
Móvo'ohtóhets'éhe He (obv) must have seen it Móvo'ohtóhetsenótse He (obv) must have seen them
Mónávo'ohtóhenónéhe We (ex) must have seen it Mónávo'ohtóhenónéhetsenótse We (ex) must have seen them
Mónévo'ohtóhenónéhe We (in) must have seen it Mónévóohtóhenónéhetsenótse We (in) must have seen them
Mónávo'ohtóhenónéhe You (pl) must have seen it Mónávo'ohtóhenónéhetsenótse You (pl) must have seen them
Móvo'ohtóhenónéhe They must have seen it Móvo'ohtóhenónéhetsenótse They must have seen them

'take (something)'

Mónáhe'stánóhe I must have taken it Mónáhe'stánóhetsenótse I must have taken them
Mónéhe'stánóhe You must have taken it Mónévóohtóhetsenótse You must have taken them
Móhe'stánóhe He must have taken it Móhe'stánóhetsenótse He must have taken them
Móhe'stánóhets'éhe He (obv) must have taken it Móhe'stánóhetsenótse He (obv) must have taken them
Mónáhe'stánóhets'nóhe We (ex) must have taken it Mónáhe'stánóhets'nóhe'sténótse We (ex) must have taken them
Mónéhe'stánóhets'nóhe We (in) must have taken it Mónévóohtóhets'nóhe'sténótse We (in) must have taken them
Mónáhe'stánóhets'nóhe You (pl) must have taken it Mónáhe'stánóhets'nóhe'sténótse You (pl) must have taken them
Móhe'stánóhets'nóhe They must have taken it Móhe'stánóhets'nóhe'sténótse They must have taken them

'have (something)'

Mónáho'ts'éhe I must have it Mónáho'ts'éhetsenótse I must have seen them
Móného'ts'éhe You must have it Mónévóohtóhetsenótse You must have seen them
Móho'ts'éhe He must have it Móho'ts'éhetsenótse He must have it
Móho'ts'éhets'éhe He (obv) must have it Móho'ts'éhetsenótse He (obv) must have it
Mónáho'ts'éhets'nóhe We (ex) must have it Mónáho'ts'éhets'nóhe'sténótse We (ex) must have it
Móného'ts'éhets'nóhe We (in) must have it Mónévóohtóhets'nóhe'sténótse We (in) must have it
Mónáho'ts'éhets'nóhe You (pl) must have it Mónáho'ts'éhets'nóhe'sténótse You (pl) must have it
Móho'ts'éhets'nóhe They must have it Móho'ts'éhets'nóhe'sténótse They must have it

Recheck inferential paradigm for -héné'éná

'have (something)'

Mónáhé'énóhe I must know it Mónáhé'énóhetsenótse I must know it
Mónéhé'énóhe You must know it Mónévóohtóhetsenótse You must know it
Móhé'énóhe He must know it Móhé'énóhetsenótse He must know it
Móhé'énóhets'éhe He (obv) must know it Móhé'énóhetsenótse He (obv) must know it
Mónáhé'énóhets'nóhe We (ex) must know it Mónáhé'énóhets'nóhe'sténótse We (ex) must know it
Mónéhé'énóhets'nóhe We (in) must know it Mónévóohtóhets'nóhe'sténótse We (in) must know it
Mónáhé'énóhets'nóhe You (pl) must know it Mónáhé'énóhets'nóhe'sténótse You (pl) must know it
Móhé'énóhets'nóhe They must know it Móhé'énóhets'nóhe'sténótse They must know it
Transitive Inanimate Reportative verbs

### 'see (something)'

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<td>Návóóhtánose</td>
<td>I am said to see it</td>
<td>Návóohtanósestótse</td>
<td>I am said to see them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Névóóhtánose</td>
<td>You are said to see it</td>
<td>Névóohtanósestótse</td>
<td>You are said to see them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Évóóhtánose</td>
<td>He is said to see it</td>
<td>Évóohtanósestótse</td>
<td>He is said to see them</td>
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<td>Évóóhtsénose</td>
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<td>Évóohtsenósestótse</td>
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<td>We (ex) are said to see it</td>
<td>Návóohtanósestótse</td>
<td>We (ex) are said to see them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Névóóhtánosése</td>
<td>We (in) are said to see it</td>
<td>Névóohtanósestótse</td>
<td>We (in) are said to see them</td>
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<td>Névóóhtónóvose</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to see it</td>
<td>Névóohtonósestótse</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to see them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Évóóhtónóvose</td>
<td>They are said to see it</td>
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<td>They are said to see them</td>
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### 'take (something)'

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<td>Náhestanósestótse</td>
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<td>You are said to have taken it</td>
<td>Néhestanósestótse</td>
<td>You are said to have taken them</td>
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<td>He is said to have taken it</td>
<td>Éhestanósestótse</td>
<td>He is said to have taken them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Éhestánosése</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to have taken it</td>
<td>Éhestanósestótse</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestanánose</td>
<td>We (ex) are said to have taken it</td>
<td>Náhestanósestótse</td>
<td>We (ex) are said to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhestanánose</td>
<td>We (in) are said to have taken it</td>
<td>Néhestanósestótse</td>
<td>We (in) are said to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhestanánovose</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have taken it</td>
<td>Néhestanósestótse</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestanánovose</td>
<td>They are said to have taken it</td>
<td>Éhestanósestótse</td>
<td>They are said to have taken them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning (1st)</th>
<th>Meaning (2nd)</th>
<th>Meaning (3rd)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náho'tsénose</td>
<td>I am said to have it</td>
<td>Náho'tsénósestótse</td>
<td>I am said to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'tsénose</td>
<td>You are said to have it</td>
<td>Ného'tsénósestótse</td>
<td>You are said to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tsénose</td>
<td>He is said to have it</td>
<td>Ého'tsénósestótse</td>
<td>He is said to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tsénséno</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to have it</td>
<td>Ého'tsénsenósestótse</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náho'tsénóne</td>
<td>We (ex) are said to have it</td>
<td>Náho'tsénóneósestótse</td>
<td>We (ex) are said to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'tsénóne</td>
<td>We (in) are said to have it</td>
<td>Ného'tsénóneósestótse</td>
<td>We (in) are said to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'tsénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have it</td>
<td>Ného'tsénóvoósestótse</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tsénóvo</td>
<td>They are said to have it</td>
<td>Ého'tsénóvoósestótse</td>
<td>They are said to have them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Some Transitive Inanimate Reportative relational verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning (1st)</th>
<th>Meaning (2nd)</th>
<th>Meaning (3rd)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóohtomóvónose</td>
<td>I am said to have seen his ___ (rel).</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohtomóvónose</td>
<td>He is said to have seen his (obv) ___</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohtomóvónoseótse</td>
<td>He is said to have seen his ___ (plural)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestanomóvónose</td>
<td>I am said to have taken his ___</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestanomóvónose</td>
<td>He is said to have taken his (obv) ___</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestanomóvónoseótse</td>
<td>He is said to have taken his (obv) ___ (plural)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náeh'e'o'tóvónose</td>
<td>I am said to have broken his ___</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éé'e'o'tóvónose</td>
<td>He is said to have broken his (obv) ___</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éé'e'o'tóvónoseótse</td>
<td>He is said to have broken his (obv) ___ (plural)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náho'tomóvónose</td>
<td>I am said to have his ___</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tomóvónose</td>
<td>He is said to have his (obv) ___</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tomóvónoseótse</td>
<td>He is said to have his (obv) ___ (plural)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative verbs

**'not see (something)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénóse</td>
<td>I am said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóse</td>
<td>You are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénóse</td>
<td>He is said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóh ét sénóse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénóne se</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóne se</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóvóse</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénóvóse</td>
<td>They are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénósestótsé</td>
<td>I am said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénósestótsé</td>
<td>You are said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénósestótsé</td>
<td>He is said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóh ét sénósestótsé</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénóne sestótsé</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóne sestótsé</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóvósestótsé</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénóvósestótsé</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>Násáahesanóhénóse</td>
<td>I am said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahesanóhénóse</td>
<td>You are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahesanóhénóse</td>
<td>He is said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahesanóh ét sénóse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahesanóhénóne se</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahesanóhénóne se</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahesanóhénóvóse</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahesanóhénóvóse</td>
<td>They are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahesanóhénósestótsé</td>
<td>I am said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahesanóhénósestótsé</td>
<td>You are said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahesanóhénósestótsé</td>
<td>He is said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahesanóh ét sénósestótsé</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahesanóhénóne sestótsé</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahesanóhénóne sestótsé</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahesanóhénóvósestótsé</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahesanóhénóvósestótsé</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’tséh ét sénóse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho’tséhénóne se</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho’tséhénóne se</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho’tséhénóvóse</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’tséhénóvóse</td>
<td>They are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho’tséhénósestótsé</td>
<td>I am said not to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho’tséhénósestótsé</td>
<td>You are said not to have them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ésáaho’tséhenósestótse
He is said not to have them

Ésáahoo’tséhetsenósestótse
He (obviative) is said not to have them

Násáaho’tséhénónésestótse
We (exclusive) are said not to have them

Nésáaho’tséhénónésestótse
We (inclusive) are said not to have them

Nésáaho’tséhénóvésstótse
You (plural) are said not to have them

Ésáaho’tséhénóvésstótse
They are said not to have them

'not eat (something)'

Násáamésėhónëse
I am said not to have eaten it

Nésáamésėhónëse
You are said not to have eaten it

Ésáamésėhónëse
He is said not to have eaten it

Ésáaméséhëtsënëse
He (obviative) is said not to have eaten it

Násáaméséhënónëse
We (exclusive) are said not to have eaten it

Nésáaméséhëndëstëse
We (inclusive) are said not to have eaten it

Nésáaméséhëndëstëse
You (plural) are said not to have eaten it

Ésáaméséhëndëstëse
They are said not to have eaten it

Some Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative relational verbs

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

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

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

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

Transitive Inanimate Preterit verbs

Verbs are listed with remote past tense /h/- and its allomorphs [s], [š], [x], and [’] since this is how preterit verbs most often occur. English meanings of the preterit verbs appropriately include the words "Once upon a time" since text in the preterit mode typically refer to legends. Unlike English legends and folktales which begin with the words "Once upon a time", however, Cheyenne texts in the preterit may refer to historical characters and events. Preterit verbs can also be used in contemporary settings where a speaker communicates surprise. As with AI, II, and TA verbs, TI verbs only take third person subjects in the preterit mode.

'see (something)'

Éhvóohtanoho
Once upon a time he saw it

Éhvóohtanóhoonóto
Once upon a time he saw them (inanimate)

Éhvóohtanoto
Once upon a time they saw it

Éhvóohtanovôoonóto
Once upon a time they saw them (inanimate)

Éxhestanánoho
Once upon a time he took it

Éxhestanánohoonóto
Once upon a time he took them (inanimate)

Éxhestanoto
Once upon a time they took it

Éxhestanovôoonóto
Once upon a time they took them (inanimate)
Éxhestanánovóhoonótse Once upon a time they took them (inanimate)
Éxho'tsénoho Once upon a time he had it
Éxho'tsénóhoonótse Once upon a time he had them (inanimate)
Éxho'tsénovoho Once upon a time they had it
Éxho'tsénovoho Once upon a time they had them (inanimate)

Éhmésenoho Once upon a time he ate it
Éhmésenóhoonótse Once upon a time he ate them (inanimate)
Éhmésenovoho Once upon a time they ate it
Éhmésenovóhoonótse Once upon a time they ate them (inanimate)

É'amo'enánoho Once upon a time he rolled it
É'amo'enánóhoonótse Once upon a time he rolled them (inanimate)
É'amo'enánovoho Once upon a time they rolled it
É'amo'enánovóhoonótse Once upon a time they rolled them (inanimate)

Transitive Inanimate Negative Preterit verbs
Éssáavóohtóheho Once upon a time he did not see it
Éssáavóohtóhénóhoonótse Once upon a time he did not see them (inanimate)
Éssáavóohtóhénovoho Once upon a time they did not see it
Éssáavóohtóhénovóhoonótse Once upon a time they did not see them (inanimate)

Éssáahestanóhenoho Once upon a time he did not take it
Éssáahestanóhenóhoonótse Once upon a time he did not take them (inanimate)
Éssáahestanóhenovoho Once upon a time they did not take it
Éssáahestanóhenovóhoonótse Once upon a time they did not take 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’hóóhtöhse! 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’hóóhtöhse!</td>
<td>Vé’hoohtome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take it!</td>
<td>Hestänöhse!</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'eotseststséstse!</td>
<td>Néxho'eotsestse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burn it/them up!</td>
<td>Vonáho'höhse!</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>Tséhetaxöhse!</td>
<td>Tséhetáxome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean it/them!</td>
<td>Hóxe'anöhse!</td>
<td>Hóxe'anome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make it/them!</td>
<td>Manéststséstse!</td>
<td>Manéstse!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive Inanimate Delayed Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>said to one person</th>
<th>said to more than one person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Look at it/them later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoohtomeo'o!!</td>
<td>Vé'hoohtomâhéné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take it later!</td>
<td>Hestanomeo'o!</td>
<td>Hestanomâhéné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat it/them later!</td>
<td>Méséo'o!</td>
<td>Mésêhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bring it/them here later!</td>
<td>Néxho'eotséstseooméo'o</td>
<td>Néxho'eotséstsehéheéne!</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>Tséhetáxomâhéne!</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>Manéstseo'o!</td>
<td>Manéstseshéne!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive Inanimate Hortative verbs

As with the TI imperatives, a TI hortative can be about action toward a single thing or more than one thing. For instance, Vé'hoohtoha! means either 'Look at it!' or 'Look at them (inanimate)!'

| Vé'hoohtoha! | Let him look at it/them! | Vé'hoomévoha! | Let them look at it/them! |
| Hestanooha!! | Let him take it/them!    | Hestanomévoha!| Let them take it/them!    |
| Néxho'eotséstseha! | Let him bring it/them! | Néxho'eotséstsevoha! | Let them bring it/them! |
| Manéstseha! | Let him make it/them!    | Manéstsevoha!  | Let them make it/them!    |
| Ho'tseha!   | Let him have it/them!    | Ho'tsévoha!    | Let them have it/them!    |
| Méséha!     | Let him eat it/them!     | Mésevoha!      | Let them eat it/them!     |
| Maneha!     | Let him drink it/them!   | Manévoha!      | Let them drink it/them!   |
Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate Subject</th>
<th>Transitive Animate Subject</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náa'ta’oo’e</td>
<td>It acc. hit me</td>
<td>Náa'ta’óenôte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néa'ta’oo’e</td>
<td>It acc. hit you</td>
<td>Néa'ta’óenôte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éa’ta’oo’e</td>
<td>It acc. hit him</td>
<td>Éa’ta’óenôte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éa’ta’óetsë</td>
<td>It acc. hit him (obv)</td>
<td>Éa’ta’óetsenôte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náa'ta’óenöne</td>
<td>It acc. hit us (excl)</td>
<td>Náa'ta’óenonéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néa’ta’óenóvo</td>
<td>It acc. hit you (pl)</td>
<td>Néa’ta’óenovótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éa’ta’óenóvo</td>
<td>It acc. hit them</td>
<td>E’ta’óenovótse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

Káhámáxe éa’ta’oo’e hetane
The stick accidentally hit the man
Náa’ta’óenonéstse he’konótse
The bones accidentally hit us
Háomóhtáhestótse ého’ehótaetsë hëshe
Sickness came to his mother (obviative)

- *ho’ehót ‘come to (someone)’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate Subject</th>
<th>Transitive Animate Subject</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náho’ehótaae’</td>
<td>It came to me</td>
<td>Náho’ehótaenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného’ehótaae’</td>
<td>It came to you</td>
<td>Ného’ehótaenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého’ehótaae’</td>
<td>It came to him</td>
<td>Ého’ehótaenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého’ehótaetsë</td>
<td>It came to him (obv)</td>
<td>Ého’ehótaetsenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náho’ehótaenöne</td>
<td>It came to us (excl)</td>
<td>Náho’ehótaenonéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného’ehótaenonen</td>
<td>It came to us (in)</td>
<td>Ného’ehótaenonéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného’ehótaenóvo</td>
<td>It came to you (pl)</td>
<td>Ného’ehótaenovótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého’ehótaenóvo</td>
<td>It came to them</td>
<td>Ého’ehótaenovótse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

Káhámáxe éa’ta’oo’e hetane
The stick accidentally hit the man
Náa’ta’óenonéstse he’konótse
The bones accidentally hit us
Háomóhtáhestótse ého’ehótaetsë he’ske
Sickness came to his mother (obviative)

Some grammatical relationships different from English

At the end of the section on Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs we listed several examples of TA verbs for which Cheyenne and English differ in how they assign grammatical relationships to the same semantic relationships. In this section we observe the same kinds of differences between grammatical and semantic relationships for Inanimate Subject Transitive Animate verbs:

- *hóonósé’ot ‘miss (something)’

In English a thing which is missed by someone is treated as the direct object of the verb ‘miss’. In Cheyenne a thing which is missed by someone is treated as the semantic subject (causer of the feeling of missing) of the verb. Both kinds of grammatical relationships for the same semantic relationships are perfectly logical.

Náhóonósé’otaa’e námáho’heztôte. I miss my car. (lit., 'My car causes loneliness to me.‘)
Náhóonósé’otaenótse sémôntste. I miss the boats. (lit., 'The boats cause loneliness to me.‘)

- *pëhéveah’tam ‘like to listen to’

In Cheyenne the thing that someone likes to listen to is grammatically the subject of the TA verb –pëhéveah’tam. 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.
Épēhēveahtámaa'e. He likes to listen to it. (lit., 'It causes good listening to him.')
Épēhēveahtámaenóvo. They like to listen to it. (lit., 'It causes good listening to them.')

-**taa’ov ‘fit (someone)’ ADD TO TOC**
-**Ésáa’a’ta’óhēetsenéwo**. His shirt fits him. (lit., 'He fits to his shirt.')
-**Náatáa’oovo’o návóxóhehono.** 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Náa’ta’óetse</th>
<th>His __ acc. hit me</th>
<th>Náa’ta’óetsenótse</th>
<th>His __ (pl) acc. hit me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Néa’ta’óetse</td>
<td>His __ acc. hit you</td>
<td>Néa’ta’poetsenótse</td>
<td>His __ (pl) acc. hit me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éa’ta’óetse</td>
<td>His __ acc. hit him</td>
<td>Éa’ta’óetsenótse</td>
<td>His __ (pl) acc. hit him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náa’ta’óetsenone</td>
<td>His __ acc. hit us (ex)</td>
<td>Náa’ta’óetsenonéstse</td>
<td>His __ (pl) acc. hit us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néa’ta’óetsenone</td>
<td>His __ acc. hit us (in)</td>
<td>Néa’ta’óetsenonéstse</td>
<td>His __ (pl) acc. hit us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né’a’ta’óétsénóvo</td>
<td>His __ acc. hit you (pl)</td>
<td>Né’a’ta’óetsenovótse</td>
<td>His __ (pl) acc. hit you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éa’ta’óétsénóvo</td>
<td>His __ acc. hit them</td>
<td>Éa’ta’óetsenovótse</td>
<td>His __ (pl) acc. hit them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Náho’ehótaetse | His __ came to me | Náho’ehótaetsenótse | His __ (pl) came to me |
| Ného’ehótaetse | His __ came to you | Ného’ehótaetsenótse | His __ (pl) came to you |
| Ého’ehótaetse | His __ came to him | Ého’ehótaetsenótse | His __ (pl) came to him |
| Náho’ehótaetsenone | His __ came to us (ex) | Náho’ehótaetsenonéstse | His __ (pl) came to us (ex) |
| Ného’ehótaetsenone | His __ came to us (in) | Ného’ehótaetsenonéstse | His __ (pl) came to us (in) |
| Ného’ehótaetsenovo | His __ came to you (pl) | Ného’ehótaetsenovótse | His __ (pl) came to you (pl) |
| Ého’ehótaetsenovo | His __ came to them | Ého’ehótaetsenovótse | His __ (pl) came to them |

**Examples in sentences**

Náa’ta’óetse hemóxe’estónestótse                His pencil accidentally hit me
Hemóxe’estóonevótse náho’ehótaetsenonéstse        Their books came to us

**Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative verbs**

‘**not accidentally hit (someone)’**

| Násáa’a’ta’óéhe | It did not acc. hit me | Násáa’a’ta’óhenótse | They did not acc. hit me |
| Nésáa’a’ta’óéhe | It did not acc. hit you | Nésáa’a’ta’óhenótse | They did not acc. hit you |
| Ésáa’a’ta’óéhe | It did not acc. hit him | Ésáa’a’ta’óhenótse | They did not acc. hit him |
| Ésáa’a’ta’óéhetse | It did not acc. hit him (obv) | Ésáa’a’ta’óéhetsonótse | They did not acc. hit him (obv) |
| Násáa’a’ta’óéhénóne | It did not acc. hit us (ex) | Násáa’a’ta’óéhénonestse | They did not acc. hit us (ex) |
| Nésáa’a’ta’óéhénóne | It did not acc. hit us (in) | Nésáa’a’ta’óéhénonestse | They did not acc. hit us (in) |
| Násáa’a’ta’óéhénóvo | It did not acc. hit you (pl) | Násáa’a’ta’óéhénovótse | They did not acc. hit you (pl) |
| Ésáa’a’ta’óéhénóvo | It did not acc. hit them | Ésáa’a’ta’óéhénovótse | They did not acc. hit them |

| Násáa’o’ehótaehetse | His __ did not acc. hit me | Násáa’o’ehótaetsenótse | His __ (pl) did not acc. hit me |
| Nésáa’o’ehótaehetse | His __ did not acc. hit you | Nésáa’o’ehótaetsenótse | His __ (pl) did not acc. hit you |
| Ésáa’o’ehótaehetse | (obv) __ did not acc. hit him | Ésáa’o’ehótaetsenótse | (obv) __ did not acc. hit him |
| Násáa’o’ehótaetsenone | His __ did not acc. hit us (ex) | Násáa’o’ehótaetsenonestse | His __ (pl) did not acc. hit us (ex) |
| Nésáa’o’ehótaetsenone | His __ did not acc. hit us (in) | Nésáa’o’ehótaetsenonestse | His __ (pl) did not acc. hit us (in) |
| Násáa’o’ehótaetsenovo | His __ did not acc. hit you (pl) | Násáa’o’ehótaetsenovótse | His __ (pl) did not acc. hit you (pl) |
| Ésáa’o’ehótaetsenovo | (obv) __ did not acc. hit them | Ésáa’o’ehótaetsenovótse | (obv) __ did not acc. hit them |
| Násáaho’ehótaehetse | His __ did not come to me | Násáaho’ehótaehetsenótse | His __ (pl) did not come to me |

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Examples in sentences

Kahámáxe násáa’a’ta’óéhe
Ésáa’a’ta’óehétsenótse hemórńé’estónéstotótse
Háomóhtáhestótse ésáaáo’éhótaehetse hee’haho

The stick did not accidentally hit me
His (another’s) pencils did not accidentally hit him
Sickness didn’t come to his son.
Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Interrogative verbs

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

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
Náa'ta'óehe? & Did it acc. hit me? & Náta'óenotse? \\
Néa'ta'óehe? & Did it acc. hit you? & Néa'ta'óenotse? \\
Éa'ta'óehe? & Did it acc. hit him? & Éa'ta'óenotse? \\
Éa'ta'óetsæhe? & Did it acc. hit him (obv)? & Éa'ta'óetsenotse? \\
Náa'ta'óenonehe? & Did it acc. hit us (excl)? & Néa'ta'óenonevotse? \\
Néa'ta'óenonehe? & Did it acc. hit us (incl)? & Néa'ta'óenonevotse? \\
Néa'ta'óenovohe? & Did it acc. hit you (pl)? & Néa'ta'óenovotse? \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

\textit{-ho'ëhót '}come to (someone)\textit{'}

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
Náho'ëhótaehæ? & Did it come to me? & Náho'ëhótaenotse? \\
Ného'ëhótaehæ? & Did it come to you? & Ného'ëhótaenotse? \\
Ého'ëhótaetsæhe? & Did it come to him? & Ého'ëhótaetsenotse? \\
Náho'ëhótaenonehe? & Did it come to us (ex)? & Náho'ëhótaenonevotse? \\
Ného'ëhótaenonehe? & Did it come to us (in)? & Ného'ëhótaenonevotse? \\
Ného'ëhótaenovohe? & Did it come to you (pl)? & Ného'ëhótaenovotse? \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Interrogative relational verbs

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
Náa'ta'óetsehe? & Did his __ acc. hit me? & Náa'ta'óetsenotse? \\
Néa'ta'óetsehe? & Did his __ acc. hit you? & Néa'ta'óetsenotse? \\
Éa'ta'óetsehe? & Did his __ acc. hit him? & Éa'ta'óetsenotse? \\
Náa'ta'óetsenonehe? & Did his __ acc. hit us (ex)? & Náa'ta'óetsenonevotse? \\
Néa'ta'óetsenonehe? & Did his __ acc. hit us (in)? & Néa'ta'óetsenonevotse? \\
Néa'ta'óetsenovohe? & Did his __ acc. hit you (pl)? & Néa'ta'óetsenovotse? \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Negative Interrogative verbs

\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|}
\hline
Násáa'a'ta'óehehe? & Didn't it acc. hit me? & Násáa'a'ta'óehenotse? \\
Nésáa'a'ta'óehehehe? & Didn't it acc. hit you? & Nésáa'a'ta'óehenotse? \\
Ésáa'a'ta'óehehe? & Didn't it acc. hit him? & Ésáa'a'ta'óehenotse? \\
Ésáa'a'ta'óehetzæhe? & Didn't it acc. hit him (obv)? & Ésáa'a'ta'óehetzænotse? \\
Nósáa'a'ta'óehenenonehe? & Didn't it acc. hit us (ex)? & Nósáa'a'ta'óehenenotse? \\
Nésáa'a'ta'óehenenonehe? & Didn't it acc. hit you (pl)? & Nésáa'a'ta'óehenenotse? \\
Ésáa'a'ta'óehenenovohe? & Didn't it acc. hit them? & Ésáa'a'ta'óehenenotse? \\
\hline
\end{tabular}

Examples in sentences

\begin{itemize}
\item Kahámáxe néa'ta'óehe?
\item Pëhëvtanotsoëho'ëhótaetsehe hestónaho?
\item Néa'ta'óenovohe he'kon otse?
\item Ésa'a'ta'óehehehe?
\item Kåhámáxe néta'óehehe?
\item Pëhëvtanotsoëho'ëhótaetsehe hestónaho?
\item Néa'ta'óenovohe he'kon otse?
\item Ésa'a'ta'óehehehe?
\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.

| Námétahtse       | I gave it to myself | Námétaetsenone  | He (obv) gave it to us (ex) |
| Némétätse        | I gave it to you    | Némétaetsenone  | He (obv) gave it to us (in)  |
| Náméto           | I gave it to him    | Némétaetsenôvo  | He (obv) gave it to you (pl) |
| Námétamôho       | I gave it to him (obv) | Émétaenôvo    | He (obv) gave it to them    |
| Némétatsénôvo    | I gave it to you (pl)| Némétatsemeno   | We (ex) gave it to you      |
|                  |                     | Námétône111     | We (ex) gave it to him      |
| Námétônovo       | I gave it to them   | Námétamone112   | We (ex) gave it to him (obv)|
|                  |                     | Námétâhtseñône  | We (ex) gave it to ourselves|
| Némêtse          | You gave it to me   | Námétatsemeno   | We (ex) gave it to you (pl) |
| Némétahštse      | You gave it to yourself | Námétone0113  | We (ex) gave it to them    |
| Néméto           | You gave it to him  |                  |                             |
| Némétamôho       | You gave it to him (obv) |               |                             |
| Némétsemen0109   | You gave it to us (ex) |               |                             |
| Námétônovo       | You gave it to them |                  |                             |
|                  |                     | Námétone114     | We (in) gave it to him      |
| Námétaa’e        | He gave it to me    | Némétahtsénône  | We (in) gave it to ourselves|
| Némétaa’e        | He gave it to you   | Néméton0115     | We (in) gave it to them     |
| Émétahtsetse     | He gave it to himself |               |                             |
| Émèto110         | He gave it to him (obv) |               |                             |
| Námétaenône      | He gave it to us (excl) |               |                             |
| Némétaenone      | He gave it to us (incl)|               |                             |
| Némétaenôvo      | He gave it to you (pl) |               |                             |
|                  |                     | Némétsénôvo     | You (pl) gave it to me      |
|                  |                     | Némétônôvo      | You (pl) gave it to him     |
|                  |                     | Némétamonovo    | You (pl) gave it to him (obv)|
|                  |                     | Némétsemeno     | You (pl) gave it to us (in) |
|                  |                     | Némétâhtsénôvo  | You (pl) gave it to yourselves|
| Námétaetse       | He (obv) gave it to me |               |                             |
| Némétaetsêne     | He (obv) gave it to you |               |                             |
| Émétaâ‘e         | He (obv) gave it to him |               |                             |
| Émétahtsetse     | He (obv) gave it to himself |         |                             |

109 Also Némétsemenone
110 Younger speakers say Émétôho.

111 Also Námétône
112 Also Námétamone
113 Also Námétône
114 Also Némétonone
115 Also Némétonone
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Námétaenōvo</th>
<th>They gave it to me</th>
<th>Némétaenōvo</th>
<th>They gave it to you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émétónōvo</td>
<td>They gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>Émétanōvōte</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétaenōne</td>
<td>They gave it to us (ex)</td>
<td>Émétahsēnōvōte</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaenōne</td>
<td>They gave it to us (in)</td>
<td>Námētaetsēnōvōte</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaenōvo</td>
<td>They gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némētaetsēnōvōte</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émētahtsēnōvo</td>
<td>They gave it to themselves</td>
<td>Némētaetsēnovōte</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Námétāne</th>
<th>I was given it</th>
<th>Némētāne</th>
<th>You were given it</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námētaenōne</td>
<td>You were given it</td>
<td>Námētaenōne</td>
<td>They gave it to someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émetse</td>
<td>He was given it</td>
<td>Námētaenōne</td>
<td>These ditransitive verbs refer to when</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námētaenōne</td>
<td>We (ex) were given it</td>
<td>Námētaenōne</td>
<td>plural inanimate objects are given to someone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némētaenōvo</td>
<td>You (pl) were given it</td>
<td>Némētaenōvo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émētsēnōvo</td>
<td>They were given it</td>
<td>Émētsēnovōte</td>
<td>They gave them to themselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'give (some things to someone)'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námētahtsēnōtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némētatsēnōtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némētōnōtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námētatsēnōtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námētōnōvōte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námētōnōvōte</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némētsēnōtse</td>
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<td>Námētatsēnōtse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némētōnōtse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námētatsēnōtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némētēmenōtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némētōnōvōte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námētaenōtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némētaenōtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émētahtsēnōtse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námētaenōnēstse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námētaenōnēstse</td>
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<td>Námētaenōnēstse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némētaenōnēstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nämētaetsēnōtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nämētaetsēnōtse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**/-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>Námétahntsênöse</th>
<th>I gave him to myself</th>
<th>Námétænøno</th>
<th>They gave him (obv) to me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némétatšenöse</td>
<td>I gave him to you</td>
<td>Némétænøno</td>
<td>They gave him (obv) to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétøno</td>
<td>I gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Œmétoño</td>
<td>They gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétamónøto</td>
<td>I gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétænøno'ø</td>
<td>They gave him (obv) to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétatsënño</td>
<td>I gave him to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némétænøno'ø</td>
<td>They gave him (obv) to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétøno</td>
<td>I gave him (obv') to them</td>
<td>Némétænøvo'ø</td>
<td>They gave him (obv) to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NémétBTNöse</td>
<td>You gave him to me</td>
<td>Námétænøtsë</td>
<td>I was given him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NémétBTNöse</td>
<td>You gave him to yourself</td>
<td>Némétænøtsë</td>
<td>You were given him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamónøto</td>
<td>You gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Œmétoño</td>
<td>He was given him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétsemëno</td>
<td>You gave him to us (ex)</td>
<td>Némétænøno</td>
<td>We (ex) were given him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétøno</td>
<td>You gave him (obv') to them</td>
<td>Némétænøno</td>
<td>We (in) were given him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétætnöto</td>
<td>He gave him (obv') to me</td>
<td>Námétænøno</td>
<td>You (pl) were given him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétøno</td>
<td>He gave him (obv') to you</td>
<td>Námétænøno</td>
<td>They were given him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Œmétoño</td>
<td>He gave him (obv') to himself</td>
<td>Œmétoño</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétætšënño</td>
<td>He gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Œmétoño</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétætšënño</td>
<td>He gave him (obv') to us (ex)</td>
<td>Œmétoño</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétætšënño</td>
<td>He gave him (obv') to us (in)</td>
<td>Œmétoño</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétætšënño</td>
<td>He gave him (obv') to you (pl)</td>
<td>Œmétoño</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Œmétoño</td>
<td>He gave him (obv') to them</td>
<td>Œmétoño</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétætšemëno</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him to you</td>
<td>Námétænøne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétøne</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to him</td>
<td>Némétænøne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétømøne116</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétænøne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétætšënño</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him to ourselves</td>
<td>Námétænøne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétætšemëno</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him to you (pl)</td>
<td>Námétænøne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétøne</td>
<td>We (ex) gave him (obv) to them</td>
<td>Námétænøne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétøne</td>
<td>We (in) gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétænøne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétømøne117</td>
<td>We (in) gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétænøne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétætšënño</td>
<td>We (in) gave him to ourselves</td>
<td>Námétænøne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétøne</td>
<td>We (in) gave him (obv') to them</td>
<td>Námétænøne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétømøvo</td>
<td>You (pl) gave him to me</td>
<td>Námétænøvo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétøno</td>
<td>You (pl) gave him (obv) to him</td>
<td>Námétænøvo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétømøvo</td>
<td>You (pl) gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétænøvo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétëtšemëno</td>
<td>You (pl) gave him to you (ex)</td>
<td>Námétænøvo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétætšënño</td>
<td>You (pl) gave him to yourselves</td>
<td>Námétænøvo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétøno</td>
<td>You (pl) gave him (obv) to them</td>
<td>Námétænøvo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

116 Also Námétamónøne
117 Also Némétamónøne
/-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>Námétahtsénoto</th>
<th>I gave them to myself</th>
<th>Némétonovo</th>
<th>You (pl) gave them (obv) to them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némétonoto</td>
<td>I gave them to you</td>
<td>Námétaënoto</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétamónoto</td>
<td>I gave them (obv) to him (obv)</td>
<td>Némétaënoto</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétatsénovoo'o</td>
<td>I gave them to you (pl)</td>
<td>Émétonovo</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétonovo</td>
<td>I gave them (obv') to them</td>
<td>Námétänoënoto'o</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétšenoto</td>
<td>You gave them to me</td>
<td>Námétänoënoto'o</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétatsénoto</td>
<td>You gave them to yourself</td>
<td>Námétänoëvoo'o</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétonoto</td>
<td>You gave them (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Émétahtsennoto</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamónoto</td>
<td>You gave them (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétäsênoto</td>
<td>I was given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétsemenoo'o</td>
<td>You gave them to us (ex)</td>
<td>Némétänoënoto</td>
<td>You were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétonovo</td>
<td>You gave them (obv') to them</td>
<td>Némétäsënoto</td>
<td>He was given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétasenoto</td>
<td>He gave them (obv) to me</td>
<td>Némétäsënone</td>
<td>Némétäsënoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétahsënoto</td>
<td>He gave them (obv) to you</td>
<td>Némétäsënone</td>
<td>Némétäsënoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétoñoto</td>
<td>He gave them (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Némétäsëvoo'o</td>
<td>You (pl) were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétäneñoto</td>
<td>He gave them (obv) to him</td>
<td>Émétoñoto</td>
<td>They were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétänënone</td>
<td>He gave them (obv) to us (ex)</td>
<td>Námétäsënone</td>
<td>They were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétänënone</td>
<td>He gave them (obv) to us (in)</td>
<td>Némétäsënone</td>
<td>They were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétänënoëno'o</td>
<td>He gave them (obv') to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némétäsënone</td>
<td>They were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétäsënënoëno'o</td>
<td>He gave them (obv) to us (pl)</td>
<td>Némétäsënone</td>
<td>They were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétäsënëno'o</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them to me</td>
<td>Némétäsënone</td>
<td>They were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétonovo</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them (obv) to him</td>
<td>Némétäsënone</td>
<td>They were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamono</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them (obv) to him (obv)</td>
<td>Némétäsënone</td>
<td>They were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétsemenoo'o</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them (obv') to us (ex)</td>
<td>Némétäsënone</td>
<td>They were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétashtsënëno'o</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them to ourselves</td>
<td>Némétäsënone</td>
<td>They were given them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| Námétätañšenoto | He (obv) gave them to me | Némétäsënoto | You (pl) gave them (obv) to them |
| Némétäsënoto   | He (obv) gave them to you | Námétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to me       |
| Émétoñoto      | He (obv) gave them (obv') to him (obv) | Némétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to you      |
| Námétäsënoto   | He (obv) gave them (obv') to him (obv) | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to him (obv) |
| Némétäsënoto   | He (obv) gave them (obv) to us (ex) | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to us (ex)  |
| Némétäsënoto   | He (obv) gave them (obv) to us (in) | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to us (in)  |
| Némétäsënoto   | He (obv) gave them (obv) to you (pl) | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to you (pl)  |
| Émétoñoto      | He (obv) gave them (obv') to them | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to themselves |
| Némétäsënoto   | We (ex) gave them to you | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to them     |
| Nâmétäsënoto   | We (ex) gave them (obv') to him (obv) | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv') to him (obv) |
| Námétäsënoto   | We (ex) gave them to ourselves | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to us (ex)  |
| Némétäsënoto   | We (ex) gave them to you (pl) | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to us (pl)  |
| Némétäsënoto   | We (ex) gave them (obv) to them | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to them     |
| Némétäsënoto   | We (in) gave them (obv) to him | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to him     |
| Námétäsënoto   | We (in) gave them (obv') to him (obv) | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to him (obv) |
| Némétäsënoto   | We (in) gave them to ourselves | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to us (ex)  |
| Némétäsënoto   | We (in) gave them (obv) to them | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to them     |
| Némétënëvoo'o  | You (pl) gave them to me | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to them     |
| Némétäsënoto   | You (pl) gave them (obv) to him | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to them     |
| Némétämôno      | You (pl) gave them (obv) to him (obv) | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to them     |
| Némétäsënoto   | You (pl) gave them (obv') to us (ex) | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to us (pl)  |
| Némétäsënoto   | You (pl) gave them to ourselves | Nâmétäsënoto | They gave them (obv) to us (pl)  |

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

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

Discuss and show examples:

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

Ná-ho'eotséstomótánhónoto oēskéséhesono. 'I brought a puppy (obv) to him (obv).'</n

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

**Some other Ditransitive Independent Indicative verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóo'séhonótse</td>
<td>I showed them (inan) to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóo'séhónoto</td>
<td>He showed them (obv') to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóo'séhaenóne</td>
<td>He showed it to us (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóo'séhaenoto</td>
<td>He showed them (obv) to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nánomáhtséhaenótse</td>
<td>He stole them (inan) from me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nánomáhtséhaenónoto</td>
<td>He stole him (obv) from me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$RECHECK Násámétohe</td>
<td>I didn't give it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násámétaehe</td>
<td>He didn't give it to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóo'séhaehe</td>
<td>He didn't show it to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násámétohonóntse</td>
<td>I didn't give them (inan) to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êsáamétaehénóvo</td>
<td>He (obviative) didn't give it to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násámétohonénonéstse</td>
<td>We (exclusive) didn't give them (inan) to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násámétaehénovótse</td>
<td>They didn't give them (inan) to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násámétaehénovótoto</td>
<td>They didn't give him/them (obv) to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáanomáhtséhóhénótsé</td>
<td>I did not steal them (inan) from him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Some Ditransitive Independent Interrogative verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némétohe?</td>
<td>Did you give it to him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êmétovohe?</td>
<td>Did he give it to him (obviative)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétonovohe?</td>
<td>Did you (plural) give it to him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êmétovovohe?</td>
<td>Did they give it to him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaenótsé?</td>
<td>Did he give them (inan) to you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaenotohe?</td>
<td>Did he give him (obviative) to you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóo'séhónovotse??</td>
<td>Did you (plural) show them (inan) to them?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Interrogative verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násámétohénovohe?</td>
<td>Didn't you (plural) give it to them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násámétaehénótsé?</td>
<td>Didn't he give them (inan) to you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáamétaehénotohe?</td>
<td>Didn't he (obv) give him (obv') to him?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Some Ditransitive Independent Inferential verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Statement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mómétaenótsé</td>
<td>He must have given them (inan) to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóo'séhaenotohe??</td>
<td>He must have shown him (obviative) to me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mónánomáhtséhaehéhe He must have stolen it from me

Some Ditransitive Imperative verbs
Métseha! Give it to him!
Néhmetséstse!121 Give it to me!

Some Ditransitive Hortative verbs
Métoha! Let him give it/them to him (obv)!
Vóo'séhóvoha!? Let them show it/them to him (obv)!

Overview of Conjunct Order modes

The conjunct order is used for dependent verbs and a few verb types122 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tséhnéménése123</th>
<th>when/where/since he sang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhmanéto</td>
<td>when/where/since I drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóonā'o</td>
<td>when/since it was morning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 māh-. Suffixes in the potential for third person subjects require an /ht/ whereas third person suffixes in the indicative are usually /s/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>māhméovóonā'o</th>
<th>when it is morning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>māhnéxho'èhnéstse</td>
<td>when he arrives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

121 This includes the cislocative preverb néh-, which is the most common way of saying this command. This preverb is high-pitched in commands, but low-pitched elsewhere.
122 A few Cheyenne verbs have conjunct morphology but function as independent verbs. Among them are negative inferentials, optatives, and the obligative mode. There are some 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. **$RECHECK AND NOTE DIC'Y AND TEXT EXAMPLES??**. The few Cheyenne conjunct forms that can function as independent verbs may reflect earlier wider usage of pre-Cheyenne conjuncts functioning as independents, since some conjunct verbs still function as independent verbs in some other Algonquian languages.
123 Some speakers also say 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:

máhvé’néménéstse  if he sings
máhvé’háomóhtáhévótse  if they are sick

Irrealis
The irrealis mode uses just the vé'- preverb and refers to action or a state which is contrary to reality. This preverb is used in independent verbs to refer to an action which is prohibited, which is semantically related to its meaning in conjunct order verbs.

vé’néménéstse  if he were a singer / or, if he had sung
vé’hetanéveto  if you were a man

Iterative
Iterative verbs refer to action which occurred repeatedly. This mode uses the hó’- prefix:

hó’néménése  whenever he sang
hó’tonéto  whenever it was cold

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

Épëhévoéstomo’he. 'She is kind.' Response: ōhnaóotseséstse! 'when she's asleep'
(humorous response about a sister-in-law)
ohméovóona’oo’estse  in the mornings

Concessive
The concessive mode refers to a something which might be expected to cause something else not to happen, but it happens anyway. The concessive uses the iterative prefix hó’- plus the preverb –néše and sometimes also the preverb kánome-.

hó’néšenéménéstse  even if he sings, even though he sang
hó’néšé-hoháetonéto  even if it is really cold

Contraindicative
The contraindicative refers to a condition that a speaker had assumed was true but wasn't. It uses the particle maa’séóhe which may cliticize to the beginning of the verb as a prefix.

Máa’séóhe néménéstse.  I thought he was singing (but he wasn't).
Máa’séóhe háomóhtáheto.  I thought you were sick (but you aren't).

Optative
The optative expresses a wish. Its prefix is momóxe-.

Momóxenéménéstse  I wish he would sing.
Momóxéhéne’enómo.  I wish I understood it.
Interrogative

The conjunct interrogative refers to a condition that the speaker wonders is true or not. Its prefix is éó-. Note that this use of the term interrogative is different from, although related to, its more common usage referring to a question. The use of the term interrogative for a conjunct mode is established in Algonquian language study. It refers to a kind of embedded question, dependent on some independent order verb.

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

$$INCLUDE SONG$$

The verb is tséhméhaevoneotsévo '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'. $$TRY TO GET A CLEARER DESCRIPTION OF THE SEMANTIC DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO FORMS$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tséhvoneotsé-vo</th>
<th>when I was lost (removed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhvoneotsé-vôse</td>
<td>when you were lost (removed)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'kóhóhane??  It must not have rained

Participles

Participles require conjunct suffixes but act as nouns rather than verbs. They can be translated as relative clauses in English. The two most common participle prefixes are tsé- and néh-. $$SEPARATE$$
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>Participles</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsénéménéstse</td>
<td>the singer (i.e. the one who sings)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenerese</td>
<td>the singers (those who sing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tshèheskese</td>
<td>the one who is his mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsétsehéstahese (Tsitsistas)</td>
<td>Cheyennes (i.e. those who are Cheyennes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséháóénahtse</td>
<td>the one who prays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsépéhéve'ee'éstse</td>
<td>those things (inanimate) which are good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséa'kásétoo'éstse</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>tséameohtséhasee'e</td>
<td>those who are leading you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséohkekéháhané'oevose</td>
<td>those (obv) who are close to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaese</td>
<td>those (obv) who love him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhóo'xevomotahóvose Ma'heóneva</td>
<td>those who announce for God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénéheshéháta'óse</td>
<td>those who depend on you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótoño</td>
<td>those who I love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhnéšése</td>
<td>the two of you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhno'kahéto</td>
<td>I alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstoxése</td>
<td>all of us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Particiles 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>Cheyenne Questions</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Névááhe tsénéménéstse?</td>
<td>Who is singing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névááhe tséméseestse?</td>
<td>Who is eating?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neváase'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'aaese?</td>
<td>Who wants it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névááhe tsého'üstse?</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>Néváase' o tsépéhévatséseto_??</td>
<td>Who (plural) likes them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hénáá’e tsévóohtomo?</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'ehótse 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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne Questions</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AI</td>
<td>-tó 1 [-tó(n)?]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-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’ë + - 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’ë + - tse + - s (INV-OBV-3.CJT) 3’:1
- áta’ + - osé 3(PL)’-2
- ae + - s (INV-3.CJT) 3’:3
- a’ë + -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’ë + - ht 3:1
- ht’ 3:3’
- ae + - ht 3’:3
- a’ë + -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 + - vé + - s 3PL:I(PL)

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Indicative verbs

/-néménë/ 'sing'

   tséhnemenéto$^{124}$ when I sang

$^{124}$ It is uncertain whether a penultimate pitch is mid or high when it is preceded by one or more low pitches.
tsénémeneto when you sang
tséhnéménése when he sang
tséhnémensésé when he (obviative) sang
tséhnéménétse when we sang
tséhnéménése when you (plural) sang
tséhnéménévose when they sang

-mané 'drink'
tséhmanéto when I drank
tséhmaneto when you drank
tséhmanése when he drank
tséhmanetsése when he (obviative) drank
tséhmanétse when we drank
tséhmanése when you (plural) drank
tséhmanévose when they drank

-/háoéná/ 'pray'
tséxháóénáto when I prayed
tséxháóenato when you prayed
tséxháóénase when he prayed
tséxháóenatsése when he (obviative) prayed
tséxháóénátse when we prayed
tséxháóénése when you (plural) prayed
tséxháóénávose when they prayed

-mésehe 'eat'
tséhmésehéto when I ate
tséhméseheto when you ate
tséhméseese when he ate
tséhmésehetsése when he (obviative) ate
tséhmésehétse when we ate
tséhmésehése when you (plural) ate
tséhmésehévose when they ate

-/sévanó/ 'ski, skate'
tséssévanóto when I skated
tséssévanoto when you skated
tséssévánose when he skated
tséssévanotsése when he (obviative) skated
tséssévanótse when we skated
tséssévanése when you (plural) skated
tséssévanóvose when they skated

/-oveše(ná)/ 'go to bed'
tsé'ovéšenáto when I went to bed
tsé'ovéšenato when you went to bed
tsé'ovésése when he went to bed
tsé'ovésenatsése when he (obviative) went to bed
tsé'ovésenátse when we went to bed
tsé'ovésenése when you (plural) went to bed
tsé'ovésenávose when they went to bed

125 There is no difference between exclusive and inclusive 'we' subjects of Cheyenne AI conjunct verbs.
/-néé/ 'be standing'
  tséhnééétoto  when I was standing
  tséhnééétoto  when you were standing
  tséhnééétóóse  when he was standing
  tséhnééétóósetse  when he (obviative) was standing
  tséhnééétóósetse  when we were standing
  tséhnééétóóse  when you (plural) were standing
  tséhnééétóóvóose  when they were standing

-hoo'e /-hoe/ 'be at'
  tséxhoöto126  when I was (here/there)
  tséxhoöeto  when you were (here/there)
  tséxhoöóóse  when he was (here/there)
  tséxhoöóósetse  when he (obviative) was (here/there)
  tséxhoöóósetse  when we were (here/there)
  tséxhoöóóvóose  when you (plural) were (here/there)
  tséxhoöóóvóose  when they were (here/there)

-éestse 'speak'
  tsé'éestséétoto  when I spoke
  tsé'éestséeteto  when you spoke
  tsé'éestséóóse  when he spoke
  tsé'éestséóósetse  when he (obviative) spoke
  tsé'éestséóósetse  when we spoke
  tsé'éestséóóvóose  when you (plural) spoke
  tsé'éestséóóvóose  when they spoke

/-émá/ 'take a sweat'
  tsé'émáto  when I took a sweat
  tsé'émátoto  when you took a sweat
  tsé'émóóse  when he took a sweat
  tsé'émóósetse  when he (obviative) took a sweat
  tsé'émóósetse  when we took a sweat
  tsé'émóóvóose  when you (plural) took a sweat
  tsé'émóóvóose  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:

  tséhnéehóvéétoto  as for myself $$$RECHECK GLOSSES
  tséhnéehóvéeteto  as for you
  tséhnéehóvéóóse  as for him/her
  tséhnéehóvéóósetse??  as for him/her (obviative)
  tséhnéehóvéóósetse  as for us
  tséhnéehóvéóóvóose  as for you (plural)
  tséhnéehóvéóóvóose  as for them

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

126 It is uncertain if the penultimate pitch is high or mid when it is preceded by one or more low pitches.
meanings more like participles:

'the one alone'
- néhno'kâhêto I alone
- néhno'kâhêto you alone
- néhno'kaese he/she alone
- néhno'kâhêtsêse?? he/she (obviative) alone
- néhno'kâhêtse?? we alone
- néhno'kâhêése?? you (plural) alone
- néhno'kâhêvôse they alone

'both of'
- néhnêšêtse both of us
- néhnêšése both of you
- néhnêšêvôse both of them
- néhnêšetsêse?? both of them (obviative)

'all of'
- néstôxêtse all of us
- néstôxése all of you (plural)
- néstôxêvôse 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 náhtapêhévetanóotse 'When you sing I'll be happy'.

/-némené/ 'sing'
- máhnémenéto when I sing
- máhnémeneto when you sing
- máhnéménéstse when he sings
- máhnéméntsêstse when he (obviative) sings
- máhnémenêtse when we sing
- máhnémenése when you (plural) sing
- máhnémenévôhtse when they sing

/-hâóéná/ 'pray'
- máxhâóéntsadto when I pray
- máxhâoênatdto when you pray
- máxhâóêntsêstse when he prays
- máxhâoêntsêstse when he (obviative) prays
- máxhâoêntatse when we pray
- máxhâoêntatse when you (plural) pray
- máxhâoêntôhse when they pray
-mésehe 'eat'

- máhmêséhéto when I eat
- máhmêséheto when you eat
- máhméseeestse when he eats
- máhmêséhetséstse when he (obviative) eats
- máhmêséhétse when we eat
- máhmêséhése when you (plural) eat
- máhmêséhévöhtse when they eat

-/sévanó/ 'ski, skate'

- másévanóto when I skate
- másévanoto when you skate
- másévánóhtse when he skates
- másévánotséstse when he (obviative) skates
- másévánótse when we skate
- másévanóse when you (plural) skate
- másévanóvöhtse when they skate

-/ovešé(ná)/ 'go to bed'

- ma'ovēšenáto when I go to bed
- ma'ovēšenato when you go to bed
- ma'ovēşéstse when he goes to bed
- ma'ovēšenatséstse when he (obviative) goes to bed
- ma'ovēšénátse when we go to bed
- ma'ovēšenáse when you (plural) go to bed
- ma'ovēšenávöhtse when they go to bed

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

-/nénemené/ 'sing'

- tséssáanénemenéhéto when I did not sing
- tséssáanénemenéheto when you did not sing
- tséssáanénemenése when he did not sing
- tséssáanénemenéhetsése when he (obviative) did not sing
- tséssáanénemenhétse when we did not sing
- tséssáanénemenése when you (plural) did not sing
- tséssáanénemenhévése when they did not sing

-mésehe 'eat'

- tséssáamêséhéhéto when I did not eat
- tséssáamêséhéheto when you did not eat
- tséssáamêséhéhése when he did not eat
- tséssáamêséhéhetsése when he (obviative) did not eat
- tséssáamêséhéhétse when we did not eat
- tséssáamêséhéhése when you (pl) did not eat
- tséssáamêséhéhévése when they did not eat

-/háóéná/ 'pray'

- tséssáaháóénáheto when I did not pray
- tséssáaháoénáheto when you did not pray
- tséssáaháoénánése when he did not pray
- tséssáaháoénáhetsése when he (obviative) did not pray
tséssáahóéénáhétse  when we did not pray
tséssáahóéénáhése  when you (plural) did not pray
tséssáahóéénáhévóse  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
- tséssáanééehetsése  when he (obviative) was not standing
- tséssáanéëehétse  when we were not standing
- tséssáahnéëehése  when you (plural) were not standing
- tséssáanéëehévóse  when they were not standing

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

- tséssáahoehēto\(^{127}\)  when I was not (here/there)
- tséssáahoeheto  when you were not (here/there)
- tséssáahoëése  when he was not (here/there)
- tséssáahoehetsése  when he (obviative) was not (here/there)
- tséssáahoëehétse  when we were not (here/there)
- tséssáahoëehése  when you (plural) were not (here/there)
- tséssáahoëehévóse  when they were not (here/there)

\(^{127}\) It is uncertain if the penultimate pitch is mid or high when there are one or more low pitches preceding it.
Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Potential verbs

/-némené/ 'sing'
- másáanénemenéhéto when I do not sing
- másáanémenéheto when you do not sing
- másáanénéééstse when he does not sing
- másáanénééhetséstse when he (obviative) does not sing
- másáanénéhétse when we do not sing
- másáanénéhése when you (plural) do not sing
- másáanénéhévohhtse when they do not sing

-méšehe 'eat'
- másáaméséhéhéto when I do not eat
- másáaméséhéheto when you do not eat
- másáaméséééstse when he does not eat
- másáaméséhéhetséstse when he (obviative) does not eat
- másáaméséhéhétse when we do not eat
- másáaméséhéhése when you (plural) do not eat
- másáaméséhéhévohhtse when they do not eat

/-háoéná/ 'pray'
- másáaháóénahéto when I do not pray
- másáahaoenaheto when you do not pray
- másáaháoénáéstse when he does not pray
- másáahaoenáhetséstse when he (obviative) does not pray
- másáaháoénahétse when we do not pray
- másáaháoénáhése when you (plural) do not pray
- másáaháoénahévohhtse when they do not pray

/-néé/ 'be standing'
- másáanéhéhéto when I am not standing
- másáahnéehto when you are not standing
- másáanéeéstse when he is not standing
- másáanéehéhetséstse when he (obviative) is not standing
- másáanéehéhétse when we are not standing
- másáanéehéhése when you (plural) are not standing
- másáanéehéhévohhtse when they are not standing

-hoo'e /-hoe/ 'be at'
- másáahoehéhto when I am not (here/there)
- másáahoehto when you are not (here/there)
- másáahoeéstse when he is not (here/there)
- másáahoehtséstse when he (obviative) is not (here/there)
- másáahoehtse when we are not (here/there)
- másáahoehése when you (plural) are not (here/there)
- másáahoehévohhtse when they are not (here/there)

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Habitual verbs

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

\[128\] It is uncertain if the penultimate pitch is mid or high when there are one or more low pitches preceding it.
often omitted. Conjunct habitual verbs require suffixes in addition to the normal AI person and number suffixes.

-naóotse 'sleep'

(óh)naóotsétonôhtse when I sleep
(óh)naóotsétoséstse when you sleep
(óh)naóotseséséstse when he sleeps
(óh)naóotséseséséstse when he (obviative) sleeps
(óh)naóotséteśe'estse when we sleep
(óh)naóotsésee'estse when you (plural) sleep
(óh)naóotsévoséséstse when they sleep

/-ho'sóe/ 'dance'

xho'sótetonôhtse when I dance
xho'sótoséstse when you dance
xho'sóeséséstse when he dances
xho'sóetseséséstse when he (obviative) dances
xho'sóetsee'estse when we dance
xho'sóosee'estse when you (plural) dance
xho'sóevoséséstse when they dance

-mésehe 'eat'

to'seméséhétonôhtse when I'm going to eat
to'seméséhétoséstse when you are going to eat
to'seméséheséséstse when he is going to eat
to'seméséhétseséséstse when he (obviative) is going to eat
to'seméséhéteśe'estse when we are going to eat
to'seméséhée see'estse when you (plural) are going to eat
to'seméséhévoséséstse when they are going to eat

Examples in sentences

Ñhonaóotséoséstse néohkenésó' enome.\(^{129}\) When(ever) you sleep you snore.
Xho'sótetöse néohkéohaésté'é e'eo'o.\(^{130}\) When I dance the women laugh at me.
Tsévêstoemo éohkéhène'èna to'seméséhétonôhtse. My wife knows when I'm going to eat.
Ma'heo'o éohképêhâovátsésta öhméhonésésee' estse. God likes it when we love.

---

\(^{129}\) Some speakers consider the iterative mode more natural: Ho'naóotseto néohkenésó' enome 'Whenever you sleep you snore.'

\(^{130}\) Some speakers consider the iterative mode more natural: Ho'ho'sóeto néohkéohaésté'é e'eo'o 'Whenever I dance the women laugh at me.'
Animate Intransitive Conjunct Iterative verbs

The prefix for the conjunct iterative is hó’-. The conjunct iterative refers to specific instances of repeated actions while the conjunct generic states a general rule of action.

/-némené/ 'sing'

hó'némenéto  whenever I sang/sing
hó'némeneto  whenever you sang/sing
hó'néménéstse  whenever he sang/sings
hó'néménetséstse  whenever he (obviative) sang/sings
hó'némenétse  whenever we sang/sing
hó'némenése  whenever you (plural) sang/sing
hó'némenévôhtse  whenever they sang/sing

-a'xaame 'cry'

hó'ea'xaamēto131  whenever I cried/cry
hó'ea'xaameto  whenever you cried/cry
hó'ea'xaāmēstse  whenever he cried/cries
hó'ea'xaametséstse  whenever he (obviative) cried/cries
hó'ea'xaamētse  whenever we cried/cry
hó'ea'xaamēse  whenever you (plural) cried/cry
hó'ea'xaamēvôhtse  whenever they cried/cry

Examples in sentences

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

131 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'nónemenéto was translated as 'No doubt I did not sing'. The claim of intensive meaning was incorrect. Instead, negative inferentials have the same meaning as positive inferentials (taking the independent order), except that they have a negative meaning.

/némené/ 'sing'

Móho'nónemenéto I must not have sung
Móho'nónemeneto You must not have sung
Móho'nónéménéstse He must not have sung
Móho'nónemenetséstse He (obviative) must not have sung
Móho'nónemenetse We must not have sung
Móho'nónemenése You (plural) must not have sung

/mésehe 'eat'

Móho'nóméséhéto I must not have eaten
Móho'nóméséheto You must not have eaten
Móho'nóméseestse He must not have eaten
Móho'nóméséhetséstse He (obviative) must not have eaten
Móho'nóméséhétsése We must not have eaten
Móho'nóméséhévóhtse They must not have eaten

/háóéná/ 'pray'

Ho'nóháóénáto I must not have prayed
Ho'nóhaoenato You must not have prayed
Ho'nóhóóénàhtse He must not have prayed
Ho'nóhaoenatséstse He (obviative) must not have prayed
Ho'nóhóóénátse We must not have prayed
Ho'nóhóóénása You (plural) must not have prayed
Ho'nóhóóénávóhtse They must not have prayed

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Participles

/némené/ 'sing'

ts'énémenéto I who sing
ts'énémeneto you who sing
ts'énémééstse he who sings
ts'énémééstse he (obviative) who sings
ts'énémééstse we who sing
ts'énéméése you (plural) who sing
ts'énémé menace they who sing

/héna/névé/ 'be a man'

ts'éhétanévéto I who am a man
ts'éhétanévéto you who are a man
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhetanévétsese</td>
<td>he who is a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhetanévétsese</td>
<td>he (obviative) who is a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhetanévétsese</td>
<td>we who are men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhetanévétsese</td>
<td>you (plural) who are men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhetanévétsese</td>
<td>they who are men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséháóénáto</td>
<td>I who pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséháóenato</td>
<td>you who pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséháóénáhtse</td>
<td>he who prays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséháóenatsese</td>
<td>he (obviative) who prays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséháóénátse</td>
<td>we who pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséháóénáse</td>
<td>you (plural) who pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséháohenase</td>
<td>they who pray</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-tséhéstahé 'be Cheyenne'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tsétséhéstahéto</td>
<td>I who am a Cheyenne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsétséhéstaheto</td>
<td>you who are a Cheyenne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsétséhéstasetse</td>
<td>he who is a Cheyenne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsétséhéstahéstse</td>
<td>he (obviative) who is a Cheyenne (practical spelling: Tsitsistaists)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsétséhéstahétse</td>
<td>we who are Cheyennes (practical spelling: Tsitsistats)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsétséhéstahése</td>
<td>you (plural) who are Cheyennes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsétséhéstahese</td>
<td>they who are Cheyennes (practical spelling: Tsitsistas)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-hotse'ohe 'work'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhotse'óhéto</td>
<td>I who work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhotse'óheto</td>
<td>you who work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhotse'óestse</td>
<td>he who works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhotse'óhetsese</td>
<td>he (obviative) who works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhotse'óhétse</td>
<td>we who work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhotse'óhése</td>
<td>you (plural) who work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhotse'óhese</td>
<td>they who work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

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

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Participles

/-nénéné/ 'sing'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséšaánemenénéhéto</td>
<td>I who do not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséšaánemenéného</td>
<td>you who do not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséšaánemenénééstse</td>
<td>he who does not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséšaánemenénéhetsese</td>
<td>he (obviative) who does not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséšaánemenénéhétse</td>
<td>we who do not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséšaánemenénéhése</td>
<td>you (plural) who do not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséšaánemenénéhese</td>
<td>they who do not sing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-hetanévé/ 'be a man'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséšaahetanévéhéto</td>
<td>I who am not a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséšaahetanévéhe</td>
<td>you who are not a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséšaahetanévééstse??</td>
<td>he who is not a man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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tsésáahetanéhevetsese  she (obviative) who is not a man
tsésáahetanévéhétse  we who are not men
tsésáahetanévéhése  you (plural) who are not men
tséhetanévéhese  they who are not men

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsésáaháóénáhétse</th>
<th>I who do not pray</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáaháóenáheto</td>
<td>you who do not pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tsésáaháóénáéstse??</strong></td>
<td>he who does not pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tsésáaháóenáhése??</strong></td>
<td>he (obviative) who does not pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáaháóénáhétse</td>
<td>we who do not pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáaháóénáhése</td>
<td>you (plural) who does not pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáaháóenáhese</td>
<td>they who does not pray</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-hotse'óhe 'work'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsésáahotse'óhéhéto</th>
<th>I who do not work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáahotse'óheheto</td>
<td>you who do not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tsésáahotse'óééstse??</strong></td>
<td>he who does not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáahotse'óhehésese</td>
<td>he (obviative) who does not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáahotse'óhéhése</td>
<td>we who do not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáahotse'óhéhése</td>
<td>you (plural) who does not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáahotse'óhehese</td>
<td>they who does not work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

Nánóhtsevátámo **tsésáahoééstse??**132  I miss the one who isn't here
Nánéševátámo tsésáaháóééstse  I pity the one who doesn't pray
Mómáta'ehohevóhe hetanóho tsésáahotse'óhehésese  He must be angry at the man (obviative) who isn't working

---

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

tséhvóonā’o when it was morning

tséxhoo’kōho when it rained

tséxhó’ta when it was (here/there)

tséxho’taa’ėstse when they (inanimate) were (here/there)

tsé’ó’o when it was dry

tsé’ó’oo’ėstse when they (inanimate) were (here/there)

Examples in sentences:
Tséhvóona’o nátséše’ohtse Éʾéxováhtóva this morning I went to Billings
Nátavóhta mőxe’éstoo’o tséxhó’ta máheóne I saw the book when/where it was in the house

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Indicative Relational verbs

tséhvóona’otse when it was morning (relational)

tséxhoo’kóhotse when it rained (relational)

tséxhó’tatse when it was (here/there)

tséxho’tatsee’ėstse when they (inanimate) were (here/there)

Examples in sentences
In the following sentences the conjunct verb is marked as relational because there is already a
third person in the sentence, and the Cheyenne language permits only one third person to be in focus
at a time within a sentence (or even a larger discourse span).

Móhe’kěšenáhe’he tséhvóona’otse He must have gotten stuck this morning (relational)
Éaseōhtse tséxhoo’kóhotse He left when it was raining (relational)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

tséssáahoo’kōhóhane when it did not rain

tséssáaho’táhane when it was not (here/there)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Generic verbs

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

óhvóona’oo’ėstse in the mornings
óhtonétoo’ėstse when it's cold
xhoo’kõhoo’ėstse when it rains
xho’ëeto’ëstse when it snows
to’séháho’taa’ėstse when it's going to be hot
óhméséhéstovee’ėstse when there is eating

Examples in sentences
 Hátséshkeo őohkéhéne’enánóvo to’séhoo’kõhoo’ėstse Ants know when it's going to rain
(Őx)háho’taa’ėstse náohkeametó’hóna When it's hot I swim

---

133 Some speakers use the singular subject forms to refer to both singular and plural inanimate subjects.
Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Generic relational verbs

(ó) xho’ étotsee’ ēstse  
when it snows (relational)

to’seméséhéstovetsee’ ēstse  
when there's going to be eating (relational)

Examples in sentences

(Ó)xho’ étotsee’ ēstse ēhkevā’ nenaóotse ma’háhkéso  When it snows (rel) the old man just sleeps.
Épéhévetanoo’ o ōhméséhéstovetsee’ ēstse  
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’ nópêhêva’ e  
It must not be good

(Mó) ho’ nópêhêva’ ee’ ēstse  
They (inanimate) must not be good

(Mó) ho’ nóméséhéstove  
There must not have been eating

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential relational verbs

(Mó) ho’ nópêhêva’ e  
It (relational) must not be good

(Mó) ho’ nóméséhéstove  
There must not have been eating (relational)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Participles

tséheóvo  
that which is yellow

tséheóvoo’ ēstse  
those which are yellow

tséheóvêstseávo’ o’ e  
yellow flower (lit., that which is yellow-headed plant)

tséheóvêstseávo’ o’ ee’ ēstse  
yellow flowers

tséhéesevó’ ta  
that which boils

tséhéesevó’ taa’ ēstse  
those (inanimate) which are boiling

(tsépêhêva’ e  
that which is good

(tsépêhêva’ ee’ ēstse  
those (inanimate) which are good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Participles

(tsésáaho’ táhane  
that which is not (here/there)

tsésáaho’ táhanéhee’ ēstse  
those which are not (here/there)

(tsésáaheóvôhane  
that which is not yellow

tsésáaheóvôhanéhee’ ēstse  
those which are not yellow

tsésáapêhêva’ éhane  
that which is not good

tsésáapêhêva’ éhanéhee’ ēstse  
those which are not good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Relational Participles

(tséheóvotse  
that (relational) which is yellow

(tséheóvotsee’ ēstse  
those (relational) which are yellow

(tséhéesevó’ tatse  
that (relational) which is boiling

(tséhéesevó’ tatsee’ ēstse  
those (relational) which are boiling
tsépévéva'etse  that (relational) which is good
-tsépévéva'etsee'estse(??) those (relational) which are good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Relational Participles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tséspáho'záhanéhetse</th>
<th>that (relational) which is not (here/there)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséspáho'záhanéhetsee'estse</td>
<td>those (relational) which are not (here/there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáheóvóhanéhetse</td>
<td>that (relational) which is not yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáheóvóhanéhetsee'estse</td>
<td>those (relational) which are not yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáapévéva'éhanéhetse</td>
<td>that (relational) which is not good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáapévéva'éhanéhetsee'estse</td>
<td>those (relational) which are not good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

Éhestána ho'évohkótse tsésáapévéva'éhanéhetse  He must have taken the meat that (rel) isn't good.
Nátavóóhta hemáheó'o tsésáheóvóhanéhetse  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'.

-vóom 'see (someone)'

| tséhvóomáhtsēto  | when I saw myself | tséhvóoma'évōse  | when they saw me |
| tséhvóomātse     | when I saw you    | tséhvóomata'ōse  | when they saw you |
| tséhvóomo        | when I saw him    | tséhvóomov'ōse   | when they saw him (obv) |
| tséhvóomamōo     | when I saw him (obv) | tséhvóomaētse  | when they saw us |
| tséhvóomatsēse   | when I saw you (pl) | tséhvóomaēse    | when they saw you (pl) |
| tséhvóomōo       | when I saw them   | tséhvóomāhtsēvōse| when they saw themselves |
| tséhvóomēto      | when you saw me   | tséhvóomanēto    | when I was seen |
| tséhvóomāhtseeto | when you saw yourself | tséhvóomaneto | when you were seen |
| tséhvóomōse      | when you saw him  | tséhvóomēse      | when he was seen |
| tséhvóomamōse    | when you saw him (obv) | tséhvóometsēse?? | when he (obv) was seen |
| tséhvóomemenoto  | when you saw us (ex) | tséhvóomanētse | when we were seen |
| tséhvóomōse      | when you saw them | tséhvóomanēse    | when you (pl) were seen |
| tséhvóomā'ēse    | when he saw me    | tséhvóomēvōse    | when they were seen |
| tséhvóomā'te     | when he saw you   | tséhvovéstomōtse | when he (obv) helped him |
| tséhvóomāhtsēse  | when he saw himself | tséhvovéstahēma'ēse | when he (obv) fought him |
| tséhvóomōse      | when he saw him (obv) | tséxhēne'ēnōtse | when he knew us |
| tséhvóomaētse    | when he saw us    | tséhvovéstomōtse134 | when he taught us |
| tséhvóomaēse     | when he saw you (pl) | tséhmanehe       | when I made him |
| tséhvóomaetsēse  | when he (obv) saw me | tséhmaneose      | when you made him |
| tséhvóomētse     | when he (obv) saw you | tséhmaneōse     | when he made him (obv) |
| tséhvóomaētse    | when he (obv) saw himself | tséxho'eotsēho | when I brought him |
| tséhvóomaēse     | when he (obv) saw us | tséxho'eotsēseōse| when you brought him |
| tséhvóomaēvōse   | when he (obv) saw them | tsēhnēmenē'seheho | when he brought him (obv) |
| tséhvōomatememenoto | when we (ex) saw you | tsēhnēmenē'seōse | when we brought him |
| tséhvōomōtse     | when we saw you   | tsēhnēmenē'sósēase | when I made him sing |
| tséhvōomamōtse   | when we saw him (obv) | tsē'ovéstomō'ōkēsē | when you made him sing |
| tséhvōomāhtsētse | when we saw ourselves | tsē'ovéstomō'ōsēase | when he made him (obv) sing |
| tséhvōomatsemenoto | when we (ex) saw you (pl) | tsē'ovéstomō'ōvōse | when he taught me |
| tséhvōomōtse     | when we saw them  | tsē'ovéstomō'ōvōse | when he (obv) taught them |

134 Also pronounced as tsé'ovéstomō'ōtse

134 Also pronounced as tsé'ovéstomō'ōtse
-héne'enov 'know (someone)'
The "ov" at the end of TA verb stems contracts in the inverse voice.

-RECHECK PARADIGM-

tséxhéne'enóváhtséto when I knew myself
tséxhéne'enovātse when I knew you
tséxhéne'enovo when I knew him
tséxhéne'enóvamőse when I knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvatsēse when I knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enovōno when I knew them
tséxhéne'enovato when you knew me
tséxhéne'enovāhtseto when you knew yourself
tséxhéne'enovōse when you knew him
tséxhéne'enovamōse when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'envamenoto when you knew us (ex)
tséxhéne'enovōse when you knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enóvamő when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew ourselves
ntséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
tséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew you
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew me
ntséxhéne'enovōse?? when you (pl) knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'envamenoto when you (pl) knew us (ex)
tséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew them
ntséxhéne'enóvamő when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew ourselves
ntséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew you
ntséxhéne'enovōse?? when you (pl) knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'envamenoto when you (pl) knew us (ex)
tséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew them
ntséxhéne'enóvamő when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew ourselves
ntséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew you
ntséxhéne'enovōse?? when you (pl) knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'envamenoto when you (pl) knew us (ex)
tséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew them
ntséxhéne'enóvamő when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew ourselves
ntséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew you
ntséxhéne'enovōse?? when you (pl) knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'envamenoto when you (pl) knew us (ex)
tséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew them
ntséxhéne'enóvamő when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew ourselves
ntséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew you
ntséxhéne'enovōse?? when you (pl) knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'envamenoto when you (pl) knew us (ex)
tséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew them
ntséxhéne'enóvamő when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew ourselves
ntséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew you
ntséxhéne'enovōse?? when you (pl) knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'envamenoto when you (pl) knew us (ex)
tséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew them
ntséxhéne'enóvamő when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew ourselves
ntséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew you
ntséxhéne'enovōse?? when you (pl) knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'envamenoto when you (pl) knew us (ex)
tséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew them
ntséxhéne'enóvamő when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew ourselves
ntséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew you
ntséxhéne'enovōse?? when you (pl) knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'envamenoto when you (pl) knew us (ex)
tséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew them
ntséxhéne'enóvamő when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew ourselves
ntséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew you
ntséxhéne'enovōse?? when you (pl) knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'envamenoto when you (pl) knew us (ex)
tséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew them
ntséxhéne'enóvamő when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvamōse when you knew ourselves
ntséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew you
ntséxhéne'enovōse?? when you (pl) knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'envamenoto when you (pl) knew us (ex)
tséxhéne'enóvatsēse when you (pl) knew yourselves
ntséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew them
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)
manhóomatsēse when I see you (pl)
máhvóoomōno when I see them

máhvóometo when you see me
máhvóomāhtseto when you see yourself
máhvóomōhtse when you see him
máhvóomamōhtse when you see him (obv)
máhvóomemenento when you see us (ex)
máhvóomōse when you see them

máhvóoma'ēstse when he sees me
máhvóomāta'e when he sees you
máhvóomahtsēstse when he sees himself
máhvóomōhtse when he sees him (obv)
máhvóomaēse when he sees us
máhvóomaēse when he sees you (pl)

máhvóoma'etsēse when he (obv) sees me
máhvóomata'ōse when he (obv) sees you
máhvóomaa'ēstse when he (obv) sees him
máhvóomahtsētsēse when he (obv) sees himself
máhvóomaētse when he (obv) sees us
máhvóomaēse when he (obv) sees you (pl)
máhvóomaēvōse when he (obv) sees them

máhvóomatsemenonto when we (ex) see you
máhvooomōte when we see him
máhvóomamōtse when we see him (obv)
máhvóomatsetse when we see ourselves
máhvóomatsemenoto when we (ex) see you (pl)
máhvōomōtse when we see them

máhvóomēse when you (pl) see me
máhvóomēse when you (pl) see him
máhvóomamōse when you (pl) see him (obv)
máhvóomemeneto when you (pl) see us (ex)
máhvóomāhtsēse when you (pl) see yourselves
máhvóomōse when you (pl) see them

máhvóoma'ēvōhtse when they see me
máhvóoma'āse when they see you
máhvóomahtsēvōhtse when they see themselves
máhvóomanēto when I am seen
máhvóomaneto when you are seen
máhvóomēstse when he is seen
máhvōometēse when he (obv) is seen
máhvóomanētse when we are seen
máhvóomanēse when you (pl) are seen
máhvóomēvōhtse when they are seen

Other examples
máhvéstahēmā'ēstse when he (obv) helps him
máhmētotaa'ēstse when he (obv) fights him
máxhēne'ēnōētse when he knows us
máxvōemōvētse when he teaches us
māxhō'eotseho when I bring him
māxhō'eotseose when you bring him
māxhō'eotseōse when he brings him (obv)
māxhō'eotseōhōtse when we bring him
māxhēne'enōōōētse when he knows me
māxhēne'enōoēstse when he (obv) knows him
ma'ovēstomōōōētse when he teaches me
ma'ovēstomōōōēstse when he (obv) teaches him
māxhēne'enōēvōhtse when he (obv) knows them
māxvōemōvētse when he (obv) teaches them
ma'ēestsēstovo when I speak to him
māxhēto when I tell him
māxhō'ōena'tovo when I pray to him
māsē'a'hamo when I throw him in

Examples in sentences
Mahnōntsōvōhtse nestsevēstahēma.
When you ask him, he'll help you.

Māhmētōhtse nāhseaseōhōtse.
When he fights him (obv), I'll leave.

Māhvēstahēmahōma'ēstse nāhseaspēhēvetāno.
When he (obv) helps him, I'll be happy.

135 Also pronounced as ma'ovēstomōētse

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### Transitive Animate Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

- **vóom 'see (someone)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhtséheto</td>
<td>when I did not see myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhetse</td>
<td>when I did not see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomóhohevo</td>
<td>when I did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomamóhohevo</td>
<td>when I did not see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomatséhéheto</td>
<td>when I did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomóhevo</td>
<td>when I did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóoméhteto</td>
<td>when you did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhtséhteto</td>
<td>when you did not see yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomóhohevosé</td>
<td>when you did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomamóhohevosé</td>
<td>when you did not see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáheheto</td>
<td>when you did not see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehése</td>
<td>when you did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóoma’éése</td>
<td>when he did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáa’héése</td>
<td>when he did not see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáa’móése</td>
<td>when he did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáa’mótse</td>
<td>when he did not see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáa’mótsehemenoto</td>
<td>when we (ex) saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhétse</td>
<td>when we saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomamóhétse</td>
<td>when we saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomatséhéheto</td>
<td>when we saw ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehése</td>
<td>when we did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehése</td>
<td>when we saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóoméhtese</td>
<td>when you (pl) did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomóhéhevo</td>
<td>when you (pl) did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomamóhéhevo</td>
<td>when you (pl) did not see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehese</td>
<td>when you (pl) did not see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehese</td>
<td>when you (pl) did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhemenoto</td>
<td>when they did not see yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóoméhtese</td>
<td>when they did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomóhéhevo</td>
<td>when they did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomamóhéhevo</td>
<td>when they did not see him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehese</td>
<td>when they did not see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehese</td>
<td>when they did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehese</td>
<td>when they did not see themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomanhéte</td>
<td>when I was not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomanhéte</td>
<td>when you were not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóoméhte</td>
<td>when he was not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomanhétesé</td>
<td>when you (pl) were not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomanhétesé</td>
<td>when they were not seen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Other examples

- **véstahémaése** when he (obv) did not help him
- **véstahémaése** when he (obv) did not fight him
- **véstahémaése** when he did not teach us
- **véstahémaése** when I did not bring him
- **véstahémaése** when you did not bring him
- **véstahémaése** when they did not bring him
- **véstahémaése** when he did not know me
- **véstahémaése** when he did not know you (pl)
- **véstahémaése** when he did not know them
- **véstahémaése** when he did not teach me
- **véstahémaése** when he did not teach you (pl)
- **véstahémaése** when he did not teach them

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136 Also pronounced as tsésáa’ovéstomóétse
Transitive Animate Conjunct Iterative verbs

-vóom 'see (someone)'

hó’vómáhtsēto whenever I saw myself
hó’vómātse whenever I helped you
hó’vómō whenever I saw him
hó’vómamō whenever I saw him (obv)
hó’vómatsēse whenever I saw you (pl)
hó’vómōno whenever I saw them
hó’vómameto whenever you saw me
hó’vómamahsteto whenever you saw yourself
hó’vómamomōtse whenever you saw him (obv)
hó’vómamemenoto whenever you saw us (ex)
hó’vómāmēse whenever you saw them
hó’vómā’ēstse whenever he saw me
hó’vómāta’e whenever he saw you
hó’vómāhtsēstse whenever he saw himself
hó’vómōtse whenever he saw him (obv)
hó’vómāse whenever he saw us
hó’vómāaéstse whenever he saw you (pl)
hó’vómetsētse whenever he (obv) saw me
hó’vómametsē whenever he (obv) saw you
hó’vómamētse whenever he (obv) saw us
hó’vómātameto whenever we (ex) saw you
hó’vómātsetse whenever we (ex) saw us
hó’vómāmētse whenever we (obv) saw us
hó’vómāmēse whenever we (obv) saw them
hó’vómetsētse whenever we were seen
hó’vómētse whenever you were seen
hó’vómamētse whenever he was seen
hó’vómamēse whenever he (obv) was seen
hó’vómamētse whenever we were seen
hó’vómamēse whenever you (pl) were seen
hó’vómēv whenever they were seen

Other examples
hó’vé’hó’móhtse whenever he looked at him (obv)
hó’vé’méótötse whenever we fought him
hó’méo whenever he fought me
hó’méótōstse whenever he discussed you
hó’hoxomāta’e whenever he fed us
hó’mé’ov whenever I found him
hó’mé’ō’ōstse whenever he found me
hó’oomā’ēstse whenever he hit me

RECHECK
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 óh- prefix is often omitted.

-\textit{vóom 'see (someone)'}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomáhtsétonótse</td>
<td>when I see myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomatsétoséstse</td>
<td>when I see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomoo'éstse</td>
<td>when I see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamathe'séstse</td>
<td>when I see you (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamatsee'éstse</td>
<td>when I see (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomótínohtse</td>
<td>when I see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóométséstse</td>
<td>when you see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomáhtsétséstse</td>
<td>when you see yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomoséstse</td>
<td>when you see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamati'séstse</td>
<td>when you see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when you see (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomaméne'séstse</td>
<td>when you see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomáése'séstse</td>
<td>when you see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomáta'séstse</td>
<td>when he sees me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomáhtséséséstse</td>
<td>when he sees you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomoséstse</td>
<td>when he sees himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomati'séstse</td>
<td>when he sees him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamatsee'éstse</td>
<td>when he sees you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomaa'séstse</td>
<td>when he sees him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamatsee'éstse</td>
<td>when he sees you</td>
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<tr>
<td>óhvóomáhtséséséstse</td>
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<td>óhvóomaa'séstse</td>
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<tr>
<td>óhvóomaméne'séstse</td>
<td>when he sees you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomame'séstse</td>
<td>when he sees them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomaméne'séstse</td>
<td>when we (ex) see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomáhtséséséstse</td>
<td>when we see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamati'séstse</td>
<td>when we see you</td>
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<td>óhvóomamatsee'éstse</td>
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<td>óhvóomaméne'séstse</td>
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<tr>
<td>óhvóomáhtséséséstse</td>
<td>when we see ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamati'séstse</td>
<td>when we see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomaméne'séstse</td>
<td>when we (ex) see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomaméne'séstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomaméne'séstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomaméne'séstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomaméne'séstse</td>
<td>when they see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when they see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomaméne'séstse</td>
<td>when they see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomasse'e'stse</td>
<td>when they see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomaa'éstse</td>
<td>when they see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomati'séstse</td>
<td>when they see themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when I am seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when you are seen</td>
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<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when he is seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomáéséstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) is seen</td>
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<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when we are seen</td>
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<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) are seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when they are seen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when I love you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when I love him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when I love you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when I love them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when you love me</td>
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<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when you love you</td>
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<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when we (ex) love them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) love me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) love you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) love us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when we (ex) love you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\textit{RECHECK:}$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomáhtséséséstse</td>
<td>when I look at him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when I bring him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when he teaches me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when he teaches us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when he knows me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) knows him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when he helps him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) teaches him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) knows them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóomamátséstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) teaches them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

219
Transitive Animate Conjunct Participles

220

$\textit{RECHECK}$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Particles</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/-méhót/ 'love (someone)'</td>
<td>I who love myself</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves I</td>
<td>we who are loved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I who love you</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves you (pl)</td>
<td>you (pl) who are loved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the one I love</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td>those who are loved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I who love him (obv)</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I who love you (pl)</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves themselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>those I love</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you who love me</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (ex)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you who love yourself</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you who love him (obv)</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you who love us (ex)</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the ones I love</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the ones who love me</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the one who loves me</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves you (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the one who loves you</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves you (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the one who loves himself</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves himself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the one who loves us</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the one who loves you (pl)</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>those who love me</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>those who love you</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves you (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>those who love him</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>those who love us</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>those who love you (pl)</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv')</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>those who love themselves</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>we (ex) who love you</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>we who love him</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>we who love him (obv)</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>we who love ourselves</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>we who love them</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you (pl) who love me</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you (pl) who love him</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you (pl) who love him (obv)</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you (pl) who love us (ex)</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you (pl) who love yourselves</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>you (pl) who love them</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>those who love me</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>those who love you</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>those who love him</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>those who love us</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>those who love you (pl)</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>those who love themselves</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the one (obv) who loves him</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the one (obv) who is loved</td>
<td>/-méhót/ who loves (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsévévóomo</td>
<td>the one I see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévévómōno</td>
<td>those I see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévévomata'ótsese</td>
<td>he (obv) who sees me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévévómōtsese</td>
<td>he (obv) who sees him (obv')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévévométsese</td>
<td>he (obv) who is seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméoto</td>
<td>the one I fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméótóno</td>
<td>those I fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméotósee'e??</td>
<td>those who fight me??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévéstoemo</td>
<td>my spouse137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévéstoemōhtse</td>
<td>your spouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévéstoemoše</td>
<td>his/her spouse (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévéstoemōno</td>
<td>those I sit with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévéstoemósee'e??</td>
<td>those who sit with me??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévovéstomevo??</td>
<td>the one I teach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévovéstomevōno??</td>
<td>the ones I teach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévovéstomóó'énō'éstse??</td>
<td>the one who teaches me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévovéstomóétsese</td>
<td>the one who teaches us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévovéstomóetse'e??</td>
<td>those who teach us??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévovéstomóesee'e??</td>
<td>those who teach you (plural)??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéne'énō'ō'éstse??</td>
<td>those who know me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéne'enōéstse??</td>
<td>those who knows us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévésťahemo</td>
<td>the one I help ??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévésťahémóno??</td>
<td>those I help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévésťahémósne</td>
<td>the one (obv) he helps ??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhxosomaétsese</td>
<td>the one who feeds us ??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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

SHOULD SOME OF THESE BE MOVED TO THE AI Participle section, e.g. my father, etc.?

To save space and make meanings easier to understand, these participles are translated (glossed) as if they were possessed nouns. But they are actually not possessed nouns. For instance, in the earlier section of this book on possessed nouns, we saw that the possessed noun meaning 'my father' is ného'éehe. Its participle equivalent is tséhéhéto, which is glossed here as 'my father'. But a more accurate translation of the participle is 'the one who I have as father'. Tséhestónahétóse is glossed as 'your daughters', but a more accurate translation is 'those who you have as daughters'.

**Father**

| tséhéhéto | my father | tséhéhetono | my fathers |
| tséhéheto | your father | tséhéhétóse | your fathers |
| tséhéhese | his father(s) | tséhéhese | his father(s) |
| tséhéhétse | our father | tséhéhetsee'e | our fathers |
| tséhéhévése | your (plural) father | tséhéhesee'e | your (plural) fathers |
| tséhéhevése | their father(s) | tséhéhevése | their father(s) |

**Mother**

| tséheškéto | my mother | tséheškétono | my mothers |
| tséhešketo | your mother | tséheškétóse | your mothers |
| tséheškese | his/her mother(s) | tséheškese | his/her mother(s) |
| tséheškétse | our mother | tséheškétsee'e | our mothers |
| tséheškése | your (plural) mother | tséheškése | your (plural) mothers |
| tséheškévose | their mother(s) | tséheškévose | their mother(s) |

**Daughter**

| tséhestónahéto | my daughter | tséhestónahétono | my daughters |
| tséhestónaheto | your daughter | tséhestónahétóse | your daughters |
| tséhestónahese | his/her daughter(s) | tséhestónahese | his/her daughter(s) |
| tséhestónahétse | our daughter | tséhestónahetsee'e | our daughters |
| tséhestónahése | your (plural) daughter | tséhestónahése | your (plural) daughters |
| tséhestónahévése | their daughter(s) | tséhestónahévése | their daughter(s) |

**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.

| tséhešké‘toveto | you who have me for a mother |
| tséhešké‘tovése | you (plural) who have me for a mother |
| tséhešké‘tō’éstse | the one who has me for a mother |
| tséhešké‘toese | those who have me for a mother |
| tséhešké‘toväse | I who have you for a mother |

**Transitive Animate Conjunct Absentative Participles**

Conjunct participles take an absentative suffix\(^{138}\) when the person referred to is absent or deceased.

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

---

\(^{138}\) It is possible that the –vo of this absentative suffix is related to the –vo suffix of the conjunct oratio oblique mode.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tséheškévoo’o</th>
<th>the one who is my absent mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tsétó’omemáxamoo’o</td>
<td>the one (obviative) who I shot stiff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$:RECHECK ?? the following "tentative" forms from earlier editions of book:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tséhéhevóse</th>
<th>the one who is your absent father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tséhéhévótse</td>
<td>the one who is our absent father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhéhévóse</td>
<td>the one who is your (plural) absent father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhéhevoomoo’o</td>
<td>those who are my absent fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséheškévoomoo’o</td>
<td>those who are my absent mothers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Indicative verbs

TI verbs are inflected (marked) for person of their subject. Unlike TA conjunct verbs, they are not inflected for number of their objects. So, for instance, tséhvóóhto means either 'when he saw it' or 'when he saw them (inanimate)'.

Unlike with TI independent order verbs, there is no difference in pronunciation between the conjunct order TI verbs which refer to exclusive 'we' and inclusive 'we'.

Speakers differ on whether the last vowel is "e" or "o" on first and second person singular subject verbs which have a TI theme of –om. So, for instance, 'when I saw it' is pronounced both as tséhvóóhtómo and tséhvóóhtóme.

'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtómo / tséhvóóhtóme</td>
<td>when I saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóohtomó / tséhvóohtomóme</td>
<td>when you saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhto</td>
<td>when he saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóohhtotsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóohhotmatóse</td>
<td>when we saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóohhtomáse</td>
<td>when you (plural) saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóohhtomévóse</td>
<td>when they saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóome??</td>
<td>when it was seen??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomee’éstse</td>
<td>when they (inanimate) were seen??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'listen to (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtómo / tsé'áahtóme</td>
<td>when I listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtomo / tsé'áahtomóme</td>
<td>when you listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahto</td>
<td>when he/she listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtotsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahhtomátse</td>
<td>when we listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahhtomáse</td>
<td>when you (plural) listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahhtomévóse</td>
<td>when they listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahhtohe ??</td>
<td>when it was listened to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahhtohe'éstse ??</td>
<td>when they (inanimate) were listened to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'eat (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhméséto</td>
<td>when I ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhméseto</td>
<td>when you ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmésése</td>
<td>when he/she ate it /them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmésetsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) ate it /them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmésétse</td>
<td>when we ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmésése</td>
<td>when you (plural) ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmésévóse</td>
<td>when they ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhméséstove</td>
<td>when it was eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhméséstovee’éstse??</td>
<td>when they (inanimate) were eaten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'(tsèto</td>
<td>when I had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'tseeto</td>
<td>when you had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'tsése</td>
<td>when he/she had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'tsetsése</td>
<td>he he/she (obviative) had it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tséxho'(tsétse when we had it / them
tséxho'tsēse when you (plural) had it / them
tséxho'tsévōse when they had it / them

'take (something)'
tséxhestanōmo / tséxhestanōme when I took it / them
tséxhestanomo / tséxhestanome when you took it / them
tséxhestāno when he took it / them
tséxhestanotsēse when he/she (obviative) took it / them
tséxhestanomāste when we took it / them
tséxhestanomāse when you (plural) took it / them
tséxhestanomēvōse when they took it / them

'want (something)'
tséxho'āhéto when I wanted it / them
tséxho'āheto when you wanted it / them
tséxho'aese when he/she wanted it / them
tséxho'āhetsēse when he/she (obviative) wanted it / them
tséxho'āhéstse when we wanted it / them
tséxho'āhēse when you (plural) wanted it / them
tséxho'āhēvōse when they wanted it / them

Examples in sentences
Tséhvóóhtóm e ho'évohkōtse námese. 'When I saw the meat I ate it.'
Tsé'éšeááhto némenest náéestséstōvo. 'After he listened to the radio I talked to him.'

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Negative verbs

'see (something)'
tséssáavóóhtohémo / tséssáavóóhtohēme when I did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtohemo / tséssáavóóhtohēme when you did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtoeše when he did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtohetsēse when he/she did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtomāhêtse when we did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtomēhēmē when you (plural) did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtomēvōse when they did not see it / them

'take (something)'
tséssáahestanōhéme when I did not take it / them
tséssáahestanōheme when you did not take it / them
tséssáahestanānōéés?? when he did not take it / them
tséssáahestanōhetsēse when he/she (obviative) did not take it / them
tséssáahestanomāhētse when we did not take it / them
tséssáahestanomāhēse when you (plural) did not take it / them
tséssáahestanomēhēvōse when they did not take it / them
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)'
ōhvóóhtomonocyte when I see it / them
ōhvóóhtomoséstse when you see it / them
ōhvóóhtoséstse when he/she sees it / them
ōhvóóhtotseséstse when he/she (obviative) sees it / them
ōhvóóhtomátseeéstse when we see it / them
ōhvóóhtomáseeéstse when you (plural) see it / them
ōhvóóhtomévoséstse 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
xhestanótteséstse when he/she (obviative) takes it / them
xhestanomátseeéstse when we take it / them
xhestanomáseeéstse when you (plural) take it / them
xhestanomomévoséstse when they take it / them

'cook (something)'
xho'oestiónóhtse when I cook it / them
xho'oestótoséstse when you cook it / them
xho'oestóséstse when he/she cooks it / them
xho'oestótseséstse when he/she (obviative) cooks it / them
xho'oestótseeéstse when we cook it / them
xho'oestóseeéstse when you (plural) cook it / them
xho'oestóvoséstse when they cook it / them

Examples in sentences
Ōhvóóhtomonóhtse vétséskévahonoo'o náohkevėšepėhévetāno. 'When I see frybread I get happy.'

Xho'oestótseséstse váotsevéheho'évökötse 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.

'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Inflected Form</th>
<th>Those That</th>
<th>(Inflected Form)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| tsévóóhtómo | what I saw | tsévóohtomonóhtse | those that I saw | 139
| tsévóohomo | what you saw | tsévóohtomóñóhtse | those that you saw | | tsévóohtomoséstse | those that he saw |
| tsévóóhóto | what he saw | tsévóohtoséstse | those that he saw | | tsévóóhtótseséstse | those that he (obv) saw |
| tsévóóhótseqe | what he (obj) saw | tsévóohtóttseséstse | those that he saw | | tsévóohtomátse | those that you (pl) saw |
| tsévóóhómate | what we saw | tsévóohtomáse | those that we saw | | tsévóohtomásee'èstse | those that you (pl) saw |
| tsévóóhómovese | what they saw | tsévóohtomév | those that they saw | | tsévóohtomévoséstse | those that they saw |

'eat (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Inflected Form</th>
<th>Those That</th>
<th>(Inflected Form)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| tséméséto | what I ate | tsémésetoñóhtse | those which I ate | 139
| tséméseto | what you ate | tséméseséstse | those which you ate | | tséméseséstse | those which he ate |
| tsémésestse | what he ate | tséméseséstse | those which he ate | | tséméseséstse | those which he (obv) ate |
| tsémésestese | what he (obj) ate | tséméseséstse | those which he ate | | tsémésesése | those which you (pl) ate |
| tsémésese | what we ate | tsémésesése | those which we ate | | tsémésesése | those which you (pl) ate |
| tsémésevé | what they ate | tsémésévé | those which they ate | | tsémésévé | those which they ate |

'take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Inflected Form</th>
<th>Those That</th>
<th>(Inflected Form)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| tséhestanómo | what I took | tséhestanomóñóhtse | those which I took | 139
| tséhestanomo | what you took | tséhestanomóñóhtse | those which you took | | tséhestanomóséstse | those which he took |
| tséhestánóhtse | what he took | tséhestanoséstse | those which he took | | tséhestanótseséstse | those which he (obj) took |
| tséhestanósese | what he (obj) took | tséhestanótseséstse | those which he took | | tséhestanótseséstse | those which they took |
| tséhestanomáse | what you (pl) took | tséhestanomásee'èstse | those which you (pl) took | | tséhestanomásee'èstse | those which they took |

'want (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Inflected Form</th>
<th>Those That</th>
<th>(Inflected Form)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| tsého'ahéto | what I want | tsého'ahétonóhtse | those that I want | 139
| tsého'aheto | what you want | tsého'ahétoséstse | those that you want | | tsého'ahétoñóhtse | those that he wants |
| tsého'aestse | what he wants | tsého'ahétoséstse | those that he wants | | tsého'ahétoñóhtse | those that he (obj) wants |
| tsého'ahéstse | what he (obj) wants | tsého'ahétoséstse | those that he wants | | tsého'ahéstse | those that we want |
| tsého'ahése | what we want | tsého'ahétoséstse | those that we want | | tsého'ahéstse | those that you (pl) want |
| tsého'ahévase | what they want | tsého'ahétoséstse | those that they want | | tsého'ahétoñóhtse | those that they want |

'make (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Inflected Form</th>
<th>Those That</th>
<th>(Inflected Form)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| tsémanéstse | what I made | tsémanéstsetonóhtse | those which I made | 139
| tsémanésteto | what you made | tsémanéstsetoséstse | those which you made | | tsémanéstsetonóhtse | those which he made |
| tsémanéstsetsese | what he made | tsémanéstsetseséstse | those which he made | | tsémanéstsetonóhtse | those which he (obj) made |
| tsémanéstsetse | what he (obj) made | tsémanéstsetseséstse | those which he made | | tsémanéstsetonóhtse | those which we made |
| tsémanése | what you (pl) made | tsémanésee'èstse | those which you (pl) made | | tsémanéstsetonóhtse | those which they made |
| tsémanévé | what they made | tsémanévé | those which they made | | tsémanéstsetonóhtse | those which they made |

139 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
Hénová‘e tsévóohtomo?  What did you see
Hénová‘e tseméseto?  What did you eat?
Hénová‘ehótse tsémanéstse?  What (plural) did you make?
Nápéhévéástésta tséhó‘tséstse.  I like what he had.
Tsémanéstseto épéhéva‘e.  What you made is good.

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Negative Participles

'see (singular object)'
tsésáavóóhtóhémo  what I didn't see
tsésáavóóhtóhemo  what you didn't see
tsésáavóóhtóéstse  what he/she didn't see
tsésáavóóhtóhetses estse  what he/she (obviative) didn't see
tsésáavóóhtótomáhéstse  what we didn't see
tsésáavóóhtótomáhése  what you (plural) didn't see
tsésáavóóhtótoméhévóse  what they didn't see

'see (plural object)'
tsésáavóohtóhemonohtse  those that I didn't see
tsésáavóohtóhemoséstse  those that you didn't see
tsésáavóohtóhéséstse  those that he/she didn't see
tsésáavóohtóhetseséstse  those that he/she (obviative) didn't see
tsésáavóohtótomáhétseeéstse  those that we didn't see
tsésáavóohtótomáheseeéstse  those that you (plural) didn't see
tsésáavóohtótoméhévóstse  those that they didn't see

'make (singular object)'
tsésáamanéstsehéto  what I didn't make
tsésáamanéstseheto  what you didn't make
tsésáamanéstseéstse  what he/she didn't make
tsésáamanéstsehetseséstse  what he/she (obviative) didn't make
tsésáamanéstsehétsetse  what we didn't make
tsésáamanéstsehése  what you (plural didn't make
tsésáamanéstsehévóse  what they didn't make

'make (plural object)'
tsésáamanéstsehetonóhtse  what I didn't make
tsésáamanéstsehetautoséstse  what you didn't make
tsésáamanéstsehéseséstse  what he/she didn't make
tsésáamanéstsehetseséstse  what he/she (obviative) didn't make
tsésáamanéstsehétseeéstse  what we didn't make
tsésáamanéstseheseééstse  what you (plural didn't make
tsésáamanéstsehévostse  what they didn't make

Other examples
tsésáahestanóhémo  what I didn't take
tsésáahestanóhemoséstse  those which he/she didn't take
tsésáaméméséhéto  what I didn't eat
tsésáaméméséheto  what you didn't eat
tsésáamémésééstse  what he/she didn't eat
Examples in sentences  
$\text{Tsésáamés}éheto \text{ eoseeph}évééno'ë. \quad \text{What you didn't take tastes very good.}$

$\text{Tsésáahéshantöéstse ésó'hó'ta.??} \quad \text{What he didn't take is still here. ??}$

$\text{Nánóhtsevóhtanótse tsésahohótséhévosétse.} \quad \text{I'm looking for those (in) that they don't have. ??}$

**Ditransitive Conjunct Indicative verbs**

Ditransitive conjunct indicative verbs look like Transitive Animate Conjunct Indicative verbs. (\$\text{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)".

\$\text{RECHECK??}\$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tséhmétáhtséto</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>tséhmétate</td>
<td>when I gave it to you</td>
<td>tséméhótóte</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>tséhmétamoso</td>
<td>when I gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>tséhmétatsé</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>tséhmétóno</td>
<td>when I gave it to them</td>
<td>tséhmétí</td>
<td>when you (pl) gave it to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétseto</td>
<td>when you gave it to me</td>
<td>tséhmétíse</td>
<td>when you (pl) gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétatseto</td>
<td>when you gave it to yourself</td>
<td>tséhmétíse</td>
<td>when you (pl) gave it to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétose</td>
<td>when you gave it to him</td>
<td>tséhmétíse</td>
<td>when you (pl) gave it to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétamose</td>
<td>when you gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>tséhmétíse</td>
<td>when you (pl) gave it to yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétsemeno</td>
<td>when you gave it to us (ex)</td>
<td>tséhmétíse</td>
<td>when you (pl) gave it to themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótóse</td>
<td>when you gave it to them</td>
<td>tséhmétíse</td>
<td>when they gave it to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétáñé</td>
<td>when you gave it to me</td>
<td>tséhmétí</td>
<td>when they gave it to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétatañé</td>
<td>when he gave it to you</td>
<td>tséhmétovóse</td>
<td>when they gave it to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétatshíñé</td>
<td>when he gave it to himself</td>
<td>tséhmétañé</td>
<td>when they gave it to us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétôse</td>
<td>when he gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>tséhmét</td>
<td>when they gave it to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétese</td>
<td>when he gave it to us</td>
<td>tséhmétíñé</td>
<td>when they gave it to themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétaséo</td>
<td>when he gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td>tséhmétíñé</td>
<td>when he (obv) gave it to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétatse</td>
<td>when he (obv) gave it to me</td>
<td>tséhmétíñé</td>
<td>when he (obv) gave it to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétatse</td>
<td>when he (obv) gave it to you</td>
<td>tséhmétíñé</td>
<td>when he (obv) gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmétatse</td>
<td>when he (obv) gave it to them</td>
<td>tséhmétíñé</td>
<td>when he (obv) gave it to us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples in sentences**

$\text{Tséhmahe oesé hese} \quad \text{when I gave him a dog/dogs (obviative) \$\text{ADD MAIN VERBS}}$

$\text{Tséhmahe motšéške} \quad \text{when I gave him a knife}$

$\text{Tséhmahe mótséškehóte} \quad \text{when I gave him knifes}$

$\text{Tséhmahe óno še'xo} \quad \text{when I gave them a duck/ducks (obviative)}$
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

tséhmétsenemoto oeskeso  when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) a dog
tséhmétsenemoto oeskéseho  when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) dogs
tséhmétsenemoto sémonôtsse when you (sg/pl) gave us boats

tséhmétá’ése oeskéseho  when he gave me a dog/dogs (obviative)
tséhmétá’ése mótšëške  when he gave me a knife
tséhmétá’ése mótšëškëhôtsse  when he gave me knives

Ditransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

tséssáamétáhtséhëto sémo  when I did not give myself a boat

tséssáamétóhevo še'xo  when I did not give him (obv) a duck/ducks (obv)

ditransitive conjunct

Ditransitive Conjunct Indicative relational verbs

$$RECHECK (from Petter 1952:105 ??$$

tséhmétsëvo  when you gave his ____ to me

tséhmétsévóse  when you (pl) gave his ____ to me / us (ex)
tséhmétsasevo  when I gave his ____ to you

ditransitive conjunct participles

Ditransitive Conjunct Participles$$RECHECK

??

tsémétsëto  what I gave myself
tséméttëse  what I gave you
tsémëto  what I gave him
tsémëtamo  what I gave him (obv)
tsémëtatsëse  what I gave you (pl)
tsémëtôno  what I gave them
tsémëtseto  what you gave me
tsémëtáhtseto  what you gave yourself
tsémëtohtëste  what you gave him
tsémëtamôhtëste  what you gave him (obv)
tsémëtsemenoto  what you gave us (ex)
tsémëtôse  what you gave them

tsémëtëstse  what you gave me
tsémëttëta’e  what he gave you
tsémëttëtsëstse  what he gave himself
tsémëtohtëste  what he gave him (obv)
tsémëtëtse  what he gave us

tsémëta’ëse  what he gave you (pl)
tsémëta’ëtsesë  what he (obv) gave me
tsémëta’tëtsesë  what he (obv) gave you
tsémëtaëse  what he gave (obv) himself

tsémëtaëtsësë  what he (obv) gave us

tsémëtaëvo  what he (obv) gave you (pl)
tsémëtaëvose  what he (obv) gave them

tsémëtaetsësë  what (ex) gave you

tsémëhtôtse  what we (ex) gave him

tsémëhôtôtsë  what we gave him

tsémëhôtsësë  what you (pl) gave me

tsémëhôtsëse  what you (pl) gave him

tsémëtamôse  what we gave ourselves

tsémëtôtsëe  what we gave them
Examples of ditransitive participles in sentences

| tsémétsenoto | what you (pl) gave us (ex) | tsémétotsese | what he (obv) gave him (obv') |
| tsémétahtsese | what you (pl) gave yourselves | tsémétsenote | what you were given |
| tsémétese'e | what you (pl) gave them | tsémétseestse | what he was given |
| tsémétse | what they gave me | tsémétanetse | what they were given |
| tsémétata'ose | what they gave you | tsémétanēto | what we were given |
| tsémétovose | what they gave him (obv) | tsémétsēse | what you (pl) were given |
| tsémétasee?? | what they gave us | tsémétsētsēstse?? | what they were given |
| tsémétahtsese | what they gave themselves | tsémétsēse | what they were given |

**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.
- Nánaáotsétáno. 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.
- Návóomáhtsétáno. I want to be seen.
- Évóomáhtsétanoo'o. They want to be seen.
- Návéstáhémáhtsétáno. I want to be helped.
- Návéstáhémáhtsétanó'tóvo. I want to be helped by him.
- Véstáhémáhtsétanó'toveha! Want to be helped by him!
- Návóo'séháta'to. I want to show it to him.
- Náheónán'étanó'ta. I want to show it.
- Námésenátanó'ta. I want to eat it.
- Námésenátanó'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'êškónehoh 'many children'
- **na'ëstse** amâho'héstôste 'one car'
- **nešë** 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** tsêvéhónevëstse? 'Who is the boss?'
- **Tónešë** néévahoe'hêoo'ohtse? 'When did you get back home?'
- **Tósa'e** néhoo'e? 'Where do you live?'

**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. $$\text{(GIVE EXAMPLES FROM HER BOOK)}$$ 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. $$\text{(RECHECK THAT SENTENCE)}$$ 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'ëstse néohkenëheto'eétahe! 'Always you're doing that!'
- Naa móséškanetsënoonâhë móstö'sevëseëtsëëhe'ohtsëëhe tšëhmóheeotsëstovëtse. '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)

$$\text{(OTHER EXAMPLES?)}$$

If you are a Cheyenne speaker and someone asks you how to translate an English sentence to Cheyenne, do not copy the order of words in the English sentence. Cheyenne word order is different from English word order in sentences. English sentences usually have a required word order based on English syntax (grammar), namely, subject nouns come before their verbs and object nouns follow their verbs. Cheyenne grammar does follow this syntactic order for words in a sentence. A Cheyenne sentence which follows the English word order may not sound wrong by itself, but it will not have the

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140 The "newsworthiness" concept has been described by Mithun (1987).
141 Or it can be the second position if the first position is a discourse connector such as naa 'and'.
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 móhvóomóhevéhe 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’ameohsêhêhe 'A man was going along.' Then in the next sentence it can be said what the man saw, as in: Móhvóomóhevéhe 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.
There were many tepees.

And at the edge there where the camp ended an old lady camped.

Her grandson lived with (her).

There was great hunger.

For two days and for three days this young man would disappear.

For two days and for three days this young man would disappear.
Apparently he would go to hunt.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.008

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

He would bring home game at night.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.009

c'ohke'o'esóvaséstse máhtamáhááhe
é- h- ohke- ó'esóvá -sest máhtamáháahéh
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

c'oxhóeesenéhésesto
é- h- ho- háesenehe -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

nëhë'së ame
nëhe'sé ame
then pemmican
p ni

m'ó'hkemanésthëhëhe
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

m'ó'kheméshëno'vëhe néhnë'sëvëse
mó- h- ohke- mése -hé -nó -vo -hé néh- nése -vó -s
INF- PST- HABIT- eat -NEG.SFX -FTI -3PL -INF.SFX -INF.SFX
mode- tns- pv- vti -sfx -sfx -num -sfx pfx- vai -num -pro

hevëxaho
he- vëxah -o
They would eat it, the two of them, her grandson (and her).

And then a man was announcing.

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

He announced that way.

He announced that way,

He announced that way.

He announced that way.

He announced that way.
A tepee was there in the place-of-honor.

Then they gathered, young men, men.

She was beautiful.

The young lady was in the place-of-honor.

Many men gathered-came inside.
Then this young man said to his grandmother.

"Grandmother, you, too, go there!" he told her.

"Go to find out who is going to be son-in-law!" he told her.
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.027

hé'tóhe ame tano'eohtseo'o
this pemmican TRL- walk.carry -IMPV.DEL
pro ni dir- vai -mode
goodbye, nothing more.

éxhetósesto
é- h- het -ó -s -est -o
3- PST- tell -DIR -RPT -OBV
pro- tns- vta -voice -mode -num
"This pemmican, take it along!" he told her.

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

vá'nešéške'e nẽšea'kóestseo'o
vá'ne- tšéške'nẽše- a'kóestsé -o
just- a little continue- bundle -IMPV.DEL
pv- p pv- vti -mode
"Just a little one, make a package!

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

mȧhto'seéšeéneéestsesto
mȧh- to'se- éše- éne- éstse -htóve
IRREAL- PROS- already- stop- speak -IMPERSONS
pfx- pv- pv- pv- vai -fii

manésto'shẽohneto o'ha'енomeo'o
mȧh- neh- to'se- hẽohné -to o'ha'en -om -e -o
IRREAL- CIS. PROS- emerge -CNJ.SFX drop -FTI -IMPERSONS.SFX -IMPERSONS.DEL
pfx- dir- pv- vai -sfx vti -sfx -sfx -mode

éxhetósesto
é- h- het -ó -s -est -o
3- PST- tell -DIR -RPT -OBV
pro- tns- vta -voice -mode -num
When the talking is about over, when you're going out, drop it!" he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.030

naa éxhohàéanañôtóvénsê
naa é- h- hohàéana -htóve -né -s
and 3- PST- very hungry -IMPERSONS -FII -RPT
p pro- tns- vai -fii -sfx -mode
And there was great hunger.

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

néhé'sê
néhe'sê
then
p

móstavéséshê'ôhtsêhêhe
mó- h- ta- vése- tsêhe'ôhtsê -hé -hé
INF- PST- TRL- with- go.to -NEG.SFX -INF.SFX
Then that old lady also went there.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

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

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

ehne'évȧhősęheseváenánȯse
é- h- neh- éva- hósę- 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
éstahetaesesto
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 héné
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.
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.044

estatóxanesé
é-{pro} h-{tns} ta-{dir} tòxan {vti} -é -s -e -s -é
3- PST- TRL- pass.around
éstatóxanesé??

hótáhtse ame
hótáhtse ame
unexpectedly pemmican
p ni
It was passed around, behold, (it was) pemmican!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.045

ñooo éhpéhévéno'énése
ñooo é h- phéve- éno'e -né -s
wow! 3- PST- good- taste -FII -RPT
p pro- tns- pv- fii -sfx -mode
Oh! It tasted good.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.046

néhe hetane
néhe hetane
that man
pro na

é'onéha'ênånóse
é- h- onéha'en -an -ó -s
3- PST- loose -by.hand -FTI -RPT
pro- tns- vti -fti -theme -mode
That man unwrapped it.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.047

éhmésènóse
é- h- mése -nó -s
3- PST- eat -FTI -RPT
pro- tns- vti -sfx -mode
He ate it.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.048

néhe'se
néhe'se
then
p

éstséhètôsèsto
é- h- tsé- het -ó -sèst -o
3- PST- CAT- tell -DIR -RPT -OBV
pro- tns- pv- vta -voice -mode -num
néhe máhtamáháahého táaxa'e
néhe máhtamáháahéh -o táaxa'e
that old.woman -OBV let's.see
pro na -num p
Then he told that old lady,

"Let's see, your grandson, I'm going to talk to him."

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.049

I'm going to see him," he told her.

"Let him come over!" he told her.

When the old lady returned, she told her grandson. (Does mȧhtamȧhááhe go with the preceding or following verb??)

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.051

I have done what you told me.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.052

"I have done what you told me.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.053
You are invited," she told him.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

That young man went there.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

He arrived.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

He was asked by the chief.

"You (pl) have plenty to eat.

Prepare (lit., clean) yourself!

A Man Who Looked for a Son

"You (pl) have plenty to eat.
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

éstaéváhó'ňoňtsé
-est
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- vésekhmo -o
3PS- grandmother -OBV
pro- na -num
móstanehetóhevóhe
mó- h- ta- nè- 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

estasyóvé'ňoňtsémósesto
é- h- ta- no'- vé'oňtsém -ó -sést -o
3- PST- TRL- also- accompany -DIR -RPT -OBV
pro- tns- dir- pv- vta -voice -mode -num
tséóhkéhó'ňxéváṭsese
tsé- ohke- hóó'xévá -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
éhnéxhó'ňxéváséstse
néhe hetane
é- h- neh- hóó'xévá -sést 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

néhnóhtó'ěnóňtsé
néh- nóhtó'ën -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

néaméhnéstse
néh- améhné -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'
- hē'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’čskóne 'girl' (literally, woman-child)
hetané-ka’čskóne '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-otóa’e 'cow' (literally, whiteman-buffalo)

A noun may consist of a prenoun plus a noun final:

Óoe-tane 'Crow' (literally, crow-person)
món-é’e 'bride' (literally, new-woman)

**Noun-verb compounds**

A noun may consist of a verb plus a noun:

mòxe’éstóne-mahë'o 'school' (literally, writing-house)
ame’haled’-vé’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:

éšköse-esé-hotame¹⁴² 'pig' (literally, sharp-nose-domesticated.animal)
ka’-ëné-hótame 'bulldog, cat'¹⁴³ (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal)
vóhp-ó’ha 'white horse' (literally, white-horse)¹⁴⁴
to-óom-ašé’sé-stóte 'soda pop, cold drink' (lit., cool-liquid-drink-NOM)
Mo'ohtáv-áhahtá-tane 'Blackfeet Indian' (lit., black-foot-person)

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¹⁴² Historically, hótame referred to a dog. Later, the word oeškëse was used to mean 'dog'. When that happened, hótame narrowed in meaning to refer to a special kind of dog, such as a 'hound' (e.g. greyhounds and rottweilers). But it also broadened in meaning to refer, more generally, to a domesticated animal.

¹⁴³ Southern Cheyennes have used the word ka’ënéhótame 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’eeséhótame (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal) for 'cat'. Petter began his work in Oklahoma, before moving to Montana perhaps Southern Cheyenne have used both ka’ënéhótame and ka’eeséhótame for a cat.

¹⁴⁴ The Cheyenne noun final /-o’há/ descends from a PA final that originally meant 'dog'. Over time, the final came to mean 'horse' in Cheyenne.
Nominalization

A noun may be consist of verb stem plus a nominalizer (a suffix that turns a verb into a noun):

- ame'ha-htôte 'airplane' (literally, flying-thing)\(^{145}\)
- méséhe-stótse 'food' (literally, eating-thing)
- éškós-éné-hé 'greyhound' (literally, sharp-face-being)\(^{146}\)
- tséhe'esé-esé-he 'elephant' (literally, long-nose-being)
- vovéstmósané-he 'teacher' (literally, teaching-being)
- hoéstónéhe-he 'student' (literally, writing-being)

Verb formation

As we have already seen in discussion of verbs, Cheyenne verbs can be long, consisting of many morphemes. Independent order verbs typically are made up of a pronominal prefix, optional tense markers, preverbs that have aspectual and adverbial meanings, then a verb stem, then one or more suffixes which typically give information about person, number, and mode.

Pronominal prefixes

Pronominal prefixes are high pitched except when they precede the future tense marker:

- ná- first person (e.g. I, we)
- né- second person (you, you plural)
- é- third person (he, she, animate it)

Pronominal prefixes plus future tense –htse

- náhtse- first person + future tense
- néstse- second person + future tense
- tse-\(^{147}\) third person + future tense

Tense

Cheyenne marks two tenses: h- 'remote past' and –htse 'future' on its verbs. Verbs which are unmarked for tense refer to the present or recent past. (check that further??) Preterit, which is a tense in some languages, is not a tense in Cheyenne. Instead, the Cheyenne preterit is a mode.

Unmarked tense

The following verbs are unmarked for tense. They may refer either to the present or recent past.

- Návóómo. 'I see him', or 'I saw him'.
- Énéméne. 'He's singing', or 'He sang'.
- Ého'sóeo'o. 'They are dancing', or 'They danced'.

Past tense

Past tense is marked with phonemic /h-/\(^{145}\), which has the following pronunciations:

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\(^{145}\) This is the most general of the Cheyenne nominalizers. It is phonemically /-htot/. It can create either animate or inanimate nous from verbs.

\(^{146}\) The suffix /-né/ 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 vovéstmósané-hé 'teacher', literally 'teaching-being' or 'teaching-person'.

\(^{147}\) The pronominal prefix é- is omitted with future tense.
1. [s] preceding [t] or [s] (with [ss] pronounced twice as long as a single [s])
2. [ş] preceding [k]
3. ['] preceding a vowel
4. [x] preceding [h]
5. [h] before any other sounds

**Past tense is farther past in time than recent past. But it need not be distant past.** Whether or not a verb is marked with past tense depends on the relative time frame in the mind of the speaker. There is no simple rule that says, for instance, that a verb will be marked with the past tense if it refers to a time more than a month ago or more than a year ago.

Notice the past tense markers immediately following the person prefixes ná-, né-, and é- in the following verbs:

- **Ná-h-vóómo.** I saw him.
- **Né-s-tšehe'késtahe.** 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-tséhetósésto.** He is said to have said this to him (reportative mode).
- **É-š-koká'a'xeséstse.** He is said to have danced (reportative mode).
- **É-x-hetóhoono.** 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-nèh-vóómo.** I saw him a long time ago.
- **É-nèh-mésehe.** He ate a long time ago.
- **É-nèx-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.
- **Né-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.
- **Né-sta-évahósevóomátse.** I will see you again.
Directionals

Directionals occur after the tense slot in the verb and before preverbs. Directionals indicate whether action is coming toward or away from a speaker.

Cislocative

The directional that indicates action toward a speaker is called a cislocative. It is phonemically spelled /neh-/h/. The /h/ has various alternates depending on the sound that follows it. The cislocative has high pitch in imperatives and low pitch in all other orders.

Non-imperative cislocatives

É-néx-ho'chne. 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!
Néx-héstāohtse! 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 ēšē'he. The sun has set.

Preverbs

Preverbs give aspactual 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-sāa-’onē'sēome-pēhēve-tsēhēst-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\(^{148}\)

---

\(^{148}\)Glossing with Q for the inferential prefix and INF for the inferential suffix comes from Sarah Murray (p.c.).
That must be why he lies around buried hiding. (The Bat)

4. Tse-nës-så'-évá-ho'e-anòhe-ohtsé-he.
   He won't come back down. (The Whiteman and the Indian)

5. É-sta-nëšè-hetóse-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.

8. É-h-ne'-osáane-ée-nëšè-to-táha'há-htsé-nò-se.
   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-éva-në-heše-ho'-hóo'-ohtsé-sest-o.
    3-PST-TRL-back-ANA-manner-arrive-home-go-RPT-3PL
    It's said they arrived back home that way.

11. Tse-méo-hóe-évo'soo'e.
    FUT-morning-out-play
    He will come out to play early in the morning.

12. tsé-s-tà-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'sè-vá'ne-tšéške'-më'est-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. É-h-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-RECIPI-RPT-3PL
   It's said they simply all piled in on each other.

19. É-x-he'ké-hešé-hosó-hné-hoo'o.
   3-PST-slowly-REL-backwards-walk-PRET
   Once upon a time he slowly went backwards.

    3-PST-TRL-already-necessarily(??)-complete-by.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'-õhké-sáa-sé'hove-évà-ho'-ëhné-he-hoo'o.
    3-PST-HAB-suddenly-back-arrive-walk-NEG-PRET
    Once upon a time he would suddenly not come back.

23. Ná-ta-móne-éva-asè-hóo'-ôhtsé-me.
    1-TRL-soon-back-start-home-go-1PL
    We soon started to go back home.

Preverbs list
Here are some of the most commonly occurring preverbs. In this list a vowel which is in parentheses ( ) will occur if the next morpheme begins with a vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverbal Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>áahtsé'</td>
<td>simultaneously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhane</td>
<td>extremely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'ene</td>
<td>forever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame</td>
<td>along</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anèhe</td>
<td>down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ase</td>
<td>start</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'(e)</td>
<td>upward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e's</td>
<td>afraid to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>émoose</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éne</td>
<td>end, stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ése</td>
<td>in, into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éšé</td>
<td>already</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some preverbs are primarily aspectual in nature, including:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>év-a-</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>háanae-</td>
<td>heavy, respected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>háe-</td>
<td>much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hávéséve-</td>
<td>badly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé-</td>
<td>have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hepe-</td>
<td>for the purpose of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'ame-</td>
<td>more</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'áná-</td>
<td>easily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'ke-</td>
<td>slowly, softly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'kone-</td>
<td>hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heóme-</td>
<td>too much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hése-</td>
<td>for such reason</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heše-</td>
<td>manner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetóeve-</td>
<td>in evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetóse-</td>
<td>continually</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetaa'-</td>
<td>to such extent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóe-</td>
<td>out from</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho'(e)-</td>
<td>arrive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóose-</td>
<td>go home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoove-</td>
<td>mistakenly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóse-</td>
<td>again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóxe'e-</td>
<td>cleanly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kánome-</td>
<td>although</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mae-</td>
<td>all over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhe-</td>
<td>all</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhove-</td>
<td>tiredly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'heóne-</td>
<td>sacredly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>má'se-</td>
<td>complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'xe-</td>
<td>big, much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>másó-</td>
<td>suddenly, in a group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méhae-</td>
<td>used to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me'-</td>
<td>should</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé'(e)-</td>
<td>appear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méó-</td>
<td>early morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móne-</td>
<td>recently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne-</td>
<td>referring back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neh-</td>
<td>toward, cislocative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésta-</td>
<td>previously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néše-</td>
<td>continue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néšená-</td>
<td>while</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néševe-</td>
<td>fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nétáhéve-</td>
<td>differently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóhtove-</td>
<td>know how to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no'-</td>
<td>also, included</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no'hé-</td>
<td>aside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nó'se-</td>
<td>over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nonáháxe-</td>
<td>might</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ohke-</td>
<td>regularly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'ome-</td>
<td>bypass</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó'ose-</td>
<td>mistakenly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onáxe-</td>
<td>might</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oné'seóme-</td>
<td>truly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onése-</td>
<td>try to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onó'e-</td>
<td>proper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osáane-</td>
<td>commence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>osee-</td>
<td>intense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>páháve-</td>
<td>good, well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péléve-</td>
<td>good, well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáa-</td>
<td>not</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sé'e-</td>
<td>down into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sé'hove-</td>
<td>suddenly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sétové-</td>
<td>middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sóhpe-</td>
<td>through</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>só'(e)-</td>
<td>still</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taa'éve-</td>
<td>at night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tae-</td>
<td>exactly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'e-</td>
<td>disappear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taome-</td>
<td>by self</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táve-</td>
<td>slightly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>táxe-</td>
<td>on top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'se-</td>
<td>going to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tónéše-</td>
<td>how?, somehow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóxe-</td>
<td>along the edge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tse-</td>
<td>referring forward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšéhe'se-</td>
<td>never</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tšéške'-</td>
<td>little</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>váhtome-</td>
<td>nevertheless</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vá'ne-</td>
<td>just</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vá'ose-</td>
<td>complete</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé'(e)-</td>
<td>prohibit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vése-</td>
<td>with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xae-, xamae-</td>
<td>simply, ordinarily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xanove-</td>
<td>straight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ase-
éne-
éše-
méhae-
hetóse-
móne-
nèše-
ohke-
osáane-
má’se-
nonáháxe- / onáháxe- / onáxe- 
to’se-

Examples with aspectual preverbs
Máheameöstse néhëno é-méhae-’éevő’estanéheve. All Runner used to live there. (1987:182)
Tse-nonáháxe-pe’pe’eotse. There might be trouble. (1987:27)
É’-osáane-asénoovősesto. 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-
he’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-
Examples with quantity preverbs

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

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

Examples with quality preverbs

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

-a'ene-
hetóeve-
méo-
taa’éve-

Examples with temporal preverbs

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

Tšéške'e né-tao'se-váñehóhta'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:

éšê-hó’ko-: of necessity
É-éšê-hó'ko-:mésehe. 'He HAD to eat.' (for example, he said he wasn't going to eat, but I told him to stay and eat, so he had to eat).

éšê-to'se-: on the verge of
Mó-éšê-to'se-:hestsevévéxhéséhe. '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'estomeve. 'You should have told me.'
oh-to'şé-: almost but failed
Ná-oh-to'şé-hovánee'e. 'I almost died.'

sáa-tóněšé-: cannot, unable to
Ná-sáa-tóněšé-tšéhe'othšéhe. 'I am not able to go (there).'
És-sáa-tóněšé-éne-e'kóo'óheséstse. 'It's said he just couldn't stop looking out.' (1987:298)

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

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

tó'-tae-
tóněšé-hé-
vé'-hé-
$$OTHERS??
$$FULL VERB EXAMPLES??

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'ahe</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>-mésehe</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/-mó'é/       invite to a meal
/-naá'é/      doctor
/-nae/        die
/-néé/        be standing
/-némené/     sing
/-néne/       nurse (of a baby)
-nómáhtse      steal
/-ohaé/       arise
/-sévanó/     skate, slide
/-tó'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’e.           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(ooht)-</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>éskos-</td>
<td>pointed</td>
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<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>
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<td>boil</td>
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<td>héhnov-</td>
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</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
heimá- 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
hómest- escape
hóna'(ov)- add
hóné(')- pile
hóoht-/hó'o'- home
hóom- shelter/protect
hótoaná- difficult
hótoxá- crisscross
hóvoht-/hóvos- store
hóx-/hóht- around (tie)
hóxe' clean
hóxov- across
ho'- arrive
ho'óx- last
ho'sot- dirty
ho'tov- loose
ho'xēs(t)- belong
ho'xo'- against (press)
hohát- laugh
hoham- prefer
hohkó's- purple
hohpé- sweat
hohpó'- gather
homēhe- noisy
honát- subside
honó- roast/bake
hoō'h- overheard
hoó'sot- unskilled
hoón- shut
hoon- restrain/forbid
hosó- backwards
hosotóm- rest
hotám- turn around
hovéo'(k)- shade
hovo'e- envelope/surround
hox- rotten
hoxo'ohtsév- green
kás- short
káhan- tired
káhko(n)- thin
ka'- short
kó'kon- peck/knock
kóe(n)- hit (with s.t.)
koom- still
má't-/má's- complete/finish
máhe(t)- all
máhov- tired of
ma'(k)- red
ma'(k)es(t)- forward
ma'haa'- big
ma'heón- sacred
mamahk- curly
mamée- rub
mano'- together
max- touch
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<td>mòx-</td>
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<td>stand/arise</td>
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<td>néma’-</td>
<td>circular/revolve</td>
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<td>nés-/néš-</td>
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<td>cover/obstruct</td>
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<td>nes-/neš-</td>
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<td>nèxoóht-</td>
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<td>nób-</td>
<td>slow/late</td>
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<td>no’-</td>
<td>include</td>
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<td>aside</td>
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<td>no’k-</td>
<td>one/alone</td>
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<td>nohtóv-</td>
<td>know how</td>
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<td>nomon-</td>
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<td>noné‘k-</td>
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<td>nonótov-</td>
<td>hurry</td>
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<tr>
<td>nonom-</td>
<td>quiver</td>
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<tr>
<td>noń-</td>
<td>brown (faded)</td>
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<td>ó'-</td>
<td>dry</td>
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<td>ó'oht-/ó'os-</td>
<td>mistake</td>
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<td>split/half</td>
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<td>cry/tear</td>
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<td>ota-</td>
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<td>ov-</td>
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<td>lump/knob/hump</td>
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<td>páhpon-</td>
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<td>Prefix</td>
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<td>ta'ta'</td>
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<td>between</td>
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<td>Prefix</td>
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<td>tóv-</td>
<td>stubborn</td>
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<td>tóva-</td>
<td>imitate/pattern</td>
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<td>tóx-</td>
<td>edge/around</td>
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<td>tóhovó-</td>
<td>gap (cf. slit)</td>
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<td>to(n)-</td>
<td>cold</td>
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<td>toést-</td>
<td>string (e.g. bead)</td>
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<td>toe(n)-</td>
<td>hold</td>
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<td>tóhkom-</td>
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<td>tomóht-/tomós-</td>
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<td>toox-</td>
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<td>slit (cf. gap)</td>
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<td>vé’s-</td>
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<td>véhon-</td>
<td>chiefly</td>
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<td>véhp-</td>
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<td>light/shine</td>
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<td>light</td>
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<td>light (color)</td>
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<td>vós-</td>
<td>hole/depression</td>
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<td>vóvo’k-</td>
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<td>von-</td>
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<td>vovó-</td>
<td>first/ahead</td>
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<td>xá’xán-</td>
<td>massage</td>
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<td>xanov-</td>
<td>straight</td>
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<td>xo’-</td>
<td>salve (put on)</td>
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xo'xon-
dent

Initials and medials
We will study medials more thoroughly shortly. A verb stem may consist of an initial plus a medial:

É-momóht-óhtá. He has diarrhea. (lit., he-move-stomach)
É-nèse'x-ahtse. He gargled. (lit., he-wash-mouth)
É-pèhévé'-éxáne. He has nice eyes. (lit., he-good-eye)

Initials and finals
We will also study finals more thoroughly shortly. A verb stem may consist of an initial plus a final:

É-ém-óéna. He's praying secretly. (lit., he-secret-pray)
É-he'kon-ose. He's frozen hard. (lit., he-hard-cold)
É-pèhévé'-o'o'e. It's a good field. (lit., it-good-vegetation)

Initials, medials, and finals
A verb stem may consist of an initial, medial, and final:

É-háahpe'-éen-o'o'e. The snow is deep. (lit., it-deep-snow-lie)
É-am-óov-á'a. He moved the water with his foot. (lit., he-along-water-by.foot)
Ná-to-óom-án-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

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<td>-noná</td>
<td>honono</td>
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<td>back</td>
<td>-'pa'oná</td>
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<td>belly</td>
<td>-asé</td>
<td>matonéšé</td>
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<td>blood</td>
<td>-ma'emá</td>
<td>ma'e</td>
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<td>breast, udder</td>
<td>-tanahá</td>
<td>matána</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calf</td>
<td>-sevá</td>
<td>hésévo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>-'está</td>
<td>máhtovóo'otse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elbow</td>
<td>-htsé'ooná</td>
<td>máhts'é'oo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>-'éxané</td>
<td>ma'èxa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>face</td>
<td>-éné</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td>-(hk)osé</td>
<td>mo'éško</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot / feet</td>
<td>-hahtá</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

149 Ma'achtse includes the hand and forearm.

268
Examples of verbs with body part medials

Body part medials are boldfaced in the following verbs:

Nánémo-**noná**-otse. I twisted my ankle.
Ndé’-**škóhtá**-xe. I fell and broke my leg.
Énëxoós-**éne**. He has a cute face.
Éma’e-**esé**-vose. He has a red nose from the cold.
Nëše’së-**he’óná**-htse! Wash your hands!
Éhese-**na’éva**-otse. He has cramps in his arms.
Éhese-**nomá**-otse. He has cramps in his thigh.
Éókhokeve-**notóva**. He has a black dirty neck. (lit., he-crowlike-neck)
Étsëhe’së-**na’éva**. He has long arms.
Étsëshë-**’ësta**. His ears stick out.
Évôhpe-**tanëva**. He has thrush. (lit., he-white-tongue)
Nápöe-**stséá**-hno. I punched him in the head.
Étahpe-**ase**. He has a big belly.
Éó-**óhta**. He is constipated. (lit., he-dry-bowels)
Éhévoe-**tanáhá**-no’hâme. He's milking. (lit., he-squeeze-udder-livestock).
Náéxöve-**hahtá**-ho’he. I’m warming my feet. (lit., I-warm-foot-by-heat)
Éhésh-**onené**-o. He (especially a dog) is showing his teeth (for example, when
snarling at someone).
Nëstsevé’hetsëhëno éše’he! Nëstsematse-**ôse**. 'Don't point at the sun (or moon)! You'll
get an infected finger.'
Taa’ëva nëstsevé’novo’eohtsëme! Mëstaa’ë nëstsenëm-**ahtsená**-o’haëvo. 'Don't eat outside at
night! A ghost will give you Bell's palsy (lit., crooked mouth).'

---

150 Rarely used as a noun.
Other medials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>medial</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ground, land</td>
<td>-óma'</td>
<td>ho'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband</td>
<td>-éhamá</td>
<td>naéhame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snow</td>
<td>-éen</td>
<td>héstase'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strand</td>
<td>-ón(e)</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water, liquid</td>
<td>-óom</td>
<td>mahpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood</td>
<td>-ó'(e)</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>-'evá</td>
<td>náhtse'eme</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.
Éanoh-óné-ána. He lowered it with a rope.
Éto- óom-aše'se. 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>

151 Naéhame 'my husband' is obsolescent. Today Cheyennes usually say tsévéstoemo 'the one who is my spouse' for either a husband or wife.

152 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nápo'-öhn-o.</td>
<td>I broke him off with a tool. (lit., I-off-by.tool-him)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nápo'-ēs-o.</td>
<td>I cut him off. (litl, I-off-by.cutting-him)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėa't-āx-a.</td>
<td>He accidentally cut it. (lit., I-accidentally-by.cutting-it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nápěhév-átám-o.</td>
<td>I like him (lit., I-good-regard-him)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėtšěške'-óóva.</td>
<td>It shrunk from washing. (lit., it-small-by.water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėta'p-ose.</td>
<td>He gets cold easily. (lit., he-weak-by.cold)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ėhe'kon-ōhta.</td>
<td>It’s frozen. (lit., it-hard.by.cold)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návon-ahō'h-a.</td>
<td>I burned it up. (lit., I-remove-by.heat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ónomon-e'hāna.</td>
<td>He fell asleep eating (lit., he-drowsy-eat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nápěhév-ém-o.</td>
<td>I spoke well of him. (lit., I-well-by.speaking-him)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Positional finals**

Positional finals indicate a position or posture in which the action of a verb is performed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hang</td>
<td>-oése(ná) (AI), -oéstá (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie</td>
<td>-eše(ná) (AI), -eha (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>/-őe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>/-őe/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples of verbs with positional finals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ésétov-óésta.</td>
<td>It's noon. (lit., it-middle-hang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éov-ēše.</td>
<td>He went to bed. (lit., he-prostrate-lie)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návéhp-ēš-mo.</td>
<td>I emptied him. (e.g. a jug; lit., I-empty-lie-him)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éháóéná-óó'e.</td>
<td>He prayed standing up. (lit., he-pray-stand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ónomon-oo'e.</td>
<td>He fell asleep sitting. (lit., he-drowsy-sit)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Action finals**

Action finals tell what kind of general action was done. An initial with an action final further describes the kind or path of the action:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>carry on back</td>
<td>-o'xe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dance</td>
<td>-ohomó’he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>-asé’she</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-hné. He walked backwards. (lit., he-backwards-walk)
- Énéné-móse. She does housework quickly. (lit. he-quickly-do.housework)
- Éanóhe-'sévo. It's flowing down. (lit., it-down-flow)
- Éhahpe-nó'e. She's sewing. (lit., she-fasten-sew)
- Námá's-énome. I got enough sleep. (lit., I-complete-sleep)

Abstract finals

Abstract finals convey less specific information than do concrete finals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AI characteristic</td>
<td>-ahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I characteristic</td>
<td>-a'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II marker</td>
<td>-ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II action final</td>
<td>-sané</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II 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
- Êhe'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 heše- functions as a relative preverb and as a complementizer in dependent verbs of complex sentences, which is a kind of relative function. The initial heš-/het-\(^{153}\) performs the same anaphoric discourse function as does the heše-relative preverb. The preverb né- can precede a relative root or initial to further specify that it refers back to something preceding in the speech context. That is, it is an anaphoric marker. The preverb tsé-can precede a relative root or initial to specify that it refers forward to something yet to be said. So, tsé- is a cataphoric marker. Relative roots, preverbs, and initials are boldfaced in the following examples:

---

\(^{153}\) The pronunciation heš- is used before the "e" vowel; het- is used before "a" and "o".

\(^{154}\) The verb of saying in quote margins functions as a relative root.
that’s what I ate.’

ná-het-áhtomóne 'I heard (it) that way'

é-het-óhta’hâne '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’she- 
2. Instrumental suffix –vá

Ná-vé’š-mésehe ane’kôhomó’hestôtse. I ate with a fork.

Námésehe ane’kôhomó’héstô-va. 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’she-

The preverb vé’she- is used to indicate that the action or state of a verb was accomplished or reached by means of something.

Návé’s-ooma káhámáxe. ??

He hit me with a stick.

Ho’évohktse ná-vé’s-háomóhtâhâtse. 
The meat made me sick.

Kokôhéáxka ná-vé’s-háomóhtéotsenôtse.
The chicken (animate) made me sick. $$IS THIS A NATURAL EXAMPLE??

Instrumental suffix –vá

The suffix /–vá/155 marks a noun which is used to perform some action.

Náooma káhamáxéhé-va.

He hit me with a stick.

Náa’táxestse mútôskê-vá.

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’s-oó’xoemâhâne hókhókexé-va. 

I chopped wood with an ax. $$RECHECK

Other examples

Náoó’xoemâhâne hókhókexeva. I chopped wood with an ax.

Návé’seoó’xoemâhâne hókhókexe. I chopped wood with an ax.

155 Because of word-final devoicing, the high pitch on this suffix is not heard when a word on which it occurs is pronounced. But the high pitch does cause the preceding syllable to be pronounced higher than a low pitch.
This makes me happy.

I ground meat with a rock.

I ground corn with a rock.

Benefactives
Cheyenne verbs can indicate that an action was done for the benefit of someone. There are several TA verb endings which can express such a benefactive meaning.

-vomotah 'for the benefit of'
The TA final –vomotah expresses a benefactive meaning:

Náháóéna I prayed
Náháoenavomotáho I prayed for him
Néháoenavomotahtse I prayed for you
Néháoenavomatsetemeno 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.

Náhotseˈóhevomotáho 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:

Náhotseˈota I worked for him (that is, he employed me)
Náhotseˈóto He worked for me (that is, I employed him)
Nátotseˈótoo'o 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:

Nánéméne. I sang.
Nánéméoo. I sang for him (benefactive).
Nánéméova. He sang for me (benefactive).

Náhonóhta. I baked it.
Náhonóhtoméoo. I baked it for him.
Náhonóhtomevonótse. I baked them (inan) for him.
Náhonóhtomóenótse. He baked them (inan) for me.

Causatives
Some TA verb endings express the idea of causing someone to do something.

-ˈseh
The TA final –ˈseh can be added to many TA verb stems to create causatives:

Corn is referred to as a grammatical plural in Cheyenne.

275
Nánémené'sého. I made him sing. (without the final, Ênéméne = He sang)
Nánémené'seha. He made me sing.

Námésèhè'sého. I made him eat.
Náovésènà'sého. I made him go to bed.
Nánaótse'sého. I made him sleep.
Náhotse'óhè'sého.?? I made him work.
Náhomòsè'sého. I made him cook.

Námésèhè'sèhatsenòtse.?? I made you eat him (e.g. a duck).
Námésèhè'sèhatsènòtse.?? I made you eat them (animate).
Émèsèhè'sèhònto.?? He made him (obv) eat him (obv).
Némèsèhè'sèseòtse.?? You made me eat him.

Návóó'sého. I showed it to him (lit. I caused him to see it).
Návóó'sèhomòtse 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:

Éhohátsemóhó. He made him (obv) laugh. (Éhohatse = He laughed)
Éhetótaemóhó. He made him (obv) rejoice.
Éháestáhémóhó. He angered him (obv).

$OTHER FINALS?

Reduplication
$CREATE THIS SECTION, REFERRING TO ELENA'S PAPER ON reduplication

Particles
In this book we consider any part of speech other than nouns and verbs to be particles. We introduced particles at the beginning of this book. We mentioned that possible subtypes of particles are demonstratives, indefinite pronouns, interrogative particles, numbers, conjunctions (connectives), exclamations (??), epistemic particles (??), and location particles.$$REVISE AND COORDINATE THIS LIST WITH THE LIST IN THE PARTS OF SPEECH SECTION

$DEVELOP THIS SECTION

Conjunctions
Conjunctions, also known as connectives, are words which connect other words or longer stretches of speech together:

naa and
máto also
oha (óvahe??) only
néhe'še  then
nonohpa  so that

Some connectives occur in combinations:

naa māto  and also
naa oha  but

GIVE EXAMPLES. INCLUDE DESCRIPTION AND EXAMPLES OF DISCOURSE USE OF naa to mark discourse "episodes" (paragraphs?).

**Demonstratives**

Demonstratives are particles which point to things in the speech context. Demonstratives are marked for animacy and distance from a speaker. They are not marked for number (singular or plural):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé'tóhe</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>(animate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'tóhe</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>(inanimate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tá'tóhe</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>(animate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>há'tóhe</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>(inanimate)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstratives can modify a noun which they precede:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé'tóhe ka'ěškóne</td>
<td>this</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'tóhe māheon'ôte</td>
<td>these</td>
<td>houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tá'tóhe mo'ěhno'ha</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>há'tóhe māhēō'o</td>
<td>that</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstratives can stand alone, referring to something which is not overtly mentioned by name:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé'tóhe</td>
<td>this one (animate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'tóhe</td>
<td>this one (inanimate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tá'tóhe</td>
<td>that one (animate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>há'tóhe</td>
<td>that one (inanimate)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstrative</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>néhe</td>
<td>this one referred to in the more recent discourse (animate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héne</td>
<td>this one referred to in the more recent discourse (inanimate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhe</td>
<td>that one which speaker assumes hearer knows about (animate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>háne</td>
<td>that one which speaker assumes hearer knows about (inanimate)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Indefinite pronouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hová'ěhe</td>
<td>something, nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hovánee'e</td>
<td>no one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevá'eséstse</td>
<td>someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevá'ěsesto</td>
<td>include glosses for this and following forms??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néséhoo'o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
néséhoono
nésévooh
hénáá'énése

hénése
hénésehe
Móhenésehéanehe

**Interrogative particles**
Interrogative particles ask questions: **GLOSS THESE PARTICLES**

névááhe
néváásö
neváaseo'o
neváaso'o
hénová'e
hénová'ehótse
hénová'éto
hénová'etotse
hénová'etsése
hénová'etsése
hénáá'ë
hénáá'énése
tóne'še
tósa'e

**ADD OTHERS**

**Command particles**
Some particles function as commands:

Nóheto! Let's go!
Nóxa'e! Wait!
Ótahe! Listen!
Táaxa'e! Let's see! (**FUNCTIONS AS COMMAND??)**

**Location particles**
Location particles refer to locations:

áhtóno'e under
anóheto below
he'ama up
heama side
táxeto top
tóxeha edge
Epistemic particles

Epistemic particles are important for communicating how Cheyenne speakers relate to what they are saying. They are especially useful in conversation as Cheyenne interact with each other. They are to a dialogue something like what seasoning is to food. Without these particles Cheyenne utterances would be less flavorful. Following are a number of these particles, with attempts to translate them to English. The late linguist Robert Longacre referred to particles like these as "mystery particles". That is an good label for particles which are so important to a discourse, yet are sometimes mysteriously difficult to analyze and define.

$\text{Epistemic particles}$

Éaa! / Ëaa! Wow! (traditionally said by males, but said today by some females also)
Nóoo! / 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
- anôheto: down
- hehpeto: later
- hóseto: again
- oné'sómeto: truly
- sóhpeto: through
- táxeto: on top

Examples with emphatic particles

- hehpeto tsé'éšeméoese Tséhe'ėsta'éhe 'after the battle with Long Hair (Custer)' (1987:59)
- Naa néhé'še hóseto, "Amėške nėstseó'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 different number 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'néhešéve!" or thousands of other words in whatever language you speak.

Even though learning to recite a list of Cheyenne numbers may not help children very much to learn to understand and speak Cheyenne, it is important, eventually, to learn the various ways that Cheyennes organize numbers and use them in natural speaking. Always, however, Cheyenne language needs to take place in natural speech contexts. While children are walking, eating, or playing, talk with them in Cheyenne about what they are doing and what you are doing. No one can learn to understand and speak Cheyenne by learning lists of words, looking up words in a Cheyenne dictionary, or even reading this grammar book. Cheyenne dictionaries and grammar books can be helpful resources. They just should not be used as patterns for teaching Cheyenne to others. Let's now learn about Cheyenne numbers, even though we encourage you not to simply memorize the lists that are written in this section about numbers.

**Number particles**

Numbers which indicate how many things and how many times can be considered particles. Number particles are not inflected for animacy of a noun that they modify.

**Number of things (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</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na'ēstse</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neše</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>nésohto</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nohto</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sóohto</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhtohto</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóht)hóhtahna'ēstse</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóht)hóhtahneše</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóht)hóhtahna'e</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóht)hóhtahneve</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóht)hóhtahnoho</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóht)hóhtahnaesohto</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóht)hóhtahnésohto</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóht)hóhtahna'nohto</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóht)hóhtássóhto</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésó'e</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésó'e hóhtahna'ēstse</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésó'e hóhtahneše</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésó'e hóhtahna'he</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nó'e</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of numbers of things

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Na'ó'e hohtánoho</th>
<th>35</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>névé'e</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóhóno'e</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naesóhtóhnó'e</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésóhtóhnó'e</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nóhtóhnó'e</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sóohtóhnó'e</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No'ka máhtóhtóhnó'e ??</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No'ka máhtóhtóhnó'e hohtána'estse ??</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of numbers of times

Number of times (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No'ka</th>
<th>Once</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nexa</td>
<td>Twice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na'ha</td>
<td>3 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neva</td>
<td>4 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nóhona</td>
<td>5 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naesóhtoha</td>
<td>6 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésóhtoha</td>
<td>7 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na'nóhtoha</td>
<td>8 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sóohtoha</td>
<td>9 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Máhtóhtoha</td>
<td>10 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Máhtóhtó)hohtáhno'ka</td>
<td>11 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Máhtóhtó)hohtáhnexa</td>
<td>12 times</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nés'ëe</td>
<td>20 times (same pronunciation as for 20 things)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No'ka máhtóhtóhnó'e</td>
<td>100 times (same pronunciation as for 100 things)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No'ka vonoéstónéstóva</td>
<td>1000 times (lit., once lost-count)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of numbers of times

1. Nó'ka nénaeotse. 'You fainted one time.'
2. No'ka ho'né'éstóva 'one step length' (lit., 'once by step'; this is approximately one yard)
3. Nexa hámöhtsehéstóva tsénéhe'esévoénéstse '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 náhoxéhéšéva.?? '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
- névéóve four groups
- nóhónóve five groups
- naesóhtóhnóve six groups
- nésóhtóhnóve seven groups
- na'ñohtóhnóve eight groups
- sóohtóhnóve nine groups
- máhtóhtóhnóve ten groups

**Examples of numbers of groups**

- nésóve mo'kéhanótse two pairs of shoes
- névéóve xamaevó'estaneo'o four tribes of Indians
- nóhónóve nótxaxe'o five bands of warriors

**Numbers of days**

A number preverb can occur with a noun suffix /-éš/ meaning 'day' to indicate how many days (actually overnights) of time have elapsed.

- no'kếé'éšé one day\(^{157}\)
- néšéé'éšé two days
- na'héé'éšé three days
- névéé'éšé four days
- nóhonéé'éšé five days

**Examples in sentences:**

Néšéé'éšé náéváho'éoh'tse. 'I returned four days ago.'
Névéé'éšé móhne'méohehevéhó. 'For four days they ran around.' (The Great Race, W. Leman, 1987:245)

**Days of a month (Calendar days)**

Days of a month use the numbers for number of times plus a verb that literally means 'it has come to that amount.' For example, the first day of a month is no'ka ého'oeme, literally meaning "once (the day) has come to that amount:

1. No'ka ého'oeme
2. Nexa ého'oeme
3. Na'ha ého'oeme
4. Neva ého'oeme

\(^{157}\) That is, an overnight.
5. Nóhona ého'oe'me
6. Naesóhtoha ého'oe'me
7. Nésóhtoha ého'oe'me
8. Na'nóhtoha ého'oe'me
9. Sóohtoha ého'oe'me
10. Máhtóhtoha ého'oe'me
11. Máhtóhtoha hóhtáhno'ka ého'oe'me
12. Máhtóhtoha hóhtáhnxia ého'oe'me
13. Máhtóhtoha hóhtáhna'ha ého'oe'me
14. Máhtóhtoha hóhtáhneva ého'oe'me
15. Máhtóhtoha hóhtáhno'kona ého'oe'me
16. Máhtóhtoha hóhtáhnaesóhtoha ého'oe'me
17. Máhtóhtoha hóhtáhnésóhtoha ého'oe'me
18. Máhtóhtoha hóhtáhna'nóhtoha ého'oe'me
19. Máhtóhtoha hóhtásóohtoha ého'oe'me
20. Nésó'e ého'oe'me
21. Nésó'e hóhtáhno'ka ého'oe'me
22. Nésó'e hóhtáhnxia ého'oe'me
23. Nésó'e hóhtáhna'ha ého'oe'me
24. Nésó'e hóhtáhneva ého'oe'me
25. Nésó'e hóhtáhnóhona ého'oe'me
26. Nésó'e hóhtáhnaesóhtoha ého'oe'me
27. Nésó'e hóhtáhnésóhtoha ého'oe'me
28. Nésó'e hóhtáhna'nóhtoha ého'oe'me
29. Nésó'e hohtásóohtoha ého'oe'me
30. Na'nó'e ého'oe'me
31. Na'nó'e hóhtáhno'ka ého'oe'me

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no'ke-</td>
<td>one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néše-</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'he-</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néve-</td>
<td>four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóhong-</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples with number preverbs

Ná-no'ke-ene. I stayed one night.
Ná-néše-ene. I stayed two nights.
É-néše-énö'e. It's the second day of the week.
Nána'he-enö'tse. I camped three nights.
É-na'he-némeneo'o. There are three of them singing.
É-néve-éno'e. It was four overnights ago.
Vé'ho'éotóa'e tse-néve-ôhta. The cow will have four legs. (Sweet Medicine's prophecy)
É-nóhone-aénáma. He is five years old.

Number initials
Here are some number initials:

no'k- one
né- 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-névanéne. 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-nóhoneo'o. There are five of them (animate).
É-naesóhtóxeo'o. There are six of them (animate).
É-na'nohtóxeo'o. There are eight of them (animate).
É-sóohtóxeo'o. There are nine of them (animate).
É-máhtóhtóxeo'o. There are ten of them (animate).
É-néso'o'heo'o. There are twenty of them (animate).
É-néso'o'enéstse. There are twenty of them (inanimate).

Inanimate subjects
É-nó'ka'e. There is one of it.
É-néxánéstse. There are two of them (inanimate).
É-na'hánéstse. There are three of them (inanimate).
É-névánéstse. There are four of them (inanimate).
É-nóhonánéstse. There are five of them (inanimate).
É-naesóhtóhanéstse. There are six of them (inanimate).
É-nésohtóhanéstse. There are seven of them (inanimate).
É-na'nóhtóhanéstse. There are eight of them (inanimate).
É-sóohtóhanéstse. There are nine of them (inanimate).
É-máhtóhtohánéstse. 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'kahéto by myself, I alone
- néh-no'kahéto I alone
- néh-néshëse both of you (plural)
- tsé-néshëse the two of them (animate)
- tsé-na'hëse the three of them (animate)
- tsé-névese the four of them (animate)
- tsé-nóhonëse the five of them (animate)
- tsé-naësóhtoxëse the six of them (animate)
- hotóhkeo'o tsé-nésëhtoxëse the seven stars (Cheyenne for the Pleiades constellation)
- tsé-na'nohtoxëse the eight of them (animate)
- tsé-sóóhtoxëse the nine of them (animate)
- tsé-máhtóhtoxëse 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'ónétö/ 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'ónëto. It is the first one.
- tsé-no'ka'ónëto the first one
- É-néxa'ónëto. It is the second one
- tsé-néxa'ónëto the second one
- tsé-na'ha'ónëto the third one
- É-néva'ónëto. It is the fourth one.
- tsé-nóhonëa'ónëto the fifth one
- tsé-naësóhtoxëna'ónëto the sixth one
- tsé-nésëhtoxëna'ónëto the seventh one
- tsé-na'nohtoxëna'ónëto the eighth one
- tsé-sóóhtoxëna'ónëto the ninth one

**Group number verbs**
Cheyenne verbs can take a number initial plus an AI /-óvahe/ or II /-óvátö/ final indicating a group. This final is related to the /-óvé/ suffix we saw on particles for numbers of groups.
É-nésováhe'o.  There are three groups (animate).
É-névo'áhe'o.  There are four groups (animate).
É-névovátónéstse.  There are four groups (inanimate).

Numbers in days of the week

Numbers are used in names for some of the Cheyenne days of the week. Note that in Oklahoma the first day begins on Tuesday, while in Montana the first day begins on Monday. Here are some of the ways to say the Cheyenne days of the week. For other ways, see the later section of this book on Days of the week in the larger section on words for Time in Cheyenne. To make them easier to see, numbers in the names for days of the week are highlighted here:

Oklahoma days of the week

Here are days of the week for Oklahoma, as listed by Cheyenne language teacher Lenora Holliman:

Éno'ke'éno'e.  Tuesday (lit., 'It's the first day.')
Énéshé'éno'e.  Wednesday (lit., 'It's the second day.')
Éna'he'éno'e.  It's Thursday (lit., 'It's the third day.')
Énévé'éno'e.  It's Friday (lit., 'It's the fourth day. ')
Étšéške'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 éšēeva  Monday (lit., 'on the first day')
Nexa éšēeva  Tuesday (lit., 'on the second day')
Na'ha éšēeva  Wednesday (lit., 'on the third day')
Neva éšēeva  Thursday (lit., 'on the fourth day')
Nóhoná éšēeva  Friday (lit., 'on the fifth day')
Tšéške'ma'heóneéšeève  Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day')
Ma'heóneéšeève  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.

158 From Internet webpage: http://www.swosu.edu/academics/catc/dictionary/c04.aspx
Proto-Algonquian to Cheyenne changes

Following are some Cheyenne words with their Proto-Algonquian (PA) source words (etyma). Proto-words are marked with the asterisk (*), following standard practice.

- ame (PA *pemyi, "grease")
- he'e (cf. PA *weθkweni, "his liver")
- hē'e (PA **eθkwe·wa, "woman")
- hetane (PA *er$jennywa, "man")
- matana (PA *meθenyi, "milk")
- šé’š e
- sémo
- xōo’o
- pe’ e
- netse
- hotóá’e
- neš e
- na’he

PA: Cheyenne correspondences

Common Cheyenne reflexes of PA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PA</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More recent Cheyenne sound changes

We can observe some changes in Cheyenne from published records. Other changes have been personally observed.

h-addition

We have noted that PA nouns that began with a vowel now begin with the letter "h" in Cheyenne. Most of this change occurred before the end of the 1800s when Petter began his study of Cheyenne. However, Petter (1915) did record some Cheyenne nouns which he heard beginning with a vowel, which later began with "h":

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>Petter</th>
<th>modern Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>azesc</td>
<td>hátseške</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
<td>oxzem</td>
<td>hόhtséme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sioux</td>
<td>Ohoomoheo</td>
<td>Ho’óhomo'eo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>oxoxxzz</td>
<td>cf. hoxo'óhtsévó'éstse 'grass'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Simplification

Simplification of sound sequences and regularization of grammatical patterns commonly occur in languages. We observe both forms of language change in Cheyenne.

Loss of voiceless syllables

Younger Cheyenne speakers simplify the sounds of some words. They drop the sounds of some words, especially some voiceless syllables which are difficult to hear. Here are some words with their traditional pronunciation and pronunciations by many younger speakers today:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>traditional pronunciation</th>
<th>younger speaker pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>máhtamáhááhe</td>
<td>tamáháhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book</td>
<td>móxe'ěstoo'o</td>
<td>xe'ěstoo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I asked him</td>
<td>nánōhtséstóvo</td>
<td>nánéstóvo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berries</td>
<td>menótse</td>
<td>menéstse ??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your pet</td>
<td>néstótse</td>
<td>stótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kills On the Water</td>
<td>Mähpevana'hâne</td>
<td>Pevana'hâne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I see you</td>
<td>névóomâtse</td>
<td>névóoméstse ??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regularization

Cheyennes have been regularizing some irregular grammatical patterns. EXAMPLES??

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'ė/</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'ė/</td>
<td>Ho'óhomō'e</td>
<td>Ho'óhomo'óho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see that the obviative suffix on these nouns is –óho. However, if a noun ended with a phonemic high pitch, it traditionally would take a low pitched suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>phonemic</th>
<th>proximate</th>
<th>obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fly (insect)</td>
<td>/hésé/</td>
<td>hésé</td>
<td>heso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>/ho'honáé/</td>
<td>ho'honáá'e</td>
<td>ho'honaa'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>/nóte/</td>
<td>notse</td>
<td>noto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nighthawk</td>
<td>/pé'e/</td>
<td>pe'e</td>
<td>pe'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>/šé'sé/</td>
<td>šé'se</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.\textsuperscript{159} 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>/hésé/</td>
<td>hésé</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>pé'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>éháoenahó??</td>
<td>éháóénahó ??$$</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>-mévé/</td>
<td>émévo</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>éného</td>
<td>énéhóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he (obv) is nursing</td>
<td>-néné/</td>
<td>énéno</td>
<td>énénóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there are two of them (obv)</td>
<td>-néše/</td>
<td>énéxo</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 meaning</th>
<th>older negative</th>
<th>newer negative</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>návóóhta</td>
<td>násáavóóhtóhe</td>
<td>násáavóóhtóhe</td>
<td>I did not see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhestána</td>
<td>ésáahestánghé</td>
<td>ésáahestánghé</td>
<td>he did not take it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'ëna</td>
<td>násáahéne'enëhé</td>
<td>násáahéne'enëhé</td>
<td>I do not know it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regularization of irregular possessives

We previously mentioned that Cheyennes have been changing irregular possessive prefixes so that they are regular. We repeat a few examples here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>irregular</th>
<th>regular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nénove 'my home'</td>
<td>navénove ??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nétove</td>
<td>navétove ??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néséne 'my friend'</td>
<td>navéséne ??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Idiolectal changes

Some changes in Cheyenne are focused more in the speech of

Semantic change

Not only do sounds change over time, but meanings of words do also. $$

vé'ho'e trickster ~ creator > whiteman ~ job role

-o'ha dog > horse

hótame dog > domesticated animal

Borrowing

Cheyenne includes words borrowed from other languages.

Sound translations

A sound translation is a kind of borrowing that adapts the sounds of a word in one language to the sounds of another language.

The Cheyenne word heávohe 'devil' appears to be a borrowing from Spanish, from contact with Mexicans, of their word for the devil, "diablo". This kind of borrowing is sometimes called a sound translation. The sounds of "diablo" have been adapted to sound more like a Cheyenne word.

One Cheyenne word meaning '25 cents' is tôhétøtes, phonetically [t⁶oʲɪc]. 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

Pévevóona'o 'Good morning'
Péveéšeeva 'Good day'
Pévéhetóéva 'Good evening'
Pévetaa'ëva 'Good night'

These greetings have been adapted to be pronounced as verbs, creating more natural sounding greetings used by some speakers:

Épévevóna'ø 'It's a good morning'
Épéveéšeeve 'It's a good day'
Épévëhtëoeve '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:

Néstaéváhósevóomátse '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 $$??* toóneoheo'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'anátó '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'anátó/ meaning. We then had fun combining this new preverb with other verbs, such as Éma'xénéhotoanátó 'It's plum difficult'. Cheyennes enjoy playing with words.

If enough Cheyennes like the literally translated idioms they sometimes become more widely used.

*Creation of new words*

Cheyennes create new words when the need arises. Most new words are descriptive, made up of smaller meaning parts. Some created words have been used for so long that they are no longer thought of a new words. Others are more recently minted. Some have been created recently but are not in common usage.
Older created words

Here are some words which were created when Cheyennes encountered new things and
needed names for them. These words have been a regular part of the Cheyenne language for many
years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>literal meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cow</td>
<td>vé'ho'é-otóá'e</td>
<td>whiteman-buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stable</td>
<td>mo'éhno'hamé-māhéó'o</td>
<td>horse-house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coffee</td>
<td>mo'ňhtávé-hópe</td>
<td>black-broth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tea</td>
<td>véhpotó'hópe</td>
<td>leaf-broth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>airplane</td>
<td>amé'hahtótsé</td>
<td>flying-thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buggy</td>
<td>tšéške'ä-mó'ënů'o</td>
<td>small-wagon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car</td>
<td>amáhó'héstótsé</td>
<td>go along by heat/burning thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>battery</td>
<td>ho'ěsta</td>
<td>fire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tire</td>
<td>amáhó'hé-máhtse'ko</td>
<td>car-leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school</td>
<td>móxe'éštóne-máhéó'o</td>
<td>writing-house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post office</td>
<td>móxe'éstóoné-máhéó'o</td>
<td>letters-house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desk</td>
<td>táxe-móxe'éstónestótsé</td>
<td>upon-write-thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pencil</td>
<td>móxe'éstónestótsé</td>
<td>writing-thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chair</td>
<td>táxe'éstónestótsé</td>
<td>upon-buttocks-sit-thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basketball</td>
<td>éseväóhé-hóhtséme</td>
<td>into-throw-ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>newspaper</td>
<td>hóó'xevá-vóxe'estóo'o</td>
<td>announce-paper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribal office</td>
<td>mé'kono-máhéó'o</td>
<td>head-house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribal council</td>
<td>mé'kono</td>
<td>heads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>casino</td>
<td>mőhenëšé-máhéó'o</td>
<td>playing cards house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>movie theater</td>
<td>móxe'a'xé-máhéó'o</td>
<td>moving picture house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>policeman</td>
<td>matanaé-ve'ho'ë</td>
<td>breast-whiteman (refers to the badge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>doctor</td>
<td>na'á'vé'ho'ë</td>
<td>doctoring whiteman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soldier</td>
<td>nótxévé'ho'ë</td>
<td>warrior-whiteman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diabetes</td>
<td>vé'keemáhpévomóhtáhestótsé</td>
<td>sugar-sickness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recently created words

Here are some words recently created which are not widely used, but they could be if more
Cheyennes knew about them:

$$ (see file DKMC signs.doc)$$
$$ (see file Medical Terms.doc)$$
Storybook
Bulletin board
Computer
Blender
microwave
High pitch mark
Mountain Dew
Wrist watch
RV
The Cheyenne lexicon
The lexicon of a language is its entire inventory of words (vocabulary) and other important meaning parts (morphemes). The lexicon also should indicate relationships among the words. The Cheyenne lexicon is found in dictionaries of Cheyenne. The most recent dictionary is titled Cheyenne Dictionary. We have attempted to include all the words and lexical relationships among them in the Cheyenne Dictionary. We have attempted to write the words in the dictionary as 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’éševótse 'baby', ka'éskóne 'child', oeškése 'dog', mahpe 'water', hoohtéstse '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), kásóvááhe, 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’éskóne, 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’éskóne"? 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:
### words or sentences

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>binomial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kásówááhe</td>
<td>young man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káse'éehe</td>
<td>young woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’háhkéso</td>
<td>old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhtamáhááhe</td>
<td>old woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boy</td>
<td>hetané-ka’éškóne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girl</td>
<td>he’é-ka’éškóne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>school</td>
<td>móxe’éstóne-máhe’ó’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestonóvónó’e</td>
<td>drymeat pole</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Émésehe.** He (or She) is eating (or He, or She, ate).

**Ékoká’a’xe.** He (or She) is jumping. (or He, or She, was jumping.)

**Náháéána.** I'm hungry.

**Néešemésehéhe?** Did you already eat?

**Épéhéva’e.** It's good.

**Éhoo’kóho.** It’s raining.

**Nésáatséhe’ševóomatséhe.** I never see you.

### Semantic ranges

Sometimes a word in one language does not exactly match a word (or words) in another language. The words in the different languages might have slightly different meanings. Or they might share some of the same meanings, but have some meanings that are not the same. Again, this does not mean that one of the languages is better than the other language. It just means that the languages have different ways of saying things.

The set of meanings that a word has is called its semantic range. Often the semantic ranges of words between languages do not match up exactly. This makes the job of translating between these language more difficult, but not impossible.

Cheyenne and English have different semantic ranges for words having to do with siblings. For instance, in the Cheyenne language there are several words that refer to sibling relationships: older sibling, younger sibling, older brother, younger brother, sibling/cousin, etc. **DEVELOP THIS SECTION**

**DEVELOP THIS SECTION** Even if something cannot be said as concisely in one language as it is said in another language, usually there is some way to express the same meaning, even if it takes more words than another languages uses to do so.
It isn't said

Some things are simply not said, at least not yet, in a language. That does not mean, however, that they cannot be said in that language. I am often asked how to say something in Cheyenne. Sometimes I have to answer, "I don't know. I have never heard that said. But if Cheyennes decide to say that in Cheyenne, it can be said and it might become a regular part of the language." Here are some things which I don't think are said yet in Cheyenne:

- Happy birthday!
- Merry Christmas!

Again, just because these things are not said in Cheyenne, does not mean that English is a better language than Cheyenne. It just means that Cheyennes have not felt a need yet, or a strong enough need, to say these things in Cheyenne. In the case of "Merry Christmas!", the concept of Christmas was brought to the Cheyennes, probably in the 1800s. So, obviously, Cheyennes would not have said "Merry Christmas!" before they knew about Christmas. Cheyennes do just fine today saying things like "Merry Christmas!" in English and other things, if they wish, in Cheyenne.

Lexical relationships

Lexical relationships are systematic relationships among the words of a language. Following are descriptions of some of the most important lexical relationships in Cheyenne.

Plurals

Animacy pairs

Diminutives

Antonyms

Synonyms

Hyponyms

Figurative language

Figurative language is the use of speech to express meanings different from the literal meanings of words used. Cheyenne figurative language includes metaphors, similes, and idioms. In examples that follow, the literal meaning of an expression is given in parentheses after its figurative meaning.

- Énéšetaneva.?? He lies. (lit., he is two-tongued).
- Éhéstova'kehe. He is duplicitous. (lit., he is dual-natured??)
- Ého'néhevëhöhtse. She outsmarts men. (lit., she has wolf footprints)
- Épeeëëse. He is a hellraiser. (lit., he has a ground up nose)
- Éhesó'xo'ësta. He doesn't listen. (lit., he has slippery ears)
- Énéhestáha. He's gets angry easily. (lit., he is quick-hearted)
- ó'kohóme sly, conniving person (lit., coyote)
- Éó'kóhoméheve'ëxáne. He is sly/he cheats. (lit., he has coyote eyes)
Semantic domains

Semantic domains are how speakers of a language group words according to how they belong together in topics. Speakers of a language group words together as they view that they belong together. The culture of the speakers determines how the groupings of words are made. Groups of words that belong together, according to speakers of a language, are called semantic domains. Some Cheyenne semantic domains have been influenced by interaction between traditional Cheyenne culture and other cultures, especially those of the vé’hó’e (white people) and their educational, business, and entertainment cultural patterns. Following are some of the semantic domains of Cheyenne language and culture. Many others can be found in the Cheyenne Topical Dictionary (Glenmore and W. Leman, 1984), as well as online copies of the Cheyenne Dictionary.

Numbers (combine with the numbers on pages 281ff)

The Cheyenne language has words for various numbers. Cheyennes have traditionally spoken about how many deer they shot or how many children they have. Cheyennes tell how many times they have done some action. Cheyenne speakers knew their numbers as fluent speakers of the language. It is probable, however, that Cheyennes never traditionally counted as an exercise in itself, as in done today in Cheyenne bilingual education programs. But counting is now considered an important part of Cheyenne language learning. Many Cheyenne children have learned to count from 1 to 10, using one or both of the two traditional Cheyenne number systems, numbers for how many things and numbers for how many times something is done:

Numbers of things

Numbers of times

Animals

Horses

Cheyenne life changed significantly after Cheyennes moved to the Great Plains and acquired...
horses. A horse culture developed. Words about horses became one of the most developed semantic domains of the Cheyenne language.

*Birds*

*Trees*

**OTHER SEMANTIC DOMAINS**

*Colors*

Fluent Cheyenne speakers have traditionally referred to various colors. Some of the words for colors can be used about almost any object. Other words are only used for certain purposes, such as the various colors of horses.

For several decades Cheyenne children have been taught Cheyenne colors in bilingual education programs. **FILL OUT THIS SECTION AND INCLUDE COLOR SECTION FROM THE FIRST EDITIONS OF THIS BOOK**
étônetôhtâhave | What color is he?  What color is it?
etônetôhtâhâvevo?o | What color are they (an)?
etônetôhtâhâvênëstse | What color are they (inan)?
etônetovâva | What color is his fur, How is he furred?
etôneto?éëva | What color is his skin?

meaning | It is ___ | He is ___
--- | --- | ---
black | émo?ôhtâvo | émo?ôhtâvahe
black | émo?ôhtâvo | émo?ôhtâvahe
blue | âotingâvo | âotingâvahe
brown | émo?ôsëskáno | émo?ôsëskanehe
brown, tan | âenôno | âenôhehe
gray | épô?o |
green | âehoxo?ôtsëvo | âehoxo?ôtsëvahe
orange | éma?êheôvo | éma?êheôvahe
pink | éma?ômo?ôtsëvo | éma?ômo?ôtsëvahe
purple | âehoxôkô?so | âehoxôkô?sane
red | éma?ô | éma?ôta
white | évo?ômo | évo?ômahe
white | évo?ômo | évo?ômahe
white, light | évo?ôpo | évo?ôphahe
yellow | âheôvo | âheôvahe

eheôvôva | He is yellow-furred.
epehèvôva | He has nice fur.
evo?neôvâva | He (e.g. a horse) is bay-colored.
ehohkô?sôva | He is chestnut-colored.
âmô?ôhtâexamëno?va | He is brown-black--colored.
âmë?ôvâhëtôva | He is buckskin.
âenônôva | He is tan-colored.
evovô?hase | He is pinto.

COLOR PARTICIPLES:
tsêheôvo | the yellow one (inan)
tsêheôvo?ôstse | the yellow ones (inan)
tsêheôveesëstse | the yellow one (an)
tsêheôvëhêse | the yellow ones (an)
tsëma?etase | the red ones (an)
tsëvô?komôo?ëstse | the white ones (inan)

COLORS AS "ADJECTIVES":
heôve-mëşe?e | yellow feather
heôve-mëheô?o | yellow house
otâ?tave-amâho?nestôtse | blue car
vôhpe-nënhkohë | polar bear (white-bear)

COLORS IN VERB CONSTRUCTIONS:
êheôvôvëse | He has yellow hair.
âmë?ëse | He has a red nose.
âmësëskanë?ëxâne | 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>tséhéhestovéstse</td>
<td>tséhéhéto</td>
<td>father, paternal uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškástovéstse</td>
<td>tséheškáto</td>
<td>mother, maternal aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheměšéméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheměšémáto</td>
<td>grandfather, fa-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevěškenéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhevěškenáto</td>
<td>grandmother, mo-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheehahéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheehaháto</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestónahéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhestónahéto</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevěxahéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhevěxahéto</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestatanáméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhestatanámáto</td>
<td>brother (of female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheměhéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheměhéto</td>
<td>older sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheváseméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhevásemáto</td>
<td>younger sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?néhéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?néhéto</td>
<td>older brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevěsésönéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhevěsésónáto</td>
<td>sibling (incl. cousin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheaxáa?éheméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheaxáa?éhaméto</td>
<td>sister (man's), sis-in-law (fem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhešéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhešéto</td>
<td>maternal uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškámónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheškámónáto</td>
<td>maternal aunt, stepmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheštaméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheštamáto</td>
<td>paternal aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevětovéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhevé?tovéto</td>
<td>cross sibling-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?haměhéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?hamhéto</td>
<td>brother-in-law (man's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhehetsěnotahéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhehetsěnotahéto</td>
<td>cross niece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?éméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?émáto</td>
<td>cross nephew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheehaméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheehamáto</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhehehaméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhehehamáto</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhehentáahamónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhehentáahamónáto</td>
<td>niece, stepdaughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhehahamónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhehahamónáto</td>
<td>nephew, stepson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhehamónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhehamónáto</td>
<td>paternal uncle, stepfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhenésónahéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhenésónahéto</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: see other material on kinship terms under TRANSITIVE ANIMATE CONJUNCT PARTICIPLES.*
Medical terms

I'm going to check you.
Where do you hurt?
Where do you have pain?
Does your belly hurt?
Are you pregnant?
How many months (pregnant) are you?
Does it hurt here?
Have you started labor?
Take your shirt, coat, off!
Take your pants off!
Take a deep breath!
Stop breathing!
I'm going to look at your ear.
You are going to have an x-ray.
Stand up!
Sit down!
I'm going to listen to your heart.
Your heart is good.
How old are you?
How many months old is he?
How long have you been sick?
How do you feel?
Do you feel bad?
Yes, I feel bad.
I feel sick.
How many children have you borne?
Did you hurt yourself?
How sick do you feel?
I'm a little sick.
I'm really sick.
Are you a diabetic?
I'm a diabetic.
Do you have a fever?
Do you sleep well?
Are you constipated?
Do you have diarrhea?
I have diarrhea.
Take this medicine!
Drink this medicine!
Take one before you eat!
Take two before you sleep!
Take one four times per day!
Is it a sharp pain?
Do you vomit?
My blood pressure is high.
Do you cough?
I cough, have a cold.
Terms having to do with telling time and passage of time are one of the semantic domains of the Cheyenne lexicon. Time was traditionally noted in Cheyenne by the position of the sun, seasons of the year, and months. As Cheyennes have been increasingly influenced by the dominant culture surrounding them, this influence is reflected in terms for telling time, with adoption of terms for days of the week. There has also been some shift from using animate subjects with verbs for telling time to inanimate ones.

Traditionally, time was noted in Cheyenne by the position of the sun. Since éše'he 'sun' is animate, any verbs explicitly or implicitly referring to the position of the sun required animate subjects. Cheyennes extended use of the word for 'sun' to refer to clocks. Oklahoma Cheyennes also adopted an additional word for 'clock', kó'ko'ēhasē'o, which literally means 'ticking thing'. This word is also animate.

Questions about time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tóne'še ého'óése éše'he?</td>
<td>What time is it? (lit., When has the sun arrived hanging?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tóne'še ého'óesta?</td>
<td>What time is it? (lit., When has it arrived hanging?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étône'ého'óése (éše'he)?</td>
<td>What time is it? [lit. How high is he (the sun) hanging?]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étône'ého'óesta?</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>Time</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éasevó'néóhtse.</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>Éhosóvoomaeóhtse.</td>
<td>It's dawning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméovóonā'o.</td>
<td>It's early morning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évōonā'o</td>
<td>It's morning.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméséhévoéosta.</td>
<td>It's noon. (lit., it's eating time)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésétovoésta.</td>
<td>It's noon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ését(hehpè)sétovoésta.</td>
<td>It's afternoon. [lit., it's already (past) noon]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhomoése.</td>
<td>It's almost sunset time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ékáhoése.</td>
<td>It's close to evening [lit., he (the sun) is hanging close]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhetóëve.</td>
<td>It's evening.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étaa'ëve.</td>
<td>It's night.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésétóhtaa'ëve.</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>Past Time</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhméovóonā'o</td>
<td>when it was early morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóonā'o</td>
<td>when it was morning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssétovoésta</td>
<td>when it was noon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhetóëve</td>
<td>when it was evening</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tséstaa’eve  when it was night
tséssétőhtaa’eve when it was midnight

**Future times**
Conjunct potential verbs are used to refer to time which has not yet occurred:

máhméovóonā’o when it is early morning
máhvóonā’o when it is morning, when it is tomorrow
másétovóésta when it is noon
máxhetóēve when it is evening
?? when it is night
mássétőhtaa’eve when it is midnight

**Time nouns**
There are some Cheyenne time nouns, although they are not used as commonly as English time nouns are:

ešé  day
ttá’e  night

**Temporal particles**
The temporal / locative suffix /-vā/ is added to time nouns to refer to periods of time:

éšēēva  in the daytime, yesterday
hetóēva  in the evening
taa’ēva  at night
sétohtaa’ēva  at midnight, in the middle of the night
oéšeēva  daily
tóta’āēva  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’kòxe’ohe.  It’s 1 o’clock.
Ééšenésòxe’ohe.  It’s 2 o’clock.
Ééšena’ nóxe’ohe.  It’s 3 o’clock.
Ééšenévòxe’ohe.  It’s 4 o’clock.
Ééšenóhönxè’ohe.  It’s 5 o’clock.
Ééšenäsòhtònxè’ohe.  It’s 6 o’clock.
Ééšenäsòhtòhnxè’ohe.  It’s 7 o’clock.
Ééšenå’ nóhtòxe’ohe.  It’s 8 o’clock.
Ééšësòhótxè’ohe.  It’s 9 o’clock.
Ééšëmáhtòtxè’ohe.  It’s 10 o’clock.
Ééšëhóhtåna’kòxe’ohe.  It’s 11 o’clock.
Ééšëhóhtåñésòxe’ohe.  It’s 12 o’clock.
Ééšenésöxe'ohe tséhvóoná'o. It's 2 o'clock in the morning.
Ééšemáhtóhtöxe'ohe tséstaa'evé?? It's 10 o'clock at night.
Neva o'xe ééšehpoésta. It's 4:30.

**Past hours**

- tséhno'kóxe'ohe when it was 1 o'clock
- tséhnésöxe'ohe when it was 2 o'clock
- tséhna'nóxe'ohe when it was 3 o'clock
- tséhnévöxe'ohe when it was 4 o'clock
- tséhnóhonöxe'ohe when it was 5 o'clock
- tséhnaesórhtöxe'ohe when it was 6 o'clock
- tséhnésóhtóhnöxe'ohe when it was 7 o'clock
- tséhna'nóhtöxe'ohe when it was 8 o'clock
- tséssóhtöxe'ohe when it was 9 o'clock
- tséhmáhtóhtöxe'ohe when it was 10 o'clock
- máxhóhtáhño'kóxe'ohe when it was 11 o'clock
- máxhóhtáhnésöxe'ohe when it was 12 o'clock

**Future hours**

- máhno'kóxe'ohe when it's 1 o'clock
- máhnésöxe'ohe when it's 2 o'clock
- máhna'nóxe'ohe when it's 3 o'clock
- máhnévöxe'ohe when it's 4 o'clock
- máhnóhonöxe'ohe when it's 5 o'clock
- máhnaesórhtöxe'ohe when it's 6 o'clock
- máhnésóhtóhnöxe'ohe when it's 7 o'clock
- máhna'nóhtöxe'ohe when it's 8 o'clock
- mássóhtöxe'ohe when it's 9 o'clock
- máhmáhtóhtöxe'ohe when it's 10 o'clock
- máxhóhtáhño'kóxe'ohe when it's 11 o'clock
- máxhóhtáhnésöxe'ohe when it's 12 o'clock

**Seasons**

Names for the seasons are constructed from a noun stem and the temporal / locative suffix /-vá/:

- aénéva winter
- matsé'oméva spring
- méanéva summer
- tónóéva fall, autumn
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:

**Hohtseéšêhe**, Hoop Moon: January  
**Ma’xéhohtseéšêhe**, Big Hoop Moon: February  
**Pónoma’a’èhaséneéšêhe**, Drying Up Moon: March  
**Véhpotsééšêhe**, Leaf Moon: April  

**Ènafa’èšêhe**, Planting Moon: June  
**Méanééšêhe**, Summer Moon: July  
**Oenéesa’èhe**, Harvest Moon: August  
**Tonóešêhe**, Cool Moon: September  
**Sé’énéhe**, Facing Into: October (This name refers to when thin ice begins to form on ponds and rivers.)  
**He’koneneéšêhe**, Hard Face Moon: November  
**Ma’xèhe’koneneéšêhe**, Big Hard Face Moon: December

Some alternative names are:  
**He’koneneéšêhe**, Hard Face Moon: January (instead of November)  
**Tòësêke’hohtseéšêhe**, Little Hoop Moon: February  
**Pónoma’a’èhaséneéšêhe**, Drying Up: March (or April)  
**Hešégévenéhe**, Dusty Face: March (also, variant Hešé’évenéhe)  
**Hešé’évenéheéšêhe**, Dusty Face Moon: March (or April)  
**Véhpotsééšêhe**, Leaf Moon: May (perhaps part of April also)  
**È’omeéšêhe**, Fattening Up Moon: latter part of June and first part of July
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</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>Tšēške'ma'heónééšēeva</td>
<td>Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma'heónééšēeva</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:160

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</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>Étšēške'ma'heónééšēeve.</td>
<td>It's Saturday (lit., 'It's the little holy day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma'heónééšēeve.</td>
<td>It's Sunday (lit., 'It's the holy day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éénema'heónééšēeve.</td>
<td>It's Monday (lit., 'It's the end of the holy day.')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Montana past days of the week

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No'ka tsé'éšēeve</td>
<td>when it was Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nexa tsé'éšēeve</td>
<td>when it was Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na'ha tsé'éšēeve</td>
<td>when it was Wednesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neva tsé'éšēeve</td>
<td>when it was Thursday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nóhona tsé'éšēeve</td>
<td>when it was Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tšētšēške'ma'heónééšēeve??</td>
<td>when it was Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsēhm'a'heónééšēeve</td>
<td>when it was Sunday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Montana future days of the week

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No'ka ma'éšēeve</td>
<td>when it is Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nexa ma'éšēeve</td>
<td>when it is Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Na'ha ma'éšēeve</td>
<td>when it is Wednesday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

160 From Internet webpage: http://www.swosu.edu/academics/catc/dictionary/c04.aspx
Neva ma'ėseeve when it is Thursday
Nóhona ma'ėseeve when it is Friday
Máhtšéške'ma'heóneéseeve?? when it is Saturday
Máhma'heóneéseeve?? 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-äméstôheéno'e. It is a week.
ma’taaméstôheéno'e in the coming "days" (lit., overnights)
ma’tahóseaméstôheéno'e next week

-éno'tse final
The verb final –eno’tse refers to how many nights of camping:

Éno'keenô'tse. He camped one night.
Énéšeenô'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’kêê’eše one day
nêsêé’eše two days
na’hehe’eše three days
névéš’eše four days
nóhonée’eše five days
naesóhtôhéé’eše six days
nésóhtôhéé’eše seven days
na’nóhtôhéé’eše eight days
sóhothôhéé’eše nine days
máhtóhtôhéé’eše ten days

Numbers of weeks

Numbers of months

A number preverb plus the verb stem -ėše’hamá refers to how many months old someone is or how many months have transpired: ??

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Éno'keéše'hāma. He's one month old.
Énéveéše'hāma. He's four months old.

Other preverbs can occur with this verb stem:

Étónéstōhe-éš'é'hāma? How many months old is he?/ How many months pregnant is she?
Énéhestōhe-éš'é'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 soon¹⁶¹
ta'e until
hehpeto later
nenóveto shortly, a little while later
maato in the future¹⁶²
hákó'e far in the past¹⁶³
tótseha long ago
évaveto back then
nómőse a long time
séető'ëše 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/:

káse'xóvéva for a short time
háe'xóvéva for a long time

¹⁶¹ Á'e can also refer to being physically close.
¹⁶² Maato can also refer to being physically ahead.
¹⁶³ Hákó'e can also refer to far distance.
hehe'xóvéva  later
nenóve'xóvéva a little while later
móne'xóvéva?? ??
hó'ótóva sometime
háne aénéva last year

Temporal preverbs
Some preverbs refer to time in relation to the action of the verb stem which they precede:

háa'éše- for a long time, late
nenóve- for a short while
he'ěše- as long as
he'še- during
éše- already
móne- recently
nésta- previously
vone'še- for a long time
vóone- all night
sé'hove- suddenly

Examples of verbs with temporal preverbs
$\text{CITE EXAMPLES FROM DICTIONARY}$
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.

šé̱šeno  rattle
šé̱šenovôtse  snake
Évávahē.  He’s swinging.
hevavāhkema  butterfly
po’po’ēhô’hōvahōtvótse  firecracker, motorcycle
Épó’ēhô’he.  He was fired / He had a blowout.
pó’ēhô’hémahepe  beer (lit., exploding water)
pó’po’ēhô’hémahehaenótse  popcorn (lit., popping corn kernels)
Épá’panestse.  He repeatedly farted.
kokōhēăxā  chicken
kó’konôxé’éstônestôtse  typewriter (lit., pecking thing)
kó’ko’ēhaseō’o  clock (lit., ticking thing; an Oklahoma Cheyenne word)
hevovētāso  whirlwind, dragonfly

Translation

$\text{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). $\text{DEFINE SOURCE AND TARGET LANGUAGES.}$

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. $\text{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’hahtőtse, literally 'flying thing'. The Cheyennes did the same thing when they created the word for 'car, automobile'. They took a verb already widely used by Cheyennes, -amaho’he ‘to go along by heat’ and turned it into nouns, animate amáho’héhe and inanimate amáho’hestőtse, both meaning 'going along by heat thing'.

The Cheyenne words for 'airplane' and 'car' clearly and naturally communicate the function of these two forms of transportation. We can follow this principle whenever we are asked to translate something from English to Cheyenne. We can try to find an expression already in use in Cheyenne which functions in the same way as the English expression functions.

With the principle of translation equivalence in mind, let’s think about translating a common English expression to Cheyenne. English speakers use the expression "Happy New Year!" to celebrate the beginning of a new year. Cheyennes do not say "Happy New Year!" in the Cheyenne language. So how might we translate "Happy New Year!" to Cheyenne, without creating an expression that sounds unnatural? Instead of focusing on trying to literally translate the individual words of the English expression, we can look for any expression already in use in Cheyenne that could function as a some kind of equivalent to "Happy New Year!" The closest expression already in use in Cheyenne is Aa’emóna’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’emóna’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 émō'na'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'kòhomóxhāaheta 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’ěško. My finger hurts.
Náháamá’tovoo’o namo’ěškono. 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’ē, 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’ē. The cap fits me. (lit., I fit to the cap)
Nátáa’anötse hóhkéhá’estse. 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 –pėhévé’áhtá:
Nápėhévé’áhta ho’évohkötse. 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 –pėhévoemeh 'cause (someone) to value good.'
Nápėhévoemeha. I think well of him. (= 'He is of good value to me.')
Nápėhévoemēho. 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'èstse káse'éhe éhnóhtséstovöstéto heške,
One young woman asked her mother,

“Éohkeóxóhevoōne oonahá’e óhmónenéstoohévoséstse?”
“What do they say, frogs, when they first croak (in the spring)?”

“Héméhe, naa kováááhe, éohkéhevoōne, éxheséstse.
“Oh, well, 'kovaaahé,' they say," she said.

naa éxhohátse'tóheséstse māhtamáhááhe,
And she was laughed at, the old lady, (because)

Kovááhe móxheševéhehevóhe hevéxapo.
Kovaahe he was named, her son-in-law.

If a woman wants her son-in-law to fetch some water or firewood, she can speak about him, in his hearing, with words like these:

Tell that lazy husband of yours to get some water. $$

Brothers-in-law are expected to tease each other within Cheyenne culture. Such teasing has become an art form. Language forms and quality of speech are influenced by the effort to tease, sometimes close to the point of shaming, a brother-in-law in front of others.

The following story illustrates brother-in-law teasing. Notice all the direct in-your-face kind of speech in this text. This is characteristic of teasing speech. $$TRY TO FIND SPECIFIC LANGUAGE FORMS TO COMMENT ABOUT IN THIS TEXT

The Brothers-in-law164

Tséhéno he'ameo'hé'e éhéstahe hetane. Aénóhenéstoohe éohkéhestohe.
There up the river he is from, a man. Hawk Howler he is called.

Naa náohkéevená'so'eémáhtséme165. Néhestoха öhvóomoo'èstse tséhóhe máhoéve'ho'eno,
And we always tease each other. Every time whenever I see him here in town,
he always comes to me. "My brother-in-law," he says to me. "Give him a drink!

Your brother-in-law is very thirsty," he says to me. "You are not my brother-in-law for nothing,"

náohkéheta.
he tells me.

164 This text was first recorded and transcribed by linguist Kenneth Croft, in 1949, in Oklahoma. His fieldnotes label this as "Text 56". The Cheyenne narrator is not given in the fieldnotes. We have updated Croft's spelling. We have stayed close to his English translations. The editor (Leman) has added paragraphing.
165 This text illustrates Cheyenne humor of joking relationships. Cheyenne culture encourages brother-in-law joking.
"Nétónéšëvéhevë'tove'továtsé néehe'së?" náheto.
"How am I a brother-in-law to you then?" I told him.

"Heé, naa némáhevëstoemo'o naaxaa'ëhemo, néehe'nënovátsé," 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.

"Hová'áháne, néotá'pëhëvéhëne'enovátsé. Némáhevëstoemo'o naaxaa'ëhemo," náheta.
"No, I know you very well. You married all my sisters," he told me.

"Nonótovéhëmanóxeха é'tóve!" náheta.  "Náota'eévëhàóéne," ëhevoo'o.
"Hurry give a drink to your brother-in-law!" he told me. "I am very thirsty," he said.

Naa vo'ëstahë ohtsëvéhø'ëhøtaetsee'ëstse tsëóhkekëvéhësememëno'ëöstove
And whenever a person comes to us where they always stand in bunches

tsëhëohe máhoëve'ho'eno náohkëhósema,  "Tsë'tóhe né'tóve," náohkëheta,
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 néehe'së hó'ótóva täháohë Nomá'heo'hë'ë mótaëetsëhe'öhtsëhëhe.
And then all of a sudden over there to Kingfisher"166 he must have gone.

Násáanahaxëevóvóomóhe.  Ëtànëshëhá'axóvetse.
I had not seen him for awhile. Quite a while went by.

Naa hó'ótóva náho'sëevóvóomó. Tsëhëno éne'ameõhtse háp'o'ë
And all of a sudden I saw him again. Here he was coming along just

tsëstaaemohtsevo.  Së'ëae' éne'ëxaëmëné'o. Naa náho'ëhóto,
when I was going along. Right away he was smiling. And I went to him.

"My! Where have you been all the time?" I said to him. "I never see you," I said to him.

"Naa täháohe Nomá'heo'hë'ë nátaëetsëhe'öhtse. Náhá'ohe / návéve'ënoo'ë," náheto.
"Well, over there to Kingfisher I went. There I stayed all this time," he told me.

"Hénáaë néhaõohe tsëtahëse'aënoeto? Heëa néhaõohe nêtaõë'ëtânõ tósaë
"Why there did you stay so long? Maybe there you wanted a woman somewhere at

Nomá'heo'hë'ë," náheto.
Kingfisher," I told him.

"Heë, ovánëhoo'ëstse! Heëa néhe'nëvo Këhaënéë.  Náháohe náho'ëhóto,
"Hey, keep quiet! Maybe you know Squint Eye Woman. There I came to her.

166 Literally, 'Fish River'.
náho'xatamáots'é'tóvo," náheto //
I got used to her," he told me.

"Héehe'e," náhto. "Naa néohkého'é'é'senoto neaxa'éhemo. Néhe Kéha'énë'e
"Yes," I told him. "And you always accuse me of your sisters. That Squint Eye Woman
náhe'haméhenótse, mónétaëšéheváxehé'tovatséhëhe," náhto. "Né'tóve,
is my niece, you must (therefore) already be my son-in-law," I told him. "Brother-in-law,
néohkevé'ééváhešë. Námëšëmé néö'khëhešëstse nëhe'ë. don't again call me that. Father-in-law, always call me from now on.
Nétaëšéheváxehé'tovatsémohó!167" náhto.
You are already now my son-in-law!" I told him.

"Hová'aháne," éhevoo'o. "Néësetá'hóxéhevé'tove'továtse,
"No," he said. "I am so used to being a brother-in-law to you,
ésáátónëšëévanetáhëvéotséhane," náhto.
it cannot be made different," he said to me.

"Heë, hë'tóhe émónáë, nétaëšémónenöhóëve," náhto.
"Hey, this is brand new, this is the first time you've been married," I told him.

"Néstatséënëšéheváxehé'tovatsë. 'É'tóve, hëmanóxe'ëhë!
"You are just going to be my son-in-law. Your brother-in-law, give him a drink!

néohkëhešë," náhto." "Naa nëhe'ës háp'o'ë hétsetëhëa, Hëmanóxe'ëhë
you always tell me," I told him. "And from now on likewise now, 'Give a drink to
némëšëme!' nétaëhëtëë," náhto. "Nenátsëhe'ë'ohstë'sëstse tsëhëóhe
your father-in-law! let me tell you," I told him. "Come take me here
pó'ého'ë-hë-mähpë-máhe'ëne nëhe'së néhma'ëhëhëmanoxëstëse!' náhto.
to the saloon168 then give me a big drink!" I told him.

Éhohatse. "He'ë, táxóë néstsësää'ënenëhëhe, vo'estane
He laughed. "Hey, again and again don't keep repeating that, someone
néstenéstova. Néstääé'ëvostomoe'ë (?),
will hear you. You will have them all start thinking that way,
náhtsë'xho'ëhkeéemaaenësetsámëne. Nává'neohkeéveëestsëstôvo tsë'tóhe Këhaëné'ë,
I will be thought of that way. I always just talk to this Squint Eye Woman,
éhevoo'o.
he said.

167 This appears to be a mirative usage of a preterit. Usually preterits occur with third person arguments, but this verb shows that a local verb can be marked as a preterit as well.
168 Literally, 'popping-water-house-LOCATIVE'.

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"Heé, nééšetaomevé'nèhetóhta'haove naa," náhéto.
"Hey, you had already told me that story yourself and," I told him.

"Náhtaémaenéhetoo'o tsé'tóhe tséohkeévéévëhnese vo'èstaneo'o," náhéto,
"I'm going to tell all these who go around, people," I told him,

tsetamáhehéne'enohé tséhešéhevéxahé'tová'tse,"169 náhéto.
"so then it will all be known that you are my son-in-law," I told him.

"Nésáatónéšenonáháxe'tanóhe," náhéto.  "Ohkeépéhévé'tovéstse, ohkeéhëmanóxeváenëstse
"You have no way to get out of it," I told him. "Always treat me good, always give me a drink

má'öhevéootëmëto nonópa nèstanëhéšépëvéhëvéxahé'tová'tse!" náhéto //
whenever you see me so that way you will be a good son-in-law to me!" I told him.

Éhohatse.  "Taxó'e nèstaa'avó'estomo'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'èhemo tséhmáhehévévéstoëmëno,
"Hey, I didn't complain to you, (that) your sisters I had married them,
tséohke'ëvëhetóhta'hane'to," náhéto.
the way you always tell the story," I told him.

"Naa nàoni'semëhetómë, émëhehéne'enohé," éhevoo'o.
"Well, I really tell the truth., it is all known," he said.

"Heé, nèvááhe tséhmáhehéne'éno? Névá'neéè'ëhkeno'kenëhevé170
"Hey, who is it that knows all of it? You are the only one who says that


Nátaéenëšeamëo'ëvôtaëhtëmë.
We went along quarreling with each other. That's it, that's

nàohkeënéheëhënë'so'eëmëáhtëmë tsé'tóhe hètane, Aënøhënëstoohe
how we always tease each other, this man, Hawk Howler,
téókhëhëstoëstse.
as he is called.

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169 These two words form a complex sentence in Cheyenne. There is an independent order verb of knowing followed by its complement in the conjunct order. The conjunct verb takes the complementizer preverb heše-.

170 The preferred order of morphemes in this word would be néohkevá'neéëno'kenëhevé.
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 méméehe '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'
- méméehe '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?)
Noóoo! Wow! (emphasized form of Nóoo! 'Wow!')
Véetsěno! 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'ēhase' o (onomatopoeic; literally, ticking thing)
   md: éš'he (orig. meaning of 'sun' and continues to mean this in both od and md)
2. apple: od: má'xeme (inanimate); ma'xemenôtse 'apples'
   md: má'xeme (animate); ma'xemeno 'apples'
3. watermelon: od: máhoo'o (in md, as well as od, this also has the more general meaning of 'melon')
   md: nèx̱'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: töhëvetse (loan translation from English 'two bits')
   md: tséháónóto (lit. that (coin) which is thick)
6. cat: od: ka'ênê-hôtame (lit. short-nosed-dog; the literal meaning may initially sound odd, but historically hôtame seems to have been semantically extended beyond orig. 'dog', to something like 'small domesticated animal'; cf. éškôseesé-hotame 'pig' (lit. sharp-nosed-dog); for md speakers, and perhaps for some od speakers, too, this means 'bulldog')
   md: póéso (we suspect this s a sound translation from an English word for cat, 'pussy')
7. pay: od: éhöoetsésane 'he got paid' (lit. he's bringing (something) out; refers to bringing money out of the office)
md: éonénéxöhemoh he got paid' (lit. it was destroyed to him; perhaps refers to destroying an indebtedness)

8. crackers: od: tóhkönave-kóhkönóheonótse (lit. skinny little breads; it is said that od speakers call crackers this, in teasing imitation of the md word)
md: mo’óhkönave-kóhkönóheonótse (lit. dried little breads)

9. potatoes: od: aéstome-méséhéstopo (lit. false eating things)
md: méséhéstopo (lit. eating things)

10. washboard: od: něška’ósé’o or hahéhaseo’o (lit. rubbing-thing)
md: něškéhásé’o

11. He’s really a strong Christian (typically said with derision):
od: éhoháestaahe (lit. he-very.much-baptized(?))
md: éhoháema’heónevé’ho’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’héstote, but I have heard some Montana speakers refer to a car as amáho’héhe (animate), and I would not be surprised to discover that some Oklahoma speakers have used the inanimate word for car.

13. days of the week: When saying days of the week, Oklahoma speakers begin counting of the 'first day' with Tuesday (and calling Monday the 'end of the holy day'), while Montana speakers start the 'first day' with Monday. The words for 'Saturday' and 'Sunday' are the same in Montana and Oklahoma, so Montana speakers pronounce five days with a number in the term for the day of the week, while Oklahoma speakers only have four such days.

In each case of a dialect word difference which we have listed, speakers from one area understand what speakers from the other area mean when they say one of the words. Much good-natured joking takes place over such words. For instance, a Northern Cheyenne speaker may teasingly ask a Southern Cheyenne speaker how he pronounces the word for 'cat'. If the answer is given as ka'éné-hótame, the Northern Cheyenne speaker may laugh and say, "Oh, but that means 'short nosed dog'!" Then the Southern Cheyenne speaker might ask (already knowing the answer) what the Northern Cheyenne word for 'cat' is. When he gets the response póéso, he, in turn, has a good laugh.

It has been claimed by Moore (1987:99) that Montana speakers refer to a horse as mo’éhno’ha while Oklahoma speakers refer to a horse as 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

Dialogue

Dialogue are conversations that occur between two or more people. It is essential for anyone wishing to speak Cheyenne to learn to converse in Cheyenne. Cheyenne dialogues follow rules for what grammatical forms are appropriate to use for each turn of a conversation. It is also essential that conversation follow these rules so that each turn will sound natural. Conversations turns must not be literal translations from English dialogues. See if anything natural enough can be imported from "LET'S TALK CHEYENNE"

Topic continuity

Questions and answers

Avoid copying "elicitation" pairs from English

Single word utterances

Common utterances and responses (copy from dictionary, etc.)

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)
They lived across somewhere.

And there were some Indians near there.

They did not visit them.

And one day they visited them.

Then all of a sudden they heard them.

They were talking Cheyenne as they talked.
And they found out about (those) near (them), that they were (just like) them.

They moved together.

And they made rafts (lit. things by which one moves on water, which are small, however they wove them).
We'll turn over.

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.

The end.

Sweet Medicine, by Mrs. Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

1) Hé’tóhe hóhta’heo’o, éhóhta'heóneve².
   This story, it is a story.

2) Vé’hó’e tséssáa’ésého’ënhnéhvóse hákó’e móxhésóhanéhe.
   Whitemen, before they came, it (the story) from long ago must be from.

3) Naa násáapéhévéhéné’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’novóhe / -héne’enóhe /
   He’s discussed all over, but I do not know him, -do not know it.

6) Mots’ééove³, éohkéhevoóne, mó’ohkeévééestséstóehévóhe, vé’hó’e
   Sweet Medicine, they say, used to talk to them, whitemen

   tséssáa’ésého’ënhnéhvóse.
   before they came.

7) Naa mó’ohkéemé’ëstomóehévóhe hová’ëhe, héva tsésto’sého’ëhnétotse,
   And he used to explain to them something maybe that was going to come,

   hová’ëhe.
   something.

8) naa hétsetseha náto’vá’ne/=ta’se=tšéške’mé’ésta⁴// hetoo //
   And now I’m just going to tell, like, a little. Uh,

9) néto’sého’a’ó’tóévo // vo’éstane éxhesaneséstse //
   "He’ll come to you, a person," (Sweet Medicine) said.
10) tsemâhevê'senohe éxhe- / éxhesêstse ///
"He’ll be all sewed up," he-, he said.

11) ho'évôtse tseohkêhestohe éxhesêstse //
"Earth Man, he will be called," he said.

12) Tôsa'e ésâapo've'senôhéhe, tsé'tôhe vo'estane
Nowhere will he not be sewed up, this person

tsêto'sêho'a'o'tôése.
who is going to come to you.

13) néto'vonéano'táe'vo / netao'o hovâ'éhe / tsêméhae/'ôhkeéene'étamése ///
He'll destroy for you everything that you used to depend on.

14) "Étosemâhevonéanôhtse," éxhetôsesto.
"He’ll destroy everything," he told them.

15) "Naa / máto / néto'sêho'a'o'tôévo mo'éhno'ha /
"And also it will come to you, the horse.

16) "Mo'éhno'ha," néstseohkêhetóvo éxhesêstse, "hôva."
"Horse," you will call it," he said, "(this) animal."

17) tsenéveohta / (tse)néxanetotse hestovootôtse
It will have four legs. There will be two, his ears.

18) naa he'éxânêstse máto tsenéxanetotse, énéxanetotse.
And his eyes also there will be two, there are two.

19) naa hestse'konôtse tsenévóhta ///
And his legs, there will be four.

20) néstseohkêtháhóénôvo hoháâ'éše
You’ll ride him very far away.

21) néstseohkêhsehe'ôhtséháévo,
He will take you there,

22) tsé'tôhe mo'ehno'ha / néstseohkêhetóvo ///
this horse, you will call him that.

23) tséohkêsó'tó'ome'ého'ôése éše'he
It will still hang firm (in the sky), the sun (during your travels)
24) nėstseohkého'ehóhemé hákó'e / éxhesaneséstse / you will arrive far away," he said.

25) nėstsenéheše/vo'èstanéhévéme
"You will live like that.

26) nėstsenéhešeéva'xémé / tsé'tóhe mo'éhno'ha tséhešeévoa'xése / exhesaneséstse / You will be on the go the way this horse rolls his eyes," he said.

27) naa // máto vé'ho'éotóá'e nėstseohkéhetóvo
And also (will come), (the cow) 'whiteman-buffalo', you will call it that.

28) máto tsenévéóhta //
Also it will have four legs.

29) tsenéšé'esta
It will have two ears.

30) naa / mátó=he'éxánéstse tsenéxanetotse / And also his ears, there will be two.

31) hestséhévá'xe / tseohkemáhexóneehatse / ho'éva /
His tail will reach all the way to the ground.

32) tsenésóhkonávéháhta // hestóohevono tsenésóhkonaho / éxheséstse /
It will have split hooves, his hooves will be split," he said.

33) naa hoto / tsé'tóhe hóva nėstseohkemévóvo /
And, uh, this animal (cow), you will eat it.

34) Vé'ho'éotóá'e nėstseohkéhetóvo /
Ve'ho'eotoa'e you will call it.

35) hoháá'ěše tseohkhešešeméa'xe éxheséstse / From very far away he'll be smelled," he said.

36) Éxhetósesto néhe hováhne, "Vé'ho'éotóá'e," tséohkéhetóse.
He told them (about) this animal, "Cow," as you'll call it.

37) naa tsé'tóhe tséto'sého'a'ó'tóése
And this one who will come to you

tsemáhetáeots'é ta ho'e    tséxhetaa'óma'o'e /
will take over all the land throughout the world.

38) Totósa'e nėstseohkeevemé'a'ééme.
Here and there your heads will appear (in various places).

39) "Néstseohkemo'kóhtávéstséáme," éxhesaneséstse /
    "You will have black hair," he said.

40) Naa móhma- / má'tamáséhánéése / másáa'évatóxetánó'tomáhése / nésta   "But if you are
crazy, if you do not think about the way previously
tséheševo'éstánénévése, nèstamóhkévóhpa'éme,"  éxhesaneséstse.
how you used to live, you'll have gray hair," he said.

41) naa máto mé'éševotse tséhóehevéeese7 /
    And also a baby will come out (be born) with teeth."

42) Éstaéšéhetóosema'xemé'ëstomósaneséstse.
    He was constantly explaining a lot.

43) Nává’nëhetaa’mé’ëstomóvo.
    I am just telling this much about him.

44) Néhe’she
    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'\textse-.

5The usual order of preverbs here, probably preferred by this narrator also, is ohkeéeméhae.

6The historical etymology of this word is something like 'elk-dog' with the 'dog' final /-o'h[am] itself undergoing historical extension to refer to a 'domesticated animal'.

7The motif of a baby being born with teeth is well known in Cheyenne folklore. Note it in another text in this volume, "The Baby With Teeth".

\textbf{The Corn and Meat,} by Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

There was a camp at night.

Men dreamed.

And the next morning young men were playing the hoop game.

 Everywhere there was a big crowd.

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".
And then they were dressing fancy.

One who was on (from?) the south side (of the camp) who had dreamed came to the center.

He was painted yellow; a feather stood on his head.

And from the north side one who had dreamed came to the center.

He was dressed the same (as the other one).
"tséhésēhoétsese.

m tsé- hése- ho- e -tsé -tse -se

g REAL- from_there- very- sit -1PL-OBV -3PL

p pfx-cjt- pv- RED- fai -sfx -sfx -sfx

f "When the one from the south looked at that one from the north, (he said,)

"hēā'e néhóxe'ėstšeše.

m hēā'e né- hóxe'ėstséh -e

g maybe 2- copy -2:1

p p pro- vta -sfx

f "Maybe you are copying me," (he said).

"naa hápó'e néhóovenēhesétamätse." 

m naa hápō'e né- ta- hóove- né- hesétam -atse

g and likewise 2- away- groundlessly- AN- thus_think_of -1:2

p p p pro- pv- i- pv- vta -sfx

f "And I was thinking the same about you," (the other one said to him).

"naa náováxe.

m naa ná- ováxená

g well 1- dream

p p pro- vai

f "Well, I dreamed," (said the first man).

"naa hápō'e náováxe.

m naa hápō'e ná- ováxená

g and likewise 1- dream

p p p pro- vai

f "And likewise I dreamd," (said the second man).

"naa vé'hoomenáno nevo'ėstanémneo'o,

m naa vé hôoom -enáno ne- vo'estaném -ane -o

g well look_at -2:3PL.IMPV 2PS- person -21PL.PS -PL

p p vta -sfx pro- na-poss -sfx -sfx

f éoháeanao'o.

m é- ho- háeaná -o

g 3- very- hungry -PL

p pro- RED- vai -sfx

f "Look at our people, they are very hungry," (he said).
"What did you dream?" (asked the first man).

Well, this, where water came out, an old woman called me," he said.

"And I dreamed the same," (answered the second man). (More modern word, nánéhešeováxe.)

Well, let's go there!" they said.

And they stopped playing the hoop game.

They suddenly sat down.
They went to where that water ran down.

They went in.

Here, the old woman was there.

"I have called you, my grandchildren. Sit down!" she told them.

They sat down.
"Eat this, meat and corn," she told them.

They were in a hurry (to eat).

They got full.
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.
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 (others) according to their ages will eat next," that's how she called the old men.

All the old men came to the center.
And the children ate next.

This meat and corn suddenly got smaller.

Children who had just learned to eat ate it all up.

And babies who did not yet know how to eat, that grease was put on their heads.
"And look toward here early in the morning!"

"A calf will come out to play," she told them.

"And then maybe the next one who will be one year old," she told them.

"And then a little (bigger) one who is bigger."
"And then a buffalo will appear as it comes out," she told them.

And they told the story that way.

And then in the morning they looked.

A calf appeared playing.

And then the next sized one.

And then buffalo recently last emerge -REPORT
And then a buffalo came out last.

And then in the morning a buffalo herd was standing.

And there they all chased (buffalos).

In this way they had plenty to eat.

That's all that I know of (the story).

The Whiteman and the Indian, by Leonard Yelloweagle (Oklahoma)

Vé'ho'e naa xaevo'èstane é'éenéšeohotséesto. Whiteman and Indian were going along together.

And in the evening they roasted a duck in the fire.

Naa tsé'éšééxáho'hetsése éáhto'hohnóvóvество 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 éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe xaevó'éstanóho.
And then the whiteman told this Indian,

"Tsépéhévéováxtse 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 xaevó'éstanóhe é'amáhtovósesto tsé'tóhe vé'hó'e.
And this Indian agreed with this whiteman.

Naa néhe'se é'ovéšenásésto.
And then they lay down.

Naa tséhvóona'otse vé'ho'e é'seeméoto'eséstse.
And when it was morning the whiteman got up really early.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevó'éstanóhe é'éšeáahtse'tótóešenáséstse.
But this Indian was already lying with his eyes open.

Naa vé'ho'e é'ošeehóhta'hanétanoséstse.
And the whiteman really wanted to tell his story.

Éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe xaevó'éstanóho, "Nátavóvéhóséstse
He told this Indian, "Let me be first to tell
naováxestótsé!" éxhetósesto.
mý dream!" he told him.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevó'éstanóhe éhpéhévátséstánóse.
And this Indian thought well of that.

Naa néhe vé'ho'e é'aséstóhta'haneséstse.
And that whiteman started telling his story.

Éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe xaevó'éstanóho.
He told this Indian,

"Tsé'ováxênáto vé'ho'á'e'o tséhétsé'noomése éhne'anóheéséne.
"When I dreamed white women who had wings (= angels) were coming down.

"Naa tséhéóhe tsé'éšeho'óesénávóse e'evonóhó'o éhne'anóheéñootse,"
"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 vé'ho'e.
That's how he told the story, this whiteman.

Naa néhéóhe tséstaašého'óhta'hanése  tsé'tóhe
And there when he got to that point in the story this

xaevó'estane éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe vé'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 vétséóhe tó'néhe'xóvéva
"And likewise then at exactly the same time

mónáováxenáhe,' éxheséstse tsé'tóhe xaevó'estane.
I must have dreamed," said this Indian.

"Hénéhéóhe nétvóomatse. E'vonóhó'óne
"There I saw you On a ladder

nétaame'eoh'tse," éxhetósesto.
you were going up," he told him.

"'Naa tsenésá'éváho'eanóheohtséhe,' néhóovéhesétamátse,"
"'And he won't come back down,' I mistakenly thought about you,"

éxhetósesto.
he told him.

"Tsé'tóhe še'she 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 tótséha éhmóheeoh'tséhoono hováhne
   Once long ago they met, animals.
   Once long ago the animals met.

2. naa mato hapo'e móhmóheeoh'tséhevóhe vé'késeho tséohkéhetaa'eame'hávóse
   And also likewise they met, birds those who fly.
   And also likewise birds, those who fly, met.
3. naa móséškanetsénoonáhe mósésto'evésetse'óhtséhêhe
   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. éstatséhe'ôhtshëho'o hovahëne tséhmóheeoohtsetsëse
   He went to animals where they were meeting.
   He went to where the animals were meeting.

6. hovahëne éstéshêtasësto nésaahovahêvéhe névé'kësêheve
   Animals told him, "You are not an animal. You are a bird.
   The animals told him, "You are not an animal. You are a bird.

7. tatséhe'ôhtsëstse vé'këseho tséhmóheeoohtsëvôse
   Go over to birds where they are meeting!"  
   Go to where the birds are meeting!"

8. éxhestóhehoo'o móséškanetsénoonáhe
   he was told, bat.
   the bat was told.

9. naa épéhéva'ë éxhetóhoono
   And, "That's good," he told them.
   "Well, that's good," he told them.

10. náhtaëvatséhe'óhtse vé'këseho tséhmóheeoohtsëvôse éxhëhoo'o
    "I'll go to birds where they are meeting," he said,
    "I'll go to where the birds are meeting," said
    móséškanetsénoonáhe
    bat.
    the bat.

11. éstatséhe'ôhtshëho'o móséškanetsénoonáhe tséhmóheeoohtsetsëse
    He went to bat, where they were meeting,
    The bat went to where the birds were meeting.
    vé'këseho
    birds.

12. naa hânahâhôhe tséstâho'ëóhtsëse énëxhôsepëohehoo'o
    And over there when he arrived he was again rejected.
And when he arrived there he was rejected again.

13. tatséhe’öhtséstse hováhne tsémohoohtsévose
   "Go over to animals where they are meeting!
   "Go to where the animals are meeting!

14. nésáavékéséhévéhe néhováheve exhestóheho'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'evaaseohotho'o
    He came away.
    He left.

16. naa námé’tatónévévévévé
    And "What should I do?
    "Well, what in the world should I do?

17. tósa’e náho’xestáhémáse exhešeto'hoo'o
    Where do I belong?" he thought.
    Where do I belong?" he wondered.

18. tá’sé=hótahst néhováheve
    "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 tséhešésáavékésévéheto
    And since I am not a bird,
    But since I am not a bird,

21. tósa’e náho’xestáhémáse
    where do I belong?
    where in the world do I belong?

22. násáaxehéne'enóhe
    I just do not know."
    I just don’t know."

23. tsé’tóhe hóhta’ahhé’o éhešenéhetóšése
    This story thusly lies (is told that way).
    That’s how this story is told.
24. tósa'e ésáaho'xéseotsésēséstse mósēškanetsēnoonáhe
Someplace he does not belong, bat.
The bat doesn't belong anywhere.

25. mó'óhkéhéseéveahoehtoešahéhé éšēeva
That must be why he hides in daytime.
That must be why he hides in the daytime.

26. tósa'e heva ma'tāá'e heva véhpotsēva éohkeahoešaheséstse
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'nóhkéeamēhēsēntse táhta
Someplace he doesn't go around in open.
He doesn't go around anywhere in the open.

28. naa hena'háanehe énēhe'ěstōšēse
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'o oonāha'ě'héhe
\mr tótseha -é-h -táho'kónoe-hoon oonāha'ě'héhe
\mg long.ago 3-PST-sit.upon -PRET frog:FEM

\tx ma'xého' hôna év.
\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 Ehnémenéehoo'o.
\mr é-h -nénené-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.

Both of those who danced had tailfeathers stuck in their hair on their heads.
While they danced, the frog spoke,

"When my brothers look nice (dancing) I am happy,"

she said.

Apparently these young men who danced, these who danced together, were jackrabbits.

"Nahtatanemo oḥpēhēvenenoohē'ševosēstse
na -htataném-o oh -pēhēv-nenoohē'šé-vó -s-et
1POSS-brother -PL whenever-good -appear(?) -3PL-3-ITER,

"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 tséméhaevéstoemo.
   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’háne.
   he told the story that way.

5. “Nēhe’še ma’aetano’e náxhéseváéna.
   “Then the rifle, I grabbed it.

6. Náhtae’eamoo’o tséhnéšema’xeametónove’hávose.
   I shot up at them while they were thickly flying.

7. Hótáhtse na’èstse náhtaa’táno.
   Here, one I accidentally shot.

8. Náhtató’omemāso.
   I shot him stiff.

9. Éhné’ameanā’o.
   He was falling down.

10. Nēhe’še éhma’xepe’pe’e’háooheo’o néhe henā’e.
    Then they were really hollering flying, those geese.

11. Éhné’évanôhenéheobé’tovovo néhe na’èstse tséméhaetó’omemáxamoo’o.
    They followed him down, that one that I shot stiff.

12. É’évanâha’enovo.
    They caught him.

13. Éstaévaaséhe’ame’hao’o.
    They started to fly back up.
Éstaéváhe’amenó’ase’hánovo.
They took off upward with him.

Éstaévató’nėseasevéseame’ha néhe tséméhaetójomemaso,"
Right then he also started flying again, that one that I shot stiff,”

éxhetóhta’hāne.
he told the story that way.

**I’m Beading Moccasins**, by Jeanette Howlingcrane (Oklahoma)

1. Tséxho’ėhneto náoxa’ōhēne.
When you came I was beading.

2. Mo’kėhanótsé námanēstsenótsé.
Moccasins, I was making them.

3. A’e nāhtaéxananótsé.
Soon I’ll finish them.

4. Hé’tóhe mo’kėhanótsé námanēstootáhahtsenótsé.
These moccasins I’m making them for myself.

5. Náto’setamēhemo’kėhanenótsé,
They are going to be my own moccasins,

6. naa mátó=héva vo’èstane máxho’aestse náhtanēshēhohtóvanótsé.
or someone if he wants (them), I’ll sell them.

7. Móme’hēhaomēnēstse.
They surely won’t be expensive.

8. Ėohkevá’nemāhtōhtōhanoemēnēstse.
They just cost ten (dollars).

**How Birney Got the Name Oevemanaheno**, by Elaine Strange Owl (Montana)

Naa tséheškéto nániōnštéstóvo hé’tóhe tséhmano’iévóse Oévemanahéno
And my mother I asked her (about) this where they have a village, Scabby Place,
tséhestohe. Hénova’etseohkēhēsenēhestohe hé’tóhe Oévemanahéno, nāhéto.
as it is called. "Why is it called that, this Scabby Place?” I said to her.

Naa hákóke tótseha tséhéóhe tséssáa’ēšemano’iéhévóse vo’èstaneo’o,
“Well, long ago here when the people did not yet have a village,”

éhevoo’o, netao’o háá’ēše mómēhaenonó’kevo’èstanehevēhevóhe tsé’tóhe Oévemanahono,
she said, "all over far away they used to live by themselves, these Scabbies,
tséohkēhestóhese hétsetseha, naa tséssáa’ēšemano’iéhévóse, éhevoo’o.
as they are called now, and when they did not yet have a village,” she said.

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"It first used to be called Longfoot Town,
mó’öhkméhæ'ovóenéhestóhehanéhe. Hetane néhéóhe móhvo'estanéhevëhëhe.
it used to be called that. A man lived there.

Móxhoháa'estáhehehe naa móhtó'eséhahtáhehe. Tó'eséhahtamåho'éve'ho'éno,
He was tall and he had long feet. Longfoot Town,

éohkméhæ'ovóehstohe, éhevoo'o. Naa tsé'tóhe hetane móhnëheševëhehehe
it first used to be called," she said. "And this man was named

Oévemana. Naa hétsétsëha Oévemanâhéno tsétaohkëhósëhestohe, éhevoo'o. Naa
Scabby. And now Scabby Place as it is again called," she said. "And

néhe'xóvéva ésáa'ësemåhoéstovëhane hëtsëhëóhe, 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 hâtšëške. 
\mr hàhkota naa hâtšëške 
\mg grasshopper and ant

\ft The grasshopper and the ant.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 2

\tx Hâtšëške éhma'xëhotse'ôhesëstsë. 
\mr hâtšëške é-h -ma'xe-hotsë'ôhe-sest 
\mg ant 3-PST-big -work -REPORT

\ft An ant worked hard.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 3

\tx éhnëšëma'xëstovôhtsënøse hëstâme hemâheónë. 
\mr é-h -néšë-ma'xe-ëstovohtsë -nó -s hé -htâmë he -mâheôn-ë 
\mg 3-PST-CONT-big -put.in.s.t.-FTI-REPORT 3POSS-food 3POSS-house -LOC

\ft She brought in her food, lots, to her house.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 4

\tx Méanëva hova'éhe mó'ëeho'tsëhëhe 
\mr méane-vá hova'éhe mó -h -ëe -ho'tsxé -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’aháne,"

"No,"

said the grasshopper.

"Náto'seéeho'soo'e,

"I'm gonna dance.

and also I'm gonna sing.

I don't want to work.

It's too sunny."

Néhe’še tséstatonétotse
Then when it was cold, he wanted to eat.

Oh yes,

the ant stored a lot (of) her food in her house.

I want to go eat,"
She had already told him,

"I'll not feed you when you're hungry."

But the ant had pity on the grasshopper.

She fed him.
The Snake and Mice, by James Shoulderblade (Montana)

1) nátato?séhóšéstomévaténové šé?šenovótse naa hónkeheso
   I'm going to tell you about a snake and little mice.
2) šé?šenovótse éstaamevonénhehoo?o 3) éstahtoévonenóhtanochi vóxe
   A snake was crawling along. He came upon a hole (den).
4) naa éstahtoévonenóhtoo?o 5) hotátse óxohohonó hónkehesono
   And it crawled inside. Behold, there were little mice (there).
6) éxhámásetséstóhoo?o 7) ve?óhtama tséseténéstse éxhétóhooono
   They really welcomed him! "In place-of-honor go sit!" they told him.
8) hónkehesono éstsehétóhooono húnešono tse?tohe néméšévévé
   The mouse said to her children, "This (is) your grandfather.
9) náhto?nhóčhtsevévé éxhétóhooono 10) náhto?šé tsétašéénévévé?xóvetse
   He came to visit you," she told them. Then after a little while
   éståhsétohóono na?éstse húnešono náhto?éestanomóvéha káhámakéstse
   she told one of her children, "Go fetch firewood!
11) náhtohomóhtá³ohté?tovo néméšévévé éxhétóhooono
   I'll cook for your grandfather," she told him.
12) éståosánénhévé?xóho?o 13) tséstaéšéénévévé?xóhításe
   He went outside. After he had been gone a little while
   éxhóséhétóhóono na?éstse náéxhóchomóvéha mape
   she told one (child), "Go fetch water!
14) náhtohomóhtá³ohté?tovo néméšévévé 15) tsétašéhéctóte éxhétóhooono
   I'll cook for your grandfather. He'll eat," she told him.
16) éståosánénhévé?xóho?o 17) tséstaéšéhéonnévévé?xóhításe
   He went outside. After he had been gone for a little while
   éxhóséhétóhóono tséhénéshe?eotsétséhose húnešono táhóntsovévóma
   she said to the two remaining (of) her children, "Go look for them!
18) óxóvévéso 19) étáhe?shéhohtéo?o 20) náhévévéáhtéhtotéma
   What are they doing? They have been gone a long time. Go help them!"
21) éxhétóhooono 22) éståosánénhévé?xóho?o 22) tséstaéšéhé
   They went outside. Again after a
   nénóvé?xóvetse énñhéhétóhóono šé?šenovótse tséta?šhé?óhohtévévé
   little while she said to the snake, "It's taking them too long!
   táaxa?e náthóntsovévómo?o éxhétóhooono 23) éståosánénhévé?xóho?o
   Let's see, I go look for them," she told him. She went outside.
24) tséstaéšéhéhénéshe húnešono éstasevévéno?óchttsohóono 25) naa náhe?še
   *When she got outside, her children she began moving from danger. And them
   the snake likewise when they did not return crawled back out.
26) tséstaéšéhévonénéshe tsé?etsetótó?óse éxamaahováneéhóono
   After crawling outside, upon looking around, they were simply gone.
   That is it, likewise, what was told to me, this story,
28) hén?hánehé when I was young. That is all.
Corn Pemmican, by Elva Killsontop (Montana)

1) nahko'eehe emanestse ho'x'estoha

2) máheemenôtse eeséstáhonohtanôtse hononéstova

3) tse'ešeexáho' tatse eevaononanôtse

4) epeenanôtse

5) naa nëhe'še ehohpe'ha amčške

6) eaesto'enanôtse máheemenôtse ve'kee-mahpe naa nëhe'še amčške

7) eova'kanenéstse

Nahko'eehe emanestse ho'x'estoha.
Mymother made corn penmnican.

Eesetahonohantotse
Sheput
mahaemenotse hononestova. corn intheoven.
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'tanoho meo'o.
bear followed it path
A bear was following a path.

3. Hápó'ë náháóhe ó'kóhóme móñnéheohtsé'tóhéhe.
Likewise there coyote followed it
Likewise there a coyote was following it.

4. Néhe'še éstóo'e'ováhtséhoono.
Then they met
Then they met.
5. Náhkohe éstatséhetóhoono ó’kohomeho,
   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’éséó’evotáhtsevóóse éxhe’kemé’èhnéhoo’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’evonèhnéhoo’o.
    he slowly turned around
    He slowly turned around.
18. Exhe'kéhešéhosóhnéhoo'o.  
   he slowly backed up  
   He slowly backed up.

19. Tséhvóomovóse éstanéséhe'névo'ahéotséhoono.  
   when they saw him they took off in two directions  
   When they saw him they took off in two different directions.

20. Essáanáha'óomóhesesto tós'a'è tséhešeasetá'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'éstse menótse

2) eohkeovoheo'enenéstse

3) naa eohkéhoxe'anenéstse

4) eohkepeenenéstse naa mátó=héva eohkepenōhenéstse

5) eohkeova'kanenéstse

6) hešeeše eohkeo'ëšemenéstse

7) naa eohkeonee'osenenéstse kokakhése

8) (naa eohkene'evavoomeo'o ve'késeho) naa öhtšešeo'eotsee'ëstse

   hoo'henova eohkeeto'ehenéstse

9) tosa'e tse'o'o eohkého'henéstse

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$REVISE$ **TEXT AND DELETE FOLLOWING DEFECTIVE SCAN**

To'seo'ëMemee'ëstse menotse eohkeovoheo'enenéstse  
When they are going to be dried, chokecherries, they are first-picked  
naa eohkehóxe'añenéstse.  
and they are cleaned.  
Eohkepeenenést' naï amatō eohkepenôhenéstse.'  
They are ground or they are pounded (with a tool).  
Bohkeova'kanenéstse.  
They are made into patties.
The folklore trickster in stories is usually translated by 'white man', as it is in the preceding texts. 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 tsemâhevē'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'ove. 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:

$\text{REVISE DEFECTIVE OCR SCAN}$

(1) Tsētsēhéstāhese 'Cheyennes', (2) nótseso'o 'other tribes' and (3) vé'ho'e. Cheyennes and other tribes are sometimes grouped together and designated as xamā-vo'įstaneo'o (or xaa-vo'įstaneo'o) 'ordinary people' (namely, 'Indians'). The terms v 'h e various ways to refer to specific groups of non-Indians. For instance, ma'ẽ-v 'hō'e 'Germans' (red-ve'ho'e), me'gees -v 'hb'e Mexicans' (hairy-nosed (moustached)-v 'hb'e), and mo'ohtae-ve'h6'e are 'Negroes' (black-ve'ho'e). The term v 'ho'e meaning of 'white' in it, but because of its most common usage to refer to 'white men', it has developed a strong association with the meaning of 'white'--so strong, in fact, that many Cheyennes point out the humor in a term like mo'ohtae- v 'hb'e to them, sounds like 'black-white man'. From an analytical viewpoint, it is probably most accurate to translate v'ého'e, today, as something like 'non-Indian'.

Now, for some comments on specific texts.

The recipe "Making Chokecherry Patties" is interesting in that the verb forms use passives. There are some Generic conjunct verbs, e.g. to'seo'egemee'estse 'when they are going to be dried' and ohtge eo'etsee'estse 'when they become dry'.

"The Trek from Oklahoma" is a brief summary of an important historical event for the Cheyenne people. Note that the predominant verbal mode used is the Inferential. The Inferential is commonly used to pass along information that is known to have occurred but which was not viewed first-hand. Note that the first verbs are Impersonals. Describing a situation with an Impersonal verb is one way of generalizing it, enabling the speaker to leave out reference to specific subjects.

This can be done particularly when the participants involved are well-known to the speaker and hearers. In this case, there is no mistaking that the speaker is referring to Cheyennes (not, for example, to Crows or Siouxs!).

There are some Conjunct Intensive Negative (RENAME??) verbs, e.g.

ho'noamahtavotse and ho'nonexhohtamaevotse.

COMMENTS ON THE TEXTS (cont’d)
The story about Sweet Medicine and his prophecies is a very important one to Cheyennes. The present text describes the coming of the white man, the horse, and the cow.

There are some reportative verb forms, e.g. e'heséstse 'he is said to have said' and éxhetósesto 'he is said to have told them'.

There are some verb forms with body-part medials, e.g. tセンe'ēsta 'he will have two ears'. There are some conjunct potential verb forms toward the end of the text, ma'tamásanée'se 'if, when you (pl) are crazy' and mása'a'évatóxetanó'tomáhée'se 'if, when you (pl) do not want to discuss it'.

The story about "The Geese" has an interesting verb form, tséméhaetó'omemáxamoo'o. This appears to be an example of an 'absentative' conjunct participles.

"The Frog and Her Brothers" uses several independent order preterit verb forms, a verb type commonly used in legends and folklore in Cheyenne, for instance éshá'hoko'hoo'ó and éhnémenëhoo'o. The verb o’hpehénénóohévoséstse (??) 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 éhnémenëhoono 'they were singing'.

"I'm Beading Hoccasins" is a brief first-person account. Study of the verb forms would be useful for everyday conversational ability in Cheyenne. The strong verbal construction, môme'héhaoemenéstsee 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 'Oevemanåheno'" 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, tseohke've14(??)eamoohéstsestovetsee'estse. 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 hévahméméstanehevéhe (??) 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'eohtseo'o 'they went back up again' there are at least three preverbs, -eva- 'back', -hose- 'again', and -ame- 'along'. The verb eanôhesevanoo' (??) contains the preverb -anôhe- 'down', and the verb éévahósevohe Meanaha'xeo'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

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Indians and the cultural trickster (subsequently applied to the white man). There is a question and answer dialogue in hena’a etsohkee’tome? and hova’ehe náohkésáaa’e’tóhe… 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’ehe nae’ta would mean "I am afraid of something but I am not afraid of it." Add hová’ehe to the verb nasaa I e I tohe I, I am not afraid of it. I get hova’ehe nasaa’e’tohe ’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.

The story of "The Grasshopper and the Ant" is a familiar one from Aesop’s Fables. But the Cheyenne version puts a strong cultural statement on the conclusion. In the English version, the grasshopper is not fed, but he is, in the end, in the Cheyenne version. It is very much against Cheyenne tradition to turn a needy person out, even if much of their trouble is self-inflicted.

"The Snake and Hice" shows how cunning can rescue one from danger. It is another story of the victory of the "underdog" over the oppressor.

The last two texts are self-explanatory. "Corn Pemmican" is a kind of recipe, told in an eyewitness form. "The Bear, the Coyote, and the Skunk" always brings a laugh from those who hear it.

(Note: the "Oklahoma" texts were first transcribed by Donald Olson, the text by James Shoulderblade was first transcribed by linguist Danny Alford.)
Phonological rules

This section of the book describes the sound system of Cheyenne and how the sounds and tones interact with each other when words are pronounced. Much of this section will be quite technical. Feel free to skip reading anything that is confusing to you. But it would be good to at least try to understand what is described in the example words. It is necessary to learn the technical explanations about the sound changes, but it is necessary to learn how to correctly pronounce words which have experienced the sound changes.

Although there are fourteen letters in the Cheyenne alphabet, there are only thirteen phonemes. The letter "x" is always phonologically derived from some other sound.

The Cheyenne alphabet is mostly phonemic, but not entirely so. It is intended to be a "pronunciation orthography", that is, a writing system that allows readers to correctly pronounce any word. In general, official Cheyenne spellings reflect the stage in derivations after phonological rules have applied.

Following are the most important phonological rules of Cheyenne. We have tried to describe the rules in a way that individuals with a moderate amount of training in phonology can understand them, regardless of any particular phonological model that they might prefer. Abbreviations are given for the names of most of the phonological rules.

1. **t-Assibilation (TA)**
   Phonemic /t/ is pronounced as "ts" [phonetic [c]] preceding "e":

   \[
   t \rightarrow ts / \_ e
   \]

   nótá'e /nót'á'e/ 171 'woman from another tribe'
   notse /nóte/ 'person from another tribe'

2. **h-Assimilation (h-Assim)**
   Phonemic /h/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a following voiceless fricative:

   \[
   h \rightarrow [\alpha \text{ PLACE}] / \_ [\alpha \text{ PLACE}]
   \text{[-voiced]}
   \]

   éssóhpeohtseséstse /é-h-sóhpeohté-seht/ 'it is said he walked through'
   tséésoáñeñënéhëto /té-h-sáa-némené-hé-tó/ 'when I did not sing'
   tsééšééšë /té-h-šëëšé-s/ when he was lying prone'

3. **h to s Fronting (HSF)**
   Phonemic /h/ is pronounced as [s] when it occurs between "e" and "t":

   \[
   h \rightarrow s / e \_ t
   \]

---

171 As noted earlier, orthographic "e" is typically pronounced as phonetic [ɪ]. For practical purposes, however, we will symbolize the orthographic letter "e" as phonemic /e/ even though it is never pronounced as phonetic [e].
Néhmsgéstse! /néh-méteht/ 'Give it to me!'
Néstsé'ooestse! /néh-tehe'ooeht/ 'Come here quickly!'

Náhtona /na-htónah/ 'my daughter'
Néstona /ne-htónah/ 'your daughter'

The same rule (with a minor revision) accounts for the following assimilation: Phonemic /h/ of the directional /néh-/ is fronted to [s] preceding /p/ by some speakers.

Néspáhávéameotšéšemeno! ~ néhpáhávéameotšéšemeno! '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'espáhō'ta 'it's not done'
ého'espemásóho '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 /šëš-o/ 'duck (obviative)' (cf. še'še 'duck')
Néxahe /néšahe/ 'my grandchild' [cf. néše /néšé/ 'Grandchild! (vocative)'
Éháóénáxe /éháóénášé/ 'he's lying praying'
Énëše'xáhtsé /éneše'šahté/ 'he gargled (lit., he washed his mouth; cf. énëše'šévóéne 'he washed his face')
Énéxánestse /énëšánét/ '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.
hátšeške ~ hátseške /hátehke/ 'ant'
edémotšeške ~ éhemótseške /éhemótehke/ 'he has a knife'
motšėške /mótehk/ 'knife'
néameotšéšemeno /néameotešemeno/ 'you led us'

7. h-Dissimilation (h-Diss)
   A phonemic /h/ is pronounced as phonetic [x] preceding another phonemic /h/: 
   
   h → x / __ h

   nánexh'óhtse /ná-neh-hé’ohté/ 1-CIS-there.come.from 'I came from there'
   néxhéstánóhtse! /néh-hestan-ó-h/ C-SIS-take-IOAM-IMP 'Bring it to me!'
   tséxhonónévöse /té-h-honóné-vös/ CJT-PST-bake-3PL 'when they baked'
   náxhéné'éná /ná-hhéne’en-á/ 1-PST-know-IOAM 'I knew it (far past)'

8. a-Backing (a-Back)
   The vowel /a/ is pronounced as a phonetic [ɔ] before the back vowel /o/. A glottal stop or /h/ can occur between the two vowels.
   
   a → ɔ / __ (? / (h) o

   énaóotse [í nɔː c] 'he's sleeping'
   émá'ó [í məʔ o] 'it's red'
   hestónahó [h i s tónɔ h] 'his/her daughter'
   pahöeséstös[ė /pahöeséstos/ [phɔː s tɔ c] 'cradleboard'

9. y-Glide Insertion (YGI)
   A phonetic [y] glide occurs between "e" and a following back vowel ("a" or "o"):
   
   Ø → y / e _ [back vowel]

   Náháéána [n á h á i̯ á n á] 'I'm hungry'
   Néá'éná [n i̯ áʔ i n á] 'You own it'

   This "y" sound is not written in the official Cheyenne orthography. Writing the "y" would make it more difficult to see the relationships between morphologically related forms. For instance, the verb stem -á'en always means 'own something' regardless of whether or not it has a "y" glide at the beginning due to a preceding "e". If we wrote 'you own it' as néyá'éná the "y" would make it more difficult to see that this verb has the usual né- second person prefix, the verb stem –á'en, and the inanimate object agreement marker /-á/.

10. w-Glide Insertion (WGI)
    A phonetic [w] glide occurs between "o" and a following "a":
    
    Ø → w / o __ a

    hotóá'e [h o t ó w á ? ō] 'buffalo'
    Nóávőse [n ó w à w ós] 'Bear Butte'
Énóahešévé [í n óv a hí sí ʃ f] 'he is giving away'

Sometimes it is difficult to hear the difference between a non-phonemic [v] glide and the [w] sound of a phonemic /v/ that appears between "o" and "a". But it is often possible to tell whether a "w" sound is phonemic or not by listening to morphological alternations. For instance, we can tell that énóvahe 'he is slow' has a phonemic /v/, rather than the phonetic [w] glide, when the word is pluralized, énóváhe o' [í n óf ʃ a v ʔ ʃ o] 'they are slow'. The phonetic [f] in this plural can only exist because it is the voiceless pronunciation of phonemic /v/ in the complex syllable of this word.

11. Phrase-Final Devoicing (PFD)
All word-final vowels devoice before a pause:

\[ V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / \text{___} & \]

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/:

\[ C V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / C _ {\text{[-high]}} [\text{[-voiced]} \ C_{o} V \ C_{o} V \text{ [+cont]}] \]

PPD applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

tàhpéno /tahpenon/ 'flute'
kòsáne /kosáne/ 'sheep (plural)'
mòxeéstoo'o /moše'ehtóon/ 'paper, book'
namésemé /namešémé/ 'my grandfather'
máhnòhtséstotvótsé /mahnohtehtovot/ 'if you ask him'

13. Penultimate Devoicing (PD)
\[ V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / C _ {\text{(h)}} C # \]

Penultimate vowels devoice if they are followed by an obstructent which, in turn, is followed by a word-final "e". The word-final "e" is inserted by the following rule of e-Epenthesis.

hohköxe /hóhkoʃ/ 'ax'
tsétáhpétahtsé /tétahpetáht/ 'the one who is big'
tséxhonónévóse /téhhonónévós/ 'when they baked'
ésénéstse /éšenét/ 'days'
vóhpoma'øhtse /vóhpoma'øht/ 'salt'

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14. Consonant Devoicing (CD)
A consonant is devoiced if it precedes a voiceless segment:

\[
C \rightarrow \text{[-voiced]} / \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \text{[-voiced]}
\]

Naturally, if a consonant is intrinsically voiceless, this rule applies vacuously.

émane [í m a h í] 'he drank'
máhtamáhááhe [m á t a m h á: h ] 'old woman'
éheóvo [í h v ó f ó ] '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:

\[
V \rightarrow \text{[-voiced]} / V \_ \_ h C \_ \_ \_ \_ \text{[-high]}
\]

This special devoicing is indicated in the examples below, although it would not normally be noted.

náohkého'soo'e 'I regularly dance'
émóheeehtseo'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:

\[
V \rightarrow \text{[-voiced]} / + \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \text{[-voiced]}
\]

éésépéhéva'e ~ ééšepéhéva'e /ééš+pehéva'e/ 'it's already good'
énéšépéhéva'e ~ énéšépéhéva'e /éneš+pehéva'e/ 'it's okay'

The same rule applies at the boundary between an initial and a following voiceless stop:

($$\text{COMBINE RULES??}$$)

éaséta'xe ~ éaseta'xe /éa+se+ta'se/ 'he started to run'
asetánohtse ~ asetánohtse /a+se+tanóht/ 'Pass it!'
nánéhešétáno ~ nánéhešétáno '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:
\[ \emptyset \rightarrow ? / V \_ + V \]

This rule is obligatory with the preverb sáa-:

éssa'a'xaaméhe 'he did not cry'
násáa'ëseméséhehe '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:

\[ C \rightarrow \emptyset / \_ # \]

[-obs]

mée'e /méen/ 'feather' (cf. méeno /méeno/ 'feathers')
mo'keha /mó'kehan/ 'moccasin, shoe' (cf. mo'kéhanötse /mókehanot/ 'moccasins, shoes'
mo'ëhno'ha /mo'ëhno'ham/ 'horse' (cf. mo'ëhno'hâme /mo'ëhno'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'ëstse /hóhkeha'ét/ 'hats'
ého'tánëstse /ého'tánét/ 'They (inanimate) are here/there'

21. Complex Syllable Formation (CSF)
A complex syllable is formed when a consonant is followed by a voiceless vowel, /h/, then a voiced vowel. The /h/ becomes aspiration on the consonant.

\[ C \rightarrow C^h / \_ V h \_ V \]

tóhohko /tohohkon/ [tʰ o h k ō] 'hammer'
máhëő'o /maheón/ [mʰ āv ō ? ō] 'house'
énóváheo'o /énóvaheo/ [í nófʰ a v ō ? ō] 'they are slow'

\[ \text{\textsuperscript{172}} V \text{ stands for a voiceless vowel here.} \]
pahoešestotse /pahoešéstot/ [phɔː s i t o c] 'cradleboard'

22. Diphthongization
The two vowels of a complex syllable form a diphthong:

\[ V \rightarrow [-syl] / \_ _ _ V \]

mo'kéhanotse [m o kʰə n o c] 'moccasins, shoes'
náohkéhomöse [ná o kʰə o m o s] 'I regularly cook'
pahoešestotse [phɔː s i t o c] 'cradleboard'
nátahéovëše [n a tʰ áv o w tʃ] 'I'm going to lie down'
máheño [mʰ āv o tʃ] 'house'
Náhkoh'æ [n á h kʰ á f ì] 'Bear Woman'
enahahkahe [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:

\[ h \rightarrow \emptyset / V \]

tséénahëstse [c iː naʔ s c] 'the one who is old'
tséháóénëhtse [c i h aː n a c] 'the one who is praying'
Hestanhtse! [h istānōc] 'Take it!'
Vonahoh'óhtse! [v o nʰ ʃ ò 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)\(^\text{173}\).

A high is pronounced as a raised high when it is followed by a word-final high and not preceded by another high:

\[ ` \rightarrow ^ / \{#\} ___ ` # \]
\{`\}

šëšë /šëšë/ 'duck'
sémo /sémón/ 'boat'
émá'ovëse /éma'ovëšë/

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'

\(^\text{173}\) The grave accent low pitch mark is only used in the pitch rules themselves when it is needed. Otherwise, low pitches are left unmarked.
póéso /póesón/ 'cat'
éméhósáne /éméhósané/ 'he loves'
ésáasé'sévehe /ésáasé'sévehé/ 'he is not a duck'
émá'o /éma'ó/ 'it is not red'

26. High-Leveling (HL)
A low is raised to a high if it is preceded and following by high pitches:

\[ \rightarrow \, \prime / \, \prime \_ (Y) (\$) \, \prime \, \# \]

One or more more voiceless syllables can occur between the pitch that is raised and a following high pitch. It appears that this rule only applies when the word-final pitch is phonemically high. This rule is closely related to the preceding rule of LHR and may be part of a single natural rule of pitch assimilation that includes both LHR and HL.

éávóónése /éávoonešé/ 'he's lying fasting'
éntséñéhe'e 'swamp'
ého'néhénóne /ého'néhenoné/ 'he sang a wolf song'
náhtóóhévó /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 elimited from the rule if there is rule ordering and LMR is ordered after LHR.)

\[ \rightarrow \, \_ / \, \prime \, \# \]

kōsa /kosán/ 'sheep (singular)'
hé'e /he'é/ 'woman'
éhomóse /éhomosé/ 'he is cooking'
étahpe'áse /étahpe'asé/ 'he has a big belly'

28. Word-Medial High-Raising (WMHR)
A high is raised if it follows a high (which is not a trigger for the High Push-Over rule) and precedes a phonetic low:

\[ \rightarrow \, \' / \, \prime ( ( C \ V \ [-voiced] ) C_o )_o \, \_ / \, \prime \, C_o V \]

[+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.

éháméstoo'e /éhámehtoe/ 'he sat down'
émésehe /émésehe/ 'he is eating'
émóna'e /émóna'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 → ’ / ___ \$\text{stem} \$2#

As written, SFR applies to any stem-final vowel that is antepenultimate or earlier in a word. It applies vacuously to a stem-final vowel which is already high-pitched. Here are examples of words in which SFR applies to stem-final vowels which have underlying low pitches.

émané-stove 'there is drinking' (cf. émane 'he is drinking')
éta'posé-stove 'there is getting cold easily (éta'pose 'he gets cold easily')
náméséhé-o 'I ate quickly' (cf. námésehe 'he ate')
méséhé-stoto 'potatoes'
amáho'hé-stotóte 'cars' (cf. éamáho'he 'he's going along by car')
esáanaóotsé-heo'o 'they are not sleeping' (cf. énaóotse 'he is sleeping')
esáapéhéva'é-hane 'it is not good' (cf. épéhéva'e 'it is good')
tsépéhéva'é-see'èstse 'those (things) which are not good'
èhe'kotáhe-sesto 'they are said to be quiet (reportative mode) (cf. éhe'kotabe 'he is quiet)
é'améohé-hoo'o 'Wow, he quickly walked!' (preterit mode) (cf. é'améohé 'he quickly walked')
esáapéhévenóohé-hehoono 'Wow, they do not look good!' (cf. épéhévenóohé '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:

` → ` / ` ___`

As formulated, HPO must be preceded by HR (High-Raising). HPO applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

néháoenama /néháóénáma/ 'we (incl) prayed'
néméhotone /néméhótóne/ 'we (incl) love him'
náméhosanême /náméhósanémé/ 'we (excl) love'

31. High-Lowering (HL)
A high is pronounced as a low preceding a word-final low:

---

174 I perceived this as a "hanging low" pitch (between a mid and low) in my 1981 article on Cheyenne pitch rules and the first editions of this book. Since then, however, I have concluded that there is insufficient evidence to say that there is such a pitch. Most, if not all, speakers pronounce a lowered high as a phonetic low pitch.
ʻ → ` / ___ #

pe'e /pə'e/ 'nighthawk'
mene /méne/ 'berry'
motšéške /mótehk/ 'knife'
éhe’ève /éhe’ève/

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).

\[
V \rightarrow ` / ___ &
\]
návôomo#náhkohé 'I saw a bear'
evôohta#máhéö’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.

\[
\{ \} \ → \{ \} / ___ ?
\[
\{ \} /___
\]

ó’óésó’o /ó’óéseon/ 'clothesline'
óová’haseó’o /óova’haseon/ 'pump'
éhestó’tonónhóho. /éhehto’tonónhóhó 'he braided his (someone else's) hair.'
tsévéhestá’ámáxese /téevehehta’amašese/ 'who had gunshot wounds' (1987:107)

34. Vowel-Stretching (VS)
Cheyenne does not permit word-final vowel sequences for pronunciation. If there is a phonemic word-final vowel sequence, a glottal stop and a copy of the last phonemic vowel will be inserted.\(^{175}\)

\[
\Omega \rightarrow \begin{array}{c}
V \\
[\alpha \text{ back}] \\
[\beta \text{ high}] \\
[\gamma \text{ PITCH}]
\end{array} / \begin{array}{c}
V \\
[\alpha \text{ back}] \\
[\beta \text{ high}] \\
[\gamma \text{ PITCH}]
\end{array} ( [+obs] ) #
\]

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'

\(^{175}\) This process was first observed in Cheyenne by Algonquianist Ives Goddard and described in a slightly different formulation (1978).
néšéé’eš /néšeéš/ 'for two days'

There is a minor exception to this formulation of the VS rule when the phonemic word-final vowel sequences are ea# or oa#. Instead of expected phonetic ea’a# or oa’a#, respectively, most speakers pronounce ea’e# and oa’e#. We suggest that some kind of neutralization rule accounts for this exception. Such a rule may involve something like "strong" and "weak" vowels in Cheyenne, where "o" and "a" are strong vowels and "e" is a weaker vowel used in neutralization contexts such as this. Such known exceptions are:

hēā’e /heā/ 'maybe', instead of expected hēā’a  
émea’e /éméa/ 'he gave', instead of expected émea’a  
hotá’a /notóā/ 'buffalo', instead of expected hotóā’a

Another minor exception in the speech of at least some speakers involves retention of high pitch on some phonemic pre-VS penultimate vowels when a lowering of the high pitch is expected. Such exceptions include:

véé’eš /véés/ 'tooth', instead of expected veeéš  
émea’e /éméa/ 'he gave', instead of expected émea’a  
méo’ /m’é/ 'ghost, corpse', instead of expected méo’tse

$5$ 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:

énaa’e /énaa’/ 'he doctored (cf. énaa’e /énae/ 'he died')  
náne’póó’ /náne’póó’/ 'I peeked over'  
éméo’e /éméo’/ '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:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{V} \\
\text{[-back]} \rightarrow \text{[α back]} & / [\text{[α back]}] \rightarrow \text{[C}} \\
\text{[β high]} & [\text{[β high]}}
\end{array}
\]

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.

návóomáa’e [náwóomáːʔ] 'they saw me'  
névóomaene [níwóomaːfɪ] 'he saw us (incl)'  
ého’oéstse [íhoʔoːsc] '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.

Námöxe'oha mòxe'éstoo'o. [ná ŋò xw ʔ ʔ ꞧ ꞧ # ŋò xw ʔ ʔ ꞧ t ꞧ ꞧ ŋ] 'I wrote a book.'
Násáavómöhe náhkohke. [násaáawó:móːː#náhkoh] 'I did not see the bear.'

h-Loss also occurs with some word-medial sequences in natural rapid speech:

éméhaemane [í mǐːmaːnì] 'he used to drink'
étšēhe'kēhāhe [ětʃ ʔ k į ah] 'he is young'
éhoháetonéto [ětʃ oh á:ton į tō] 'it's very cold (weather)'

37. **Labialization**

The consonants "x" and "h" take on the labial quality of a preceding /o/ if they are followed by /e/ or /a/:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow w / o [ \text{+back} ] \_ \_ [ \text{+high} ] \]

\[ [+\text{cont}] \]

oha [ohwā] 'only'
námöxe'éstoo'o [ná mō ʔ xw ʔ ꞧ ꞧ s t ꞧ ꞧ ŋ] 'my book'

38. **Palatalization**

Cheyenne /h/ is palatalized if it is preceded by /e/ and followed by /a/ (??) or /o/: **RECHECK RULE; DOES IT NEED TO BE WORD-FINAL?**

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow y / e h \_ \_ [ \text{+high} ] \]

\[ [+\text{cont}] \]

eho /ěho/[´i h y ʔ] 'your father'

**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/:

\[ V_{1} h \_ \_ V_{2} \rightarrow V_{1} V_{2} h \_ \_ h t \# \]

Méseestse! /mésehe-ht/ 'Eat!'
Né'ěsto'haatse! /né'eho'haahts/ 'Take your gloves off!'
Po'ōōhtse! /po'oh-ó-ht/ 'Break it off (by tool)!'
tsénóvaestse /tě-nóvahe-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.

Prolitics attach to the beginnings of words:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow = / \_ \_ \# X \]

hévá=móhe 'apparently, maybe'
hévá=hméméstanéhevéhe 'maybe they drowned' (1987:4:23)

Enclitics attach to the ends of words:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow = / \_ X \_ \]

tá'sé=háma 'Isn't that right?'
nóhásé=háma 'any way'
heá'e=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'ševótsé 'this baby'
hé'tóhe 'this one (animate)'; hé'tó=mahé'o 'this house'
néhe 'that one (referred to; animate); né=ka'škóne 'that (referred to) child'
móhe 'True?, Really?'; mó=néháána? 'Are you hungry?'; mó=héva 'maybe'; mó=néhe 'You mean that one (animate)?'
néhéóhe 'there'; néhéó=Nóávéso 'there at Bear Butte'

41. Glottal Stop Epenthesis (GSEp)

A glottal stop is inserted between a clitic and a following vowel:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow ? / = \_ \_ V \]

tsé'tó='éstse'he 'this shirt'
mó='éháohó'ta 'Is it hot?'
mó='éšépéhéva'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{o/ \_X}
\{ev\}

The /o/ of these two finals becomes high-pitched during contraction. Cheyenne contraction reflects vowel coalescence which occurred in Proto-Algonquian and continues to occur in other Algonquian languages. Examples of Cheyene contraction follow:

náhéne'énéó'êe 'they know me' (cf. náhéne'enova 'he knows me')
nánéhôó'e 'they chased me' (cf. nánehova 'he chased me')
nénéhôhehe? 'Did he chase you?'
néhéne'ënoëhe? Does he know you?
návovéstomóó'êne 'he taught us (excl)' (cf. návovéstomeva 'he taught me')
névovéstomóâëne 'he taught us (incl)'
tséhvovéstomóó'ëse 'when he taught me'
tséxhéne'ënóëtse '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 assimilate 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 0 /\_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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