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

EMAIL ME: kovaah@gmail.com

The Cheyenne Language

Wayne Leman

Chief Dull Knife College
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Chief Dull Knife College
P.O. Box 98
Lame Deer, MT 59043

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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.

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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. 298

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. 298

Hohtseéšé'he, Hoop Moon: January 298
Ma'xèhohtseéšé'he, Big Hoop Moon: February 298
Pónoma'a'èhasénéšé'he, Drying Up Moon: March 298
Véhpotseéšé'he, Leaf Moon: April 298
Énano'éešé'he, Planting Moon: June 298
Méanéešé'he, Summer Moon: July 298
Oenenéešé'he, Harvest Moon: August 298
Tonóeešé'he, Cool Moon: September 298
Sé'énehe, Facing Into: October (This name refers to when thin ice begins to form on ponds and rivers.) 298
He'koneneéšé'he, Hard Face Moon: November 298
Ma'xèhe'koneneéšé'he, Big Hard Face Moon: December 298

Some alternative names are: 298

He'koneneéšé'he, Hard Face Moon: January (instead of November) 298
Tšèške'hohtseéšé'he, Little Hoop Moon: February 298
Pónoma'a'èhasenéhe, Drying Up: March (or April) 298
Heše'kévénéhe, Dusty Face: March (also, variant Heše'évenéhe) 298
Heše'évenéheéšé'he, Dusty Face Moon: March (or April) 298
Sétoveméanéešé'he, Midsummer Moon: July 299
Hémotséešé'he, Breeding Moon: latter part of August and first part of September 299
Tonóeveéšé'he, Cool Moon: September 299
Sé'enéešé'he, Facing Into Moon: October 299
Se'ma'omeveešé'he, Starting To Freeze Moon: October 299
Sétoveaéneéšé'he, Midwinter Moon: December 299

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    '-háamá'tov 'hurt (to someone)' 305
    'fit (something)' 306
    'something) taste good' 306
    'think well of (someone)' 306

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The Whiteman and the Indian 337
The Bat 339
The Frog and Her Brothers 342
The Geese, by Maude Fightingbear (Montana) 345
I'm Beading Moccasins 346
How Birney Got the Name Oevemanaheno 346
The Grasshopper and the Ant 347
The Snake and Mice 352
Corn Pemmican 353
The Bear, the Coyote, and the Skunk 353
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17. Preverb Glottal Stop Epenthesis (PGSEp) 364
18. e-Epenthesis (e-Ep) 365
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39. h-Metathesis (h-Met) 371
40. Cliticization 372
41. Glottal Stop Epenthesis (GSEp) 372
42. Contraction 372

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Abbreviations and symbols

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

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

Pitch symbols
´  high pitch
¯  mid pitch
^  raised high pitch (not marked in this book)
\  lowered high pitch (not marked in this book and no longer believed to exist)
low pitch is unmarked

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

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

1 Mid pitch was marked with the ´ (umlaut) symbol or ¯ (tilde) symbols in earlier publications when the ¯ (macron) symbol was not available. Please do not use the the ´ and ¯ symbols from earlier books.
2 The raised high pitch was marked with the ^ (circumflex) symbol in earlier editions of this book. It is marked with the regular high pitch park´ in this edition. We could write 'he ate' with the raised high symbol, émêsehe, but, instead, we simplify pitch marking to émésehe in this edition of the book. One reason not to use the´s 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>Code</th>
<th>Meaning</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>
</tbody>
</table>
The Cheyenne language

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

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

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

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

Language viability

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

Cheyenne dialects

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

Family, district, and idiolectal differences

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

---

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>pronunciation</th>
<th>another pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>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>héstákhéhá'e</td>
<td>héstákhéhá'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 Suhtaio.

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

History of Cheyenne language research

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

---

6 This pronunciation is the same as for the preverb hóse- 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 alphabet¹⁰:

<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 épêhéva'e. However, it usually sounds more like ipeva'i, phonetically [ɪpʰeˈvaʔi], with the last vowel whispered.

**Cheyenne o**

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

**Diacritics**

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

---

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

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'
náháéana 'I'm hungry'

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

mahpē 'water'
póhkéso 'kitten'
évōhko 'it's bent'
méhne 'water serpent'
séhpátopohtoo '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 [í m aň i:] 'he drank'
máhpetá [fn á p ́ f á] 'in the water'
máhtamáhááhe [fn á t a m̲h̲ á: h̲] '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\(^{11}\) 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', nahköheô'o (or in simpler spelling, nahkoyô'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’éškone</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bread</td>
<td>kohkonôheô'o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cheyenne š

The š symbol has the same sound as the two English letters "sh". The š symbol has been used to write Cheyenne for more than 100 years, since the late 1800s when Rodolphe Petter developed an

\(^{11}\) Linguists call p, t, k stops.
alphabet for Cheyenne. The š symbol\(^{12}\) has also been used by many linguists to transcribe this sound, called an alveopalatal fricative. It’s fine to write this Cheyenne sound with the letters "sh" if you prefer. Do not be confused by the symbol "š" and write the letter "s". The letters "s" and "š" represent different sounds in Cheyenne. It’s better to use the letters "sh" if those who are reading your writing do not know how to pronounce the symbol "š".

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>official spelling</th>
<th>newspaper spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day Walking Woman</td>
<td>Ešeamēhe’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’ehe Ohme’ehnèstse</td>
<td>Ishi’’Ohmi’ihnsts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Moon</td>
<td>Eš’ehe Ohnènèstse</td>
<td>Ishi’’Ohnishists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusty Nose</td>
<td>Heš’eveeeesehe</td>
<td>Hishi’iviisih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcupine</td>
<td>Heškovèstse</td>
<td>Hishkovsts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alights On The Clouds</td>
<td>Ho’èvåhtoešéstse</td>
<td>Ho’ivatohists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lying Wolf</td>
<td>Ho’nehèšeeše</td>
<td>Ho’nìhishiish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden Thigh</td>
<td>Kamåxèvèšeo’o</td>
<td>Kamaxivshio / Kamaxivshio’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raccoon</td>
<td>Matšèškome</td>
<td>Machgom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mint Woman</td>
<td>Moxèšeha’e</td>
<td>Moxšìha’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Crows</td>
<td>Okòhkeo’o Ohnešese</td>
<td>Okohkeo’o Ohnishis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Snowbird</td>
<td>Šèheso</td>
<td>Shìhìso / Shìhis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pine Woman</td>
<td>Šèstoto’a’e</td>
<td>Shistota’i / Shisdoda’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Creek</td>
<td>Tšèške’eo’he’e</td>
<td>Chkì’io’hi’i / Chkì’io’hi’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some other Cheyenne words with the "š" sound are: amèške 'grease' (simpler spelling amshk), eš’ehe 'sun' (simpler spelling ishi’), meškeso 'bug' (simpler spelling mishkìs), neš’e ‘two’ (simpler spelling nish), nàčšènèšehe ‘I already ate’ (simpler spelling naishimisih), and èovèše ‘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:\footnote{Pitch marks are not included here to make it easier to focus on the glottal stops.}:

<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>ešešeotse 'it came loose'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

**Cheyenne x**

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

**Cheyenne v**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>spelling</th>
<th>phonetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dwelling, tepee</td>
<td>vee’e</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fat</td>
<td>vetšēške</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for four days</td>
<td>névéē’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>vóaxáa’e</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>váótséva</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He fell over</td>
<td>éává’o</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I dreamed</td>
<td>náovaxe</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's white</td>
<td>évó’komo</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He went to bed</td>
<td>éovēše</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 māhe '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, ê, ô. It's best not to copy the circumflex symbol from the earlier publications.

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

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

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

Voiceless consonants

Cheyenne consonants m, n, and v, which are normally voiced, are whispered (voiceless) preceding a voiceless vowel. For instance, the first two letters, a consonant and a vowel, of the word mahpe '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 [mâhpēv̥ə]. Notice that the word-final final syllable is also whispered, making the "v" sound like English "f". The "n" is whispered in the first syllable of the word for 'diaper', nēhpē'ēhestōtse, because the "e" that
follows it is whispered.

**Singing and voicelessness**

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

Compare the spoken and sung versions of the following song:

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

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

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

Kásovaahéhaséstse, nestooheonane, nesto'ané, nemehohtanone.

Notice that the second person possessor prefix ne- is voiceless 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 nésto'ane 'our (incl) land', but it is clearly heard when sung.

**Pitch marks**

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

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

Notice the pitches in these words:

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

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

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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 [ʊ:] while English "oo" is phonetically [u]. Cheyenne "ee" is phonetically [i:] 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:

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

This formula means that a consonant (C) followed by a voiceless vowel (Û), 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>épéhéva’e</td>
<td>[í pʰ e v a ʔ i ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They (an.) are good</td>
<td>épéhévaëo’o</td>
<td>[í pʰ ë vʰ œ o ʔ ð]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cradleboard</td>
<td>pahoešestôtse</td>
<td>[pʰ œ s i š t ů c ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hammer</td>
<td>thohoko</td>
<td>[tʰ o h k ř ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to bed!</td>
<td>táhóevëëëstse</td>
<td>[tʰ Ÿ ů o w š i š s c ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I’m tired</td>
<td>nákahaneotse</td>
<td>[n á kʰ a n ũ o c ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
shoes  mo'kēhanótse [m o ? k̂ by a ň ō c]
They are proper  éonó'áheo'o [i o n̄ owayne o ? ŏ]
house  māheö'o [m̄ a̞ y ̄ o? ŏ]
then  néheše [n̄ h i? š]
I caught it  nánáha'ënà [n̄ á n̄ h a? ň ň a]
bears  nāhkóheo'o [n̄ á h k̂ oν̄ o? ŏ]
they are eating  émésèheo'o [í m̄ í ŝ h oν̄ o? ŏ]

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>étapáheo'o 'they are weak'</td>
<td>étapahe 'he is weak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éno'kāhehe 'Is he single?'</td>
<td>éno'kahe 'he is single'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésanánétahēhe 'he is not a different one'</td>
<td>énētahe '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 –ó'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 it we turn it into a negative verb as we did in the list.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>house</th>
<th>māheö'o [m̄ a̞ y ̄ o? ŏ]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>then</td>
<td>néheše [n̄ h i? š]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I caught it</td>
<td>nánáha'ënà [n̄ á n̄ h a? ň ň a]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aspirated nasals sound unusual to anyone who has never heard them before. They are pronounced more through your nose. Notice the difference in the letter "m", the first letter of these two words:
Ma’heo’o¹⁵ ‘God’  
māhēō’ō ‘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’  
énóvāhe’ō ‘they are slow’

In the first word, énóvahe, the letter "v" sounds like an English "w". In énóvāhe’ō 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 /ʃ/ becomes [x] when it precedes /a/ or /o/¹⁶:

néše 'Grandchild! (vocative)', néxahe 'my grandchild'
énēšē’šëvééne 'he washed his (own) face', énēšē’šāhtse 'he gargled'
énēšēo’o 'there are two of them (an.), énéšánēstse 'there are two of them (inan.)
šē’šē 'duck', šē’xo 'duck' (obviative)

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

Éhnhëméne 'he sang', Éxho'soo'e 'he danced'
Néhmëststëöe 'Give it to me!', Nëxhëstānōhtse! 'Bring it to me!'

---

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

¹⁶ This phonological rule is called š-Backing.

¹⁷ This phonological rule is called h-Dissimilation.
Cheyenne alphabets

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>Petter</th>
<th>official spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grasshopper</td>
<td>hàkota</td>
<td>hahkota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetan</td>
<td>hetane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>héé</td>
<td>he’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>hee</td>
<td>hē’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soup</td>
<td>hōhp</td>
<td>hohpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>nāko</td>
<td>nahkohe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>māp</td>
<td>mahpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>Maheo</td>
<td>Ma’heo’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>mḥayo</td>
<td>māheo’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gopher</td>
<td>eszema’e</td>
<td>estsema’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>môesz</td>
<td>mo’e’ēstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>nasz</td>
<td>na’ēstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>noz</td>
<td>notse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whiteman</td>
<td>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 \[\text{mavōxōz}\] mavoxōtse
Cheyennes Zezestassō Tsetsēhestāhese (simpler spelling Tsitsistas recommended)
clothes honeōnoz hone‘oonotse
my son nāha nae‘ha
his son(s) hēhya hec‘haho
teepee vē vee’e
dress hôstoz hoestōtse
it’s moist ehekōva ehe‘koova
he barked emāe emaa’e
it’s empty evèpeha evēhpeha
it’s bad ehavseva ehavēsevāe
he’s bad ehavsevae ehavēsevāhe

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>hetoëva</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'o</td>
<td>na ko yoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawk</td>
<td>aenohē</td>
<td>ii noo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hawks</td>
<td>aenōhe‘o'o</td>
<td>ii nho yoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>poeso</td>
<td>boi sso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>ma‘enō</td>
<td>ma i no</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>eš'ehe</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>šešenōvōtse</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 Cheyennnes like what they call "phonetic spelling"18. This is spelling words as they hear the sounds, based on English letter sounds. Phonetic spelling is often easier to read than the official Cheyenne spelling, at least when we are beginning to read. Sometimes I refer to these phonetic spellings as simplified spellings. The two terms mean the same thing.

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

---

18 This is different from what linguists call phonetic spelling, which uses international phonetic alphabets. The word Cheyennnes call themselves can be spelled like this using international phonetic symbols: [tsiːtsɪstɔs] or [cɪcʰɪstɔs]. 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 Tsetsëhestâhese, or with pitch marks, Tsêtsêhéstâhese. If newspapers or other publishers or signmakers leave off the dots over the vowels of the official spelling and write the name for Cheyennes as Tsetsehestahese, that is very inaccurate. No one would pronounce this very word correctly if it is spelled as Tsetsehestahese. This is one of the most important words for Cheyennes and it needs to be pronounced correctly. By the way, Grinnell's spelling of Tsistsistas (with the extra "s") is inaccurate. Cheyennes do not call themselves Tsistsistas. Instead, in both Oklahoma and Montana they call themselves Tsitsistas. If you have Internet access and can view links in this book, click on this word, Tsistsistas, to hear it.

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

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

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

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

51
um (or am)  amshk  am (or am)  ame
boyso (or boiso)  poeso  poeso  grease
gashgon  ka'ēškone  ka'ēškone  child
gi'iih  ke'eehe  ke'eehe  grandma
Ipiwa.  Epēheva'e.  Epēheva'e.  It's good.
Idonit.  Etoneto.  Etoneto.  It's cold (weather).
Itsisinists.  Etsēhessenestse.  He (or She) speaks Cheyenne.
Itsisda.  Etsēhestahe.  He (or She) is a Cheyenne.
hiss  hese  hese  fly
hochk  ho'tšēške  ho'tšēške  sinew
khai  hao'o  hao'o  skunk
mack  mahtšēške  mahtšēške  bow
Maheo  Maheo'o  Maheo'o  God
mhayo  māheo'o  māheo'o  house
mochk  motšēške  motšēške  knife
nahgo  nahkohe  nahkohe  bear
nahkoyo  nahkōhe'o  nahkōhe'o  bears
Nahe  Nahkōha'e  Nahkōha'e  Bear Woman
Nahe  Nahkōhe  Nahkōhe  Littlebear
nahgö'iih  nahkoehe  nahkoehe  my mother
namshim  namēšeme  namēšeme  my grandfather
iho'iih  neho'ehe  neho'ehe  my father
nish  neşe  neše  two
nishgi'iih  neškē'ehe  neškē'ehe  my grandmother
nits  netse  netse  eagle
Nidonsif?  Netonēševe?  Netonēševe?  What are you doing?
Nidonsivih?  Netonēševehe?  Netonēševehe?  What is your name?
Nitsistahe?  Netsēhestahehe?  Netsēhestahehe?  Are you Cheyenne?
Niya'ish  Nea'eše  Nea'eše  Thank you
okom  o'kohome  o'kohome  coyote
oishkis  oeškese  oeškese  dog
shi'sh  šeše  šeše  duck
Tsitsisstaists  Tsetsēhestaestse  Tsetsēhestaestse  Cheyenne (person)
Tsitsistas  Tsetsēhestahese  Tsetsēhestahese  Cheyennes
Tsisinstsistots  Tsēhesenēstestötse  Tsēhesenēstestötse  Cheyenne language
vich  vetšēške  vetšēške  fat
waodzif  vaotseva  vaotseva  deer
Wohihihif  Vooheheve  Vooheheve  Morning Star

---

19 Vooheheve was the Cheyenne name of Chief Dull Knife.
Cheyenne pitches

Cheyenne is a tone language. Unlike English, Cheyenne does not have stress, also known as accent. Cheyenne is not a pitch-accent language (cf. Frantz 1972).

Phonemic pitch

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

Derived pitches

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

Mid pitch

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hē'e</td>
<td>/he'é/</td>
<td>'woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōsa</td>
<td>/kosán/</td>
<td>'sheep (singular)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šēše</td>
<td>/šēšé/</td>
<td>'duck'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éméšehe</td>
<td>/émésehe/</td>
<td>'he is eating'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>émōna'e</td>
<td>/émōna'e/</td>
<td>'it's new'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mónésó'hâeanáme</td>
<td>/mónésó'háéanámé</td>
<td>'Are you (plural) still hungry?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Derived low pitches

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pe'e</td>
<td>/pé'e/</td>
<td>'nighthawk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mene</td>
<td>/méne/</td>
<td>'berry'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motšēške</td>
<td>/móthéhk/</td>
<td>'knife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némēhotone</td>
<td>/néméhótoné/</td>
<td>'we (incl) love him'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Impermanent antepenultimate high

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

---

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'/ homa'e/ 'beaver' (cf. homa'/ beavers)$RECHECK PLURAL PITCHES
ma'háhkó'/ ma'hahkó' 'badger' (cf. ma'hahkó' 'badgers')
tśéške'/ tehke'/ 'a little' (cf. tśéššé ' it's little')
éné'ta'/ éne'ta' 'it's important' (cf. éné'ta'he ' Is it important?')
hótame/ hotame/ ' dog' (cf. hotame ' dogs')
kooikhóva'/ kooikhova' ' quail, bobwhite' (cf. kooikhóva' quails, bobwhites')
hést'a' / hehta' 'snow' (cf. hesta'só 'snow (obv); éhesta'se 'it is snow, there is snow')
nóma'ne/ nomá'ne ' fish (singular) [cf. nomá'ne ' fish (plural)]
hexová'/ heshova' ' bedbug' (cf. hexová' ' bedbugs')
hésta'he' / hehta'he' 'umbilical cord'
oón ȧaha'/ oonaha' ' frog' (cf. oón ȧahā' ' frogs')
héna'/ hena' 'goose' (cf. henā' 'geese')
héntse'ke' / heshke' 'dirt/dust' (cf. éheštse'keve 'it's dusty/it's got dirt on it')
má'xeme/ ma'semen 'apple, plum' [cf. ma'xemeno 'apples (Northern Cheyenne), ma'semenö'otse 'plums' (Southern Cheyenne)]
mo'óhta' / mo'hta' ' turnip', (cf. mo'óhtá'éne ' turnips')
má'xeme/ má'semen 'apple, plum' (cf. ma'xemeno 'apples (Northern Cheyenne), ma'semenö'otse 'plums' (Southern Cheyenne)]
hése'/ hese' 'twin' (cf. hestahke' 'twins')
mó'e'e / mo'e' 'blade of grass' (cf. mo'ē'estse 'shoestrings')
mó'óhta' / mo'hta' ' turnip', (cf. mo'óhtá'éne ' turnips')
mó'óhta' / mo'hta' ' turnip', (cf. mo'óhtá'éne ' turnips')
omá'ne/ nomá'ne ' fish (singular) [cf. nomá'ne ' fish (plural)]
hést'a' / hehta' 'snow' (cf. hesta'só 'snow (obv); éhesta'se 'it is snow, there is snow')
nóma'ne/ nomá'ne ' fish (singular) [cf. nomá'ne ' fish (plural)]
hexová'/ heshova' ' bedbug' (cf. hexová' ' bedbugs')
hésta'he' / hehta'he' 'umbilical cord'
oón ȧaha'/ oonaha' ' frog' (cf. oón ȧahā' ' frogs')
héna'/ hena' 'goose' (cf. henā' 'geese')
héntse'ke' / heshke' 'dirt/dust' (cf. éheštse'keve 'it's dusty/it's got dirt on it')
má'xeme/ ma'semen 'apple, plum' (cf. ma'xemeno 'apples (Northern Cheyenne), ma'semenö'otse 'plums' (Southern Cheyenne)]
mo'óhta' / mo'hta' ' turnip', (cf. mo'óhtá'éne ' turnips')
má'xeme/ má'semen 'apple, plum' (cf. ma'xemeno 'apples (Northern Cheyenne), ma'semenö'otse 'plums' (Southern Cheyenne)]
hése'/ hese' 'twin' (cf. hestahke' 'twins')
mó'e'e / mo'e' 'blade of grass' (cf. mo'ē'estse 'shoestrings')
má'xeme/ má'semen 'apple, plum' (cf. ma'xemeno 'apples (Northern Cheyenne), ma'semenö'otse 'plums' (Southern Cheyenne)]
mó'óhta' / mo'hta' ' turnip', (cf. mo'óhtá'éne ' turnips')
omá'ne/ nomá'ne ' fish (singular) [cf. nomá'ne ' fish (plural)]
This ia an older Cheyenne word for 'dog'. For several decades the most commonly most commonly used word for has been oeškēse. Since it was displaced by oeškēse, hótame has largely shifted in meaning to something like 'domesticated animal'. It is mostly used in compound nouns today, such as éškōsēsé-hotame 'pig (lit., sharp-nosed-dominated animal)
22 The singular is also pronounced as nóma'he.
éno’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. henamósésto ‘on the left side’)
- Táhpeta ‘Bigman’ (cf. étáhpéta ‘he is big’)
- Táhpé’e’e’sé ‘Big Nose’
- Má’ée’e’sé ‘Red Nose’ (cf. éma’e’e’sé ‘he has a red nose’)
- Pá’ée’e’sé ‘Lump Nose’ (cf. épa’e’e’sé ‘he has a lump nose’)
- Á’ee’e’sé ‘Pug Nose’ (cf. éa’e’e’sé ‘he has a pug nose’)
- Mámahké ‘Curly’ (cf. émamáhká’e ‘he has curly hair’)

**Parts of speech**

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

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

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

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 right. 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 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:

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.
hoohtéstse  nėxo’mevehe  eše’he  hotohke
mo’eško  hestahpe  hestsetato  ho’honaeo’o

estse’he  hone’komono  hohtseme  heevaho

he’tohe things:

hestahpano’e  hestaa’e  he’e  ma’evo

máheo’o  ame’hahtótse  amovóhto’hestótse

kohkonóheo’o  vetšéškeváhonoo’o  mahpe  mo’eško
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>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vo'èstane</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hē'e</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ēškóne</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>póéso</td>
<td>cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>váótséva</td>
<td>deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vē'késo</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>netse</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vōhkóóhe</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>méséhéstoto</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>
<tr>
<td>hestsétato</td>
<td>kidneys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'ēškono</td>
<td>fingers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héta'e</td>
<td>gland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heévaho</td>
<td>rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éstse'he</td>
<td>shirt, coat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóoma</td>
<td>blanket, mosquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoestoto</td>
<td>dresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héva'kéehestótse</td>
<td>scarf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhe'chéstótse</td>
<td>diaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tseene'éheono</td>
<td>combs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hone'kómo</td>
<td>button</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata</td>
<td>peyote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhtséme</td>
<td>ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'xemeno</td>
<td>apples (but inanimate ma'xemenótse in Oklahoma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móxe'otsestótse</td>
<td>picture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Inanimate nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ame</td>
<td>pemmican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahpe</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho'évohkótse</td>
<td>meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méséhéstótse</td>
<td>food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menótse</td>
<td>berries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'xemenótse</td>
<td>apples (in Oklahoma, but animate ma'xemeno in Montana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetanémênō'e</td>
<td>juneberry bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'ēéstse</td>
<td>hay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heséóvé'e</td>
<td>sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'kéhanótse</td>
<td>shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhkéha'e</td>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoestáto</td>
<td>belt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some languages classify their nouns according to feminine and masculine, and sometimes neuter, genders. Some language classify their nouns according to whether they are human or non-human. Other languages classify their nouns according to their shapes. Other languages classify their nouns according to whether or not they are grammatically animate or inanimate. Cheyenne is one of these languages. Linguists consider animate and inanimate to be classes of grammatical gender.

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

**Plurals**

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

### Animate plural nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>hátšéške</td>
<td>hátšéškeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mé'ěševötse</td>
<td>mé'ěševoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkóhe</td>
<td>náhkóhe'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>háhnoma</td>
<td>háhnomaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vé'kése</td>
<td>vé'késeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póéso</td>
<td>póesonono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'ěškóne</td>
<td>ka'ěškóneho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clam</td>
<td>hexovo</td>
<td>hexovono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comb</td>
<td>tseene'ěheo'o</td>
<td>tseene'ěheono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oeškese</td>
<td>oeškéseho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghost</td>
<td>seo'ötse</td>
<td>séoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dress</td>
<td>hoestötse</td>
<td>hoestoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šé'še</td>
<td>šé'še'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feather</td>
<td>mee'e</td>
<td>méeno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td>mo'ěško</td>
<td>mo'ěškono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>héšė</td>
<td>héšo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetane'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monster</td>
<td>méhne</td>
<td>méhne'o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

24 The word seo'ötse refers to the spirit of a dead person.
| nighthawk   | pe'e      | pé'eo'o   |
| pipe        | he’ohko   | he’óhkono |
| porcupine   | heškovéstse | heškóveto |
| rabbit      | vöhkóóhe  | vöhkoohheho |
| shirt, coat | éstse’he  | éstse’heno |
| tomato      | henene    | heneno    |
| animal      | hōva      | hováhne   |
| chicken     | kokohéáxa | kokóhéaxáne |
| deer        | váótséva  | váotseváhne |
| sheep       | kōsa      | kósáne    |
| tick        | meše      | mēšéne    |
| turtle      | ma’eno    | ma’enóne  |
| skunk       | xāó'o     | xaóne     |
| badger      | ma’háho’e | ma’hakhō’e |
| beaver      | hómá’e    | homá’e    |
| goose       | hēna’e    | hená’e    |
| white man   | vé’ho’e   | vé’ho’e   |
| horse       | mo’ého’ha | mo’ého’hāme |
| cougar      | nanóse’hame | nanósé’háme |

**Inanimate plural nouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>airplane</td>
<td>ame’hahtótse</td>
<td>ame’háhtotótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>ma’ahtse</td>
<td>ma’ahtsenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ax</td>
<td>hohkóxe</td>
<td>hóhkóxefóhte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beard</td>
<td>mé’hahtse</td>
<td>mé’hahtsenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berry</td>
<td>mene</td>
<td>menótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>he’ko</td>
<td>he’kontóse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dish</td>
<td>hetohko</td>
<td>hetóhkonótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>me’ko</td>
<td>mé’konótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>māheo’o</td>
<td>māheonótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>road</td>
<td>meo’o</td>
<td>ménótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoe</td>
<td>mo’keha</td>
<td>mo’kéhanótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bead</td>
<td>onéhávó’ke</td>
<td>onéhávó’ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belt</td>
<td>hoestató</td>
<td>hoestátónéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowstring</td>
<td>ma’táno</td>
<td>ma’tanónéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coin, money</td>
<td>ma’kaata</td>
<td>ma’kaatánéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>éše</td>
<td>éšéénéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>ho’èsta</td>
<td>ho’èstánéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hat</td>
<td>hóhkéha’e</td>
<td>hóhkéhá’èstse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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: -ótse, -nótse, -estse, and -néstse.

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

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

The two animate pluralizers are -o and -é. The two inanimate pluralizers are -ot and -ét. (Because of a phonological rule of Cheyenne, these last two will actually be pronounced as -ōtse and -ēstse.) 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 the following lists with abstract noun stem spellings. The column for the abstract stem spellings is simply labeled "stem" in these lists, to save space, but there is enough evidence to consider the abstract stem spellings as the actual spellings of the stems. So we will refer to these abstract spellings as stem spellings from now on.

### Animate noun stems

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>hátseške</td>
<td>hátseškeh</td>
<td>hátšésekeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mé’eševotse</td>
<td>mé’eševot</td>
<td>mé’eševoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bean</td>
<td>mónęške</td>
<td>mónęškeh</td>
<td>mónęškeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkohoe</td>
<td>náhkohoe</td>
<td>náhkokeo’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>háhnohma</td>
<td>háhnomah</td>
<td>háhnomeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vé’kése</td>
<td>vé’keséh</td>
<td>vé’kesého</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póéso</td>
<td>póésón</td>
<td>póésono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka’ēškóne</td>
<td>ka’ēškóneh</td>
<td>ka’ēškóneho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comb</td>
<td>tseeene’éheo’o</td>
<td>tseeene'éheon</td>
<td>tseeene'éheono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetaneo’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šé’sé</td>
<td>šé’sé</td>
<td>šé’séo’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feather</td>
<td>mee’e</td>
<td>méen</td>
<td>méeno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rabbit</td>
<td>vóhkoóhe</td>
<td>vóhkoohéh</td>
<td>vóhkoohého</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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.

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

animal hóva hováhn hováhne
chicken kokohéáxa kokohéaxán kokohéaxáne
sheep kósá kósáne
skunk xao'o xaón xaóne
tick meše méšen méšéne
turtle ma'ěno ma'ěnón ma'ěnóne

Inanimate noun stems

Plurals ending in -ôtse

<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'ahtsenôtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ax</td>
<td>hohkóxe</td>
<td>hóhkoxeh</td>
<td>hóhkoxehôtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>he'ko</td>
<td>he'kon</td>
<td>he'konôtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoe</td>
<td>mo'kheha</td>
<td>mo'khehan</td>
<td>mo'kéhanôtse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plurals ending in -óstse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>belt</td>
<td>hoestató</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>hóhkéha'e</td>
<td>hóhkéha'</td>
<td>hóhkéhá'estse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Deriving singulars and plurals from noun stems

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

Deriving animate singulars and plurals

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

Including the -h at the end of the stem for 'bird' is not simply an ad hoc solution to derive the singular and plural pronunciations easily. There is additional support from Cheyenne grammar for the spellings of the noun stems28. The presence of the stem-final -h for 'bird' is found in so-called equative verbs. In the story of The Bat (included in the texts section of this book), a bat is told, "Névé'késéheve," meaning 'You are a bird.' In this verb the pronominal prefix is né- 'you' and the equative suffix is -éve meaning 'be'. The remaining part of this verb is the noun stem we have listed for 'bird', vé'kešeh-. 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, póeso 'cat'.

The stem spelling of šé'še for 'duck' is the same as its singular spelling šé'še, except for the

---

27 Some speakers pronounce 'bird' as vé'késó.
28 Historical and comparative evidence from Proto-Algonquian and other Algonquian languages should also support Cheyenne noun stem spellings.
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 šéšéo. But the plural is actually pronounced as šéšéo’o.29

Vowel-stretching

Why are the two extra letters -’o added to the –o pluralizer of šéšéo’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 -otse and –éstse, 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. An "s" is inserted between the /é/ and /t/ of the /-ét/ pluralizer by another phonological rule.)

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

If we add -ótse to the stem for 'shoe', we get the plural spelling mo'kehanótse. A phonological rule causes the first /e/ to devoice, giving us the actual plural spelling, mo'kéhanótse. Interestingly, this "n" must have been pronounced in the singular word in the early 1900s, since Petter wrote the singular in his dictionary (1915:714, 963) as "mocan". That "n" is no longer pronounced in the singular32 but it is still heard in the equative verb émo'kéhaneve 'it is a shoe'.

If we add the other inanimate pluralizer33 to the stem for 'belt', hoestátón, we get the correct spelling for the plural, hoestatónestse. When we subtract the -n from the stem, we get the proper spelling for the singular, hoestató 'belt'.

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 pluralizers. Then the rule of t-Assibilation changes the /t/ to –ts before the vowel /e/.
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>nãtse</td>
<td>nãtseqo?o</td>
<td>nãte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien (female)</td>
<td>nótá?a</td>
<td>nótatseqo?o</td>
<td>nótá?é</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>hâtšãške</td>
<td>hâtšãškheho</td>
<td>hâtehkân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antelope</td>
<td>voʔkaeha</td>
<td>voʔkaeh</td>
<td>voʔkaeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apple</td>
<td>maʔxeme</td>
<td>maʔxemen</td>
<td>maʔxemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>nótšãştøte</td>
<td>mëʔšãštøto</td>
<td>mëʔšãštøt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball +</td>
<td>hóhtšãmé</td>
<td>hóhtšãmōno</td>
<td>hóhtšãmón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bandit</td>
<td>šiʔnóvñahe</td>
<td>šiʔnóvñaheo?o</td>
<td>šiʔnóvñahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bean</td>
<td>mónšãkhe</td>
<td>mónšãkheo</td>
<td>mónšãkhèn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkohe</td>
<td>náhkoheo?o</td>
<td>náhkohe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>hâhnomã</td>
<td>hâhnomão</td>
<td>hâhnomãh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beetle</td>
<td>hâmissãoo</td>
<td>hâmissãoo</td>
<td>hâmissãokôn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird +</td>
<td>vâʔkèso</td>
<td>vâʔkèso</td>
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<td>neʔèʔa</td>
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<td>hôneʔkômôn</td>
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<td>oʔoʔhe</td>
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<td>vâhôn</td>
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<td>child</td>
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<td>kâʔeʔkó̱neh</td>
<td>kâʔeʔkó̱neh</td>
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<td>hekâ̱vo</td>
<td>hekâ̱vo</td>
<td>hekâ̱von</td>
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<td>cockle-burrs</td>
<td>tsaʔeʔheo?o</td>
<td>tsaʔeʔheono</td>
<td>tsaʔeʔheon</td>
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<tr>
<td>comb</td>
<td>tsaʔeʔheo?o</td>
<td>tsaʔeʔheono</td>
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<td>săʔotse</td>
<td>săʔotse</td>
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<td>coyote</td>
<td>oʔkóʔõme</td>
<td>oʔkóʔõmeh</td>
<td>oʔkóʔõmeh</td>
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<td>crane</td>
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<td>hë̱shêʔsêmah</td>
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<td>crow</td>
<td>ôkõhôke</td>
<td>ôkõhôke</td>
<td>ôkõhôke</td>
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<td>curtain</td>
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<td>nâhpoʔsêa?o</td>
<td>nâhpoʔsêa</td>
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<tr>
<td>dog +</td>
<td>oʔkèsõ</td>
<td>oʔkèsõ</td>
<td>oʔkèsõ</td>
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<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>hôtâme</td>
<td>hôtâmeh</td>
<td>hôtâmeh</td>
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<tr>
<td>doll</td>
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<td>mënoʔkèsõ</td>
<td>mënoʔkèsôn</td>
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<td>hëhøvøt̖õn</td>
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<td>hoemaker</td>
<td>hoemaker</td>
<td>hoemaker</td>
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<td>duck</td>
<td>ñš̩ʔs̩e</td>
<td>ñš̩ʔs̩e</td>
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<tr>
<td>duckling</td>
<td>ñš̩ʔšãškëso</td>
<td>ñš̩ʔšãškëso</td>
<td>ñš̩ʔšãškèsôn</td>
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<tr>
<td>eagle</td>
<td>nätse</td>
<td>nätseo?o</td>
<td>nätse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bâld eagle</td>
<td>vôʔax̩ãʔe</td>
<td>vôʔax̩ãʔo?o</td>
<td>vôʔax̩ãʔé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Nouns which drop -ń 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>hōva</td>
<td>hovāhne</td>
<td>hovān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blackbird</td>
<td>he?heñō</td>
<td>he?heñōne</td>
<td>he?heñōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>kokōhēāxe</td>
<td>kokōhēāxeñe</td>
<td>kokohēaxān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chipmunk</td>
<td>nēške?ōsta</td>
<td>nēške?ōštāhe</td>
<td>nēhke?ōštāhn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>vāotsāve</td>
<td>vāotsāvēhe</td>
<td>vāotsvāhn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magpie</td>
<td>mo?e?hāne</td>
<td>mo?e?hāne</td>
<td>mo?e?hān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>kōsā</td>
<td>kōsāne</td>
<td>kosān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tick</td>
<td>méšē</td>
<td>méšēne</td>
<td>méšen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turnip</td>
<td>mo?ōhtā?e</td>
<td>mo?ōhtā?eñe</td>
<td>mo?ōhtā?eñōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>ma?ēno</td>
<td>ma?ēnoñe</td>
<td>ma?ēnoñān</td>
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</table>

Nouns which retain -ń word-internally:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>underlying stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gourd</td>
<td>máho?ōxēno</td>
<td>máho?ōxēnoñe</td>
<td>máho?ōxēnōñōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melon</td>
<td>máhōko?o</td>
<td>máhōkoñe</td>
<td>máhōkoñōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cantelope</td>
<td>máhōhoko</td>
<td>máhōhokéne</td>
<td>máhōhokon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salamander</td>
<td>heo?ōhtāto</td>
<td>heo?ōhtātōne</td>
<td>heo?ōhtātōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>xāō?ō</td>
<td>xāōñe</td>
<td>xāōn</td>
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</table>

Nouns with pitch change:

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<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>underlying stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>badger</td>
<td>ma?hānko?e</td>
<td>ma?hānko?e</td>
<td>ma?hānko?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>hōma?e</td>
<td>homē?e</td>
<td>homē?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedbug</td>
<td>hexōva?e</td>
<td>hexōva?e</td>
<td>hexōva?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>hōtame</td>
<td>homāme</td>
<td>homām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>nōma?he</td>
<td>nomā?he</td>
<td>nomā?h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frog</td>
<td>ōñāha?e</td>
<td>ōñāha?e</td>
<td>ōñāha?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goose</td>
<td>hēνa?e</td>
<td>hēνa?e</td>
<td>hēνa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gopher</td>
<td>ēstsemā?e</td>
<td>ēstsemā?e</td>
<td>ēstsemā?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leech</td>
<td>hēško?e</td>
<td>hēško?e</td>
<td>hēško?</td>
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Nouns which retain -m word-internally:

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<th>noun</th>
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<th>plural</th>
<th>underlying stem</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mare</td>
<td>he?e?hame</td>
<td>he?e?hāme</td>
<td>he?e?ham</td>
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<tr>
<td>male horse</td>
<td>hetanē?hame</td>
<td>hetanē?hame</td>
<td>hetanē?ham</td>
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<tr>
<td>lion</td>
<td>nanōsā?hame</td>
<td>nanōsā?hāme</td>
<td>nanōsā?hām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>underlying stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>airplane</td>
<td>ame?háhtótse</td>
<td>ame?háhtotótse</td>
<td>ame?háhtot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>answer</td>
<td>no?éstáhtótse</td>
<td>no?éstáhtotótse</td>
<td>no?éstáhtot</td>
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<tr>
<td>apple (So. Ch)</td>
<td>ma?xeme</td>
<td>ma?xemenótse</td>
<td>ma?xemen</td>
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<td>arm</td>
<td>ma?ahtse</td>
<td>ma?ahtsenótse</td>
<td>ma?ahtten</td>
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<tr>
<td>armpit</td>
<td>matseno</td>
<td>matsenonótse</td>
<td>matenon</td>
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<td>arrow</td>
<td>maänhe</td>
<td>maahótse</td>
<td>maah</td>
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<td>hohköxe</td>
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<td>hohköxhén</td>
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<td>mé?htaten</td>
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<tr>
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<td>mene</td>
<td>mënótse</td>
<td>mën</td>
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<td>sêmo</td>
<td>sémonótse</td>
<td>sémon</td>
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<tr>
<td>bone</td>
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<td>he?konótse</td>
<td>he?kon</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>kôhkonónëno?o</td>
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<td>tôhchökonótse</td>
<td>tôhchökon</td>
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<td>me?ko</td>
<td>mâ?konótse</td>
<td>mâ?kon</td>
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<td>honôvõhkonó</td>
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<td>véhestotot</td>
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<td>hëtôt</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ma?avotótse</td>
<td>ma?avot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ma?avon</td>
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<td>ka?ämëstotôt</td>
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<td>mo?ëškonótse</td>
<td>mo?ëškon</td>
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<td>métonótse</td>
<td>méon</td>
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<td>honôdonótse</td>
<td>honôdon</td>
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<td>mo?këhëha</td>
<td>mo?këhenótse</td>
<td>mo?këhen</td>
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<tr>
<td>year, winter</td>
<td>aë?ë</td>
<td>aënótse</td>
<td>aën</td>
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</table>
INANIMATE NOUNS taking pluralizer -ét

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>underlying stem</th>
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</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?k</td>
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<td>hoestâto</td>
<td>hoestâtônéstse</td>
<td>hoestâtôn(eh)</td>
</tr>
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<td>ma?tëšëškeštse</td>
<td>ma?tëhk</td>
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<td>ma?tanôn</td>
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<td>hesêtaéstse</td>
<td>hesêta(n)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>ma?êxân</td>
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<tr>
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<td>nonöncô?éstse</td>
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<td>hôhkêha?</td>
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<tr>
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<td>mo?e?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lake</td>
<td>ne?hanëne</td>
<td>ne?hanênéstse</td>
<td>ne?hanën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land</td>
<td>ho?e</td>
<td>ho?éstse</td>
<td>ho?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>hê?e</td>
<td>hê?éstse</td>
<td>hê?(ên)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>hê?ë</td>
<td>hê?ënéstse</td>
<td>hê?ën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>heséec?ôtse</td>
<td>heséectôséstse</td>
<td>heséect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>taâ?ë</td>
<td>taâ?ëéstse</td>
<td>taâ?ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>taâ?ë</td>
<td>taâ?ënéstse</td>
<td>taâ?ën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rib</td>
<td>hê?ëse</td>
<td>hê?ëpestse</td>
<td>hê?ëp(êh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>river</td>
<td>ô?he?e</td>
<td>ô?he?ëéstse</td>
<td>ô?he?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td>vôhtâne</td>
<td>vôhtânéstse</td>
<td>vôhtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forest</td>
<td>ma?taëëe</td>
<td>ma?taëëéstse</td>
<td>ma?taëë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year, winter</td>
<td>âëë?e</td>
<td>âëë?ëéstse</td>
<td>âëë(n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Only one third person can be in focus at a time in any single language segment (span) in Cheyenne. Any other third persons, including, nouns which refer to them, must be in an obviated form. The obviated form of a noun marks it as being out of focus. In this section we examine obviated nouns. In the next section we will examine obviation on animate nouns possessed by a third person. Later, we will examine verb suffixes which refer to obviated third persons.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póéso</td>
<td>póesonon</td>
<td>póesonon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oeškēse</td>
<td>oeškēseho</td>
<td>oeškēseho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'ēškōne</td>
<td>ka'ēškōneho</td>
<td>ka'ēškōneho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree</td>
<td>hoohtsētse</td>
<td>hoohtseto</td>
<td>hoohtseto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>šē'šenovōtse</td>
<td>šē'šenovoto</td>
<td>šē'šenovoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grasshopper</td>
<td>háhkota</td>
<td>háhkotahne</td>
<td>háhkotahne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>god</td>
<td>ma'heō'o</td>
<td>ma'heono</td>
<td>ma'heono54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apple</td>
<td>má'xeme</td>
<td>má'xemeno35</td>
<td>má'xemeno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my daughter</td>
<td>nāhtona</td>
<td>nāhtónahne</td>
<td>nāhtónahne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>váótsevá</td>
<td>váótseváhne</td>
<td>váótseváhne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>xāō'ō</td>
<td>xaōne</td>
<td>xaōne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetaneo'o</td>
<td>hetanóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>hē'e</td>
<td>he'eo'o</td>
<td>he'ōho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šē'se</td>
<td>šē'seo'o</td>
<td>šē'xo36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>éš'ehe</td>
<td>éš'heo'o</td>
<td>éš'e'hóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>nāhkohē</td>
<td>nāhkōheo</td>
<td>nāhkōhóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>ho'honā'ēe</td>
<td>ho'honāeо'o</td>
<td>ho'honaa'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white woman</td>
<td>vē'ho'ā'e</td>
<td>vé'ho'háeo'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 évōomóho še'xo. The man saw a duck/ducks (obv).
Énōomaevōho henésōnēhevōho. Their children (obv) called them.
Oeškēso ématōmōho xaōne. The dog smelled a skunk/skunks (obv).
Oeškēseho ématōmovo xaōne. 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 šē'xóho.
Éméhótóho\textsuperscript{37} náahtónaho. He loves my daughter/daughters (obv).
Ka'čéskóne évéstahémóho heške. The child helped his mother (obv).
Henésono évéstahémáá'e. Her child(ren) (obv) helped her.

\textbf{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 máhéó'o 'house':

\begin{itemize}
  \item namáhéó'o 'my house'
  \item nemáhéó'o 'your house'
  \item hemáhéó'o 'his/her house'
\end{itemize}

The prefixes indicating possession are:

\begin{itemize}
  \item na- 'first person'
  \item ne- 'second person'
  \item he- 'third person'
\end{itemize}

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\textsuperscript{38}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Ná-méšehe. 'I'm eating.' (or 'I ate.') \textcolor{red}{(recheck tenses in these sentences??)}
  \item Né-méšehe. 'You're eating.' (or 'You ate.')</n  \item É-méšehe. 'He (or She) is eating.' (or 'He/She ate.')</n\end{itemize}

\textbf{Possessee pluralization}

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item **unpossessed**
    \begin{itemize}
     \item sémo 'boat'
     \item sémonótse 'boats'
     \item mo'këha 'shoe'
     \item mo'këhanótse 'shoes'
    \end{itemize}
  \item **possessed**
    \begin{itemize}
     \item hesémo 'his boat'
     \item hesémonótse 'his boats'
     \item namo'këha 'my shoe'
     \item namo'këhanótse 'my shoes'
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Possessor pluralization}

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item **singular possessor**
    \begin{itemize}
     \item namáhèó'o 'my house'
     \item nevée'e 'your tepee'
     \item hesto'e 'his land'
     \item nenéso 'your child'
    \end{itemize}
  \item **plural possessor**
    \begin{itemize}
     \item namáhèó'náé 'our (excl) house'
     \item nevée'èvo 'your (pl) tepee'
     \item hesto'èstse 'their lands'
     \item nenésônèhèvo 'your (pl) child'
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Inclusive and exclusive 'our' possessors}

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

\textsuperscript{37} Or Éméhoto.
\textsuperscript{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, nemâheónane means 'our house' (which includes you as owner). And namâheónâne 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>neamâho'héstonane 'our (incl) car'</td>
<td>namâho'héstonâne '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 'our'</th>
<th>Exclusive 'our'</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>návóomóne '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:

| Inanimate possessives | **INCLUDE INTERLINEAR GLOSESSES AND WORD** |

---

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

māhēō’o 'house' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>My house</th>
<th>Namāheōnôtse</th>
<th>My houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Namāhēō’o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemāheō’o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemāheō’o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namāheōnâné</td>
<td></td>
<td>Namāheōnôtse (ōtsê??)</td>
<td>Our (excl) houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemāheōnâné</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nemāheōnôtse??</td>
<td>Our (incl) houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemāheōnévo</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nemāheōnevôtse</td>
<td>Your (pl) houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemāheōnévo</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hemāheōnevôtse</td>
<td>Their houses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vee’e 'tepee, dwelling' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>My tepee</th>
<th>Navéenôtse</th>
<th>My tepees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naavee’e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navee’e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hevee’e</td>
<td></td>
<td>Navéenôtse</td>
<td>Your tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navéenâné</td>
<td></td>
<td>Navéenôtse??</td>
<td>Our (excl) tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navéenâné</td>
<td></td>
<td>Navéenôtse??</td>
<td>Our (incl) tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navéénevo</td>
<td></td>
<td>Navéénevôtse</td>
<td>Your (pl) tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hevéenévo</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hevéenôtse</td>
<td>Their tepees</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mo’keha 'shoe' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>My shoe</th>
<th>Namo’kēhanôtse</th>
<th>My shoes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Namo’keha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Namo’kēhanôtse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemo’keha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nemo’kēhanôtse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemo’keha</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hemo’kēhanôtse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namo’kēhanâné</td>
<td></td>
<td>Namo’kēhanôtse??</td>
<td>Our (excl) shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemo’kēhanâné</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nemo’kēhanôtse??</td>
<td>Our (incl) shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemo’kēhanévo</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nemo’kēhevôtse</td>
<td>Your (pl) shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemo’kēhanévo</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hev’kēhevôtse</td>
<td>Their shoes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

amāho’héstotse 'car' (possessed)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>My car</th>
<th>Naamahō’héstotse</th>
<th>My cars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naamahō’héstotse</td>
<td></td>
<td>Naamahō’héstotôtsê</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neamahō’héstotse</td>
<td></td>
<td>Neamahō’héstotôtsê</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heamahō’héstotse</td>
<td></td>
<td>Heamohō’héstotôtsê</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naamahō’héstotnâné</td>
<td></td>
<td>Naamahō’héstotnôtse??</td>
<td>Our (excl) cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neamahō’héstotnâné</td>
<td></td>
<td>Neamahō’héstotnôtse??</td>
<td>Our (incl) cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neamahō’héstôtovëvo</td>
<td></td>
<td>Neamahō’héstotôvôtsê</td>
<td>Your (pl) cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heamahō’héstôtovëvo</td>
<td></td>
<td>Heamahō’héstotôvôtsê</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'.

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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', nèsto’e 'your land', hesto’e 'his/her land'
-htōtse 'pet', nàhtōtse 'my pet', nèstōtse 'your pet', hestotseho 'his/her pet(s)'
-éxa ‘eye’, naéxa ‘my eye’, naèxānèstse ‘my eyes’, he‘èxānèstse ‘his/her eyes'
-evo 'nose', na’evo ‘my nose’, ne’evo ‘your nose’, he‘evo ‘his/her nose'
-me 'older sister', name ‘my older sister’, hemeho ‘his/her older sister’

**Dependent stem ma- prefix**

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

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

ma’evo ‘nose'
ma‘ahtse ‘arm'
manèstāne 'knee'
máhtāme 'food'

**Doublets with the ma- prefix**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>independent form</th>
<th>ma- form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>he'ko</td>
<td>máhts’ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brain</td>
<td>hestahe'</td>
<td>máhtsēstahpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gland</td>
<td>hēta’e</td>
<td>máhtsēta’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>hēsta</td>
<td>máhtsēsta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thigh</td>
<td>hēnôme</td>
<td>máhtsēnôme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ma- forms in word formation**

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

| ma’exa     | eye     | ma‘exānèstse | eyes |
| máhtsēsta | heart   | máhtsēstahōtse | hearts |

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

amaho’hé-máhtsē’ko 'tire' (literally, car-leg)

**Possession suffix -am**

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

ka’ēškóne 'child', naka’ēškónéhame⁴² 'my child'
ma’hé‘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', namótšēškame 'my knife'

**Inanimate dependent stem possessives**

Here are some possessed inanimate nouns which have dependent stems:

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

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>navóhkéha’e⁴³</td>
<td>my hat</td>
<td>navóhkéha’éstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevóhkéha’e</td>
<td>your hat</td>
<td>nevóhkéha’éstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevóhkéha’e</td>
<td>his hat</td>
<td>hevóhkéha’’estse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navójóhkéha’ane</td>
<td>our (excl) hat</td>
<td>navóhkéha’anótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névóhkéha’ane</td>
<td>our (incl) hat</td>
<td>nevóhkéha’anótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevóhkéha’évo</td>
<td>your (pl) hat</td>
<td>nevóhkéha’évótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevóhkéha’évo</td>
<td>their hat</td>
<td>nevóhkéha’évótse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ho’e 'land' (possessive stem –hto’e)

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhto’e</td>
<td>my land</td>
<td>náhto’éstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstó’e</td>
<td>your land</td>
<td>néstó’éstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héstó’e</td>
<td>his land</td>
<td>héstó’éstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhto’áne</td>
<td>our (excl) land</td>
<td>náhto'anótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstó’áne</td>
<td>our (incl) land</td>
<td>néstó'anótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’sto’évo</td>
<td>your (pl) land</td>
<td>he’sto’evótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’sto’évo</td>
<td>their land</td>
<td>he’sto’evótse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ma’exa ‘eye’ (possessive stem –’exa)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma’exa</td>
<td>eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na’exa</td>
<td>my eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’exa</td>
<td>his eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na’ékááne</td>
<td>our (excl) eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>née’kááne</td>
<td>our (incl) eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>né’ékááveo</td>
<td>your (pl) eye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé’ékááveo</td>
<td>their eye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhtáme</td>
<td>my food</td>
<td>náhtamótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstáme</td>
<td>your food</td>
<td>néstamótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héstáme</td>
<td>his food</td>
<td>héstamótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtámáne</td>
<td>our (excl) food</td>
<td>náhtamánotse</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'. $\$RECHECK
| néstámane   | our (incl) food | néstámanótse | our (incl) foods |
| néstamévo   | your (pl) food | néstamévótse | your (pl) foods  |
| hestámane   | their food     | hestamévótse | their foods      |

**Animate possessives**

Most inanimate nouns require only a possessive prefix to be possessed. But possessed animate nouns require not only a possessive prefix, but also either the possessive suffix –am or they must be dependent stems. For instance, it would not be grammatical to take an animate noun, such as oeškēse 'dog' and only add a possessive prefix, such as na- 'my', creating the word *naoeškēse*\(^45\), intended to mean 'my dog'. Following are the correct ways to speak about a dog that is possessed, as well as other possessives:

**Animate possessives with the -am suffix**

| oeškēse\(^46\) 'dog' (possessed) |  |  |  |
|-------------------------------|  |  |  |
| nāoeškēsēhame                 | my dog                          | nāoeškēsēhameo'o      | your (excl) dog  |
| nēoeškēsēhame                 | your dog                        | nēoeškēsēhameo'o      | your (excl) dogs |
| hēoeškēsēhame                 | his dog(s)                      | hēoeškēsēhameo'o      | his dog(s)       |
| nāoeškēsēhameanē               | our (excl) dog                  | nēoeškēsēhameanēo'o   | your (excl) dog(s) |
| nēoeškēsēhameanē               | your (excl) dog                 | hēoeškēsēhameanēo'o   | his (excl) dog(s) |
| hēoeškēsēhamevōho              | their dog(s)                    | hēoeškēsēhamevōho     | their dog(s)     |

| veho 'chief' (possessed) |  |  |  |
|--------------------------|  |  |  |
| nāvēhoname               | my chief                       | nāvēhonamo           | my chiefs      |
| nēvēhoname               | your chief                     | nēvēhonamo           | your chiefs    |
| hēvēhonamo               | his chief(s)                   | hēvēhonamo           | his chief(s)   |
| nāvēhonamāne             | our (excl) chief               | nēvēhonamāneo'o      | our (excl) chiefs |
| nēvēhonamāne             | your (excl) chief              | hēvēhonamāneo'o      | your (excl) chiefs |
| nēvēhonamēvo             | your (pl) chief                | nēvēhonamevōo'o      | your (pl) chiefs |
| hēvēhonamevōho           | their chief(s)                 | hēvēhonamevōho       | their chief(s) |

| ma'heō'o 'god, sacred power' (possessed) |  |  |  |
|------------------------------------------|  |  |  |
| nāma'heōname                           | my god                          | nāma'heōnamo          | my gods      |
| nēma'heōname                           | your god                        | nēma'heōnamo          | your gods    |
| hēma'heōnamo                           | your god(s)                     | hēma'heōnamo          | your god(s) |
| nāma'heōnamāne                         | our (excl) god                  | nāma'heōnamāneo'o     | our (excl) gods |
| nēma'heōnamāne                         | your (excl) god                 | nēma'heōnamāneo'o     | your (excl) gods |
| nēma'heōnamēvo                         | your (pl) god                   | nēma'heōnamēvo'o      | your (pl) gods |
| hēma'heōnamevōho                      | their god(s)                    | hēma'heōnamevōho      | their god(s) |

| child (possessed) |  |  |  |
|-------------------|  |  |  |
| naka'ēškōnéhame\(^47\) | my child                  | naka'ēškōnéhameo'o    | your (excl) children |
| neka'ēškōnéhame   | your child                 | neka'ēškōnéhameo'o    | your children      |
| heka'ēškōnéhame   | his (child(ren))           | heka'ēškōnéhameo'o    | his (child(ren))  |

---

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

\(^{46}\) Another pronunciation is oeškēso.

\(^{47}\) The difference between –néso and –ka'ēškōnéhame is that –néso refers to a child born to you, that is your biological child, while –ka'ēškōnéhame refers to any person that you consider your child. A chief can call any of his people, naka'ēškōnéhame 'my children', but he could only call his biological child(ren) nanésoneho 'my children'.
nak’a’eskónéhamáne  our (ex) child  naka’eskónéhanemeo’o  our (ex) children
nek’a’eskónéhamane  our (in) child  neka’eskónéhamaneo’o  our (in) children
nek’a’eskónéhamévo  your (pl) child  neka’eskónéhamevoo’o  your (pl) children
heka’eskónéhamevóho  their child(ren)  heka’eskónéhamevóho  their child(ren)

mọxe’ëotséstöse ‘picture’ (possessed)

námọxe’ëotséstöse  my picture  námọxe’ëotséstoto  my pictures
nêmọxe’ëotséstöse  your picture  námọxe’ëotséstoto  your pictures
hemọxe’ëotséstoto  his picture(s)  námọxe’ëotséstoto  his picture(s)
námọxe’ëotséstónáne  our (ex) picture  námọxe’ëotséstonáneo’o  our (ex) pictures
nêmọxe’ëotséstonáne  your (ex) picture  námọxe’ëotséstonáneo’o  your (ex) pictures
nêmọxe’ëotséstovévo  your (pl) picture  nêmọxe’ëotséstovevoo’o  your (pl) pictures
hemọxe’ëotséstovévo  their picture(s)  hemọxe’ëotséstovévo  their picture(s)

Animate dependent stem possessives

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

child (biological; possessed)
nanéso  my child  nanésoneho  my children
nenéso  your child  nenésoneho  your children
henésono  his child(ren)  henésono  his child(ren)
nanésónéháne  our (ex) child  nanésónéhanéo’o  our (ex) children
nenésónéháne  your (ex) child  nenésónéhanéo’o  your (ex) children
henésónéhévo  your (pl) child  henésónéhévoo’o  your (pl) children
henésónéhevóho  their child(ren)  henésónéhevóho  their child(ren)

son (possessed)
nae’ha  my son  nae’haho  my sons
nee’ha  your son  nee’haho  your sons
hee’ha  his son(s)  hee’haho  his son(s)
nae’haháne  our (excl) son  nae’haháneo’o  our (excl) sons
nee’hahane  your (excl) son  nee’haháneo’o  your (excl) sons
nee’hahévo  your (pl) son  nee’hahévo’o  your (pl) sons
hee’hahevóho  their son(s)  hee’hahevóho  their son(s)

daughter (possessed)
náhtona  my daughter  náhtóna’o  my daughters
néstona  your daughter  néstóna’o  your daughters
hestónaho  his daughter(s)  hestóna’o  his daughter(s)
náhtónáháne  our (excl) daughter  náhtónáháneo’o  our (excl) daughters
néstónáháne  your (excl) daughter  néstónáháneo’o  your (excl) daughters
néstónáhevó  your (pl) daughter  néstónáhevoo’o  your (pl) daughters
hestónáhevóho  their daughter(s)  hestónáhevóho  their daughter(s)

pet (possessed)
náhtösse  my pet  náhtotsého  my pets
néstösse  your pet  néstotsého  your pets
hestotsého  his pet(s)  hestotsého  his pet(s)
náhtotséháne  our (excl) pet  náhtotséhéneo’o  our (excl) pets
néstotséháne  your (excl) pet  néstotséhéneo’o  your (excl) pets
néstotséhévo  your (pl) pet  néstotséhevoo’o  your (pl) pets
hestotséhevóho  their pet(s)  hestotséhevóho  their pet(s)
### Brother (Possessed by Female)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Singular Possessor</th>
<th>Plural Possessor</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhtatanéme</td>
<td>my brother</td>
<td>náhtatanemono</td>
<td>my brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstatanéme</td>
<td>your brother</td>
<td>néstatanemono</td>
<td>your brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestatanemono</td>
<td>her brother(s)</td>
<td>hestatanemono</td>
<td>her brother(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtatanémáne</td>
<td>our (ex) brother</td>
<td>náhtatanémáne o’??</td>
<td>our (ex) brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstatanémáne</td>
<td>our (in) brother</td>
<td>néstatanémáne o’??</td>
<td>our (in) brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstatanémévo</td>
<td>your (pl) brother</td>
<td>néstatanémévo o’??</td>
<td>your (pl) brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestatanémévo o’??</td>
<td>their (pl) brother</td>
<td>hestatanémévo o’??</td>
<td>their (pl) brothers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Grandfather (Possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Singular Possessor</th>
<th>Plural Possessor</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naméseme</td>
<td>my grandfather</td>
<td>namésemo</td>
<td>my grandfathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméseme</td>
<td>your grandfather</td>
<td>némésemo</td>
<td>your grandfathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemésemo</td>
<td>his grandfather(s)</td>
<td>hemésemo</td>
<td>his grandfather(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námésémane</td>
<td>our (ex) grandfather</td>
<td>námésémane o’o</td>
<td>our (ex) grandfathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némésémane</td>
<td>our (in) grandfather</td>
<td>némésémane o’o</td>
<td>our (in) grandfathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némésémévo</td>
<td>your (pl) grandfather</td>
<td>némésémévo o’o</td>
<td>your (pl) grandfathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemésémévo o’o</td>
<td>their grandfather(s)</td>
<td>hemésémévo o’o</td>
<td>their grandfather(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Older Brother (Possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Singular Possessor</th>
<th>Plural Possessor</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nā’ne</td>
<td>my older brother</td>
<td>na’neho</td>
<td>my older brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nē’ne</td>
<td>your older brother</td>
<td>nē’neho</td>
<td>your older brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’neho</td>
<td>his older brother(s)</td>
<td>he’neho</td>
<td>his older brother(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na’néháne</td>
<td>our (ex) older brother</td>
<td>na’néháne o’o</td>
<td>our (ex) older brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne’néhane</td>
<td>our (in) older brother</td>
<td>ne’néhane o’o</td>
<td>our (in) older brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne’néhévo</td>
<td>your (pl) older brother</td>
<td>ne’néhévo o’o</td>
<td>your (pl) older brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’néhevóho</td>
<td>their older brother(s)</td>
<td>he’néhevóho</td>
<td>their older brother(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Older Sister (Possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Singular Possessor</th>
<th>Plural Possessor</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>my older sister</td>
<td>nameho</td>
<td>my older sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neme</td>
<td>your older sister</td>
<td>nemeho</td>
<td>your older sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemeho</td>
<td>his older sister(s)</td>
<td>hemeho</td>
<td>his older sister(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméháne</td>
<td>our (ex) older sister</td>
<td>náméháne o’o</td>
<td>our (ex) older sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméhane</td>
<td>our (in) older sister</td>
<td>néméhane o’o</td>
<td>our (in) older sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némélévévo</td>
<td>your (pl) older sister</td>
<td>némélévévo o’o</td>
<td>your (pl) older sisters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heméléhevóho</td>
<td>their o. sister(s)</td>
<td>heméléhevóho</td>
<td>their o. sister(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Mother (Possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Singular Possessor</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhko’éehe48</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>nēškane49</td>
<td>our (incl) mother</td>
<td>nēškane o’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēškévo</td>
<td>your (pl) mother</td>
<td>nēškévo o’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heškevého</td>
<td>their mother(s)</td>
<td>heškevého</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Relative (Possessed) $$RECHECK$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Singular Possessor</th>
<th>Plural Possessor</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>navóohestótse</td>
<td>my relative</td>
<td>navóohestótse</td>
<td>my relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevóohestótse</td>
<td>your relative</td>
<td>nevóohestótse</td>
<td>your relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevóohestoto</td>
<td>his relative(s)</td>
<td>hevóohestoto</td>
<td>his relative(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navóohestonáne</td>
<td>our (excl) relative</td>
<td>navóohestonáne o’o</td>
<td>our (excl) relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevóohestonane</td>
<td>our (incl) relative</td>
<td>nevóohestonane o’o</td>
<td>our (incl) relatives</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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48 No plurals are known for plural 'mothers' possessed by singular possessors.
49 No form has been found meaning 'our (exclusive) mother'. $$RECHECK$$
Irregular possessives
Some possessives have irregular prefixes. These prefixes reflect changes that occurred in the historical development from Proto-Algonquian (PA) to Cheyenne. Irregular possessive prefixes developed when regular PA prefix vowels lengthened as they coalesced with following stem-initial vowels. This resulted in reflexes in Cheyenne with a change of prefix vowels and high pitch on these vowels instead of the regular low pitch on possessor pronominal prefixes.

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

né’tóvé50  my (masc) brother-in-law  né’tove’o  my (masc) brothers-in-law
e’tóve  your (masc) brother-in-law  é’tove’o  your (masc) brothers-in-law
hevé’tovo  his (masc) brother-in-law  hevé’tovo  his (masc) brothers-in-law
né’tóváne  our (masc excl) bros-in-law  né’tovane’o  our (masc excl) bros-in-law
e’étovane  our (masc incl) bros-in-law  é’tovane’o  our (masc incl) bros-in-law
é’tóvévo  your (masc pl) bros-in-law  é’tovoo’o  your (masc pl) bros-in-law
hevé’tovevóho  their (masc) bro(s)-in-law  hevé’tovevóho  their (masc) bro(s)-in-law

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

nétame  my (fem) bros-in-law  nétame’o  my (fem) bros-in-law
étame  your (fem) bros-in-law  étame’o  your (fem) bros-in-law
hevétame  her bros(s)-in-law  hevé’tame  her bros(s)-in-law
né’támâne  our (fem excl) bros-in-law  né’tamane’o  our (fem excl) bros-in-law
étamane  our (fem incl) bros-in-law  é’tamane’o  our (fem incl) bros-in-law
étamévo  your (fem pl) bros-in-law  étamévoo’o  your (fem pl) bros-in-law
hevétamévóho  their (fem) bro(s)-in-law  hevé’tamévóho  their (fem) bro(s)-in-law

friend (male friend of a male; possessed) 51

nése’ényë  my (masc) friend  nése’enyë’o  my (masc) friends
ésë’e  your friend  ése’e’o  your friends
hevëse’ohë  his friend(s)  hevése’ohë  his friends
nése’âne53  our (fem excl) friend  nése’âne’o  our (fem excl) friends
ése’ëne54  our (fem incl) friend  ése’ëne’o  our (fem incl) friends
évëse’evëho  your (fem pl) friend  évëse’evëho  your (fem pl) friends
hevëse’evëhëvo  their friends(s)  hevé’evëhëvo  their friends(s)

friend (female friend of a male; possessed) 52

nése’e  my (fem) friend  nése’e’o  my (fem) friends
és’e  your (fem) friend  ése’e’o  your (fem) friends
hevëse’ohë  her friend(s)  hevése’ohë  her friends
nése’âne53  our (fem excl) friend  nése’âne’o  our (fem excl) friends
ése’ëne54  our (fem incl) friend  ése’ëne’o  our (fem incl) friends
évëse’evëho  your (fem pl) friend  évëse’evëho  your (fem pl) friends
hevëse’evëhëvo  their (fem) friends(s)  hevé’evëhëvo  their (fem) friends(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 nése’éhëne and navése’âne.
54 Alternate forms are ése’éhëne and nevése’âne.
father (possessed)
- ného’éehe\(^{55}\) my father
- eho your father
- heho his father
- néháne our (excl) father
- éhane our (incl) father
- éhévo your (pl) father
- héhevóho their father(s)

grandmother (possessed)
- néske’éehe my grandmother
- éškeme your grandmother
- hevéškemo his grandmother(s)
- nékémāne our (ex) grandmo.
- éškemane our (in) grandmo.
- éškemēvo your (pl) grandmo.
- hévéškemevóho their grandmother(s)

grandchild (possessed)
- néxahe my grandchild\(^{56}\)
- éxahe your grandchild
- hevéxaho his grandchild(ren)
- néxáháne our (excl) grandchild
- éxahane our (incl) grandchild
- éxáhévo\(^{57}\) your (pl) grandchild
- hévéxahevóho 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)\(^{55}\)
- násémáhe my younger sibling
- ésemáhe your younger sibling
- hevásemo his younger sibling(s)
- násémáháne our (excl) younger sibling
- ésemáhane our (incl) younger sibling
- ésemáhevó your (pl) younger sibling
- hevásemevóho 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>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my lodge/home</td>
<td>nénóvé</td>
<td>navénove(^{58}) $$$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{55}\) As with the possessive of 'mother', no plurals are known for plural 'fathers' possessed by singular possessors.

\(^{56}\) The words for 'grandchild' are also used to mean 'child-in-law'. For example, néxahe means 'my grandchild', 'my son-in-law', or 'my daughter-in-law'.

\(^{57}\) Alternate pronunciation, éxávo
While the process of regularization is occurring, both irregular and regular forms exist. Cheyenne speakers are aware that there are these competing irregular and regular forms.

**Diminutives**

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

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

/-(h)k/ diminutives

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>diminutive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>améstó'eeseo'o</td>
<td>travois</td>
<td>améstó'keeseo'o</td>
<td>little travois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amó'enëo'o</td>
<td>wagon</td>
<td>amó'kenëo'o</td>
<td>children's wagon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ao'éseto</td>
<td>hailstone</td>
<td>ao'késeto</td>
<td>little hailstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hásso'o</td>
<td>crowbar</td>
<td>hásohko</td>
<td>lance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesó'xo'enëo'o</td>
<td>sled</td>
<td>hesó'xo'eneško</td>
<td>children's sled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóma'e</td>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>hóma'ke</td>
<td>little beaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káso'ee'e</td>
<td>kettle</td>
<td>káso'ëške</td>
<td>jug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhëö'o</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>máhëško</td>
<td>shed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhóö'o</td>
<td>melon⁶¹</td>
<td>máhóhko</td>
<td>small melon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé'éševótse</td>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mé'éškevéótse</td>
<td>baby (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méståa'e</td>
<td>owl, spook</td>
<td>méståhke</td>
<td>screech owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mó'ëšá'e</td>
<td>calf</td>
<td>mó'késá'e</td>
<td>calf (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóhoo'o</td>
<td>club</td>
<td>tóhohko</td>
<td>hammer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó'he'e</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>ó'he'ke</td>
<td>creek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oónahä'ë</td>
<td>frog</td>
<td>oónahä'këso</td>
<td>little frog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho'honähä'ë</td>
<td>rock</td>
<td>ho'honähke</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sásóóvéta</td>
<td>watersnake</td>
<td>sásóhkóvéta</td>
<td>watersnake (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šéštótó'e</td>
<td>pine</td>
<td>šéštótó'ke</td>
<td>little pine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁵⁸ An even newer word, used today by many Cheyennes, is nähto'öhtséstötse '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 "ë".
⁶¹ This refers to a larger melon. In Oklahoma it specifically refers to a watermelon.
### /-só(n)/ diminutives
Other nouns are marked as diminutives by addition of the diminutive suffix /-só(n)/:\(^{62}\):

<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>heávohēso</td>
<td>little devil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'ěhe</td>
<td>maggot</td>
<td>he'ěhēso</td>
<td>rice (kernel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhkheehe</td>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>hóhkheeēso</td>
<td>little mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhkoxe</td>
<td>ax</td>
<td>hóhkoxēso</td>
<td>little ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'nehe</td>
<td>wolf</td>
<td>ho'nēhēso</td>
<td>little wolf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ěškōné</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'ěškōnēhēso</td>
<td>little child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kášē'ěhē</td>
<td>young lady</td>
<td>kás'ēēhēso</td>
<td>young teenage girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásowváha</td>
<td>young man</td>
<td>kásowvāhēso</td>
<td>young teenage boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóhoñōhē'ē/o</td>
<td>bread</td>
<td>kóhoñōhēonēso</td>
<td>cracker (od), little bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kókoñōaxa</td>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>kókoñōaxēso</td>
<td>chick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'hāhe</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'hāēso</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'ēhno'ha</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>mo'ēhno'hamēso</td>
<td>colt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhohe</td>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhoheōso</td>
<td>little bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóma'he</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>nóma'kēso</td>
<td>little fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oeškēse</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oeškēshēso</td>
<td>pup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé'kēse</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vé'kēshēso</td>
<td>little bird</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>diminutive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hóma'ē</td>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>homa'kēso</td>
<td>little beaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'èno</td>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>ma'enōkēso</td>
<td>small turtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'hāhēhe</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'hāhkēso</td>
<td>old man (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'hāhe</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'hāhkēshēso</td>
<td>little old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'ēhno'ha</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>mo'ēhno'hamēso</td>
<td>colt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóma'he</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>nomā'hēškēso</td>
<td>minnow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šē'sē</td>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šē'sēškēso</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'ā'e</td>
<td>white woman</td>
<td>vé'ho'kā'kēso</td>
<td>little white girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xāō'o</td>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>xaōhkēso</td>
<td>little skunk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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

---

83
Vocatives

Vocatives are forms of words used to address people. Here are some nouns Cheyennes use to speak about people 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'ee</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néške'éehe</td>
<td>my grandmother</td>
<td>Néské'e</td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namêséme</td>
<td>my grandfather</td>
<td>Namêséme</td>
<td>My grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namêsémo</td>
<td>my grandfathers</td>
<td>Namêsémaséstse</td>
<td>My grandfathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navěškemo</td>
<td>my grandmothers</td>
<td>Něške'eehahaséstse</td>
<td>My grandmothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ěškóneho</td>
<td>children</td>
<td>Ka'ěškónahaséstse</td>
<td>Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanésoneho</td>
<td>my children</td>
<td>Nésonahaséstse</td>
<td>My children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nae'ha</td>
<td>my son</td>
<td>Náe'ha</td>
<td>My son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtona</td>
<td>my daughter</td>
<td>Náhtose</td>
<td>My daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtónaho</td>
<td>my daughters</td>
<td>Náhtnahaséstse</td>
<td>My daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néxahe</td>
<td>my grandchild</td>
<td>Néše</td>
<td>My grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'eo'o</td>
<td>women</td>
<td>He'èséstse</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetaneo'o</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>Hetaneséstse</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásováahéheho</td>
<td>young men</td>
<td>Kásováahahaséstse</td>
<td>Young men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káse'éheheho</td>
<td>young women</td>
<td>Káse'éehahaséstse</td>
<td>Young women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'é'tove</td>
<td>my brother-in-law</td>
<td>Néťováséstse</td>
<td>My brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>véhoo'o</td>
<td>chiefs</td>
<td>Véhonáséstse</td>
<td>Chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho'ohonáeo'o</td>
<td>rocks</td>
<td>Ho'honáséstse</td>
<td>Rocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhtamáháaho</td>
<td>old women</td>
<td>Máhtamáahahaséstse</td>
<td>Old women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'háhkéseho</td>
<td>old men</td>
<td>Ma'háhkéséehahaséstse</td>
<td>Old men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésésono</td>
<td>my siblings</td>
<td>Nésésónahaséstse</td>
<td>Siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navőéstanemo</td>
<td>my people</td>
<td>Navőéstanámaséstse</td>
<td>My people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navőohestoto</td>
<td>my relatives</td>
<td>Navőohestonaséstse</td>
<td>My relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'heono</td>
<td>sacred spirits</td>
<td>Ma'heónahaséstse</td>
<td>Sacred spirits</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LOCATIVES

Locatives are nouns which refer to a location. **DISCUSS SUFFIXES**
**Place names**

Another form of nouns are the names Cheyennes have given to places:

Vásétaeno - no suffix
Vóhpoométanéno White River Place
É'ěxováhtóva Billings, Montana (lit., sawing-place)

ETC.$$ REVISE, CHECK

Note that the -va suffix can also be used to indicate an object used to do something (an instrumental):

Náoonma káhamáxéhéva.  He hit me with a stick.
hetónkonéhéva.  with a dish.

**EXAMPLES IN SENTENCES:**

Étsamehne móéne.  He's walking on the road.
Éto'šetse'ohitse  He's going to go to the boat.
Étsamehne hoóhtsetseva.  He's walking to the tree.
Éto' hame o'he'e.  He's bathing in the creek.
Táxéenanötse nemé'kóne!  Put it on your head!
Étasem'ge'ë táxémesèhstóva.  He's sitting on the table.
Étahoo'ó'ë hámahó'héstóva,  He's sitting in his car.
Nae'ha nátaxeenano ho'honáva.  I put my son on the rock.
Nae'ha náho'xooxenano oéškéséhéva.  I put my son against the dog.
Nátaxee'ohitse namáheéne.  I'm going to my house.
Éstóntöse nástóhóvéva!  Put it in your mouth!
Éstóntöse hetónkonéhéva.  Put it in the glass (or, dish)!
Náavā'o ma'omeva.  I fell on the ice.
Étahoo'otse É'ěxováhtóva.  He went to Billings.
Nánexhéstaha Vóhpoométanáno.  I'm from Busby.
Proper names

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

Noun phrases

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

Quantifier noun phrases

Quantifiers

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

- na'êstse hetane 'one man'
- neše he'eo'o 'two women'
- háesto ka'êskóíhêhe'no 'many children'
- tôhkomo kahámäxëstse 'a few sticks'

Demonstratives

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

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

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

Discourse pronouns

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

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

Adjectival pronouns

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

- mo'ohtávé-hohpe 'coffee' (literally, black-broth)
- ma'è-hó'évohkóíte 'corned beef' (literally, red-meat)
- ma'xè-hâñhno'ma 'bumblebee' (literally, big-bee)
- heóvé-amáho'hestóte 'schoolbus' (literally, yellow-car)
- táxe-mésëhestóte 'table' (literally, top-eating.thing)

Compound words composed of prenouns plus nouns, such as those in this list, are commonly used in the language. Cheyenne speakers seem only to use a prenoun with a noun to create a new lexical term in the language. If Cheyenne speakers need to express other non-lexicalized adjectival meanings with nouns, such as for 'tall boy', 'skinny child', 'rich man', or 'smart woman', they use participle phrases. We will examine Cheyenne participle phrases shortly.
Nominal prenouns
Cheyennes also create many new words by combining two nouns. The first noun is converted to a prenoun with a morpheme-final /e/ when it acts as an adjectival prenoun:

- ma'aatae-meo'o 'railroad' (literally, iron-road)
- matanaé-ve'ho'e 'policeman' [literally, (badge on) chest-whiteman])
- möxe'estóoné-mahéó'o 'post office' (literally, letter-house)
- séotsé-amáho'héstösé '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-whitenamean)
- hohtóva-mahéó'o 'store' (literally, buying-house)
- möxe'estóne-mahéó'o 'school' (literally, writing-house)
- öhtaené-mahéó'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'eno'vaestse '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'héstösé 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’haovatse.
   Let me tell you a story.

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

3. Hápóe náháóhe ó'kohóme mójñenéheohtse'tõhëhe.
   Likewise there a coyote was following it.
4. Néhe'še éstóo'e'ováhtséhooono.
   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'ãhane,
   "No,

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

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

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

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

14. "Háhtome!
    "Scram!

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

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

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

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

19. Tséhvóomovöse éstanéšèhe'névo'ahéotséhooono.
    When they saw him they scattered in two different directions.

20. Essáanáha'óoméhesesto tósa'e tséhešeaseta'xevöse.
    No one ever saw them again, wherever they took off to.
**Discourse pronouns and definiteness**

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

**$\textit{EXAMPLES}$**

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>tá'tóhe</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.**$\textit{RECHECK GLOSSES}$**

<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'.**$\textit{INCLUDE ENDOPHORIC AND EXOPHORIC CATEGORIES FROM PRONOUNS PAPER}$**

**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 <strong>$\textit{RECHECK GLOSSES FOR THE LONGER FORMS ??}$</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhéóhe</td>
<td>there (previously mentioned location)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hénénéhéóhe</td>
<td>over there (previously mentioned)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 /-né/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>táháóhe</td>
<td>farther?? there (distal; new location in discourse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hátáháóhe</td>
<td>over there (previously mentioned)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náháóhe</td>
<td>farther?? there (distal; previously mentioned location)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hánáháóhe</td>
<td>over there (previously mentioned)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Predicative pronouns

Predicative pronouns are inflected for animacy, number, obviation, distance (proximal vs. distal), and whether they are new or old (cataphoric vs. anaphoric??) in a discourse.?? They are not inflected for person as verbs are, but they function something like verbs, with glosses that sound like verbs. Predicative pronouns correspond to the distance and discourse values of the locative particles. There are full forms of predicative pronouns and contracted (more colloquial) forms.***RECHECK THESE CLAIMS AND GLOSSES; REVISE BASED ON "CHEYENNE PRONOUNS AND PRONOMINAL FUNCTIONS" AND CHEYENNE DEIXIS PAPERS

Inanimate predicative pronouns

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

**Animate predicative pronouns**

- tsea'háanéhe  here he is; he's the one (**proximal cataphoric**/pointing at??)
- tsėháanehe??  (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)
- táa'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**

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

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

**Temporal deictics**

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

- nėhe'se  then (marks temporal sequence)
- tšēhe'se  at this time

- nėhe'xóvéva  at that time
- tšēhe'xóvéva  at this time

- nēhetáa'ē  from then on
- tšēhetáa'ē  from this time forward

**Deictic preverbs**

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

nė- examples
- é-nē-hetóhoono  he said it that way to him (obv) (preterit mode)
- é-nē-hetóhta'hāne  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-he’tóhoono  he told like this (preceding a quote) (preterit mode)
é-tsé-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 /š/ of the relative preverb heše-.
-he interrogative suffix

The following verbs are changed to question words by adding the –he suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>statement</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>question</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émane.</td>
<td>He drank.</td>
<td>Émane-he?</td>
<td>Did he drink?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého’éeto.</td>
<td>It’s snowing.</td>
<td>Ého’éeto-he?</td>
<td>Is it snowing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo’kôho.</td>
<td>It’s raining.</td>
<td>Éhoo’kôho-he?</td>
<td>Is it raining?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névéomo.</td>
<td>You saw him.</td>
<td>Névéomo-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>Náméhôtáéne.</td>
<td>He loves us (ex).</td>
<td>Náméhotaene-he?</td>
<td>Does he love us (ex)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$$REVISE:$$ The first way is to attach the inferential particle móhe to whatever word you desire to question. When móhe attaches to a following word its last two letters, -he, and is pronounced only as mó-: ($$INCLUDE$$ discussion of the functions of word-internal question words and the reportative mode (e.g. étónëšëvéšesto 'What in the world are they doing?', or, náme’tatónëšëvéšmäse '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. Questions formed with mó- have an assumption that the answer will be positive, unlike questions formed with the interrogative suffix -he. Cheyenne mó- questions are similar in function to English tag questions, such as "You’ve eaten, haven’t you?"

Here are examples of Cheyenne mó- questions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>questioned word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé’tóhe</td>
<td>this one (animate)</td>
<td>Mó-tsé’tóhe?</td>
<td>This one?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetanéka’ëskóne</td>
<td>boy</td>
<td>Mó-hetanéka’ëskóne?</td>
<td>The boy?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néëšëho’soo’e</td>
<td>You’ve already danced.</td>
<td>Mó-Néëšëho’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’kôho.</td>
<td>It’s raining.</td>
<td>Mó’-éhoo’kôho?</td>
<td>It’s raining?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhóxe’äná</td>
<td>You cleaned it.</td>
<td>Mó-Néhóxe’äná?</td>
<td>You cleaned it?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mó- questions and evidential modes

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

Mó’-éhoo’köhönése? Given what you heard (reportative), did it rain?
Mó’-éxhótahóhoo’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’oestseto? What are you cooking / boiling?
Hénová’e tséh nóhtomo? What are you baking / roasting?
Hénová’e tsépénomo? What are you grinding?
Hénová’e tsémanéstseto? What are you making?
Hénová’e tsémóxe’óhomo? What are you writing?
Hénová’e tsétoenomo? What are you holding?
Hénová’e tsév é’hoohtomáse? What are you (plural) looking at?
Hénová’e’hohtse tsétoenomo? What (plural things) are you holding?
Hénová’e’hohtse 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’ėhneséstse? 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?
Nevááso’e tséháoenase? Who (plural) are praying?
Névááhe tsévéstoemöhtse? Who is your spouse? (lit., Who is the one you sit with?)
Neváásóho tsévéstoemose? Who (obviative) is his spouse?
Neváásóho tséméhotovos? Who (obviative) do they love?
Névááhe tsémanestséstse? Who made it?
Névááhe tséhóxe’änöhtse? Who cleaned it?
Névááhe tsémétata’e? Who gave it to you?
Nevásaóho tsémétaa’ëse? 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-vóhkëha'ëstse? Whose hat is this? / Who has on the hat?
Névááhe tsé-he-mo'këhänëstse? Whose shoe is this? / Who has on the shoe?
Névááhe tsé-he-voestóvëstse? 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.

Táaso$^{67}$ vóhpoma'õhtse? Which one is the salt?
Táasévoonéstse nemótšëškehötse? Which are your knives?
Táasévoo'e tsévëstoemöhstse? Which is your spouse?
Táasévoone tséoomata'õse? Which ones (animate) hit you?
Táasévoone hoemaho tsémanëhöse? 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 hëse- or initial hëst-, 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-hëse-oomöhstse? Why did you hit him?
Hénová’e tsé-hësë-hàoënåhtse? Why is he praying?
Hénová’éto tsé-hëst-a’xaneito? Why are you crying?
Hénáá’e tsé-hëse-aseohtëse? Why did you (plural) leave?

**When questions**

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

Tône’šë ého’eöhtse? When did he arrive?
Tône’šë névéháhoeohe? When did you return?
Tône’šë néto’séaseöhtse? When are you going to leave?

**How long questions**

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

---

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

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

Tósa’e néto’sëtsëhe’ôhtse?  Where are you going to go?
Tósa’e néohkéhotse’ohe?  Where do you work?
Tósa’e éhoo’e?  Where is he?
Tósa’e néhohtóva?  Where did you buy it?
Tósa’e névóómo?  Where did you see him?
Tósa’e éhô’ta naméxé’éstoo’o?  Where is my book?
Tósa’e éto’semóhe’ohtse’ohe?  Where is the meeting going to be?
Tósa’e néhó’téstahe?  Where are you from?

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

Né-tónešë-véhe?  What's your name? (lit., How are you called?)
Né-tónešë-ho’ëhne?  How did you come?
Né-tónešë-héne’enovo-o’o?  How do you know them?
Né-tónešë-táno?  How do you feel (mentally/emotionally)?
Né-tónet-omóhtahe?  How are you (in terms of wellness)? $RECHECK GLOSS
Né-tónés-ëtsésta?  What do you think of it?
Né-tónés-ëtámö?  What do you think of him?
É-tónet-âho’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-ônóto?  How thick is it?
É-tónet-o’etame?  How deep is it? (water)
É-tóne-’ëhotoo’e?  How deep is it? (a hole or cave)
É-tóne-’ëho’oésta?  How high is it hanging?
É-tóne-’ëho’oése?  How high is he hanging?
É-tóne-’ëstahë?  How tall is he?
É-tóne-’ëhahe?  How old is he?
É-tóne’xóv-anâano?  How much does it weigh?
É-tóne’xóv-aneta?  How much does he weigh?
É-tónet-aa’ene’hô’òta?  How much room is there?
É-tóne-’ëho’o’e?  How long is he staying / How long did he stay?
É-tónet-otse’ohe?  What is his work?
É-tóne-’ëhoma’o’e?  How far away it is?
É-tónet-óhtáheve? What color / design is it/he?
É-tónet'-éno’e? How does it taste?
É-tónet'-énehe? How does he taste?
É-tónet-átamáno’e? How is the environment?
É-tónet-oéstomo’he? What kind of personality does he have?
É-tónest-áhevónó’e? What kind (or type) is it?
É-tónest-á’e? How long is his hair?
É-tónes-éa’e? How does it feel (in texture)?
É-tónes-e’seme? What sound does he make?
É-tónes-évone? What sound does it make?

What root and stem questions

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

É-tóne'so? What is its condition?
É-tónesta? What is his condition?
É-tóne'shé'tovóho? What did he do to him?

-tóne'seve 'What is/are ___ doing?'

Questions asking what someone is doing are formed with the interrogative stem -tóne'seve.

Ná-tóne'seve? What did I do?
Né-tóne'seve? What did you do?
É-tóne'seve? What did he/she do?
É-tóne'sévóho? What did he/she (obv) do?
Ná-tóne'sévéme? What did we (exclusive) do?
Né-tóne'sévéma? What did we (inclusive) do?
Né-tóne'sévéme? What did you (plural) do?
É-tóne'séve'o'o? What did they do?

'How many' questions

Questions asking how many are formed with the interrogative particle tónesto 'how many?' or the preverb tónéstóhe-, or the initial tónést-.

Tónesto néóo'hamoo'o? How many (fish) did you catch?
Né-tónéstóhe-aénáma? How old are you? (lit., How many are you yeared?)
É-tónéstóhe-éše’hama? How many months old is he?
Né-tónéstóhe-enó’tse? How many nights did you camp?
É-tónéstóhe-éno’e? What day of the week is it? (lit., how many days is it?)
É-tónést-óxo'o? How many of them (an.) are there?
É-tónést-óhanéstse? How many of them (inan.) are there?

'How many times' questions

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

Tónéstoha ného'soo'e? How many times did you dance?
To what degree questions

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

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

Other question forms

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

Nénéevá'eye? Who are you?
Éhová'eye? What gender is he/she?
Éhová'evóéhne? What child did she bear?
Éhová'eešeenotseve? What kind of a tree (bush) is it?
Éhová'evenotseve? What kind of tribe is he?
Éhová'evé'ho'eye? What kind of non-Indian nationality is he?
Éhová'eešeeve? What kind of a day is it? (cf. -tónëšeešeeve, with the same meaning)

'What say' questions

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

Ná-óxò-heve? What did I say?
Né-óxò-heve? What did you say?
É-óxò-hevoo'o? What did he/she say?
É-óxò-hevoöne? What did they say?
É-óxò-henove? What is said?
Né-óxò-hétö? 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 neamâho'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 tónë'se 'sometime', tósá'e 'somewhere', tónëše- 'somehow' (include Rolling Head sentence). 'something', hénáá'énëse 'something', etc.

Tónëše móho'eohtséhéhe. 'He must have come sometime.'
Tósá'e nóháso móstanëšëma'xetónëšëhe'ame-pónenenéhéhe. 'He just shot in any direction up
in the air.' (1987:277)  
Naa oha tónesto tséhetaa'he'konahétse hétséhéóhe náho'manétsénóne. 'But however many of us who were healthy, we made it back here.' (1987:37)  
Naa héna'hanehe náéšéhóhta'háne tónetáa'e tséhéne'enómó. 'And I have told however much I know.' (1987:97)  
$$CAN tónetáa'e FUNCTION AS A QUESTION WORD?? (perhaps Tónetáa'e némesé? 'How much did you eat?')$$  
Hēa'e éto'sé-tónéstáotse. 'Maybe something is going to be wrong (with him).'</1987:195>  
Móhmóne-tónéstóheáánamáhéóhe. 'She was sometime in early age.' (1987:21)  
Naa mó's-tónéstóxda'hévóhe móstaaséhéttoo'èhëhevóhe. 'And however many (suspects) there were, they were taken away to prison.' (1987:185)  
Naa néheše me'ko móhnés-tónëšësóho'ehóhétáhëhe. 'And then the (rolling) head came through somehow.' (1980:54)  
Naa vé'ho'è mósta-tónëšenéstomóhëheóhe. '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-tónëšévéhe. | I'm not doing anything.  
| Násáa-tónëšetanóhëhe. | I'm not feeling anything.  
| Násáa-tónë'séoxómóhtáhëhe. | I'm not feeling anything.  
| Ésáa-tónéstáhëhe. | There's nothing wrong with him.  
| Ésáa-tónësóhóhëhe. | There's nothing wrong with it.  
| Násáa-tónéstá'tovóhëhe. | I didn't do anything to him.  

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

| Násáaho'óxóhéhe. | I didn't say anything.  
| Néstsevë'é-óxóhëto! | Don't say anything to him!  

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

| Násáaho'ahëhe hová'ëhe. | I don't want anything.  
| Násáavóóhtóhe hová'ëhe. | I didn't see anything.  

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

Hovánee'e ésáaho'ëhe. No one was there.
Rhetorical questions

Rhetorical questions have the forms of questions but do not function as questions. Typically they function as emphatic statements, such as rebukes.

\[Néháahe'ěvéhehe! \text{ Are you not a woman!}\]
\[Névé'hétónéšévé! \text{ Why did you do that!}\]
\[Névé'héstitéme! ?? \text{ Why did you sing! } \text{RH Q??}\]
\[Névé'héoxōheto'o! \text{ Why did you say that to them!}\]
\[Mónáme'héto'otse! ?? \text{ Nothing would happen to me!}\]
\[Mónémé'hé-tóte'o'te. \text{ You won't be able to do anything to him. (e.g., he's more powerful than you)}\]
\[Ésáatónéšééno'éetóhane! \text{ How does it not stop snowing!}\]

Commands

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

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

Positive commands

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

Imperative mode commands

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

Singular addressees

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

\[Háméstoo'ěstse! \text{ Sit down!}\]
\[He'kotoo'ěstse! \text{ Be quiet! / Sit still!}\]
\[Méseestse! \text{ Eat!}\]
Né’éstse’hē!  Come in!
Né’tõhkâ’ah’tse!  Take your hat off!
E’sééstse’hēnâhtse!  Put your coat on!
Né’seéstse’hēnâhtse!  Take your coat off!
E’êhâ’óhtse!  Put your shoes on!
Né’tô’estse!  Take your shoes off!
Tâhêovõéstse!  Go to bed!
Áhtovėstse!  Listen to me!
Néhmanoxėstse!  Give me a drink!
Né’se’esêvõenėstse!  Wash your face!
Né’se’esêhe’ônakhtse!  Wash your hands!
Vé’hóóhtôhtse!  Look at it!

**Plural addressees**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hámêstoo’e!</td>
<td>Sit down!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He’kotoo’e!</td>
<td>Be quiet! / Sit still!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mêsêhe!</td>
<td>Eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né’ëstsehne!</td>
<td>Come in!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E’tõhkâ’h’a!</td>
<td>Put your hat on!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né’tõhkâ’h’a!</td>
<td>Take your hat off!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E’sééstse’hēna!</td>
<td>Put your coat on!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né’seéstse’hēna!</td>
<td>Take your coat off!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E’êhâ’o!</td>
<td>Put your shoes on!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né’tô’e!</td>
<td>Take your shoes off!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tâhêovõêše!</td>
<td>Go to bed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áhtove!</td>
<td>Listen to me!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhmanoxe!</td>
<td>Give me a drink!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né’se’esêhe’ôna!</td>
<td>Wash your hands!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vé’hóóhtôme!</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 /-hêné/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hámêstoeo’o!</td>
<td>Sit down later! (singular addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hámêstoehéne!</td>
<td>Sit down later! (plural addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhmêtseo’o!</td>
<td>Give it to me later! (singular addressee)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Néhmétséhéne! Give it to me later! (plural addressee)
Né’évahósého’èhne'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'-mésèhéme. You (plural) should eat.
Né-me'-hestâna. You should take it.
Né-me'-méhotâhtséme. You should love each other (or, yourselves).

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

Negative commands
Negative commands tell people what not to do.

Prohibitives
A command telling more or more people not to do something is called a prohibitive. A prohibitive command is composed of the prohibitive preverb vé'(e)- in a verb with a second person ("you") subject. The preverb is pronounced as vé'e- if the next letter in the word is a vowel. Otherwise, it is pronounced as vé'-.
Né-vé'-néhešéve! Don't do that! (said to one person, a singular addressee)
Né-vé'-néhešévéme! Don't do that! (said to more than one person)
Né-vé'e'-a'xaame! Don't cry! (singular addressee)
Né-vé'e'-a'xaamême! Don't cry! (plural addressee)
Né-vé'e'-oome! Don't hit me! (singular addressee)
Né-vé'-vé'hóóhta! Don't look at it! (singular addressee)
Né-vé'-vé'hóóhtánóvo! Don't look at it! (plural addresssee)
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'-néhešéve. You (singular) shouldn't do that.
Né-mé'-sáa'-néhešévéme. You (plural) shouldn't do that.
Né-mé'-sáa-tsēhe'ōhtse. You (singular) shouldn't do there.

Negative 'should' impersonal commands

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

$$RECHECK DATA

É-mé'-sáa-nēhešēvē-stovē-hane. That shouldn't be done.
É-mé'-sáa-mēotāhtsē-stovē-hane. There shouldn't be fighting one another.
É-me'-sáa-nēhenōvē-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-nēhenōvē-hane. That is not said.
É-sáa-nēhešēvē-stovē-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-mésēhe-he-he?! Aren't you eating?!
Né-sáa-'-ovēšēnā-he-he?! Didn't you go to bed?!
Né-sáa-naōotsē-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'-mésēhe-he?! Shouldn't you eat?!
Né-sáa-vé'-nēhešēvē-he?! Shouldn't you do that?!
Né-sáa-vé'-nēhešēvē-hē-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-évo'sóémáne!  Let’s play!
Né-ta-nėšeasema!  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 Tähéovēšéstse!'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, Émé'méséhéstove 'There should be eating!' there is some social distance intended. Such a mitigated command might be used, for instance, by a woman, who is trying to get her son-in-law to eat, but she cannot speak to him directly due to the Cheyenne taboo against her speaking to her son-in-law.
Verbs

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

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

Transitivity

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

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

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

Verbs and animacy

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

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

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

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

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

<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>Étáhpéta.  'He's big.'</td>
<td>Étáhpé'o. 'It's big.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénémenehe? 'Did you sing? '</td>
<td>Éhoo'köho. 'It's raining.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êma'ovése. 'He has red hair.'</td>
<td>Êma'ohé? 'Is it red?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náováxe. 'I dreamed.'</td>
<td>Ésétovoésta. 'It's noon.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésone. 'She had a child.'</td>
<td>Éháohö'ta. 'It's hot.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êmésehe. 'He's eating.'</td>
<td>Éméséhéstove. 'There is eating.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TA</th>
<th>TI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nápéhéváno. 'I fixed him up.'</td>
<td>Nápéhévána. 'I fixed it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóómo. 'I saw him.'</td>
<td>Névóohtähe? 'Did you see it?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhoxomöhe? 'Did you feed him?'</td>
<td>Näsáahestänöhe. 'I didn't take it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméhota. 'He loves me.'</td>
<td>Éhötse. 'He has it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áahtovésta! 'Listen to me!'</td>
<td>Nááåhta. 'I'm listening to it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násaa'oomóhe. 'I didn't hit him.'</td>
<td>Násaa'oohtöhe. 'I didn't hit it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êmevo. 'He ate him (obv).'</td>
<td>Êmes. 'He ate it.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Polarity**
Cheyenne verbs are either positive\(^{69}\) or negative. This is called polarity. Negative verbs are marked with the negative preverb sáa- and a negative suffix. Positive verbs are unmarked for polarity. The negative suffix is -hane for Inanimate Intransitive verbs and /-hé/ for all other verbs.

| Námésehe. | I ate. |
| Násáaméséhéhe. | I did not eat. |
| Êmá'o. | It's red. |
| Ésáama'öhane. | It's not red. |

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>statement</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>interrogative</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ênéméné.</td>
<td>He's singing.</td>
<td>Ênémenehe?</td>
<td>Did he sing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étáhpé'o.</td>
<td>It's big.</td>
<td>Étáhpé'o?</td>
<td>Is it big?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestänä.</td>
<td>I took it.</td>
<td>Néhestanahe?</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>Náhestâna.</td>
<td>I took it.</td>
<td>Hestânôhtse!</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 indendent verbs:

- Énaóotse. He's sleeping.
- Námese. I'm eating it.
- Éoseepéhévééno'e. It tastes really good.
- Nátsehéseenéstéseme. 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
- tséhvóonā'o when it was morning
- ma'éñésétovoésta 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?
- Móxháeanâhevóhe. They must have been hungry.
Ésáavé’hoohtóhe.  He didn't look at it.

**Conjunct order verbs**

Some examples of conjunct order verbs are:

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

**Imperative order verbs**

Some examples of imperative order verbs are:

- Hámeštoo’ēštse!  Sit down!
- Táheovēšéstse!  Go to bed!
- Né’évahósého’ēhneo’o!  Come again (later)!

**Modes**

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

**Evidentials**

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

**Indicative mode**

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

- Énaóotse.  He's sleeping.
- Néhósema.  He told about you.
- Ého'ééto.  It's snowing.
- Épêhévévéño'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 that ___ ".

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Inferentials

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

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

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

Preterit mode

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

Use in legends

The preterit mode can also be considered a kind of evidential. The preterit marks actions which occurred long ago. No one living has any personal memory of them. The preterit has been used extensively when Cheyennes narrate legends, stories passed down through many generations. Because this mode has so often been used when a storyteller narrates legends, Sarah Murray (xxxx:xxx) has used the informative label narrative for it.

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

Mirative usage

The preterit is also used in contemporary settings to indicate surprise or exclamation on the part of a speaker. An older Cheyenne lady once heard me speaking some Cheyenne at a basketball game. She exclaimed, "Noo, étséhésenéstshoo'o!" which could be translated to English as 'Wow, surprisingly he speaks Cheyenne!'

Linguists use the label miratives for forms indicating surprise. We will continue to use the Algonquianist term preterit but mirative can also be used.

---

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?"
**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?
- Émèsèhevo-he? Did they eat?
are verbs which usually need some other verb(s) to help them out. From English grammar, this second type of verb would be called a "dependent" verb. It has become traditional with people who study 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**

náho'soc'a
námásáhe
mómóhonéhevéhe (hetane'o)
észás'hoohéhe

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

**CONJUNCT (DEPENDENT) VERBS**

tsánánénése
tsánénése
ázhádátsé
m'ého'ehnétsé

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, émáshe '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: émásétse 'It is said that he drank,' and édómésetse 'It is said that he hit him.'

A commonly used mode type is the "Dubitative Mode". Using this mode appears to "tone down" an assertion, so that it doesn't sound too strong. Verbs in the dubitative mode begin with mó-, and can be translated with English words like "I guess ___" or "It must be that ___. A speaker may be quite sure that some action took place, but he can still use the dubitative mode so that what he says about the action will not sound too strong. Here are some examples of verbs in the dubitative mode: móho'kóhóhanehe 'it must have rained', mónešéseméhehehe 'you must have eaten already', and móhámóhóháhóhehe '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 š̱némenêho'o 'he sang' and š̱péšêva'êneho '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 "pronominals" are a part of the verbs—in technical language we say that Cheyenne verbs have pronominal affixes (affixes can be either prefixes or suffixes).

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

Here are some examples using the verb prefixes:

námáshe I ate.
némáshe you (singular) ate.
émáshe 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'ha ho 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,

éñeméne 3 he sang
hee'ha ho éñåmenóho 4 his son sang

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

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 hetané and he's, respectively. Their obvisive forms are hetanóho and he'óho, respectively. Notice what happens in the following sentences when there are two third-persons. Look for obviation changes on the nouns and on the verbs.

1-3 Névóómo hetané. I saw a man.
1-3 Névóóno he's. I saw a woman.
2-3 Névóómo hetané. You saw a man.
3-4 He'óho évóomóho he'óho. The man saw a woman.
3-4 He'óho évóomóho hetanóho. The woman saw a man.

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

4-3 Neñke évóomaa' te hetané-ka'óóké. His (the boy's) mother saw the boy.
4-3 Hemeho évósstráññéñe. Her big sister helped her.

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

1-3 návóómo (direct) I saw him.
2-3 návóómo (direct) You saw him.
3-1 návóóma (inverse) He saw me.
3-2 návóóma (inverse) He saw you.
INTRODUCTION TO VERBS (cont’d)

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

nēvōome  You saw me.
nēvōomātse  I saw you.
nēvōomatšame  I saw you (plural).
nēvōomene  You (plural) saw me.

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

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

l-I náho'əhóta  I came to it.
l-II náho'əhótanātse  I came to them (inanimate).
l-1 náho'əhótas'ee  It came to me.

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

```
  2  second-person
  1  first-person       ←-------->
  3  third-person       ↓
  4  fourth-person      ↓
  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: -nah-, -nes-, -ne-, or -nes-. If it is "away", there will be a -ta-.

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

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

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

étáhpé'ó It is big.
āhoo'kohó It is raining.
ētónáto It is cold.
ēhe'óvo It is yellow.
ěmá'o It is red.

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

ěmásáho He ate.
ěmáne He drank.
ěho'soo'á He danced.
ěvo'vótomósáhe He taught.
ěpáváhe He is good.

There are several important Transitive Animate (TA) abstract finals. Most Transitive Inanimate (II) end in either -ó or -é. 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 SAI's give us information about the persons involved in the verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>verb</th>
<th>1-3:</th>
<th>1-I:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>see</td>
<td>návão'omo (p-ó)</td>
<td>návãochtah (ht-á)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>carry</td>
<td>námásáho (á-ó)</td>
<td>námásáhóta (ht-á)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>love</td>
<td>námáho'kóto (p't-ó)</td>
<td>námáho'kóto (p't-ó)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be good to</td>
<td>náhe'kóto (p't-ó)</td>
<td>náhe'kóto (p't-ó)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>task</td>
<td>námáho'kóto (p't-ó)</td>
<td>námáho'kóto (p't-ó)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dampen</td>
<td>námáho'kóto (p't-ó)</td>
<td>námáho'kóto (p't-ó)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>find</td>
<td>námáho'kóto (p't-ó)</td>
<td>námáho'kóto (p't-ó)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have</td>
<td>námáho'kóto (p't-ó)</td>
<td>námáho'kóto (p't-ó)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
are verbs which usually need some other verb(s) to help them out. From English grammar, this second type of verb is called a "dependent" verb. It is traditional with people who study Algonquian languages to use another label for this type of verb, "conjunct". In these notes, the label "conjunct" will be used. But, remember that you can use the label "dependent" if it is more meaningful to you. 

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

**INDEPENDENT VERBS**

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

**Modes**

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

**Outline of the Cheyenne verb system**

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

I. Independent order
   A. Indicative
      1. Positive
         a. Intransitive
            (1) Animate subject (AI)
            (2) Inanimate subject (II)
         b. Transitive
            (1) Animate object (TA)
            (2) Inanimate object (TI)
      2. Negative
         a. Intransitive
            (1) Animate subject (AI)
            (2) Inanimate subject (II)
         b. Transitive
            (1) Animate object (TA)
            (2) Inanimate object (TI)
   B. Reportative mode
   C. Inferential mode
   D. Preterit mode
   E. Interrogative mode

II. Conjunct (Dependent) order
   A. Indicative mode
B. Potential mode  
C. Iterative mode  
D. Generic mode  
E. Interrogative mode  
F. Obligative mode  
G. Optative mode  
H. Inferential Negative mode  
I. Participles

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

$$REVISE$$

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:**
-ó 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)

**OBIVATIVE:**
-(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'

Námésehe I ate / I am eating **INCLUDE INTERLINEAR GLOSSES for AI, II, TA, TI, & MODES & VERB TEMPLATES DISCUSSION (INNER & OUTER AGREEMENT, FROM OXFORD), ETC.

Némésehe You ate
Émésehe He ate
Éméxého He (obv) ate
Námésehéme We (excl) ate
Némésehema We (incl) ate
Némésehéme You (pl) ate
Éméxého'o They ate

-mane 'drink'

Námane I drank / I am drinking
Némame You drank
Émane He drank
Émanóho He (obv) drank
Námamo'me We (excl) drank
Némanema We (incl) drank
Némanéme You (pl) drank
Émane'o They drank

/-nomené/ 'sip'

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

Nánoméne I drank (heated liquid)
Nénoméne You drank (heated liquid)
Énoméne He drank (heated liquid)
Énoménóho He (obviative) drank (heated liquid)
Nénomenémé We (exclusive) drank (heated liquid)
Nénomenema We (inclusive) drank (heated liquid)
Nénomenéme You (plural) drank (heated liquid)
Énomene'o They drank (heated liquid)

/-hotse'ohe/ 'work'

Náhotse'ohe I worked
Néhotse'ohe You worked
Éhotse'ohe He worked
Éhotse'óhóho He (obv) worked
Náhotse'óhéme We (excl) worked
Néhotse'óhema We (incl) worked
Néhotse'óhéme You (pl) worked
Éhotse'óhemo'o They worked

/-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/
Éhoēho ?? He (obv) is (here) /é-hoe-hó/
Náhoēme We (excl) are (here) /ná-hoe-mé/
Néhoema We (incl) are (here) /né-hoe-ma/
Néhoēme You (pl) are (here) /né-hoe-mé/
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
Éháéanáho He (obv) is hungry
Náháéanáme We (excl) are hungry
Néháéanama We (incl) are hungry
Néháéanáme You (pl) are hungry
Éháeanao'o They are hungry

/-háóéná/ 'pray'
Náháo'éna I prayed
Néháo'éna You prayed
Éháo'éna He prayed
Éháóénáho He (obv) prayed
Náháóénáme We (excl) prayed
Néháoenama We (incl) prayed
Néháóénáme You (pl) prayed
Éháoenao'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
Éovēšenao'o They went to bed

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

---

73 Common alternative pronunciations are éovēšēne and éovēšēna.

122
-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’è  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'o75  They doctored

-naóotse 'sleep'
Nánaóotse  I slept
Nénaóotse  You slept
Énaóotse  He slept
Énaóotóho  He (obv) slept
Nánaóotséme  We (excl) slept
Nénaóotsema  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 they 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 their other person and number combinations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>énéméne</th>
<th>I sang</th>
<th>Nánéméne</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>Énémenóho76</td>
<td>He (obv) has a crooked face</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

123
Nánémenēme      We (excl) sang      Nánéménéme We (excl) have crooked faces
Nénémēnema   We (incl) sang      Nénémēnema We (incl) have crooked faces
Nénémēnēme You (pl) sang      Nénémēnēme You (pl) have crooked faces
Énémenēo'o They sang      Énémenēo'o They have crooked faces

-tséhéstahē 'be Cheyenne'

One of the most important verbs for a Cheyenne person to learn is nátséhéstahē '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>Nátséhéstahē</td>
<td>I’m Cheyenne</td>
<td>Natsistah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nétséhéstahē</td>
<td>You’re Cheyenne</td>
<td>Nitsistah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étséhéstahē</td>
<td>He’s Cheyenne</td>
<td>Itsistah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étséhéstahōho</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>Nétséhéstahēma</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>Étséhéstahēo'o</td>
<td>They are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Itsistayo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-he/ 'say'

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

Náheve      I said
Néheve      You said
Éhevo'o     He said
Éhevoōne    He (obv) said
Náhéme      We (excl) said
Néhema      We (incl) said
Néhéme      You (pl) said
Éhevoōne    They said

-néehove 'be the one'

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

Nánéehove I am the one.
Nénéehove You are the one.
Énéehove He is the one.
Énéehővőho?? He (obviative) is the one.
Nánéehővéme We (exclusive) are the ones.
Nénéehővéma We (inclusive) are the ones.
Nénéehővéme You (plural) are the ones.
Énéehővëo'o They are the ones.

-he 'have'

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

---

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

**-he-nésone 'have a child'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhenésone</td>
<td>I have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésone</td>
<td>You have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésone</td>
<td>He has a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésóného</td>
<td>He (obv) has a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhenésónéheme</td>
<td>We (excl) have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésónéhema</td>
<td>We (incl) have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésónéhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésónéhemo'ó</td>
<td>They have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhevoestove</td>
<td>I have on a dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhevoestove</td>
<td>You have on a dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhevoestove</td>
<td>She has on a dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhevoestovēme</td>
<td>We (excl) have on dresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhevoestovēma</td>
<td>We (incl) have on dresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhevoestovēme</td>
<td>You (pl) have on dresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhevoestove’o’o</td>
<td>They have on dresses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

**Animate Intransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs**

**-mane 'drink'**

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

**-mésehe 'eat'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáaméséhéhe</td>
<td>I did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhéhe</td>
<td>You did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhéhe</td>
<td>He did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhéheho</td>
<td>He (obv) did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaméséhéhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhéhema</td>
<td>We (incl) did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhéhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhéhemo'ó</td>
<td>They did not eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-hotse'óhe 'work'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Negative Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáahotse'óhéhe</td>
<td>I did work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahotse'óhéhe</td>
<td>You did work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahotse'óhéhe</td>
<td>He did work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahotse'óheho</td>
<td>He (obv) did work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahots'óhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) did work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahots'óhema</td>
<td>We (incl) did work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahots'óhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) did not work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahotse'óheho</td>
<td>They did not work</td>
<td></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>Subject</th>
<th>Negative Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho'sóhéhe</td>
<td>I did not dance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho'sóhéhe</td>
<td>You did not dance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'sóhéhe</td>
<td>He did not dance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'sóéheho</td>
<td>He (obv) did not dance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho'sóéhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) did not dance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho'sóéhema</td>
<td>We (incl) did not dance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho'sóéhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) did not dance</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'sóeho'o</td>
<td>They did not dance</td>
<td></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>Subject</th>
<th>Negative Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáa'ovéšenáhe</td>
<td>I did not go to bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáa'ovéšenáhe</td>
<td>You did not go to bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáa'ovéšenáhe</td>
<td>He did not go to bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáa'ovéšenáheho</td>
<td>He (obv) did not go to bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáa'ovéšenáhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) did not go to bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáa'ovéšenáhema</td>
<td>We (incl) did not go to bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáa'ovéšenáhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) did not go to bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáa'ovéšenáheo'o</td>
<td>They did not go to bed</td>
<td></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>Subject</th>
<th>Negative Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáa'ováxenáhe</td>
<td>I did not dream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáa'ováxenáhe</td>
<td>You did not dream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáa'ováxenáhe</td>
<td>He did not dream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáa'ováxenáheho</td>
<td>He (obv) did not dream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáa'ováxenáhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) did not dream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáa'ováxenáhema</td>
<td>We (incl) did not dream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáa'ováxenáhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) did not dream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáa'ováxenáheo'o</td>
<td>They did not dream</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-hé/ 'say'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Negative Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáahéhe</td>
<td>I did not say</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahéhe</td>
<td>You did not say</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahéhe</td>
<td>He did not say</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahéheho</td>
<td>He (obv) did not say</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Násáahéhéme We (excl) did not say
Nésáahéhema We (incl) did not say
Nésáahéhéme You (pl) did not say
Ésáahéheo'o They did not say

-he-nésone 'have a child'

Násáahenésónénéhe I do not have a child
Nésáahenésónénéhe You do not have a child
Ésáahenésónénéhéhe He does not have a child
Ésáahenésónénéheheho He (obv) does not have a child
Násáahenésónénéhema We (excl) do not have a child
Nésáahenésónénéhémæ We (incl) do not have a child
Nésáahenésónénéhéme You (pl) do not have a child
Ésáahenésónénéheheho They do not have a child

**Animate Intransitive equative verbs**

The formula (or frame) for equative verbs consists of the personal prefix é-, an incorporated noun, and an equative suffix /-vé/ which means 'be'. For example, the animate Cheyenne noun hoohtséstse means 'tree'. If this noun stem is incorporated into the equative verb frame, the result is éhoóhtsetséve 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>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éhováheve It is an animal.</td>
<td>Éhováheveo'o They are animals.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émé'eševotevse He is a baby.</td>
<td>Émé'eševotevseo'o They are babies.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énáhkóheve It is a bear.</td>
<td>Énáhkóhéheveo'o They are bears.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoma'ève It is a beaver.</td>
<td>Éhoma'èveo'o They are beavers.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évé'késéheve It is a bird.</td>
<td>Évé'késéheveo'o They are birds.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhotóave It is a buffalo.</td>
<td>Éhotóaveo'o They are buffaloes.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épóesónéheve It is a cat.</td>
<td>Épóesónéheveo'o They are cats.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évéhóneve He is a chief.</td>
<td>Évéhóneveo'o They are chiefs.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éka'èškónéheve He is a child.</td>
<td>Éka'èškónéhevo'o They are children.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éó'kòhoméheve It is a coyote.</td>
<td>Ékó'kòhméheveo'o They are coyotes.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éváotseváheve It is a deer.</td>
<td>Éváotseváheveo'o They are deer.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoestove It is a dress.</td>
<td>Éhoestóveo'o They are dresses.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éšé'ševe It is a duck.</td>
<td>Éšé'ševeo'o They are ducks.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ênetseve It is an eagle.</td>
<td>Ênetséveo'o They are eagles.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóaxaa'ève It is a bald eagle.</td>
<td>Évóaxaa'èveo'o They are bald eagles.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êmó'èheve It is an elk.</td>
<td>Êmó'èheveo'o They are elk.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êmó'èškoneve It is a finger.</td>
<td>Êmó'èškonéheveo'o They are fingers.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énomá'heve It is a fish.</td>
<td>Énomá'heveo'o They are fishes.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhéseve It is a fly.</td>
<td>Éhéseveo'o They are flies.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma'heóneve It is a sacred power.</td>
<td>Êma'heóneveo'o They are sacred powers.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émo'èhno'haméheve It is a horse.</td>
<td>Êmo'èhno'haméheveo'o They are horses.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhetaneve He is a man.</td>
<td>Êhetaneveo'o They are men.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun (Object)</td>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>Possessive Case</td>
<td>-he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émo'e'háheve</td>
<td>It is a magpie.</td>
<td>Émo'e'háheveo'o</td>
<td>They are magpies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épé'ève</td>
<td>It is a nighthawk.</td>
<td>Épé'èveo'o</td>
<td>They are nighthawks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émá'hákhéséheve</td>
<td>He is an old man.</td>
<td>Éma'hákhéséheveo'o</td>
<td>They are old men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éšéstotó'ève</td>
<td>It is a pine.</td>
<td>Éšéstotó'èveo'o</td>
<td>They are pines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóhkoohéve</td>
<td>It is a rabbit.</td>
<td>Évóhkoohéveo'o</td>
<td>They are rabbits.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éxaónéve</td>
<td>It is a skunk.</td>
<td>Éxaónéveo'o</td>
<td>They are skunks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhotóhkeve</td>
<td>It is a star.</td>
<td>Éhotóhkeveo'o</td>
<td>They are stars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoóhtsetséve</td>
<td>It is a tree.</td>
<td>Éhoóhtsetséveo'o</td>
<td>They are trees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énótáxévè</td>
<td>He is a warrior.</td>
<td>Énótáxévèo'o</td>
<td>They are warriors.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évé'ho'ève</td>
<td>He is a whiteman.</td>
<td>Évé'ho'èveo'o</td>
<td>They are whitemen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhe'ève</td>
<td>She is a woman.</td>
<td>Éhe'èveo'o</td>
<td>They are women.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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>Noun (Object)</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Possessive Case</th>
<th>-he</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námanehe?</td>
<td>Did I drink?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némámanehe?</td>
<td>Did you drink?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émanehe?</td>
<td>Did he drink?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émanevohe?</td>
<td>Did he (obv) drink?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námanemámanehe?</td>
<td>Did we (excl) drink?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némámanemámanehe?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) drink?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némámanemámanehe?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) drink?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émanevohe?</td>
<td>Did they drink?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**-mésehe 'eat'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun (Object)</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Possessive Case</th>
<th>-he</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námeséhehehe?</td>
<td>Did I eat?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némámeséhehehe?</td>
<td>Did you eat?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émeséhehehe?</td>
<td>Did he eat?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émeséhevohe?</td>
<td>Did he (obv) eat?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námeséhehemámanehe?</td>
<td>Did we (excl) eat?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némámeséhehemámanehe?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) eat?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némámeséhehemámanehe?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) eat?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émeséhevohe?</td>
<td>Did they eat?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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

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

Náověšenahe? Did I go to bed?
Néověšenahe? Did you go to bed?
Éověšenahe? Did he go to bed?
Éověšenavohe? Did he (obv) go to bed?
Náověšenamehe? Did we (excl) go to bed?
Néověšenámenehe? Did we (incl) go to bed?
Néověšénámehe? Did you (pl) go to bed?
Éověšenavovohe? Did they go to bed?

-he-nésone 'have a child' interrogatives

Náhenésoněhehe? Do I have a child(ren)?
Néhenésoněhehe? Do you have a child(ren)?
Éhenésoněhehe? Does he have a child(ren)?
Éhenésoněhevohe? Does he (obv) have a child(ren)?
Náhenésoněhevohe? Do we (excl) have a child(ren)?
Néhenésoněheevamehe? Do we (incl) have a child(ren)?
Néhenésoněhevemehe? Do you (pl) have a child(ren)?
Éhenésoněhevohe? Do they have a child(ren)?

-he 'say' interrogatives

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

mó- prefix yes/no questions

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

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

Mónééšemésehe? Did you already eat?
Mónéhéáána? Are you hungry?
Mónéstsenomémé? Will you drink (something heated, especially coffee)?
Mónémónéévahó'eohe? Did you just get back?
Mó'éháomóhtahe? Is he sick?
Mó'énémé? Did he sing?

Mó-tsyí'tóhe?78 This one?
Mó-néhe? You mean that one?

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

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

-he suffix negative questions

Nésáaméséhehehe? Didn't you eat?
Nésáa'ovéšenáhehe? Didn't you go to bed?
Nésáahotse'óhehehe? Didn't you work?
Nésáanaáotséhehehe? Didn't you (pl) sleep?
Ésáatáhpéhéhehe? Isn't he big?

mó- prefix negative questions

Mónésáá'ěšeméhehe? Didn't you eat yet?
Mó'ésáa'ovéšenáheo'o? Didn't they go to bed?
Mó'ésáanémenéheo'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>Mónámanēhehē</td>
<td>I must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēmanēhehē</td>
<td>You must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mómanēhehē</td>
<td>He must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónmanēhevōhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónāmanēhemanēhe</td>
<td>We (excl) must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēmanēhemanēhe</td>
<td>We (incl) must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēmanēhemēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mómanēhevōhe</td>
<td>They must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-/**háéaná/ '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>Mónēháeanahēhe</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>Mónáháeanahêmanēhe</td>
<td>We (excl) must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēháeanahêmanēhe</td>
<td>We (incl) must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēháeanahemēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháeanahêvōhe</td>
<td>They must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-/**háóéná/ 'pray'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónáháóénahēhe</td>
<td>I must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēháóénahēhe</td>
<td>You must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháóénahēhe</td>
<td>He must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháóenhevōhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónáháóenahêmanēhe</td>
<td>We (excl) must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēháóenahêmanēhe</td>
<td>We (incl) must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēháóenahemēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháóenahêvōhe</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>Mónátáhoehēhē</td>
<td>I must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónétáhoehēhē</td>
<td>You must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mótáhoehēhē</td>
<td>He must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mótáhoehevōhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónátáhoehêmanēhe</td>
<td>We (excl) must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónétáhoehêmanēhe</td>
<td>We (incl) must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónétáhoehemēhe</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 persons can be used with verbs of saying in the inferential mode, although third person subjects are most frequently used.

- Mónánéhehēhe. I must have said that.
- Mónéhehēhe. You must have said that.
- Móhehe. He must have said.
- Móhehevōhe. He (obv) must have said.
- Mónáhehehemanēhe?? We (excl) must have said.
- Mónéhehehemanēhe?? We (incl) must have said.
- Mónéhehemēhe?? You (pl) must have said.
- Móhehevōhe. They must have said.

Inferential pitch template

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

Animate Intransitive Negative Inferential verbs

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

-mésehe 'eat'

- (Mó)ho'nóméséhéto I must not have eaten.
- (Mó)ho'nóméséheto You must not have eaten.
- (Mó)ho'nóméseestse He must not have eaten.
- (Mó)ho'nóméséhetséstse He (obv) must not have eaten.
- (Mó)ho'nóméséhéstse We82 must not have eaten.
- (Mó)ho'nóméséhése You (pl) must not have eaten.
- (Mó)ho'nóméséhévōhtse They must not have eaten.

-mane 'drink'

- (Mó)ho'nómanéto I must not have drunk.
- (Mó)ho'nómaneto You must not have drunk.
- (Mó)ho'nómanéstse He must not have drunk.
- (Mó)ho'nómanetséstse He (obv) must not have drunk.
- (Mó)ho'nómanéstse We must not have drunk.
- (Mó)ho'nómanése You (pl) must not have drunk.
- (Mó)ho'nómanēvōhtse They must not have drunk.

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

80 Mónánéhehēhe, with the anaphoric preverb né-, sounds more natural than Mónáhehēhe. Móhehehe, with a third person subject and without that preverb, does sound natural.
81 Cheyenne ho'nó- appears to function parallel to Cree pwa, which, like ho'nó-, only occurs with conjunct order verbs
82 There is no distinction in conjunct verbs between inclusive 'we' and exclusive 'we'.
call this a hearsay mode.

**-mésehe 'eat'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náméshémáse</td>
<td>I am said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméshémáse</td>
<td>You are said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméshéséstse</td>
<td>He is said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméshésésto</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméshémánése</td>
<td>We (excl) are said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméshémánése</td>
<td>We (incl) are said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméshémése</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméshésésto</td>
<td>They are said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**-mane 'drink'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námanémáse</td>
<td>I are said to have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némanémáse</td>
<td>You are said to have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émanéséstse</td>
<td>He is said to have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émanésésto</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>Émanésésto</td>
<td>They are said to have drunk.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**-/he 'say'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhémáse</td>
<td>I am said to have said.</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>Éhésésto</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>Éhésésto</td>
<td>They are said to have said.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Animate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáaméséshémáse</td>
<td>I am said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséshémáse</td>
<td>You are said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáméshéséshéstse</td>
<td>He is said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáméshésésto</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaméséshémánése</td>
<td>We (excl) are said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséshémánése</td>
<td>We (incl) are said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséshémése</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáméshésésto</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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éhnémonéhoo'o</td>
<td>He sang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhxónónéhoo'o</td>
<td>He baked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhxáoenáhoo'o</td>
<td>He prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhxáeanáhoo'o</td>
<td>He was hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhnémonéhoono</td>
<td>They sang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhxónónéhoono</td>
<td>They baked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhxáoenáhoono</td>
<td>They prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhxáeanáhoono</td>
<td>They were hungry.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Éxhováneehoo'o  He was gone.  Éxhováneehoono  They were gone.
Éhnaehoo'o  He died.  Éhnaehoono  They died.
Éhnaa'éhoo'o  He doctored.  Éhnaa'éhoono  They doctored.
Éhméséhéhoo'o  He ate.  Éhméséhéhoono  They ate.
Éxhéhoo'o  He said.  Éxhéhoono  They said.

Animate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs
Éssáanémenéhehoo'o  He did not sing  éssánémenéhehoono  They did not sing.
Éssáahonónéhehoo'o  He did not bake  éssáahonónéhehooono  They did not bake.
Éssáaháoenéhehoo'o  He did not pray.  éssáaháoenéhehoono  They did not pray.
Éssáaháeanáhehoo'o  He was not hungry.  éssáaháeanáhehooono  They were not hungry.
Éssáahováneehéhoo'o  He was not gone  éssáahováneehéhooono  They were not gone.
Éssáanaehéhoo'o  He did not die.  Éssáanaehéhooono  They did not die.
Éssáanaa'éhehoo'o  He did not doctor.  Éssáanaa'éhehooono  They did not doctor.
Éssáaméséhéhëhëhoo'o  He did not eat.  Éssáaméséhéhëhëhëhooono  They did not eat.
Éssáahéhëhëhoo'o  He did not say.  Éssáahëhëhëhehëhëhëhooono  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'ëstse!</td>
<td>Háméstoo'e!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance!</td>
<td>Ho'soo'ëstse!</td>
<td>Ho'soo'e!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to bed!</td>
<td>Táhovësëstse!</td>
<td>Táhovësëhe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pray!</td>
<td>Háoënåhtse!</td>
<td>Háoëna!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing!</td>
<td>Némënëstse!</td>
<td>Némëne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work!</td>
<td>Hotse'ööstse!</td>
<td>Hotse'öhëhe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get up!</td>
<td>Tôëstse!</td>
<td>Tôë'ëhe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be happy!</td>
<td>Pëhévetënéhtse!</td>
<td>Pëhévetënéhe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look!</td>
<td>Tsëhetóööhtse!</td>
<td>Tsëhetóööhe!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{83}\) We consider the word-final "e" of this command suffix to be epenthetic.
Animate Intransitive Delayed Imperative

A delayed imperative addressed to one person takes an –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>Mésèheo'o!</td>
<td>Mésèhéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit down (later)!</td>
<td>Hámëstoeo'o!</td>
<td>Hámëstehéné!</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>Tåhéovëšenoa'o!</td>
<td>Tåhéovëšenähéné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pray (later)!</td>
<td>Háoenao'o!</td>
<td>Háóénähéné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing (later)!</td>
<td>Némeneo'o!</td>
<td>Néménëhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work (later)!</td>
<td>Hotse'óheo'o!</td>
<td>Hotse'óhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get up (later)!</td>
<td>To'eo'o!</td>
<td>To'ëhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be happy (later)!</td>
<td>Pèhévetano'o!</td>
<td>Pèhévetanóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look (later)!</td>
<td>Tsëhetóó'o'o!</td>
<td>Tsëhetóó'óhéne!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Animate Intransitive Hortative verbs

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hortatives said about more than one person</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ho'sóevoha!</td>
<td>Let them dance!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mésëhévoha!</td>
<td>Let them eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tåhéovënávoha!</td>
<td>Let them go to bed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nëmenëvoha!</td>
<td>Let them sing!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotse'óhevoha!</td>
<td>Let them work!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Animate Intransitive Negative Hortative verbs

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

**hortatives said about one person**
- Sáaho'sóehēha!
- Sáamésēhēheha!
- Tásáa'ovēšenāheha!
- Sánānemenēheha!
- Sáahost'sōheheha!

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

**hortatives said about more than one person**
- Sáahō'sóēhēvōha!
- Sáamēsēhēvōha!
- Tásāahōvēšēnāvōha!
- Sāanēmenēvōha!
- Sāahost'sōhevōha!

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

Inanimate Intransitive Independent Indicative verbs

Examples of intransitive verbs with inanimate subjects are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Éhó’ta.</th>
<th>It’s (there).</th>
<th>Éhō’tānéstse.</th>
<th>They are (there)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Épēhēva’e.</td>
<td>It’s good.</td>
<td>Épēhēva’enēstse.</td>
<td>They are good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhāvēsēva’e.</td>
<td>It’s bad.</td>
<td>Éhāvēsēva’enēstse.</td>
<td>They are bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étāhpé’o.</td>
<td>It’s big.</td>
<td>Étāhpē’ōnēstse.</td>
<td>They are big.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étšēšké’o.</td>
<td>It’s small.</td>
<td>Étšēškē’ōnēstse.</td>
<td>They are small.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésēsō.</td>
<td>It’s the same.</td>
<td>Ésēsōnēstse.</td>
<td>They are the same.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého’ētō.</td>
<td>It’s snowing.</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo’kōho.</td>
<td>It’s raining.</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évō’kōmo.</td>
<td>It’s white.</td>
<td>Évō’kōmōnēstse.</td>
<td>They are white.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhe’oovo.</td>
<td>It’s yellow.</td>
<td>Éhe’ovōnēstse.</td>
<td>They are yellow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émá’o.</td>
<td>It’s red.</td>
<td>Éma’ōnēstse.</td>
<td>They are red.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éō’o.</td>
<td>It’s dry.</td>
<td>Éō’ōnēstse.</td>
<td>They are dry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhe’kōóva.</td>
<td>It’s wet.</td>
<td>Éhe’kōóvānēstse.</td>
<td>They are wet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhāenāno.</td>
<td>It’s heavy.</td>
<td>Éhāenānōnēstse.</td>
<td>They are heavy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ééstōvo.</td>
<td>It’s sharp.</td>
<td>Ééstōvōnēstse.</td>
<td>They are sharp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épēhēveéno’e.</td>
<td>It tastes good.</td>
<td>Épēhēveéno’enēstse.</td>
<td>They taste good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épēhēvēmēa’ha.</td>
<td>It smells good.</td>
<td>Épēhēvēmēa’hānēstse.</td>
<td>They smell good.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inanimate Intransitive equative verbs

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

Émó’tšēskeve. It is a knife. Émó’tšēskekévěnestse. They are knives.
Éhe’eeve. It is liver. Éhe’événestse. They are livers.
Éhesēeotskeve. It is medicine. Éhesēeotsēvénestse. They are medicines.
Émo’ēskoneve. It is a ring. Émo’ēskonēvénestse. They are rings.
Éméoneve. It is a trail/road. Éméonēvénestse. They are trails/roads.
Éméta’xe. It is a scalpel. Éméta’xevénestse. They are scalps.
Émo’kēhanève. It is a shoe. Émo’kēhanēvénestse. They are shoes.

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.

Émanēstove. There is drinking. Émanēstōvénestse. There are drinkings.
Émēsēhēstove. There is eating. Émēsēhēstōvénestse. There are eatings.
Éhāeanahtove. There is hungering. Éhāeanahtōvénestse. There are hungerings.
Éhāoenahtove. There is praying. Éhāoenahtōvénestse. There are prayings.
Énémenēstove. There is singing. Énémenēstōvénestse. There are singings.
Ésēvanōhtove. There is sliding. Ésēvanōhtōvénestse. There are slidings.
Éhenove. It is said. Éhenōvénestse. ?? Éhestohēnestse. ??

Impersonals with reflexive/reciprocal stems

Transitive Animate (TA) reflexives and reciprocals 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:

Éméhōtahšue’o. They love themselves/each other.
Éméhōtahšuhtstove. There is love for themselves/one another.

Éoőevōtahšue’o. They argued with each other.

Inanimate Intransitive Independent Indicative relational verbs

Unlike animate nouns, inanimate nouns with third person possessors are not marked for

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84 This sounds the same as Éhe’eeve 'she is a woman'.
85 This sounds the same as Émo’ēskoneve ‘it (animate) is a finger’.
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 nonāmétō’e 'toward each other', included.
obvation. However, II verbs which have subjects possessed by third persons act like they are marked for obvation. But there are some important differences between animate obvation and what could be called inanimate obvation. Because of these differences, those who study Algonquian languages differ on whether to use the label inanimate obvation\textsuperscript{87}. Some prefer, instead, to call the "obviated" II verbs relational verbs\textsuperscript{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:

Namähö'o étahpe'o 'My house is big'; Hemähö'o étahe'otse 'His house is big (rel).'
Neamahö'hestôte éma'o 'Your car is red'; Heamaho'hestôte éma'otse 'His car is red (rel).'
Namöx'estoo'o éhó'ta 'My book is here'; Hemöxe'estoo'o ého'tatse 'His book is here (rel).'

Unlike AI obviated verbs, II relational verbs are marked for number of their subjects:
Namaahö'ontahke 'My arrow is bent.'
Hemahö'ontahkotse 'His arrow is bent (rel).'
Namaahö'tse évóhkón estse 'My arrows are bent.'
Hemahö'tse évóhkonetōtse 'His arrows are bent (rel).'

**Inanimate Intransitive Indicative Negative verbs**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ésáaho'táháne.</th>
<th>It is not (here).</th>
<th>Ésáaho'táhanēhō'tse.</th>
<th>They are not (here).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapēhēva'ēháne.</td>
<td>It’s not good.</td>
<td>Épēhēva'ēhanēhō'tse.</td>
<td>They are not good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésāahavēsēva'ēhāne.</td>
<td>It’s not bad.</td>
<td>Ésāahavēsēva'ēhanēhō'tse.</td>
<td>They are not bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésāatāhpe'ōhāne.</td>
<td>It’s not big.</td>
<td>Ésāatāhpe'ōhanēhō'tse.</td>
<td>They are not big.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésāatēshke'ōhāne.</td>
<td>It’s not small.</td>
<td>Ésāatēshke'ōhanēhō'tse.</td>
<td>They are not small.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésāāsesésōhāne.</td>
<td>It’s not the same.</td>
<td>Ésāāsesésōhanēhō'tse.</td>
<td>They are not the same.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésāaho'ētāháne.</td>
<td>It’s not snowing.</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésāahoo'koēhāne.</td>
<td>It’s not raining.</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésāavō'komōhāne.</td>
<td>It’s not white.</td>
<td>Ésāavō'komōhanēhō'tse.</td>
<td>They are not white.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésāahēqo'ohāne.</td>
<td>It’s not yellow.</td>
<td>Ésāahēqo'ohanēhō'tse.</td>
<td>They are not yellow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésāama'ōhāne.</td>
<td>It’s not red.</td>
<td>Ésāama'ōhanēhō'tse.</td>
<td>They are not red.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésāaa'ō'ōhāne.</td>
<td>It’s not dry.</td>
<td>Ésāaa'ō'ōhanēhō'tse.</td>
<td>They are not dry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésāahe'kóovāhāne.</td>
<td>It’s not wet.</td>
<td>Ésāahe'kóovāhanēhō'tse.</td>
<td>They are not wet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésāāhaqanōhāne.</td>
<td>It’s not heavy.</td>
<td>Ésāāhaqanōhanēhō'tse.</td>
<td>They are not heavy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésāaa'ēstōvōhāne.</td>
<td>It’s not sharp.</td>
<td>Ésāaa'ēstōvōhanēhō'tse.</td>
<td>They are not sharp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésāapēhēve'éno'ēhāne. It tastes good.</td>
<td>Ésāapēhēve'éno'énéstse.</td>
<td>They do not taste good.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impersonal Negative verbs**

Impersonals may be negated:

\textsuperscript{87} Some who have used the label inanimate obviates are Ellis (1971), Frantz (1991), Valentine (2001), and Wolfart (1973).
\textsuperscript{88} E.g. Drapeau (2013), Junker (2003).
Ésáaméséhéstovéhane. There is not eating.
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhótse. There are not eatings.

Ésáaháeanáhtovéhane. There is not hungering.
Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanéhótse. There are not hungerings.

Ésáahenóvéhane.?? It is not said.??

Ésáaméhotáhtséstovéhane. There is not loving each other.

**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 namáhēō’o ésáama’óháne ‘my house is not red’. But if there is a third person possessor, the verb is marked as relational: hemáhēō’o ésáama’óhanéhetse ‘his house is not red (rel)’. Some other examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho táhanéhetse.</td>
<td>It is not (here) (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho táhanéhenetótse.</td>
<td>They are not (here) (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaheóvóhanéhetse.</td>
<td>It is not yellow (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaheóvóhanéhenetótse.</td>
<td>They are not yellow (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva’éhanéhetse.</td>
<td>It is not good (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva’éhanéhenetótse.</td>
<td>They are not good (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáa’ó’óhanéhetse.</td>
<td>It is not dry (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáa’ó’óhanéhenetótse.</td>
<td>They are not dry (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáamanéstovéhanéhetse.</td>
<td>There is not drinking (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméstovéhanéhótse.</td>
<td>There are not drinkings (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetse.</td>
<td>There is not eating (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhenetótse.</td>
<td>There are not eatings (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanéhetse.</td>
<td>There is not hungering (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanéhenetótse.</td>
<td>There are not hungerings (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaháoenáhtovéhanéhetse.</td>
<td>There is not praying (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaháoenáhtovéhanéhenetótse.</td>
<td>There are not prayings (rel).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 –pêhêva 'be good'. Here are the forms of the verb with singular and plural subjects:

| Épêhéva'e. | It's good. |
| Épêhéva'ënëstse. | They are good. |

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

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

/é-peekâve-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 interrogatives are:

| Êho'tahe? | Is it (there)? | Êho'tanevotse? | Are they (there)? |
| Êtâhe'oh? | Is it big? | Êtâhe'onevotse? | Are they big? |
| Êhô'ëtohe? | Did it snow? | ----- | ----- |
| Êhoo'kôhe? | Did it rain? | ----- | ----- |
| Êvô'komohoe? | Is it white? | Êvô'komonevotse? | Are they white? |
| Êheôvohe? | Is it yellow? | Êheôvoventse? | Are they yellow? |
| Êhâvésëva'ehê? | Is it bad? | Êhâvésëva'enevotse? | Are they bad? |
| Êó'oh? | Is it dry? | Êó'onevotse? | Are they dry? |
| Ema'oh? | Is it red? | Ema'onevotse? | Are they red? |
| Êmanéstovehe? | Is there drinking? | Êmanéstovonevotse? | Are there drinkings? |
| Êmésëhéstovehe? | Is there eating? | Êmésëhéstovonevotse? | Are there eatings? |
| Êhâaanáhtovehe? | Is there hungering? | Êhâaanáhtovonevotse? | Are there hungerings? |
| Êhâoaenáhtovehe? | Is there praying | Êhâoaenáhtovonevotse? | Are there prayings |

**Inanimate Intransitive Interrogative relational verbs**

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

<p>| Nemôxe'estoo'o êho'tahe? | Is your book there? |
| Hemôxe'estoo'o êho'tatsehe? | Is his book there (rel)? |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative verbs</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Are his books there (rel)?</strong></td>
<td>Are his books (rel)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Is there hungering (rel)?</strong></td>
<td>Is there hungering (rel)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Are there hungerings (rel)?</strong></td>
<td>Are there hungerings (rel)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative relational verbs</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Isn’t it (there) (rel)?</strong></td>
<td>Isn’t it (there) (rel)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aren’t they (there) (rel)?</strong></td>
<td>Aren’t they (there) (rel)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mó- prefix Inanimate Intransitive yes/no questions</th>
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<td><strong>Is it good?</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Are they good?</strong></td>
<td>Are they good?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Isn’t it (here/there)?</strong></td>
<td>Isn’t it (here/there)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aren’t they (here/there)?</strong></td>
<td>Aren’t they (here/there)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mó'éhoo'kōho? Is it raining?
Mó'ésáahoo'kōhóhane? Isn’t it raining?
Mó'ého'éeito? Is it snowing?
Mó’éméséhéstove? Is there eating?

**Inanimate Intransitive Inferential verbs**
Mópéhéva'éhanēhe. It must be good.
Mópéhéva'éhanevōtse. They must be good.
Móma'óhanēhe. It must be red.
Móma'óhanevōtse. They must be red.
Móheóvóhanēhe. It must be yellow.
Móheóvóhanevōtse. They must be yellow.
Móhoo'kóhóhanēhe. It must have rained.
Móméséhéstovēhanēhe. There must have been eating.
Móméséhéstovēhanevōtse. There must have been eatings.

**Inanimate Intransitive relational verbs**
Heamáho'héstötse móma'óhanetsēhe. His car must be red (rel).
Heamáho'héstotötse móma'óhanetsevōtse. His cars must be red (rel).
Hemõxė'ësto'o mópéhéva'éhanetsēhe. His book must be good (rel).
Hemõxė'ëstonötse mópéhéva'éhanetsevōtse. His books must be good (rel).
Hemáhõo'o móheóvôhanetsēhe. His house must be yellow (rel).
Hemáheonötse móheóvôhanetsevōtse. His houses must be yellow (rel).

**Inanimate Intransitive Reportative verbs**
Ého'tánése. It’s said to be (here/there).
Ého’tánêséstötse. They are said to be (here/there).
Éhoo'kóhônése. It’s said to be raining.
Évõhkônése. It’s said to be bent.
Évõhkonêséstötse. They are said to be bent.
Éma'ónése. It’s said to be red.
Éma'ónêséstötse. They are said to be red.
Éheóvônése. It’s said to be yellow.
Éheóvônêséstötse. They are said to be yellow.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Épèheva’énése.</th>
<th>It's said to be good.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Épèheva’énésestótse.</td>
<td>They are said to be good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émèséhéstovenése.</td>
<td>It's said there is eating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émèséhéstovenésestótse.</td>
<td>It's said there are eatings.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Inanimate Intransitive Reportative relational verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ého’tatsénése.</th>
<th>It's said his ___ is (here/there) (rel).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ého’tatsenésestótse.</td>
<td>It's said his ___ are (here/there) (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóhkótsénése.</td>
<td>It's said his ___ is bent (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóhkotsenésestótse.</td>
<td>It's said his ___ are bent (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma’ótsénése.</td>
<td>It's said his ___ is red (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma’ótsenésestótse.</td>
<td>It's said his ___ are red (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheóvótscénése.</td>
<td>It's said his ___ is yellow (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheóvotsenésestótse.</td>
<td>It's said his ___ are yellow (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épèheva’etsénése.</td>
<td>It's said his ___ is good (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épèheva’etstenésestótse.</td>
<td>It's said his ___ are good (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émèséhéstóvétsénése.</td>
<td>It's said there is eating (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émèséhéstovétstenésestótse.</td>
<td>It's said there are eatings (rel).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ésáaho'tahanhéhénése.</th>
<th>It's said it is not (here/there).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’tahanhéhenésestótse.</td>
<td>It's said they are not (here/there).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahoo'kohóhanhéhénése.</td>
<td>It's said it's not raining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva’éhanhéhénése.</td>
<td>It's said it's not good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva’éhanhéhenésestótse.</td>
<td>It's said they are not good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméhéstovéhanhéhénése.</td>
<td>It's said there is not eating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhéstovéhanhéhenésestótse.</td>
<td>It's said there are not eatings.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative relational verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ésáaho’tahanhéhtotsenése.</th>
<th>It's said his ___ isn't (here/there) (rel).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’tahanhéhtotenésestótse.</td>
<td>It's said his ___ aren't (here/there) (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahoo'kohóhanhéhtotsenése.</td>
<td>It's said it's not raining (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva’éhanhéhtotenése.</td>
<td>It's said his ___ is not good (rel).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ésáapéhéva'ěhanéhetotsenéstóte. It’s said his __ are not good (rel).

Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetotsenése. It’s said there isn’t eating (rel).
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetotsenéstóte. It’s said there aren’t eatings (rel).

**Inanimate Intransitive Preterit verbs**
Ého’táneho! Surprisingly, it’s (here/there)!^89
Ého’tánehoonótse! Surprisingly, they are (here/there)!
Éhoo’kohónehoe! Surprisingly, it’s raining!
Épēhéva’ěneho! Surprisingly, it’s good!
Épēhéva’ěnëkoonótse! Surprisingly, they are good!
Éméséhéstoveneho! Surprisingly, there is eating!
Éméséhéstovenëkoonótse! Surprisingly, there are eatings!

**Inanimate Intransitive Preterit relational verbs**
Ého’tátseneho! Surprisingly, his __ is (here/there) (rel)!
Ého’tátsenëkoonótse! Surprisingly, his __ are (here/there) (rel)!
Éhoo’kohótseneho! Surprisingly, it’s raining (rel)!
Épēhéva’ětseneho! Surprisingly, his __ is good (rel)!
Épēhéva’ětëtsëhënomëkoonótse! Surprisingly, his __ are good (rel)!
Éméséhéstovetséneho! Surprisingly, there is eating (rel)!
Éméséhéstovetsëkoonótse! Surprisingly, there are eatings (rel)!

**Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs**
Ésáaho’táhanëeheneho! Surprisingly, it’s not (here/there)!
Ésáaho’táhanëehënomëkoonótse! Surprisingly, they are not (here/there)!
Ésáaho’kohóhanëheneho! Surprisingly, it’s not raining!
Ésáapéhéva’ěhanëeheneho! Surprisingly, it’s not good!
Ésáapéhéva’ěhanëehënomëkoonótse! Surprisingly, they are not good!
Ésáaméséhéstovëhanëheneho! Surprisingly, there is not eating!
Ésáaméséhéstovëhanëhënomëkoonótse! Surprisingly, there are not eatings!

**Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit relative verbs**
Ésáaho’táhanëhetotsëneho! Surprisingly, his __ is not (here/there) (rel)!

---

^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.'
Surprisingly, his ___ are not (here/there) (rel)!

Surprisingly, it isn't raining (rel)!

Surprisingly, his ___ isn't good (rel)!

Surprisingly, his ___ aren't good (rel)!

Surprisingly, there is not eating (rel)!

Surprisingly, there are not eatings (rel)!
Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs

Transitive Animate verbs are verbs which refer to a subject and an object. Several different TA verbs are included to illustrate various changes which occur with some verb stems, depending on their stem-final consonants and some other factors which are noted before each appropriate paradigm. These changes reflect similar changes which occurred in the Algonquian language from which Cheyenne descends.

/-vóom/ 'see (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>návóomáhtse</td>
<td>I saw myself</td>
<td>névóómóvo</td>
<td>you (pl) saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómáte</td>
<td>I saw you</td>
<td>návóómahtse</td>
<td>you (pl) saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómo</td>
<td>I saw him</td>
<td>návóomemeno</td>
<td>you (pl) saw us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóomamóho</td>
<td>I saw him (obv)</td>
<td>návóomáhtséme</td>
<td>you (pl) saw yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóomahtséme</td>
<td>I saw you (pl)</td>
<td>návóomóvo</td>
<td>you (pl) saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóomoo</td>
<td>I saw them</td>
<td>návóomaa</td>
<td>they saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóom</td>
<td>you saw me</td>
<td>évóoomo</td>
<td>they saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóomahtse</td>
<td>you saw yourself</td>
<td>évóoo</td>
<td>they saw us (excl)</td>
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<td>návóomamóho</td>
<td>you saw him (obv)</td>
<td>návóomaevo</td>
<td>they saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóomemeno</td>
<td>you saw us (excl)</td>
<td>évóomáhtse</td>
<td>they saw themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>you saw them</td>
<td>návóománe</td>
<td>I was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóoma</td>
<td>he saw me</td>
<td>névóománe</td>
<td>you were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómo</td>
<td>he saw you</td>
<td>évóome</td>
<td>he was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóomáhtse</td>
<td>he saw himself</td>
<td>návóomanéme</td>
<td>we (excl) were seen</td>
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<tr>
<td>évóomóho</td>
<td>he saw him (obv)</td>
<td>návóomanema</td>
<td>we (incl) were seen</td>
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<td>návóomahtse</td>
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<td>they were seen</td>
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<td>he saw you (pl)</td>
<td>návóomáhtséme</td>
<td>they saw themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóomamóho</td>
<td>he (obv) saw me</td>
<td>návóomamó</td>
<td>they saw each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>he (obv) saw you</td>
<td>návóomamó</td>
<td>they saw each other</td>
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<tr>
<td>návóomaméne</td>
<td>we (excl) saw him</td>
<td>návóomaméne</td>
<td>they saw each other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóomaméne</td>
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<td>they saw each other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

90 Cheyenne reflexives and reciprocals have identical morphology. So, outside some speech context, this Cheyenne verb can mean either 'they saw themselves' or 'they saw each other'. A reciprocal particle, nonäm'to'e, can precede this verb so that it will only mean 'they saw each other'.
The stem-final "t" (from PA *θ) of /-méót/ becomes "x" before "e" in second person subject local forms. The stem-final "t" becomes "h" before "e" in the passive forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náméotahtse</td>
<td>I fought myself</td>
<td>néméótóvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotatse</td>
<td>I fought you</td>
<td>néméotamovó</td>
<td>you (pl) fought (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméoto³¹</td>
<td>I fought him</td>
<td>néméoxemovó</td>
<td>you (pl) fought us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotamóho</td>
<td>I fought him (obv)</td>
<td>néméótahxíšéme</td>
<td>you (pl) fought yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotatséme</td>
<td>I fought you (pl)</td>
<td>néméotovovó</td>
<td>you (pl) fought them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námëotoo'o</td>
<td>I fought them</td>
<td>náméotáá'e</td>
<td>they fought me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméoxe</td>
<td>you fought me</td>
<td>néméótáá'e</td>
<td>they fought you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námëotahtse</td>
<td>you fought yourself</td>
<td>éméoto</td>
<td>they fought (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>némëoto</td>
<td>you fought him</td>
<td>némëotanovó</td>
<td>they fought us (excl)</td>
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<td>némëotanovó</td>
<td>they fought us (incl)</td>
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<td>némëotanovó</td>
<td>they fought you (pl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>námëotoo'o</td>
<td>you fought them</td>
<td>éméotañovó</td>
<td>they fought themselves³³</td>
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<tr>
<td>námëota</td>
<td>he fought me</td>
<td>námëotáne</td>
<td>I was fought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némëota</td>
<td>he fought you</td>
<td>námëotáne</td>
<td>you were fought</td>
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<tr>
<td>éméotahtse</td>
<td>he fought himself</td>
<td>éméohe</td>
<td>he was fought</td>
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<tr>
<td>éméótóho³²</td>
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<tr>
<td>námëotañóme</td>
<td>he fought us (excl)</td>
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<td>we (incl) were fought</td>
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<td>he fought us (incl)</td>
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<td>you (pl) were fought</td>
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<tr>
<td>námëotáñovó</td>
<td>he fought you (pl)</td>
<td>éméoñovó</td>
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<td>námëotañósenovo</td>
<td>he (obv) fought me</td>
<td>námëotáñovó</td>
<td>they were fought</td>
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<tr>
<td>námëotañósenóvo</td>
<td>he (obv) fought you</td>
<td>námëotáñovó</td>
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<tr>
<td>éméotañóvóho</td>
<td>he (obv) fought him</td>
<td>éméotañóvóho</td>
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<tr>
<td>námëotañsemenó</td>
<td>we (ex) fought you</td>
<td>námëotañsemenó</td>
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<tr>
<td>námëotúne</td>
<td>we (ex) fought him</td>
<td>námëotúne</td>
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<tr>
<td>námëotamone</td>
<td>we (ex) fought him (obv)</td>
<td>námëotamone</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>námëotáhtšéme</td>
<td>we (ex) fought ourselves</td>
<td>námëotáhtšéme</td>
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<tr>
<td>námëotañsemenó</td>
<td>we (ex) fought you (pl)</td>
<td>námëotañsemenó</td>
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<tr>
<td>námëotoneó'o</td>
<td>we (ex) fought them</td>
<td>námëotoneó'o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námëotone</td>
<td>we (incl) fought him</td>
<td>námëotone</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>námëotamone</td>
<td>we (incl) fought him (obv)</td>
<td>námëotamone</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>námëotáhtšema</td>
<td>we (incl) fought ourselves</td>
<td>námëotáhtšema</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>námëotoneó'o</td>
<td>we (incl) fought them</td>
<td>námëotoneó'o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námëóxéme</td>
<td>you (pl) fought me</td>
<td>námëóxéme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

³¹ The Cheyenne stem /-méót/ reflects PA *mi:ka:θ.
³² Some speakers pronounce this as éméoto because the stem-final vowel is high pitched.
³³ 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.

\[
\begin{align*}
náhetagtse & \quad I\ told\ myself \\
néhetatse & \quad I\ told\ you \\
náhéto & \quad I\ told\ him \\
náhetamóho & \quad I\ told\ him\ (obv) \\
néhetatséme & \quad I\ told\ you\ (pl) \\
náhetoo‘o & \quad I\ told\ them \\
néhēše & \quad you\ told\ me \\
néhetagtse & \quad you\ told\ yourself \\
néhēto & \quad you\ told\ him \\
néhetamóho & \quad you\ told\ him\ (obv) \\
néhešemenó & \quad you\ told\ us\ (incl) \\
néhetoo‘o & \quad you\ told\ them \\
náhēta & \quad he\ told\ me \\
néhēta & \quad he\ told\ you \\
éhetagtse & \quad he\ told\ himself \\
éhētōho & \quad he\ told\ him\ (obv) \\
néhētaēne & \quad he\ told\ us\ (excl) \\
néhētaēne & \quad he\ told\ us\ (incl) \\
néhētaēvo & \quad he\ told\ you\ (pl) \\
náhētaētsenoto & \quad he\ (obv)\ told\ me \\
néhētaētsenoto & \quad he\ (obv)\ told\ you \\
éhētā‘e & \quad he\ (obv)\ told\ him \\
éhētǎhto‘ho & \quad he\ (obv)\ told\ himself \\
náhētaētsenone & \quad he\ (obv)\ told\ us\ (excl) \\
néhētaētsenone & \quad he\ (obv)\ told\ us\ (incl) \\
náhētaētsenōvo & \quad he\ (obv)\ told\ you\ (pl) \\
éhētaēvōho & \quad he\ (obv)\ told\ them \\
néhētaētseneno & \quad we\ (excl)\ told\ you \\
náhēto‘nē & \quad we\ (excl)\ told\ him \\
náhētamo‘ne & \quad we\ (ex)\ told\ him\ (obv) \\
náhētahtsēme & \quad we\ (ex)\ told\ ourselves \\
néhētaētseneno & \quad we\ (ex)\ told\ you\ (pl) \\
náhēto‘nē‘o & \quad we\ (excl)\ told\ them \\
náhēto‘nē & \quad we\ (incl)\ told\ him \\
náhētamo‘ne & \quad we\ (in)\ told\ him\ (obv) \\
náhētahtsema & \quad we\ (in)\ told\ ourselves \\
náhēto‘nē‘o & \quad we\ (incl)\ told\ them \\
néhēšēme & \quad you\ (pl)\ told\ me \\
néhēto‘vō & \quad you\ (pl)\ told\ him \\
náhētamovovo & \quad you\ (pl)\ told\ him\ (obv) \\
néhēšemeneno & \quad you\ (pl)\ told\ us\ (excl) \\
néhētahtsēme & \quad you\ (pl)\ told\ yourselves
\end{align*}
\]

94 Or 'they told each other'
/-aˈtas/ 'accidentally cut (someone)'

The stem-final "s" (from PA *š) of /-aˈtas/ 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".

náaˈtáxestse I acc. cut myself
néaˈxéstse I acc. cut you
náaˈtáso⁹⁵ I acc. cut him
néaˈtáxamóho I acc. cut him (obv)
néaˈtáxetsême I acc. cut you (pl)
náaˈtásooˈo I acc. cut them
néaˈtaxe you acc. cut me
néaˈtáxestse you acc. cut yourself
néaˈtáso you acc. cut him
néaˈtáxamóho you acc. cut him (obv)
néaˈtáxemeno you acc. cut us (excl)
néaˈtásooˈo you acc. cut them
néaˈtaxe he acc. cut me
néaˈtaxe⁹⁶ he acc. cut you
éaˈtáxestse he acc. cut himself
náaˈtáxéseêne he acc. cut us (excl)
néaˈtáxene he acc. cut us (incl)
néaˈtáxeêvo he acc. cut you (pl)
náaˈtáxetsenoto he (obv) acc. cut me
néaˈtáxetsenoto he (obv) acc. cut you
éaˈtáxeê he (obv) acc. cut him
néaˈtáxólóho he (obv) acc. cut himself
náaˈtáxetsenone he (obv) acc. cut us (ex)
néaˈtáxetsenone he (obv) acc. cut us (in)
néaˈtáxetsenôvo he (obv) acc. cut you (pl)
éaˈtáxeêvo ho he (obv) acc. cut them
néaˈtáxetse were (ex) acc. cut you
náaˈtásone were (ex) acc. cut him
néaˈtáxamone were (ex) acc. cut him (obv)
náaˈtáxetse were (ex) acc. cut ourselves
néaˈtáxetse were (ex) acc. cut you (pl)
náaˈtásône were (ex) acc. cut them
néaˈtásone were (in) acc. cut him
néaˈtáxamone were (in) acc. cut him (obv)
néaˈtáxetse were (in) acc. cut ourselves
néaˈtáxetse were (in) acc. cut them

---

⁹⁵ This is phonemically /náaˈtasó/. It reflects PA *nepeʔteʃwa:wa.
⁹⁶ This is pronounced the same as the verb meaning 'you accidentally cut me'.
The stem-final "-ev" of verb stems, such as -vovéstomev, contracts to "óe" word-medially in the inverse voice. The "e" of "-ev" becomes high-pitched before a word-medial "a".

návovéstomevahtse  I taught myself
návovéstomévátsese  I taught you
návovéstomévo  I taught him
návovéstomévamóho  I taught him (obv)
návovéstomévatséme  I taught you (pl)
návovéstomevoo'o  I taught them
návovéstomeve  you taught me
návovéstomévahtse  you taught yourself
návovéstomévo  you taught him
návovéstomévamóho  you taught him (obv)
návovéstomevemeno  you taught us (excl)
návovéstomevoo'o  you taught them
návovéstomeva  he taught me
návovéstoméva  he taught you
évovéstomévahtse  he taught himself
évovéstomevóho  he taught him (obv)
návovéstomóéne  he taught us (excl)
návovéstomóévo  he taught you (pl)
návovéstomóetsenoto he (obv) taught me
návovéstomóetsenoto he (obv) taught you
évovéstomóó'e  he (obv) taught him
évovéstoméváhtóho  he (obv) taught himself
návovéstomóetsenone he (obv) taught us (excl)
návovéstomóetsenone he (obv) taught us (incl)
névovéstomóetsenóvo he (obv) taught you (pl)
évovéstomóévóho  he (obv) taught them

návovéstomévatsemeno we (excl) taught you
návovéstomévóne we (excl) taught him
návovéstomévamone  we (ex) taught him (obv)
návovéstoméváhtsemewé we (ex) taught ourselves
návovéstomévatsemeno we (ex) taught you (pl)

návovéstomevóneo'o  we (excl) taught them
névovéstomevone  we (incl) taught him
névovéstomévamone  we (in) taught him (obv)
névovéstomévahsamawe (in) taught ourselves
névovéstomévóneo'o  we (incl) taught them
névovéstomevême  you (pl) taught me
névovéstomévóvo  you (pl) taught him
névovéstomévamovo  you (pl) taught him (obv)
névovéstomemeno  you (pl) taught us (excl)
névovéstoméváhtsemewéyou (pl) taught ourselves
névovéstomévóvo'o  you (pl) taught them
névovéstomóó'e  they taught me
névovéstomóó'e  they taught you
évovéstomovo  they taught him (obv)
návovéstomóeneo'o  they taught us (excl)
návovéstomóeneo'o  they taught us (incl)
évovéstomóevoo'o  they taught you (pl)
éhetáhtseo'o  they taught themselves

návovéstomóne  I was taught
návovéstomóne  you were taught
évovéstomal  he was taught
návovéstomöne  we (excl) were taught
návovéstomönema  we (incl) were taught
návovéstomöne  you (pl) were taught
évovéstomóheo'o  they were taught

er other verbs ending with -ev
námééstomévo  I explained to him.
námééstomó'e  They explained to me.
émééstomóvého  He (obv) explained to them.
éhoéstomévého  He read to him (obv).
-néne'enov 'know (someone)'

The stem-final "ov" of verb stems such as -néne'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>English Meaning</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvahtse</td>
<td>I know myself</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvatsemeno we (ex) know you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovatse</td>
<td>I know you</td>
<td>náhéne'enovóne'o we (excl) know them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvo</td>
<td>I know him</td>
<td>náhéne'envone we (incl) know him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamóho</td>
<td>I know him (obv)</td>
<td>náhéne'envamono we (in) know him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvatsème</td>
<td>I know you (pl)</td>
<td>náhéne'enváhtsema we (in) know ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'envovoo'o</td>
<td>I know them</td>
<td>náhéne'envónóe'o we (incl) know them</td>
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<td>you know me</td>
<td>náhéne'envóme you (pl) know me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvahtse</td>
<td>you know yourself</td>
<td>náhéne'envóvo you (pl) know him</td>
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<tr>
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<td>náhéne'envamovo you (pl) know him (obv)</td>
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<td>náhéne'envameno you (pl) know us (excl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovemenono</td>
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<td>náhéne'enváhtseme_you (pl) know yourselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'envovoo'o</td>
<td>you know them</td>
<td>náhéne'envónóe'o you (pl) know them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enova</td>
<td>he knows me</td>
<td>náhéne'énóó'e they know me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enova</td>
<td>he knows you</td>
<td>náhéne'énóó'e they know you</td>
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<tr>
<td>éhéne'enóvahtse</td>
<td>he knows himself</td>
<td>éhéne'envovovo they know him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>náhéne'énóe'no o they know us (excl)</td>
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<td>náhéne'énóene'o they know us (incl)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>náhéne'énóevo'o they know you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'ennóetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) knows me</td>
<td>éhéne'envóhtseo'o they know themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'ennóetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) knows you</td>
<td>náhéne'enóne I am known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhéne'ennóó'e</td>
<td>he (obv) knows him</td>
<td>náhéne'enóne you are known</td>
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<tr>
<td>éhéne'ennováhtóho</td>
<td>he (obv) knows himself</td>
<td>éhéne'enohe he is known</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'ennóetsenone</td>
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<td>náhéne'énónéme we (excl) are known</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'ennóetsenone</td>
<td>he (obv) knows us (incl)</td>
<td>náhéne'énónome we (incl) are known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'ennóetsenóvo</td>
<td>he (obv) knows you (pl)</td>
<td>náhéne'énónéme you (pl) are known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhéne'ennóévóho</td>
<td>he (obv) knows them</td>
<td>éhéne'énóhe'oo'o they are known</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'envovatsemeno</td>
<td>we (excl) know you</td>
<td>other verbs ending with -ov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'envovámanee</td>
<td>we (excl) know him</td>
<td>éáahtovóho he listened to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'envováhtséme</td>
<td>we (excl) know ourselves</td>
<td>éáahtóó'e he (obv) listened to him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/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>Stem Formulation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhestse</td>
<td>I measured myself</td>
<td>you (pl) m. him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaevaestse</td>
<td>I measured you</td>
<td>you (pl) m. us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváno</td>
<td>I measured him</td>
<td>you (pl) m. yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhamóho</td>
<td>I measured him (obv)</td>
<td>you (pl) measured them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhetséme</td>
<td>I measured you (pl)</td>
<td>they measured me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnoo'o</td>
<td>I measured them</td>
<td>they measured you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaevahe</td>
<td>you measured me</td>
<td>they m. him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaevahestse</td>
<td>you measured yourself</td>
<td>they measured us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváno</td>
<td>you m. him (obv)</td>
<td>they measured us (incl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhemo</td>
<td>you measured us (ex)</td>
<td>they measured you (pl)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>you measured us (incl)</td>
<td>they m. themselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaevahe</td>
<td>he measured me</td>
<td>nátaeváhénéne</td>
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<td>nátaeváhénéne</td>
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<td>étaeváhestse</td>
<td>he measured himself</td>
<td>nátaeváheneme</td>
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<tr>
<td>étaeváhnohoó7</td>
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<td>nátaeváhéévo</td>
<td>he measured you (pl)</td>
<td>étaeváheovo</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) measured me</td>
<td>I was measured</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) measured you</td>
<td>you were measured</td>
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<tr>
<td>étaeváhéé'e</td>
<td>he (obv) measured him</td>
<td>he was measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étaeváhestóho</td>
<td>he (obv) measured himself</td>
<td>we (ex) were measured</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetsenone</td>
<td>he (obv) measured us (ex)</td>
<td>we (in) were measured</td>
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<td>he (obv) measured us (in)</td>
<td>you (pl) were measured</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetsenôvo</td>
<td>he (obv) measured you (pl)</td>
<td>they were measured</td>
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<tr>
<td>étaeváheevóho</td>
<td>he (obv) measured them</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhetsemeno</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnéné</td>
<td>we (excl) measured him</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhame</td>
<td>we (ex) m. him (obv)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhetséme</td>
<td>we (ex) m. ourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhetsemeno</td>
<td>we (ex) m. you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnoneo'o</td>
<td>we (excl) m. them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnene</td>
<td>we (in) measured him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhmone</td>
<td>we (in) m. him (obv)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>nátaeváhestsema</td>
<td>we (in) m. ourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnoneo'o</td>
<td>we (incl) m. them</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhéme</td>
<td>you (pl) measured me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnóvo</td>
<td>you (pl) measured him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

97 Some speakers say étaevahno because the penultimate syllable is phonemically high-pitched.
/-moné'tov/ 'choose (someone)'

The transitivizing final ‘-tov changes to ‘-no(t)/ in the direct voice when the vowel preceding this suffix is phonemically high-pitched. The "ov" of the transitivizing suffix contracts in the inverse voice like other TA verb stems ending in "ov". $$RECHECK PARADIGM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>námoné'tovah'tse</th>
<th>I chose myself</th>
<th>némonénovoo'o</th>
<th>you (pl) chose them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>némoné'továtse</td>
<td>I chose you</td>
<td>námoné'tóó'e</td>
<td>they chose me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námoné'nó'ste</td>
<td>I chose him</td>
<td>némon'é'tóó'e</td>
<td>they chose you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námonémononto</td>
<td>I chose him (obv)</td>
<td>émonénovo</td>
<td>they chose him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tovatséme</td>
<td>I chose you (pl)</td>
<td>némoné'toene'o'o</td>
<td>they chose us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námonénonto</td>
<td>I chose them</td>
<td>némoné'toene'o'o</td>
<td>they chose us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tove</td>
<td>you chose me</td>
<td>némoné'toene'o'o</td>
<td>they chose you (pl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>némoné'tovah'tse</td>
<td>you chose yourself</td>
<td>émonétováhtse'o'o</td>
<td>they chose themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'nó'ste</td>
<td>you chose him</td>
<td>némoné'tóne</td>
<td>I was chosen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'nontenoto</td>
<td>you chose him (obv)</td>
<td>némoné'tónéme</td>
<td>You were chosen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tovemenenoto</td>
<td>you chose us (ex)</td>
<td>émonéstove??</td>
<td>He was chosen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'nó'teñéne</td>
<td>you chose them</td>
<td>némoné'tónéme</td>
<td>We (excl) were chosen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'toñene</td>
<td>you chose us (incl)</td>
<td>émonéstoveo??</td>
<td>You (pl) were chosen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tó'évo</td>
<td>you chose you (pl)</td>
<td>émonénovo</td>
<td>They were chosen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'toetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) chose me</td>
<td>náhó'ahé'tova</td>
<td>He wants me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'toetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) chose you</td>
<td>náhó'ahé'nó'tse</td>
<td>I want him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>émoné'tóó'e</td>
<td>he (obv) chose him</td>
<td>náne'étam'é'tova</td>
<td>He depends on me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>émoné'továhtóho?</td>
<td>he (obv) chose himself</td>
<td>náne'étamenótse</td>
<td>I depend on him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námoné'tesntenone</td>
<td>he (obv) chose us (ex)</td>
<td>nápéhevé'tova</td>
<td>he was good to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tesntenone</td>
<td>he (obv) chose us (in)</td>
<td>nápéhevé'tóó'e</td>
<td>I was good to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tesntenóvo</td>
<td>he (obv) choose you (pl)</td>
<td>náméánó'tse</td>
<td>I gave him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>émoné'tevóóho??</td>
<td>he (obv) chose them</td>
<td>náméánó'tse</td>
<td>we (excl) gave him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tetsemenono</td>
<td>we (excl) choose you</td>
<td>nán'ov'évéhe'tova</td>
<td>he (obv) gave him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>námoné'nóñéme</td>
<td>we (excl) chose him</td>
<td>nán'ov'évéhemó'tse</td>
<td>he is named after me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'nóñéme</td>
<td>we (excl) chose him (obv)</td>
<td>námamo'xé'tova</td>
<td>I am named after him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tovameneno</td>
<td>we (ex) choose ourselves</td>
<td>námamo'xénótse</td>
<td>he carried me on his back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'nóne'no'o</td>
<td>we (ex) choose you (pl)</td>
<td>námomáhtsenótse</td>
<td>I carried him on my back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'nóñéme</td>
<td>we (excl) chose them</td>
<td>námomákhtsé'tóó'e</td>
<td>I stole him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'nóñóìno</td>
<td>we (incl) choose him</td>
<td>náhestónáhó'ñóìno'99</td>
<td>they stole me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'továhtsema</td>
<td>we (incl) choose him (obv)</td>
<td>náhestónáhenótse</td>
<td>I am his/her daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'nóñóìno'o</td>
<td>we (incl) choose ourselves</td>
<td>nákhe'hahé'ñóìno'99</td>
<td>she is my daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'toveme</td>
<td>you (pl) choose me</td>
<td>nákhe'hahnó'tse</td>
<td>I am his/her son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'nóvo</td>
<td>you (pl) choose him</td>
<td>nákhe'hahénó'tse</td>
<td>he is my son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'nóvo</td>
<td>you (pl) choose him (obv)</td>
<td>nákhe'hahénó'tse</td>
<td>they are my sons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tovemenenono</td>
<td>you (pl) choose us (ex)</td>
<td>nákhe'hahénó'tse</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>némoné'továhtséme</td>
<td>you (pl) choose yourselves</td>
<td>nákhe'hahénó'tse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

98 This direct form does not change to /-not/ because the vowel preceding ‘-tov is not phonemically high-pitched. The stem is /-pehéve'to/ 'do good to'.
99 Literally, 'she has me as daughter'
Transitive Animate Independent Indicative negative verbs

TA verbs become negative with the addition of the sáa- preverb and /-hé/ negative suffix.

'not see (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Negative Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomáhtséhe</td>
<td>I did not see myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomatséhe</td>
<td>I did not see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomóhe</td>
<td>I did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomamóheho</td>
<td>I did not see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomatséhéme</td>
<td>I did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomóheo'o</td>
<td>I did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóoméhe</td>
<td>you did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomáhtséhe</td>
<td>you did not see yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomóhe</td>
<td>you did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomamóheho</td>
<td>you did not see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóoméhemeno</td>
<td>you did not see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomóheo'o</td>
<td>you did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomaéhe</td>
<td>he did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomaéhe</td>
<td>he did not see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésáavóomáhtséhe</td>
<td>he did not see himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésáavóomóheho</td>
<td>he did not see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomaéhéne</td>
<td>he did not see us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomaéhehene</td>
<td>he did not see us (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomaéhevo</td>
<td>he did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomaehetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomaehetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) did not see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésáavóomaehetsenoho</td>
<td>he (obv) did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomaehetsenone</td>
<td>he (obv) did not see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomaehetseno no</td>
<td>he (obv) did not see us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomaehetsenovo</td>
<td>he (obv) did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésáavóomaehetseno</td>
<td>he (obv) did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>we (ex) did not see you</td>
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<td>we (ex) did not see him</td>
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<td>we (excl) did not see ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomatséhémeno</td>
<td>we (ex) did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomóhéneo'o</td>
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<tr>
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<td>we (incl) did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>we (in) did not see him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáavóomáhtséhema</td>
<td>we (incl) did not see ourselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáavóomóheneo'o</td>
<td>we (incl) did not see them</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáavóoméhéme</td>
<td>you (pl) did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomóhého</td>
<td>you (pl) did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomamóhevo</td>
<td>you (pl) did not see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóoméhemeno</td>
<td>you (pl) did not see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
'not know (someone)'
TA verb stems that end in "ov" experience contraction of the "ov" in the inverse voice.

$$RECHECK PARADIGM$$

násáahéne'enóváhtséhe I do not know myself
násáahéne'enóvatséhe I do not know you
násáahéne'enovóhe I do not know him
násáahéne'enóvamóheho I do not know him (obv)
násáahéne'enóvatséheme I do not know you (pl)
násáahéne'enóvóheo'o I do not know them

násáahéne'enóvóhe you do not know me
násáahéne'enóváhtséhe you do not know yourself
násáahéne'enóvamóheho you do not know him (obv)
násáahéne'enóvatséhemo you do not know us (ex)
násáahéne'enóvóheo'o you do not know them

násáahéne'enóéhe he does not know me
násáahéne'enóéhe he does not know you
ésáahéne'enóváhtséhe he does not know himself
ésáahéne'enóvóheho he does not know him (obv)
násáahéne'enóehéhe he does not know us (excl)
násáahéne'enóehene he does not know us (incl)
násáahéne'enóéhévo he does not know you (pl)

násáahéne'enóéhetsenotohe (obv) does not know me
násáahéne'enóéhetsenotohe (obv) does not know you
ésáahéne'enóéheho he (obv) does not know him
násáahéne'enóéhetsenone he (obv) does not know us (ex)
násáahéne'enóéhetsenone he (obv) does not know us (in)
násáahéne'enóéhetsenovo he (obv) does not know you (pl)
esáahéne'enóéhevo he (obv) does not know them

násáahéne'enóvatséhemo we (ex) do not know you
násáahéne'enóvóhene we (ex) do not know him
násáahéne'enóvamóhene we (ex) do not know (obv)
násáahéne'enóvatséheme we (ex) do not know ourselves
násáahéne'enóvóheneo'we (ex) do not know them

násáahéne'enóvóheme we (incl) do not know me
násáahéne'enóvamóhene we (in) do not know him (obv)
násáahéne'enóváhtséhema we (in) do not know ourselves
násáahéne'enóvóheneo'we (incl) do not know them

násáahéne'enóvóheme you (pl) do not know me
násáahéne'enóvóhévo you (pl) do not know him (obv)
násáahéne'enóvamóhemo you (pl) do not know us (ex)
násáahéne'enóváhtséheme you (pl) do not know yourselves
násáahéne'enóvóhevo'o you (pl) do not know them

násáahéne'enóéheo'o they do not know me
násáahéne'enóéheo'o they do not know you
esáahéne'enóvéhevo they do not know him (obv)
násáahéne'enóvéhéne'o they do not know us (excl)
násáahéne'enóvéhéne'o they do not know us (incl)
násáahéne'enóvéhevo'o they do not know you (pl)
esáahéne'enóváhtséheo'o they do not know themselves

násáahéne'enónéhe?? I am not known
násáahéne'enónéhe?? you are not known
esáahéne'enóhéhe he is not known
násáahéne'enónéhéme we (excl) are not known
násáahéne'enónéhema we (incl) are not known
násáahéne'enónéhéme you (pl) are not known
násáahéne'enónéheo'o they are not known
'not choose (someone)'

**$RECHECK PARADIGM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>násáamoné tôvahitséhe</th>
<th>I did not choose myself</th>
<th>násáamoné tôvahitséhe</th>
<th>I did not choose you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>násáamonénóte</td>
<td>I did not choose you</td>
<td>násáamonénóte</td>
<td>I did not choose him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamonévóhénóto?</td>
<td>I do not know him (obv)</td>
<td>násáamonévóhénóto?</td>
<td>I do not know you (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáamoné tôvahéhémé</td>
<td>I did not choose you (pl)</td>
<td>násáamoné tôvahéhémé</td>
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<tr>
<td>násáamonénóto</td>
<td>I did not choose them</td>
<td>násáamonénóto</td>
<td>I did not choose you (pl)</td>
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**Other negative verbs with the ‘-tov final’**

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<th>násáapéhévé’tovóhe</th>
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<td>násáaméähéhéméno</td>
<td>He does not want other people (pl)</td>
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</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? | Névóomáhtsémenehe? | Did we (in) see ourselves? |
| Náváomohe? | Did I see him? | Névóomonohe? | Did we (incl) see them? |
| Návóomamovohe? | Did I see him (obv)? | Névóomamovohe? | Did you (pl) see him? |
| Névóomatsemehe? | Did I see you (pl)? | Névóomamenohe? | Did you (pl) see ourselves? |
| Náváomohe? | Did I see them? | Névóomovohe? | Did you (pl) see them? |
| Náváomohe? | Did you see me? | Névóomamovohe? | Did you (pl) see him (obv)? |
| Névóomahe? | Did you see yourself? | Névóomamenohe? | Did you (pl) see us (excl)? |
| Névóomahe? | Did you see him? | Névóomamenohe? | Did you (pl) see yourselves? |
| Návóomamovohe? | Did you see him (obv)? | Névóomamovohe? | Did you (pl) see them? |
| Návóomamenohe? | Did you see us (excl)? | Névóomamovohe? | Did they see me? |
| Návóomovohe? | Did you see them? | Névóomamovohe? | Did they see you? |
| Návóomaehe? | Did he see me? | Évóomamovohe? | Did they see him (obv)? |
| Návóomahe? | Did he see you? | Névóomanémehe? | Did they see us (excl)? |
| Évóomáhtsehe? | Did he see himself? | Névóomamémehe? | Did they see us (incl)? |
| Évóomovohe? | Did he see him (obv)? | Névóomamóvohe? | Did they see you (pl)? |
| Návóomaenehe?? | Did he see us (excl)? | Névóomamémehe? | Did they see themselves? |
| Návóomaenehe?? | Did he see us (incl)? | Névóomamémehe? | Was I was seen? |
| Návóomahe? | Did he see you (pl)? | Névóomamémehe? | Were you seen? |
| Návóomahe? | Did he see him (obv)? | Évóomamémehe? | Was he was seen? |
| Návóomaetsenotohe? | Did he (obv) see me? | Névóomanémenehe? | Were we (excl) seen? |
| Návóomaetsenotohe? | Did he (obv) see you? | Névóomanémenehe? | Were we (incl) seen? |
| Évóomaevohe? | Did he (obv) see him? | Névóomanémenehe? | Were you (pl) seen? |
| Évóomáhtsevohe? | Did he (obv) see himself? | Évóomevohe? | Were they seen? |
| Návóomaetsenonehe? | Did he (obv) see us (excl)? | Névóomamémehe? | See other examples of yes/no questions below. |
| Návóomaetsenonehe? | Did he (obv) see us (incl)? | Névóomamóvohe? | Did you (pl) see them? |
| Návóomaetsenovehe? | Did he (obv) see you (pl)? | Mónévóómávohe? | Did you (pl) see him? |
| Évóomaevohe? | Did he (obv) see them? | Mónévóomoo’o? | Did you see him? |
| Návóomaetsenohe? | Did we (excl) see you? | Mónévóomávohe? | Did you see him (obv)? |
| Návóomonohe? | Did we (excl) see him? | Mónévóomovo’o? | Did you see them? |
| Návóomamonehe? | Did we (excl) see him (obv)? | Mónéméhóto? | Do you love him? |
| Návóomahtsemehe?? | Did we (excl) see ourselves? | Mónéhoxo’o? | Did you feed him? |
| Návóomaetsenohe? | Did we (excl) see you (pl)? | Névóomamonehe? | Did we (excl) see him? |
| Návóomonehe? | Did we (excl) see them? | Névóomamonehe? | Did we (excl) see themselves? |

Some mó- prefix yes/no questions:

| Mónévóómo? | Did you see him? |
| Mónévóomoo’o? | Did you see them? |
| Mónévóomóvo? | Did you (pl) see him? |
| Mónévóomovo’o? | Did you (pl) see them? |

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100 This can also be said as návóomáhtsémenehe.
-héné’enov 'see (someone)'

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

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<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Question</th>
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<td>náhéne'énóvohe?</td>
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</table>

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

Mónhéne'énōvo? You know him?
Mónhéne'enovoo'o? You know them?
Mónhéne'enovónéneo'o? We know them?
–moné’tov 'choose (someone)'

The interrogative suffix –he combines with the /-no(t)/ final of the direct voice of verbs which have –’tov transitivizing finals. When this happens, a verb which ends with –nóse in its indicative form ends with –notse in its interrogative form. $\$RECHECK PARADIGM

Námoné’továhtsehe? Did I choose myself?
Némoné’tovatsehe? Did I choose you?
Námenonestse? Did I choose him?
Námenóvnotohe? Did I choose him (obv)?
Némoné’tovatseméhe? Did I choose you (pl)?
Námenónotohe? Did I choose them?
Némoné’tovrehe? Did you choose me?
Némoné’továhtsehe? Did you choose yourself?
Némenonotse? Did you choose him?
Némenévnotohe? Did you choose him (obv)?
Némoné’toveméhe? Did you choose us (ex)?
Námenénotse? Did you choose them?
Námoné’tovotehe? Did he choose me?
Némoné’tovotehe? Did he choose you?
Émoné’továhtsehe? Did he choose himself?
Émonénotohe? Did he choose him (obv)?
Námoné’tovenehe? Did he choose us (ex)!
Némoné’tovenehe? Did he choose us (incl)?
Némoné’tovoehe? Did he choose you (pl)?
Émoné’tovovéhe? Did he choose them?

Námoné’tovetenotohe? Did he (obv) choose me?
Némoné’tovetentsehe? Did he (obv) choose you?
Émoné’tovetehe? Did he (obv) choose him?
Émoné’továtsehevohe? Did he (obv) choose himself?
Námoné’tovetënséhe? Did he (obv) choose us (ex)!
Némoné’tovetënséhe? Did he (obv) choose us (in)?
Némoné’tovetënsvohe? Did he (obv) choose you (pl)?
Émoné’tovovëhe? Did he (obv) choose them?

Némoné’tovetënsënohe? Did we (excl) choose you?
Námoné’nënohe? Did we (excl) choose him?
Námenévnonohe? Did we (excl) choose him (obv)?
Námoné’tovatëntsehe? Did we (ex) choose him (obv)?
Némoné’tovetëmëhe? Did we (ex) choose ourselves?
Námenénotënohe? Did we (ex) choose you (pl)?
Námoné’nënoëvohe? Did we (ex) choose them?

Némoné’nënohe? Did we (incl) choose him?
Námoné’nënohe? Did we (incl) choose him (obv)?
Némoné’tovatënëmanëhe? Did we (incl) choose ourselves?
Námoné’nënoëvohe? Did we (incl) choose them?
Némoné’tovërnehe? Did you (pl) choose me?
Námenénovohe? Did you (pl) choose him?
Námenévnovoohe? Did you (pl) choose him (obv)?
Némoné’tovëmënohe? Did you (pl) choose us (ex)?

Némoné’tovësemëhe? Did you (pl) choose yourselves?
Némoné’nënoëvohe? Did you (pl) choose them?
Námoné’tvoievohe? Did they choose me?
Némoné’tvoievohe? Did they choose you?
Émoné’nëvohevohe? Did they choose him (obv)?
Némoné’tonevohevohe? Did they choose us (excl)!
Némoné’tonevohevohe? Did they choose us (incl)?
Némoné’tonevohevohe? Did they choose you (pl)?
Émoné’továhtsevohevohe? Did they choose themselves?

Némoné’tonehe? Was I chosen?
Némoné’tonehe? Were you chosen?
Émoné’stovehe? Was he chosen?
Námoné’tonemanëhe? Were we (excl) chosen?
Námoné’tonemanëhe? Were we (incl) chosen?
Némoné’tonëméhe? Were you (pl) chosen?
Émoné’stvëvohe? Were they chosen?

Other verbs with the –’tov final:
Náho’ahë’tëhoe? Does he want me?
Ného’ävënohe? Do you want him?
Náne’émëtehe? Does he depend on me?
Némennotse? Do you depend on him?
Néphë’ëvehe? Was he good to you?
Néphë’ëvëvohe? Were you good to him?
Néméanëvohe? Did you give him?
Néma’ëvëvohe? Did you (pl) give him?
Nëno’ëvëvehe? Is he named after you?
Nëno’ëvëvënohe? Are you named after him?
Nëmonë’étënsénohe? Did you (pl) steal him?
Néhëstë’nëhë’tëhoe? Are you his/her daughter?
Néhëstë’nënohe? Is she your daughter?
Nëhee’hëhoe? Are you his/her son?
Nëhee’hënohe? Is he your son?
Nëhee’hëvënohe? Are they your sons?
Nëheë’këhoe? Are you his/her mother?
Nëheëkënohe? Is she your mother?
'not see (someone)'

$RECHECK QUESTIONED FORMS

Násávóomáhtséhehe? Didn't I see myself?
Násávóomatséhehe? Didn't I see you?
Násávóomóhehe? Didn't I see him?
Násávóomamóhevoiehe? Didn't I see him (obv)?
Násávóomatséhemehehe? Didn't I see you (pl)?
Násávóomóhevoiehe? Didn't I see them?
Násávóoméhehehe? Didn't you see me?
Násávóomáhtséhehe? Didn't you see yourself?
Násávóomóhehehe? Didn't you see him?
Násávóomamóhevoiehe? Didn't you see him (obv)?
Násávóomáhtséhemenonehehehe? Didn't you see us (excl)?
Násávóomóhevoiehe? Didn't you see them?
Násávóomátehehe? Didn't he see me?
Násávóomátehehehe? Didn't he see you?
Ésávóomáhtséhehe? Didn't he see himself?
Ésávóomátehevoiehe? Didn't he see him (obv)?
Násávóomátehevoiehe? Didn't he see us (excl)?
Násávóomátehevoiehe? Didn't he see us (incl)?
Násávóomátehevoiehe? Didn't he see you (pl)?
Násávóomátehevoiehe? Didn't he see them?

Násávóomátehehehehe? Didn't we (excl) see you?
Násávóomátehehehe? Didn't we (excl) see him?
Násávóomáhtséhehehehe? Didn't we (excl) see ourselves?
Násávóomátehehehehe? Didn't we (incl) see you?
Násávóomátehehehehe? Didn't we (incl) see him?
Násávóomáhtséhehehehe? Didn't we (incl) see ourselves?
Násávóomátehehehehe? Didn't we (pl) see you?
Násávóomátehehehehe? Didn't we (pl) see him?
Násávóomáhtséhehehehe? Didn't we (pl) see ourselves?
Násávóomátehehehehe? Didn't we (pl) see them?
Násávóomátehehehehe? Didn't they see me?
Násávóomátehehehehe? Didn't they see you?
Ésávóomáteheheho'ovehe? Didn't they see him (obv)?
Násávóomáteheho'ovehe? Didn't they see us (excl)?
Násávóomáteheho'ovehe? Didn't they see us (incl)?
Násávóomáteheho'ovehe? Didn't they see you (pl)?
Ésávóomáhtséheho'ovehe? Didn't they see themselves?
Násávóomátehehehehe? Wasn't I seen?
Násávóomátehehehehe? Weren't you seen?
Ésávóomátehehehehe? Wasn't he seen?
Násávóomáteheheho'ovehe? Weren't we (excl) seen?
Násávóomáteheho'ovehe? Weren't we (incl) seen?
Násávóomáteheho'ovehe? Weren't you (pl) seen?
Ésávóomáteheheho'ovehe? Weren't they seen?

Some mó- prefix negative yes/no questions:

$RECHECK
Mónásávóomóhehe? Didn't you see him?
Mónásávóomóheho'ovehe? Didn't you see them?
Mónásávóomóheho'ovehe? Didn't you (pl) see him?
Mónásáháne'ensonóhe? Don't you know him?
Mónásáháne'ensonóhe? Doesn't he know you?
Mónásáaméhótohe? Don't you love him?
Mónásáaméhótáéhe? Doesn't he love me?
Mónásáhoxomóhe? Didn't you feed him?
Mónásáamónéheno'te? Didn't you choose him?
Mónásáamónéhénóvo? Didn't you (pl) choose him?
Mó'ésáahó'ahéheno'te? 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.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
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<th>Pitched Ending</th>
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<td>I must have seen myself</td>
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<td>You (pl) must have seen me</td>
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**Some other TA inferential verbs:**

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<td>He must have tied him (obv)</td>
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<td>He may know him (obv)</td>
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<td>He may have chased him (obv)</td>
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### Transitive Animate Reportative verb 'see' /-vōom/

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<th>Transitive Animate Reportative verb 'see' /-vōom/</th>
<th>It's said I saw myself</th>
<th>It's said I saw you</th>
<th>It's said I saw him</th>
<th>It's said I saw him (obv)</th>
<th>It's said I saw you (pl)</th>
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<td>Návóomáhtsēmāse</td>
<td>It's said I saw myself</td>
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<td>It's said you (pl) saw me</td>
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<td>Névéomemenōse</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomaetsenōsēstto</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw you</td>
<td>Návóomanēsēstse</td>
<td>It's said he loves him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évéomaesēstto</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw him</td>
<td>Évéotēsēstse</td>
<td>It's said he loves you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évéomāhtsesēstto</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw himself</td>
<td>Éhetōsēstse</td>
<td>It's said he told him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomaetsenōnēnēsēstto</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw us (ex)</td>
<td>Éhetōvōsēstse</td>
<td>It's said they told him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomaetsonēnōsēstto</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw us (in)</td>
<td>Éhetenēsēstse</td>
<td>It's said he told him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomaetsonēnōvōsēstto</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw you (pl)</td>
<td>Nāmonētōesēstse</td>
<td>It's said he chose me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évéomaevōsēstto</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw them</td>
<td>Nēmonēnōsēstse</td>
<td>It's said you chose him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névéomēsēstse</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) saw you</td>
<td>Ného’ahēnōsēstse</td>
<td>It's said you want him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névéomōnēsēstse</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) saw him</td>
<td>Ého’ahēnōsēstse</td>
<td>It's said he wants him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névéomamōnēsēstse</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) saw him (obv)</td>
<td>Nēmēnōsēstse</td>
<td>It's said you gave him (away)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névéomahētsecēnēsēstse</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) saw ourselves</td>
<td>Émēnōsēstse</td>
<td>It's said he gave him (obv) (away)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névéomamōnēsēstse</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) saw you (pl)</td>
<td>Nāpēotēsēstse</td>
<td>It's said he hates me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névéomamēnēsēstse</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) saw them</td>
<td>Éōoamaesēstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) hit him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névéomēnēsēstse</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) saw them</td>
<td>Éāahtovōsēstse</td>
<td>It's said he heard him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névéomēnēsēstse</td>
<td>It's said we (in) saw him</td>
<td>Évēstāhēmōsēstse</td>
<td>It's said he helped him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névéomamōnēsēstse</td>
<td>It's said we (in) saw him (obv)</td>
<td>Éhestanōvōsēstse</td>
<td>It's said they took him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névéomamēnēsēstse</td>
<td>It's said we (in) saw ourselves</td>
<td>Éhoxomōvōsēstse</td>
<td>It's said they fed him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névéomōnēsēstse</td>
<td>It's said we (in) saw them</td>
<td>Ešēxanōsēstse</td>
<td>It's said he freed him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Some other TA reportative verbs:

- Émēhotōsēstse
- Némēhotaesēstse
- Éhetōsēstse
- Éhetōvōsēstse
- Éhetenēsēstse
- Nāmonētōesēstse
- Nēmonēnōsēstse
- Nēho’ahēnōsēstse
- Ého’ahēnōsēstse
- Nēmēnōsēstse
- Émēnōsēstse
- Nāpēotēsēstse
- Éōoamaesēstse
- Éāahtovōsēstse
- Évēstāhēmōsēstse
- Éhestanōvōsēstse
- Éhoxomōvōsēstse
- Ešēxanōsēstse

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Combination</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomáhtséhémáse</td>
<td>It's said I did not see myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomáhtséhémáse</td>
<td>It's said I did not see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomóheséstse</td>
<td>It's said I did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamóheséstse</td>
<td>It's said I did not see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomatséhémése</td>
<td>It's said I did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomóheséstse</td>
<td>It's said I did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomómáhtséhémése</td>
<td>It's said you did not see yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomóheséstse</td>
<td>It's said you did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamóheséstse</td>
<td>It's said you did not see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóoméhemenése</td>
<td>It's said you did not see us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomóheséstse</td>
<td>It's said you did not see us (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamóheséstse</td>
<td>It's said you did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomáhtséhémése</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) did not see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamóhenése</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamóhtséhémése</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) did not see ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomáhtséhémése</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) did not see us (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomóhenése</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomomáhtséhémése</td>
<td>It's said (in) did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamóhenése</td>
<td>It's said (in) did not see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamóhenése</td>
<td>It's said (in) did not see ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomóhenése</td>
<td>It's said (in) did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomómáhtséhémése</td>
<td>It's said (obv) did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamóhenése</td>
<td>It's said (obv) did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamóhtséhémése</td>
<td>It's said (obv) did not see themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomámáhtséhémése</td>
<td>It's said (obv) did not see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomóhenése</td>
<td>It's said (obv) did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomómáhtséhémése</td>
<td>It's said they did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamóhenése</td>
<td>It's said they did not see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóomamóhevóésesto</td>
<td>It's said they did not see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Násáavóomaehéněsesto  It's said they did not see us (ex)
Nésáavóomaehéněsesto  It's said they did not see us (in)
Nésáavóomaehévóesesto  It's said they did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóomahšéhesesto  It's said they did not see themselves

Násáavóomanéhmáse  It's said I was seen
Nésáavóomanéhmáse  It's said you were seen
Ésáavóoméséstse  It's said he was seen
Násáavóomanéhmáněse  It's said we (ex) were seen
Nésáavóomanéhmáněse  It's said we (in) were seen
Nésáavóomanéhmémése  It's said you (pl) were seen
Ésáavóoméhesesto  It's said they were seen

Some other TA negative reportative verbs:
Ésáaméhotohesesto??  It's said he does not love him (obv)
Nésáaméhotaeheséstse  It's said he does not love you
Ésáahetóhesesto  It's said he did not tell him (obv)
Ésáahetóhevóesesto  It's said they did not tell him (obv)
Ésáahetaeheséstse  It's said he (obv) did not tell him
Násáamoné'toeheséstse  It's said he did not chose me
Nésáamonénóheséstse??  It's said you did not chose him
Nésáaho'ahénóheséstse??  It's said you do not want him
Ésáaho'ahénóhesesto??  It's said he does not want him (obv)
Nésáaméanóheséstse??  It's said you did not give him (away)
Ésáaméanóheséstse??  It's said he did not give him (obv) (away)
Násáapéotaeheséstse  It's said he does not hate me
Ésáa'oomaehés esto  It's said he (obv) did not hit him
Ésáa’ahtovóhesesto  It's said he did not hear him (obv)
Ésáavéštahéhemóesesto??  It's said he did not help him (obv)
Ésáahestanóhevóesesto  It's said they did not take him (obv)
Ésáahoxomóhevóesesto  It's said they did not feed him (obv)
Ésáašéxanóhesesto  It's said he did not free him (obv)
Transitive Animate Preterit verbs

As previously explained, Cheyenne verbs in the preterit mode occur mostly in legends. They can also occur in contemporary contexts when a speaker wishes to convey surprise (what some linguists call miratives).

The preterit mode usually occurs with third person subjects and objects, but the verbs in the following examples from texts seem to be mirative usages of the preterit occurring with local arguments:

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

Nétaéšéhevéxa'hé'tovatsémoho! " náhéto.
You are already now my son-in-law!" I told him. (The Brothers-in-law)

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

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

Some example verbs are included which indicate surprise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne Verb</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éhvóomóhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhvóomaehoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he (obv) saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhvóomaevóhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he (obv) saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhvóomóvohoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time they told him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evóomóhoono!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, he saw him!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éxhetóhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he told him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éxhetaehoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he (obv) told him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éxhetaevóhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he (obv) told them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éxhetóvohoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time they told him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhetóhoono!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, he told him!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhmévóhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he ate him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhmévaehoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he (obv) ate him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhmévaevóhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he (obv) ate them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhmévovóhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time they ate him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émévéhoono!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, he ate him!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhvónáho'nóhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he burned him (obv) up</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Once upon a time he (obv) burned him up
Once upon a time he (obv) burned them up
Once upon a time they burned him (obv) up
Surprisingly, he burned him (obv) up!

Once upon a time he accidentally cut him (obv)
Once upon a time he (obv) accidentally cut them
Surprisingly, he accidentally cut him (obv)!

Once upon a time he freed him (obv)
Once upon a time he (obv) freed him
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
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
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 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’hoomemenó!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomemenó!</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>Méhoxéheha!</td>
<td>Méhota!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love him (obv)!</td>
<td>Méhotahtameha!</td>
<td>Méhotahtama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love us!</td>
<td>Méhoxemenó!</td>
<td>Méhoxemenó!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love them!</td>
<td>Méhoxenáno!</td>
<td>Méhota!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to me!</td>
<td>Péhéve’tovéstse!</td>
<td>Péhéve’tove!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to yourself!</td>
<td>Péhéve’tovahahtse!</td>
<td>Péhéve’tovahahtse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him!</td>
<td>Péhéve’tovéha!</td>
<td>Péhéve’továma!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him (obv)!</td>
<td>Péhéve’tovamaheha!</td>
<td>Péhéve’tovama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to us!</td>
<td>Péhéve’tovemenó!</td>
<td>Péhéve’tovemenó!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to them!</td>
<td>Péhéve’tovenáno!</td>
<td>Péhéve’továma!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure me!</td>
<td>Taevaéstse!</td>
<td>Taevahe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure yourself!</td>
<td>Taeváhestséstse!</td>
<td>Taeváhehestse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him!</td>
<td>Taeváchéheha!</td>
<td>Taeváha!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him (obv)!</td>
<td>Taeváchameheha!</td>
<td>Taeváhamá!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure us!</td>
<td>Taeváhemenó!</td>
<td>Taeváhemenó!</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>Ševátamameha!</td>
<td>Ševátamama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on us!</td>
<td>Ševátamenó!</td>
<td>Ševátamenó!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on them!</td>
<td>Ševátamenáno!</td>
<td>Ševátama!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

102 An older pronunciation is Néševátaméstse! The whispered syllable at the beginning of this pronunciation is difficult to hear, but it can be heard clearly when something else precedes it as in Nánéševátámo 'I pity him'.
### Transitive Animate Delayed Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>said to one person</th>
<th>said to more than one person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Look at me later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomeo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hooméhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at yourself later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomahtseo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomahtséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at him later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomoo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomamoo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at us later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomemenoo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomemenoo'o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at them later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomóóno!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love me later!</td>
<td>Méboxeo'o!</td>
<td>Méhóxéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love yourself later!</td>
<td>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>Méhótóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to me later!</td>
<td>Pēhéve'toveo'o!</td>
<td>Pēhéve'tovéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to yourself later!</td>
<td>Pēhève'toáhtseo'o!</td>
<td>Pēhève'toáhtséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him later!</td>
<td>Pēhève'tovo'o!</td>
<td>Pēhève'tovóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Pēhève'tovamoo'o!</td>
<td>Pēhève'tovamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to us later!</td>
<td>Pēhève'tovemenoo'o!</td>
<td>Pēhève'tovemenoo'o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to them later!</td>
<td>Pēhève'tovóóno!</td>
<td>Pēhève'tovóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure me later!</td>
<td>Taevaheo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure yourself later!</td>
<td>Taeváhestseo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhestséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him later!</td>
<td>Taeváhnoo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Taeváhamoo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure us later!</td>
<td>Taeváhemenoo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhemenoo'o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure them later!</td>
<td>Taeváhñóóno!</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>Ševátamoo'o!</td>
<td>Ševátamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on him (obv)!</td>
<td>Ševátamamoo'o!</td>
<td>Ševátamama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on us!</td>
<td>Ševátamemeno!</td>
<td>Ševátamemo!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on them!</td>
<td>Ševátamennáno!</td>
<td>Ševáta!</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.

Vé’hooma’eha!  Let him look at me!  Vé’hooma’évoha!  Let them look at me!
Vé’hoomáta’e!  Let him look at you!  Vé’hoomahtáso!  Let them look at you!
Vé’hoomáhtséha! Let him look at himself!  Vé’hoomáhtsévoha!  Let them look at themselves!
Vé’hoomóha!  Let him look at him (obv)!  Vé’hoomaétsé!  Let them look at us!
Vé’hoomata’ōse!  Let him look at you (pl)!  Vé’hoomata’o!  Let them look at you (pl)!

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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)'

Návóohtá  I see it  Návóohtánótse  I see them
Névóohta  You see it  Névóohtánótse  You see them
Évóohtánótse  He sees it  Névóohtánótse  He see's them
Évóohtotsé  He (obv) sees it  Évóohtotsenótse  He (obv) sees them
Návóohtánóné We (excl) see it  Návóohtánónéstse  We (excl) see them
Névóohtanone  We (incl) see it  Névóohtanenéstse  We (incl) see them
Névóohtánóvo You (pl) see it  Névóohtanovéstse  You (pl) see them
Évóohtánóvo They see it  Évóohtanovéstse  They see them
Évóome  It is seen  Évóoménéstse  They are seen

/-mése/ 'eat (something)'

Námese  I ate it  Námésenótse  I ate them
Némese  You ate it  Námésenótse  You ate them
Émese  He ate it  Émésenótse  He ate them
Émésetse  He (obv) ate it  Émésetsenótse  He (obv) ate them
Námésenéne We (excl) ate it  Námésenonéstse  We (excl) ate them
Némésenone  We (incl) ate it  Némésenonéstse  We (incl) ate them
Émésonéno  They ate it  Émésonovéstse  They ate them
Émésetsevé It was eaten  Émésetvénséstse  They were eaten.

-ho'tsé 'have (something)'

Náho'tsé  I have it  Náho'tsénótse  I have them
Ného'tse  You have it  Ného'tsénótse  You have them
Ého'tsé  He has it  Ého'tsénótse  He has them
Éhohtsetse  He (obv) has it  Éhohtsetenótse  He (obv) has them
Náho'tsénóne We (excl) have it  Náho'tsénónéstse  We (excl) have them
Ného'tsénone  We (incl) have it  Ného'tsénónéstse  We (incl) have them
Ného'tsénóvo You (pl) have it  Ného'tsénovéstse  You (pl) have them
Ého'he  It is had  Ého'hénéstse  They are had

-ho'ahe 'have (something)'

Náho'ahe  I want it  Náho'ahenótse  I want them
Ného'ahe  You want it  Ného'ahenótse  You want them
Ého'ahe  He wants it  Ého'ahenótse  He wants them
Ého'ahetse  He (obv) wants it  Ého'ahetsonótse  He (obv) wants them
Náho'ahénté We (excl) want it  Náho'ahéntéstse  We (excl) want them
Ného'ahénone  We (incl) want it  Ného'ahénéstse  We (incl) want them
Ného'ahéntovè You (pl) want it  Ného'ahéntovéstse  You (pl) want them
Ého'ahénté They want it  Ého'ahéntovéstse  They want them
Ého'ahéstove It is wanted  Ého'ahéstovéstse  They are wanted

103 The /-vóohtá/ and –ho’tsé passives take TA stems and II plural suffixes.
104 The /-mése/ and –ho'ahe stems take the AI /-htove/ impersonal suffix for their passive forms.
-hóxe'éná 'clean (something)'

Náhóxe'āna  I cleaned it  Náhóxe'ananôtse  I cleaned them
Néhóxe'āna  You cleaned it  Néhóxe'ananôtse  You cleaned them
Éhóxe'āna  He cleaned it  Éhóxe'ananôtse  He cleaned them
Éhóxe'anotse  He (obv) cleaned it  Éhóxe'ananótse  He (obv) cleaned them
Náhóxe'anánóne  We (excl) cleaned it  Náhóxe'anánónêtse  We (excl) cleaned them
Néhóxe'anánóne  We (in) cleaned it  Néhóxe'anánónêtse  We (in) cleaned them
Néhóxe'anánóvo  You (pl) cleaned it  Néhóxe'anánóvñütse  You (pl) cleaned them
Éhóxe'anánóvo  They cleaned it  Éhóxe'anánóvñütse  They cleaned them
Éhóxe'ane  It was cleaned  Éhóxe'anënêtse  They were cleaned

-hestá 'say (something)'

Náhésta  I said it  Náhestanôtse  I said them
Néhésta  You said it  Néhestanôtse  You said them
Éhésta  He said it  Éhestanôtse  He said them
Éhestotse  He (obv) said it  Éhestótsenôtse  He (obv) said them
Náhestánône  We (excl) said it  Náhestánónêtse  We (excl) said them
Nénestánône  We (in) said it  Nénestánonêtse  We (in) said them
Néhestánóvo  You (pl) said it  Néhestánóvñütse  You (pl) said them
Éhestánóvo  They said it  Éhestánovñütse  They said them
Éhestohe  It was said  Éhestóhènêtse  They were said

-mane 'drink (something)'

Námane  I drank it  Námanenôtse  I drank them
Némame  You drank it  Némanenôtse  You drank them
Émane  He drank it  Émanenôtse  He drank them
Émanetse  He (obv) drank it  Émanëtsenôtse  He (obv) drank them
Námanénëne  We (excl) drank it  Námanënnënêtse  We (excl) drank them
Némanéné  We (in) drank it  Némanënnêtse  We (in) drank them
Émanénôvo  They drank it  Émanènnovñütse  They drank them
Émanéstohe  It was drank  Émanëstonêtse  They were drank

-é'e'ó'tsé 'break (something)'

Náé'e'ó'tse  I broke it  Náé'e'o'tsenôtse  I broke them
Néé'e'ó'tse  You broke it  Néé'e'o'tsenôtse  You broke them
Éé'e'ó'tse  He broke it  Éé'e'o'tse  He broke them
Éé'e'o'tsëtse  He (obv) broke it  Éé'e'o'tsëtsenôtse  He (obv) broke them
Náé'e'o'tsënéne  We (excl) broke it  Náé'e'o'tsenënêtse  We (excl) broke them
Néé'e'o'tsënéne  We (in) broke it  Néé'e'o'tsenënêtse  We (in) broke them
Néé'e'o'tsënéno  You (pl) broke it  Néé'e'o'tsenëvñütse  You (pl) broke them
Éé'e'o'tsënéno  They broke it  Éé'e'o'tsëvñütse  They broke them
Éé'e'o'he  It was broken  Éé'e'o'hènêtse  They were broken

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

Náa'táxa. I accidentally cut it.
Éhestána. He took it.
Náchó'xátsésta. I'm used to it.
Émé'a. He found it.
Nápėhévátsésta. I like it.
Návona'ó'tse. I lost it.
Návonetanó'ta. I forgot it.

Some grammatical relationships different from English

Here we point out some differences between how the grammars of Cheyenne and English express some semantic relationships. By pointing out these differences, we are not suggesting that either language is inferior, non-standard, or "backwards". On the contrary, both languages are grammatically logical and beautiful in how they express the intended meanings. For examples of other Cheyenne verbs with interesting grammatical ways to express semantic relationships, see the end of the section in the middle of this book on Inanimate Subject Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs.

-háamá’tá

The Cheyenne TI verb /-háamá’tá/ grammatically treats an inanimate body part that hurts as the direct object of the verb. This is a perfectly logical way to express the meaning intended. 'My nose hurts' is how the meaning of the first sentence, Náháamáta na'evo, below, is naturally translated to English. This verb could literally be translated to English as 'I hurt to my nose.' (It does not literally mean 'I hurt my nose'.) This literal translation sounds odd in English, but there is nothing odd about the Cheyenne verb. It is simply a different grammatical method to express the same semantic relationship of the equivalent English sentence. Neither grammatical method is inferior.

Náháamá’ta na’evo. My nose hurts. (lit., I hurt to my nose)
Náháamá’tan 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:

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

-táá’a 'fit (something)'

This Cheyenne verb treats a part that fits someone as the object of the verb. Again, this is a perfectly logical way to express the intended meaning. The English wording 'The cap fits me' is grammatically correct for the English language and the corresponding Cheyenne sentence is grammatically correct for the Cheyenne language. Neither language is "backwards" in how they express meaning about fitting; they simply express the same meaning using different grammar.

Nátáá’a hóhkéha’e. The cap fits me. (lit., I fit to the cap)
Nátáá’anotsé hóhkéhá’estse. The caps fit me. (lit., I fit to the caps)

Compare corresponding TA verbs:
The shirt fits me. (lit., I fit to the shirt)
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 -pēhēve'áhtá:
The meat tastes good to me. (lit. I good taste to it)

Transitive Inanimate Independent Indicative relational verbs
A TI relational verb refers to action done to something owned by a third person.

-vóohtomóv 'see his _'
Návōohtomóvo I see his __ Návōohtomóvonotse I see his __ (plural)
Névōohtomóvo You see his __ Névōohtomóvonotse You see his __ (plural)
Évōohtomóvo He sees his (obv) __ Évōohtomóvonotse He sees his (obv) __ (pl)
Návōohtomóvonóne We (ex) see his __ Návōohtomóvononéstse We (ex) see his __ (pl)
Névōohtomóvonóne We (in) see his __ Névōohtomóvononéstse We (in) see his __ (pl)
Návōohtomóvonóvo You (pl) see his __ Návōohtomóvonovotse You (pl) see his __ (pl)
Évōohtomóvonóvo They see his __ Évōohtomóvonovotse They see his __ (pl)
Évōometse His __ is seen Évōomenetotse His __ (pl) are seen

-hestanomóv 'take his _'
Náhestanomóvo I took his __ Náhestanomóvonotse I took his __ (pl)
Néhestanomóvo You took his __ Néhestanomóvonotse You took his __ (pl)
Éhestanomóvo He took his (obv) __ Éhestanomóvonotse He took his (obv) __ (pl)
Náhestanomóvonóne We (ex) took his __ Náhestanomóvononéstse We (ex) took his __ (pl)
Néhestanomóvonóne We (in) took his __ Néhestanomóvononéstse We (in) took his __ (pl)
Náhestanomóvonóvo You (pl) took his __ Náhestanomóvonovotse You (pl) took his __ (pl)
Éhestanomóvonóvo They took his __ Éhestanomóvonovotse They took his __ (pl)
Éhestanetse His __ was taken Éhestanetotse His __ (pl) were taken

-é'e'ôtov 'break his _'
Náé'e'ô'tóvo I broke his __ Náé'e'ô'tovonotse I broke his __ (pl)
Née'e'ô'tóvo You broke his __ Née'e'ô'tovonotse You broke his __ (pl)
Éé'e'ô'tóvo He broke his (obv) __ Éé'e'ô'tovonotse He broke his (obv) __ (pl)
Náé'e'ô'tovónóne We (ex) broke his __ Náé'e'ô'tovononéstse We (ex) broke his __ (pl)
Née'e'ô'tovónóne We (in) broke his __ Née'e'ô'tovononéstse We (in) broke his __ (pl)
Náé'e'ô'tovónóvo You (pl) broke his __ Náé'e'ô'tovonovotse You (pl) broke his __ (pl)
Éé'e'ô'tovónóvo They broke his __ Éé'e'ô'tovonovotse They broke his __ (pl)
Éé'e'ô'hetse His __ was broken Éé'e'ô'henetotse His __ (pl) were broken
Transitive Inanimate Independent Negative Indicative verbs

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

### 'not see (something)'

| Násáavóóhtóhe  | I did not see it | Násáavóóhtóhenóstse | I did not see them |
| Nésáavóóhtóhe  | You did not see it | Nésáavóóhtóhenóstse | You did not see them |
| Ésáavóóhtóhe  | He did not see it | Ésáavóóhtóhenóstse | He did not see them |
| Ésáavóóhtóhetse | He (obv) did not see it | Ésáavóóhtóhèstenóstse | He (obv) did not see them |
| Násáavóóhtóhénóne | We (ex) did not see it | Násáavóóhtóhènónestse | We (ex) did not see them |
| Násáavóóhtóhenone | We (in) did not see it | Násáavóóhtóhènónestse | We (in) did not see them |
| Nésáavóóhtóhénóvo | You (pl) did not see it | Nésáavóóhtóhènóvestse | You (pl) did not see them |
| Ésáavóóhtóhénóvo | They did not see it | Ésáavóóhtóhènóvestse | They did not see them |
| Ésáavóóhtóhènó | It was not seen | Ésáavóóhtóhènóvestse | They were not seen |

### 'not eat (something)'

| Násáaméséhe  | I did not eat it | Násáaméséhenóstse | I did not eat them |
| Nésáaméséhe  | You did not eat it | Nésáaméséhenóstse | You did not eat them |
| Ésáaméséhe  | He did not eat it | Ésáaméséhenóstse | He did not eat them |
| Ésáaméséhetsen | He (obv) did not eat it | Ésáaméséhètseñóstse | He (obv) did not eat them |
| Násáaméséhènóne | We (ex) did not eat it | Násáaméséhènónestse | We (ex) did not eat them |
| Násáaméséhènene | We (in) did not eat it | Násáaméséhènónestse | We (in) did not eat them |
| Nésáaméséhènóvo | You (pl) did not eat it | Nésáaméséhènóvestse | You (pl) did not eat them |
| Ésáaméséhènóvo | They did not eat it | Ésáaméséhènóvestse | They did not eat them |
| Ésáaméséstovóomehane | It was not eaten | Ésáaméséstovóomèhènestse | They were not eaten |

### 'not have (something)'

| Násáaho'tséhe  | I do not have it | Násáaho'tsèhenóstse | I do not have them |
| Nésáaho'tséhe  | You do not have it | Nésáaho'tsèhenóstse | You do not have them |
| Ésáaho'tséhe  | He does not have it | Ésáaho'tsèhenóstse | He does not have them |
| Ésáaho'tsèhetics | He (obv) does not have it | Ésáaho'tsèhtseñóstse | He (obv) does not have them |
| Násáaho'tsèhènóne | We (ex) do not have it | Násáaho'tsèhènèstse | We (ex) do not have them |
| Násáaho'tsèhènene | We (in) do not have it | Násáaho'tsèhènèstse | We (in) do not have them |
| Nésáaho'tsèhènóvo | You (pl) do not have it | Nésáaho'tsèhènèvestse | You (pl) do not have them |
| Nésáaho'tsèhènóvo | They do not have it | Nésáaho'tsèhènèvestse | They do not have them |
| Ésáaho'hèhane | It is not had | Ésáaho'hèhènestse | They are not had |

### 'not want (something)'

| Násáaho'áhéhe | I don't want it | Násáaho'áhéhènestse | I don't want them |
| Nésáaho'áhéhe | You don't want it | Nésáaho'áhéhènestse | You don't want them |
| Ésáaho'áhéhe | He doesn't want it | Ésáaho'áhéhènestse | He doesn't want them |
| Ésáaho'áhéhetse | He (obv) doesn't want it | Ésáaho'áhéhètseñéstse | He (obv) doesn't want them |
| Násáaho'áhéhènóne | We (ex) don't want it | Násáaho'áhéhènnèstse | We (ex) don't want them |
| Násáaho'áhéhènene | We (in) don't want it | Násáaho'áhéhènnèstse | We (in) don't want them |
| Nésáaho'áhéhènóvo | You (pl) don't want it | Nésáaho'áhéhènèvestse | You (pl) don't want it |
| Ésáaho'áhéhènóvo | They don't want it | Ésáaho'áhéhènèvestse | They don't want them |
| Ésáaho'áhéhèstovóehane | It is not wanted | Ésáaho'áhéhèstovóehènestse | They are not wanted |
### 'not clean (something)'

| Násáahóxe'ánóhe | I didn't clean it | Násáahóxe'ánóhenótse | I didn't clean them |
| Nésáahóxe'ánóhe | You didn't clean it | Nésáahóxe'ánóhenótse | You didn't clean them |
| Ésáahóxe'ánóhe | He didn't clean it | Ésáahóxe'ánóhenótse | He didn't clean them |
| Ésáahóxe'anóhetse | He (obv) didn't clean it | Ésáahóxe'anóhetsenótse | He (obv) didn't clean them |
| Násáahóxe'anóhenone | We (ex) didn't clean it | Násáahóxe'anóhenéstse | We (ex) didn't clean them |
| Nésáahóxe'anóhenone | We (in) didn't clean it | Nésáahóxe'anóhenéstse | We (in) didn't clean them |
| Nésáahóxe'anóhenóvo | You (pl) didn't clean it | Nésáahóxe'anóhenóvótse | You (pl) didn't clean them |
| Ésáahóxe'anóhenóvo | They didn't clean it | Ésáahóxe'anóhenóvótse | They didn't clean them |
| Ésáahóxe'anéhanéhe | It was not cleaned | Ésáahóxe'anéhanéhetôse | They were not cleaned |

### Transitive Inanimate Independent Negative relational verbs

#### 'not see his (something)'

| Násáavóohtomóvóhe | I didn’t see his __ | Násáavóohtomóvóhenótse | I didn’t see his __ (pl) |
| Nésáavóohtomóvóhe | You didn’t see his __ | Nésáavóohtomóvóhenótse | You didn’t see his __ (pl) |
| Ésáavóotómóvóhe | He didn’t see his (obv) | Ésáavóotómóvóhenótse | He didn’t see his (obv) __ (pl) |
| Násáavóohtomóvóhóne | We (ex) didn’t see his __ | Násáavóohtomóvóhónenéstse | We (ex) didn’t see his __ (pl) |
| Nésáavóohtomóvóhóne | We (in) didn’t see his __ | Nésáavóohtomóvóhónenéstse | We (in) didn’t see his __ (pl) |
| Nésáavóohtomóvóhóno | You (pl) didn’t see his __ | Nésáavóohtomóvóhónovótse | You (pl) didn’t see his __ (pl) |
| Ésáavóohtomóvóhóno | They didn’t see his __ | Ésáavóohtomóvóhónovótse | They didn’t see his __ (pl) |
| Ésáavóómenéméhanétse | His __ was not seen | Ésáavóómenéméhanétôse | His __ (pl) were not seen |

#### 'not take his (something)'

| Násáahestanomóvóhe | I did not take his __ | Násáahestanomóvóhenótse | I took his __ (pl) |
| Nésáahestanomóvóhe | You did not take his __ | Nésáahestanomóvóhenótse | You took his __ (pl) |
| Ésáahestanomóvóhe | He didn’t take his (obv) | Ésáahestanomóvóhenótse | He took his (obv) __ (pl) |
| Násáahestanomóvóhóne | We (ex) didn’t take his __ | Násáahestanomóvóhónenéstse | We (ex) took his __ (pl) |
| Nésáahestanomóvóhóne | We (in) didn’t take his __ | Násáahestanomóvóhónenéstse | We (in) took his __ (pl) |
| Nésáahestanomóvóhóno | You (pl) didn’t take his __ | Násáahestanomóvóhónovótse | You (pl) took his __ (pl) |
| Ésáahestanomóvóhóno | They didn’t take his __ | Ésáahestanomóvóhónovótse | They took his __ (pl) |
| Éhestanéhánéhetse | His __ was not taken | Ésáahestanéhánetôtse | His __ (pl) were not taken |

#### 'not break his (something)'

| Násáa’ée’ó’tóvóhe | I didn’t break his __ | Násáa’ée’ó’tóvóhenótse | I didn’t break his __ (pl) |
| Nésáa’ée’ó’tóvóhe | You didn’t break his __ | Násáa’ée’ó’tóvóhenótse | You didn’t break his __ (pl) |
| Ésáa’ée’ó’tóvóhe | He didn’t break his (obv) | Ésáa’ée’ó’tóvóhenótse | He didn’t break his (obv) __ (pl) |
| Násáa’ée’ó’tóvóhóne | We (ex) didn’t break his __ | Násáa’ée’ó’tóvóhónenéstse | We (ex) didn’t break his __ (pl) |
| Nésáa’ée’ó’tóvóhóne | We (in) didn’t break his __ | Násáa’ée’ó’tóvóhónenéstse | We (in) didn’t break his __ (pl) |
| Nésáa’ée’ó’tóvóhóno | You (pl) didn’t break his __ | Násáa’ée’ó’tóvóhónovótse | You (pl) didn’t break his __ (pl) |
| Ésáa’ée’ó’tóvóhóno | They didn’t break his __ | Ésáa’ée’ó’tóvóhónovótse | They didn’t break his __ (pl) |
| Ésáa’ée’ó’hehanéhetse | His __ wasn’t broken | Ésáa’ée’ó’hehanéhetôtse | 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 "ó" of the ending is voiced, not whispered. Then the ending is pronounced -otse.

'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Do I see it?</th>
<th>Did I see them?</th>
<th>Do I see it?</th>
<th>Did I see them?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóotahe?</td>
<td>Did you see it?</td>
<td>Névóootanotse?</td>
<td>Did you see it?</td>
<td>Névóootanotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóotahe?</td>
<td>Did he see it?</td>
<td>Évóoohtanotse?</td>
<td>Did he see it?</td>
<td>Évóoohtanotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóoohtotshe?</td>
<td>Did (obv) see it?</td>
<td>Évóoohtetseotse?</td>
<td>Did (obv) see it?</td>
<td>Évóoohtetseotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóootanonehe?</td>
<td>Did we (excl) see it?</td>
<td>Névóootanotseotse?</td>
<td>Did we (excl) see it?</td>
<td>Névóootanotseotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóootanonehe?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) see it?</td>
<td>Névóootanotseotse?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) see it?</td>
<td>Névóootanotseotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóootanohevohe?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) see it?</td>
<td>Névóootanotseotse?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) see it?</td>
<td>Névóootanotseotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóoohtanovehe?</td>
<td>Did they see it?</td>
<td>Évóoohtanotseotse?</td>
<td>Did they see it?</td>
<td>Évóoohtanotseotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóomehe?</td>
<td>Was it seen?</td>
<td>Évóomenevotse?</td>
<td>Were they seen?</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'want (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Do I want it?</th>
<th>Do I want them?</th>
<th>Do I want it?</th>
<th>Do I want them?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náho'âhenonehe?</td>
<td>Do we (excl) want it?</td>
<td>Náho'âhenotseotse?</td>
<td>Do we (excl) want it?</td>
<td>Náho'âhenotseotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'âhenonehe?</td>
<td>Do we (incl) want it?</td>
<td>Ného'âhenotseotse?</td>
<td>Do we (incl) want it?</td>
<td>Ného'âhenotseotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'âhenovohohe?</td>
<td>Do you (pl) want it?</td>
<td>Ného'âhenotseotse?</td>
<td>Do you (pl) want it?</td>
<td>Ného'âhenotseotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'âhéstovehe?</td>
<td>Is it wanted?</td>
<td>Ého'âhéstovenevotse?</td>
<td>Are they wanted?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Did I take it?</th>
<th>Did I take them?</th>
<th>Did I take it?</th>
<th>Did I take them?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náheatahe?</td>
<td>Did you take it?</td>
<td>Néheataotse?</td>
<td>Did you take it?</td>
<td>Néheataotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néheatahe?</td>
<td>Did he take it?</td>
<td>Éheataotse?</td>
<td>Did he take it?</td>
<td>Éheataotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheatahe?</td>
<td>Did he take it?</td>
<td>Éheataotse?</td>
<td>Did he take it?</td>
<td>Éheataotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náheathanotsehe?</td>
<td>Did (obv) take it?</td>
<td>Náheathanotseotse?</td>
<td>Did (obv) take it?</td>
<td>Náheathanotseotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náheathanonehe?</td>
<td>Did we (excl) take it?</td>
<td>Náheathanotseotse?</td>
<td>Did we (excl) take it?</td>
<td>Náheathanotseotse?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Néheathanonehe?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) take it?</td>
<td>Néheathanotseotse?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) take it?</td>
<td>Néheathanotseotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néheathanovohohe?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) take it?</td>
<td>Néheathanotseotse?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) take it?</td>
<td>Néheathanotseotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheathanovohe?</td>
<td>Did they take it?</td>
<td>Éheathanotseotse?</td>
<td>Did they take it?</td>
<td>Éheathanotseotse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheatanehe?</td>
<td>Was it taken?</td>
<td>Éheatanenevotse?</td>
<td>Were they taken?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some mó- prefix TI questions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Did you see it?</th>
<th>Did he take it?</th>
<th>Did you (plural) take them?</th>
<th>Did you eat them?</th>
<th>Were they eaten?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónévéóhta?</td>
<td>Did you see it?</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó'éhestāna?</td>
<td>Did he take it?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéhestanovotse?</td>
<td>Did you (plural) take them?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónémsenotse?</td>
<td>Did you eat them?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó'éméséstovēnestse?</td>
<td>Were they eaten?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Inanimate Interrogative relational verbs

### 'see his (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Návóohomóvohe?</th>
<th>Did I see his __?</th>
<th>Návóohomóvonotse?</th>
<th>Didn't I see them?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Névóohomóvohe?</td>
<td>Did you see his __?</td>
<td>Névóohomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Didn't you see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohomóvohe?</td>
<td>Did he see his (obv) __?</td>
<td>Évóohomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Didn't he (obv) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóohomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Did we (ex) see his __?</td>
<td>Návóohomóvononevotse?</td>
<td>Didn't we (ex) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóohomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Did we (in) see his __?</td>
<td>Névóohomóvononevotse?</td>
<td>Didn't we (in) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) see his __?</td>
<td>Évóohomóvononevotse?</td>
<td>Didn't you (pl) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóometshe?</td>
<td>Was his __ seen?</td>
<td>Évóomenetsevotse?</td>
<td>Weren't they seen?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'take his (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Náhestanomóvohe?</th>
<th>Did I take his __?</th>
<th>Náhestanomóvonotse?</th>
<th>Didn't I take them?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Néhestanomóvohe?</td>
<td>Did you take his __?</td>
<td>Néhestanomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Didn't you take them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestanomóvohe?</td>
<td>Did he take his __?</td>
<td>Éhestanomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Didn't he take them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestanomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Did we (ex) take his __?</td>
<td>Náhestanomóvononevotse?</td>
<td>Didn't we (ex) take them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhestanomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Did we (in) take his __?</td>
<td>Néhestanomóvononevotse?</td>
<td>Didn't we (in) take them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestanomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) take his __?</td>
<td>Náhestanomóvononevotse?</td>
<td>Didn't you (pl) take them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestanomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Did they take his __?</td>
<td>Éhestanomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Didn't they take them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestanetshe?</td>
<td>Was his __ taken?</td>
<td>Éhestanetsvotse?</td>
<td>Weren't they taken?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Nésáavóhtáhehe?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Násáavóhtóhehe?</th>
<th>Didn't I see it?</th>
<th>Násáavóhtóhenotse?</th>
<th>Didn't I see them?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóhtóhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you see it?</td>
<td>Nésáavóhtóhenotse?</td>
<td>Didn't you see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóhtóhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't he see it?</td>
<td>Ésáavóhtóhenotse?</td>
<td>Didn't he see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóhtóhetsehe?</td>
<td>Didn't he (obv) see it?</td>
<td>Ésáavóhtóhetsevotse?</td>
<td>Didn't he (obv) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóhtóhenonehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (ex) see it?</td>
<td>Násáavóhtóhenonevotse?</td>
<td>Didn't we (ex) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóhtóhenonehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (in) see it?</td>
<td>Nésáavóhtóhenonevotse?</td>
<td>Didn't we (in) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóhtóhenonehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you (pl) see it?</td>
<td>Násáavóhtóhenonevotse?</td>
<td>Didn't you (pl) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóhtóhenonehe?</td>
<td>Didn't they see it?</td>
<td>Ésáavóhtóhenotse?</td>
<td>Didn't they see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóméhanhehe?</td>
<td>Wasn't it seen?</td>
<td>Ésáavóóméhanotse?</td>
<td>Weren't they seen?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some other Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nésáahestanóhehe?</th>
<th>Didn't you take it?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhenotse?</td>
<td>Didn't you (plural) eat them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséstovéhanotse?</td>
<td>Weren't they (inanimate) eaten?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’áhestóhanhehe?</td>
<td>Wasn't it wanted?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative relational verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Násáavóhtomóvohehe?</th>
<th>Didn't I see his __?</th>
<th>Násáavóhtomóvonotse?</th>
<th>Didn't I see his __ (plural)?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóhtomóvohehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you see his __?</td>
<td>Nésáavóhtomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Didn't you see his __ (plural)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóhtomóvohehe?</td>
<td>Didn't he see his (obv) __?</td>
<td>Ésáavóhtomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Didn't he see his (obv) __ (plural)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóhtomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (ex) see his __?</td>
<td>Násáavóhtomóvononevotse?</td>
<td>Didn't we (ex) see his __ (plural)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóhtomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (in) see his __?</td>
<td>Nésáavóhtomóvononevotse?</td>
<td>Didn't we (in) see his __ (plural)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóhtomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you (pl) see his __?</td>
<td>Násáavóhtomóvononevotse?</td>
<td>Didn't you (pl) see his __ (plural)?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ésáavóhtomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Didn't they see his __?</td>
<td>Ésáavóhtomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Didn't they see his __ (plural)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóméhanetshehe?</td>
<td>Wasn't his __ seen?</td>
<td>Ésáavóóméhanetsevotse?</td>
<td>Weren't his __ (plural) seen?</td>
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</table>
### Transitive Inanimate Inferential verbs

**CHECK YOUNGER SPEAKER dialect: e.g. Mónávóohtáhe??**

#### 'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Must have seen it</th>
<th>Must have seen them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóohtóhe</td>
<td>I must have seen it</td>
<td>Mónávóohtóheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóohtóhe</td>
<td>You must have seen it</td>
<td>Mónévóohtóheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móvóohtóhe</td>
<td>He must have seen it</td>
<td>Móvóohtóheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móvóohtóheñetsé</td>
<td>He (obv) must have seen it</td>
<td>Móvóohtóheñetsenotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóohtóheñenéhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have seen it</td>
<td>Mónávóohtóheñenéheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóohtóheñenéhe</td>
<td>We (in) must have seen it</td>
<td>Mónévóohtóheñenéheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóohtóheñovóhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen it</td>
<td>Mónévóohtóheñovóheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móvóohtóheñovóhe</td>
<td>They must have seen it</td>
<td>Móvóohtóheñovóheñotsé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 'take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Must have taken it</th>
<th>Must have taken them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónáhestanóhe</td>
<td>I must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónáhestanóheñotsé</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mónéhestanóhe</td>
<td>You must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónéhestanóheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móhestanóhe</td>
<td>He must have taken it</td>
<td>Móhestanóheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móhestanóheñetsé</td>
<td>He (obv) must have taken it</td>
<td>Móhestanóheñetsenotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónáhestanóheñenéhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónáhestanóheñenéheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéhestanóheñenéhe</td>
<td>We (in) must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónéhestanóheñenéheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéhestanóheñovóhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónéhestanóheñovóheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móhestanóheñovóhe</td>
<td>They must have taken it</td>
<td>Móhestanóheñovóheñotsé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 'have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Must have it</th>
<th>Must have seen them</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónáho-tséhóhe</td>
<td>I must have it</td>
<td>Mónáho-tséhóheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móného-tséhóhe</td>
<td>You must have it</td>
<td>Móného-tséhóheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho-tséhóhe</td>
<td>He must have it</td>
<td>Móho-tséhóheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho-tséhóheñetsé</td>
<td>He (obv) must have it</td>
<td>Móho-tséhóheñetsenotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónáho-tséhóheñenéhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have it</td>
<td>Mónáho-tséhóheñenéheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móného-tséhóheñenéhe</td>
<td>We (in) must have it</td>
<td>Móného-tséhóheñenéheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móného-tséhóheñovóhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have it</td>
<td>Móného-tséhóheñovóheñotsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho-tséhóheñovóhe</td>
<td>They must have it</td>
<td>Móho-tséhóheñovóheñotsé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Inanimate Reportative verbs

'see (something)'

| Návóóhtánose | I am said to see it | Návóohtanówestóstse | I am said to see them |
| Névóóhtánose | You are said to see it | Névóohtanówestóstse | You are said to see them |
| Évóóhtánose | He is said to see it | Évóohtanówestóstse | He is said to see them |
| Évóohtešénose | He (obv) is said to see it | Évóohtešenówestóstse | He (obv) is said to see them |
| Návóóhtánonése | We (ex) are said to see it | Návóohtánónésestóstse | We (ex) are said to see them |
| Névóóhtánonése | We (in) are said to see it | Névóohtánónésestóstse | We (in) are said to see them |
| Návóóhtánóvose | You (pl) are said to see it | Návóohtánóvosestóstse | You (pl) are said to see them |
| Évóóhtánóvose | They are said to see it | Évóohtánóvosestóstse | They are said to see them |

'take (something)'

| Náheštanánose | I am said to have taken it | Náheštanánówestóstse | I am said to have taken them |
| Néheštanánose | You are said to have taken it | Néheštanánówestóstse | You are said to have taken them |
| Éheštanánose | He is said to have taken it | Éheštanánówestóstse | He is said to have taken them |
| Éheštanótešénose | He (obv) is said to have taken it | Éheštanótešenówestóstse | He (obv) is said to have taken them |
| Náheštanánónode | We (ex) are said to have taken it | Náheštanánónodestóstse | We (ex) are said to have taken them |
| Néheštanánónode | We (in) are said to have taken it | Néheštanánónodestóstse | We (in) are said to have taken them |
| Náheštanánóvose | You (pl) are said to have taken it | Náheštanánóvosestóstse | You (pl) are said to have taken them |
| Éheštanánóvose | They are said to have taken it | Éheštanánóvosestóstse | They are said to have taken them |

'have (something)'

| Náho'tsénose | I am said to have it | Náho'tsénsóstte | I am said to have them |
| Ného'tsénose | You are said to have it | Ného'tsénsóstte | You are said to have them |
| Ého'tsénose | He is said to have it | Ého'tsénsóstte | He is said to have them |
| Ého'tsétešénose | He (obv) is said to have it | Ého'tsétešenówestóstte | He (obv) is said to have them |
| Náho'tsénoñèse | We (ex) are said to have it | Náho'tsénoñèsóstte | We (ex) are said to have them |
| Ného'tsénoñèse | We (in) are said to have it | Ného'tsénoñèsóstte | We (in) are said to have them |
| Ného'tsénoñèse | You (pl) are said to have it | Ného'tsénoñèsóstte | You (pl) are said to have them |
| Ého'tsénoñèse | They are said to have it | Ého'tsénoñèsóstte | They are said to have them |

Some Transitive Inanimate Reportative relational verbs

| Návóohtomóvónose | I am said to have seen his __ (rel). |
| Évóohtomóvónose | He is said to have seen his (obv) __ |
| Évóohtomóvónosestótse | He is said to have seen his __ (plural) |
| Náheštanomóvónose | I am said to have taken his __ |
| Éheštanomóvónose | He is said to have taken his (obv) __ |
| Éheštanomóvónosestótse | He is said to have taken his (obv) __ (plural) |
| Náheštanomóvónose | I am said to have broken his __ |
| Éheštanomóvónose | He is said to have broken his (obv) __ |
| Éheštanomóvónosestótse | He is said to have broken his (obv) __ (plural) |
| Náheštanomóvónose | I am said to have his __ |
| Éheštanomóvónose | He is said to have his (obv) __ |
| Éheštanomóvónosestótse | He is said to have his (obv) __ (plural) |
**Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative verbs**

**'not see (something)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénóse</td>
<td>I am said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóse</td>
<td>You are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénóse</td>
<td>He is said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhetsénóse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénónestóte</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénónestóte</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóvestóte</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénóvestóte</td>
<td>They are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**'not take (something)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáahesanóhénóse</td>
<td>I am said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahesanóhénóse</td>
<td>You are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahesanóhénóse</td>
<td>He is said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahesanóhetsénóse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahesanóhénónése</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahesanóhénónése</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahesanóhénóvestóte</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahesanóhénóvestóte</td>
<td>They are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**'not have (something)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho'tshéhénóse</td>
<td>I am said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho'tshéhénóse</td>
<td>You are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'tshéhénóse</td>
<td>He is said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahootshéhetsénóse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahootshéhénónése</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahootshéhénónése</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahootshéhénóvestóte</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahootshéhénóvestóte</td>
<td>They are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáahootshéhénósestóte</td>
<td>I am said not to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahootshéhénósestóte</td>
<td>You are said not to have them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
He is said not to have them
He (obviative) is said not to have them
We (exclusive) are said not to have them
We (inclusive) are said not to have them
You (plural) are said not to have them
They are said not to have them

I am said not to have eaten it
You are said not to have eaten it
He is said not to have eaten it
He (obviative) is said not to have eaten it
We (exclusive) are said not to have eaten it
We (inclusive) are said not to have eaten it
You (plural) are said not to have eaten it
They are said not to have eaten it

He is said not to have seen his ____ (rel).
They are said not to have seen his ____ (pl) (rel).

He is said not to have taken his ____ (rel).
They are said not to have taken his ____ (pl) (rel).

Once upon a time he saw it
Once upon a time he saw them (inanimate)
Once upon a time they saw him
Once upon a time they saw them (inanimate)

Once upon a time he took it
Once upon a time he took them (inanimate)
Once upon a time they took it
Once upon a time they took them (inanimate)
Once upon a time he had it
Once upon a time he had them (inanimate)
Once upon a time they had it
Once upon a time they had them (inanimate)
Once upon a time he had it
Once upon a time he had them (inanimate)
Once upon a time they had it
Once upon a time they had them (inanimate)
Once upon a time he ate it
Once upon a time he ate them (inanimate)
Once upon a time they ate it
Once upon a time they ate them (inanimate)
Once upon a time he ate it
Once upon a time he ate them (inanimate)
Once upon a time they ate it
Once upon a time they ate them (inanimate)
Once upon a time he did not see it
Once upon a time he did not see them (inanimate)
Once upon a time they did not see it
Once upon a time they did not see them (inanimate)
Once upon a time he did not see it
Once upon a time he did not see them (inanimate)
Once upon a time they did not see it
Once upon a time they did not see them (inanimate)
Transitive Inanimate Imperatives
As with the AI and TA verbs, Cheyenne commands are for either immediate or delayed action. The same word is used to command someone to do something to one thing or more than one thing. For instance, Vé’hóóhtöhtse! 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’hóóhtöhtse!</td>
<td>Vé’hoohotome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take it!</td>
<td>Hestänöhtse!</td>
<td>Hestanome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat it/them!</td>
<td>Meséstse!</td>
<td>Mese!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bring it/them here!</td>
<td>Néxho’eotséstéstse!</td>
<td>Néxho’eotsestse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burn it/them up!</td>
<td>Vonáho’höhtse!</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>Tséhetáxöhtse!</td>
<td>Tséhetáxome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean it/them!</td>
<td>Hóxe’änöhtse!</td>
<td>Hóxe’anome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make it/them!</td>
<td>Maněstséstse!</td>
<td>Maněstse!</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’hoohotomeo’!!</td>
<td>Vé’hoohotomáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take it later!</td>
<td>Hestanomeo’o!</td>
<td>Hestanomáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat it later!</td>
<td>Méséo’o!</td>
<td>Méséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bring it/them here later!</td>
<td>Néxho’eotséstseo’o!</td>
<td>Néxho’eotséstsehéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burn it/them up later!</td>
<td>Vonáho’homeo’o!</td>
<td>Vonáho’homáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink it/them later!</td>
<td>Maneo’o!</td>
<td>Manéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut it/them later!</td>
<td>Tséhetáxomeo’o!</td>
<td>Tséhetáxomáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean it/them later!</td>
<td>Hóxe’anomeo’o!</td>
<td>Hóxe’anomáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make it/them later!</td>
<td>Maněstseo’o!</td>
<td>Maněstséhéne!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vé’hoohtoha!</th>
<th>Let him look at it/them!</th>
<th>Vé’hoomévéha!</th>
<th>Let them look at it/them!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hestanoха!!</td>
<td>Let him take it/them!</td>
<td>Hestanomévéha!</td>
<td>Let them take it/them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néxho’eotséstseha!</td>
<td>Let him bring it/them!</td>
<td>Néxho’eotséstsevéha!</td>
<td>Let them bring it/them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maněstseha!</td>
<td>Let him make it/them!</td>
<td>Maněstsevéha!</td>
<td>Let them make it/them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho’tseha!</td>
<td>Let him have it/them!</td>
<td>Ho’tsevéha!</td>
<td>Let them have it/them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Méseha!</td>
<td>Let him eat it/them!</td>
<td>Mésevéha!</td>
<td>Let them eat it/them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maneha!</td>
<td>Let him drink it/them!</td>
<td>Manévéha!</td>
<td>Let them drink it/them!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náa’ta’oo’e</td>
<td>It acc. hit me</td>
<td>Náa’ta’ónótse</td>
<td>They acc. hit me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néa’ta’oo’e</td>
<td>It acc. hit you</td>
<td>Néa’ta’ónótse</td>
<td>They acc. hit you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éa’ta’oo’e</td>
<td>It acc. hit him</td>
<td>Éa’ta’ónótse</td>
<td>They acc. hit him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éa’ta’óetse</td>
<td>It acc. hit him (obv)</td>
<td>Éa’ta’ónótsetse</td>
<td>They acc. hit him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náa’ta’óénóne</td>
<td>It acc. hit us (excl)</td>
<td>Náa’ta’ónónéstse</td>
<td>They acc. hit us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néa’ta’óénóvo</td>
<td>It acc. hit you (pl)</td>
<td>Néa’ta’ónovótse</td>
<td>They acc. hit you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éa’ta’óénóvo</td>
<td>It acc. hit them</td>
<td>É’a’ónovótse</td>
<td>They acc. hit them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

Kahámáxe éa’ta’oo’e hetane The stick accidentally hit the man
Náa’ta’óenóne he’konótse The bones accidentally hit us
Háomóhtáhestótse ého’ehtatóetse heške Sickness came to his mother (obviative)

- *ho’éhót ‘come to (someone)’*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náho’éhótaa’e</td>
<td>It came to me</td>
<td>Náho’éhótaenótse</td>
<td>They came to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného’éhótaa’e</td>
<td>It came to you</td>
<td>Ného’éhótaenótse</td>
<td>They came to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého’éhótaa’e</td>
<td>It came to him</td>
<td>Ého’éhótaenótse</td>
<td>They came to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého’éhótaetsé</td>
<td>It came to him (obv)</td>
<td>Ého’éhótaetsenótse</td>
<td>They came to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náho’éhótaenóne</td>
<td>It came to us (ex)</td>
<td>Náho’éhótaenónestse</td>
<td>They came to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného’éhótaenóne</td>
<td>It came to us (in)</td>
<td>Ného’éhótaenónestse</td>
<td>They came to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného’éhótaenóvo</td>
<td>It came to you (pl)</td>
<td>Ného’éhótaenovótse</td>
<td>They came to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého’éhótaenóvo</td>
<td>It came to them</td>
<td>Ého’éhótaenovótse</td>
<td>They came to them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

Kahámáxe éa’ta’oo’e hetane The stick accidentally hit the man
Náa’ta’óenóne he’konótse The bones accidentally hit us
Háomóhtáhestótse ého’ehtatóetse heške 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:

- *hónóso’ot ‘miss (something)’*

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

Náho’ónóso’otaa’e naamáho’hestótse. I miss my car. (lit., 'My car causes loneliness to me.')
Náho’ónóso’otaenótse sémonótse. I miss the boats. (lit., 'The boats cause loneliness to me.')

- *péhéveahótam ‘like to listen to’*

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

-taa’ov ‘fit (someone)’ ADD TO TOC
É-taa’óvóho heéstse’heno. His shirt fits him. (lit., 'He fits to his shirt.')
Nátáa’ovo’o navóxóheno. 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>Verb</th>
<th>Transitive Animate Independent Indicative relational verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náa’ta’óets</td>
<td>His __ acc. hit me Náa’ta’óetsnéts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néa’ta’óets</td>
<td>His __ acc. hit you Néa’ta’óetsnéts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Èa’ta’óets</td>
<td>His __ acc. hit him Èa’ta’óetsnéts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Náa’ta’óetsnéts</td>
<td>His __ acc. hit us (ex) Náa’ta’óetsnéts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Néa’ta’óetsnéts</td>
<td>His __ acc. hit us (in) Néa’ta’óetsnéts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Néa’ta’óetsénovo</td>
<td>His __ acc. hit you (pl) Néa’ta’óetsénovo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Èa’ta’óetsénovo</td>
<td>His __ acc. hit them Èa’ta’óetsénovo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Náho’éhtáaets</td>
<td>His __ came to me Náho’éhtáaetsnéts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ného’éhtáaets</td>
<td>His __ came to you Ného’éhtáaetsnéts</td>
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<td>Èho’éhtáaets</td>
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<td>Náa’hoéhtáaetsnéts</td>
<td>His __ came to us (ex) Náa’hoéhtáaetsnéts</td>
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<td>Néa’hoéhtáaetsnéts</td>
<td>His __ came to us (in) Néa’hoéhtáaetsnéts</td>
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<tr>
<td>Néa’hoéhtáaetsénovo</td>
<td>His __ came to you (pl) Néa’hoéhtáaetsénovo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Èho’éhtáaetsénovo</td>
<td>His __ came to them Èho’éhtáaetsénovo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences
Náa’ta’óets hemóxe’éstónestotse His pencil accidentally hit me
Hemóxe’éstóonevotse náho’éhtáaetsnéntse Their books came to us

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative verbs

'not accidentally hit (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Transitive Animate Independent Indicative Negative relational verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násá’a’ta’óée</td>
<td>It did not acc. hit me Násá’a’ta’óéntse They did not acc. hit me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésá’a’ta’óée</td>
<td>It did not acc. hit you Nésá’a’ta’óéntse They did not acc. hit you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èsá’a’ta’óée</td>
<td>It did not acc. hit him Èsá’a’ta’óéntse They did not acc. hit him</td>
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<tr>
<td>Èsá’a’ta’óéhetse</td>
<td>It did not acc. hit him (obv) Èsá’a’ta’óéhentse They did not acc. hit him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Násá’a’ta’óéhénéné</td>
<td>It did not acc. hit us (ex) Násá’a’ta’óéhénëntse They did not acc. hit us (ex)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nésá’a’ta’óéhénéné</td>
<td>It did not acc. hit us (in) Nésá’a’ta’óéhénëntse They did not acc. hit us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésá’a’ta’óéhénëvo</td>
<td>It did not acc. hit you (pl) Nésá’a’ta’óéhénëvo They did not acc. hit you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èsá’a’ta’óéhénëvo</td>
<td>It did not acc. hit them Èsá’a’ta’óéhénëvo They did not acc. hit them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative relational verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Transitive Animate Independent Negative relational verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násá’a’ta’óhéhetse</td>
<td>His __ did not acc. hit me Násá’a’ta’óhéhentse His __ (pl) did not acc. hit me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésá’a’ta’óhéhetse</td>
<td>His __ did not acc. hit you Nésá’a’ta’óhéhentse His __ (pl) did not acc. hit you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èsá’a’ta’óhéhetse</td>
<td>His (obv) __ did not acc. hit him Èsá’a’ta’óhéhentse His (obv) (pl) did not acc. hit him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násá’a’ta’óhéhësntëno</td>
<td>His __ did not acc. hit us (ex) Násá’a’ta’óhéhësntëntse His __ (pl) did not acc. hit us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésá’a’ta’óhéhësntëno</td>
<td>His __ did not acc. hit us (in) Nésá’a’ta’óhéhësntëntse His __ (pl) did not acc. hit us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésá’a’ta’óhéhësntëvo</td>
<td>His __ did not acc. hit you (pl) Nésá’a’ta’óhéhësntëvo His __ (pl) did not acc. hit you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èsá’a’ta’óhéhësntëvo</td>
<td>His (obv) __ did not acc. hit them Èsá’a’ta’óhéhësntëvo His (obv) (pl) did not acc. hit them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násááho’éhtëahtëtse</td>
<td>His __ did not come to me Násááho’éhtëahtëtse His __ (pl) did not come to me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nésáaho’éhótaehetse His __ did not come to you  Nésáaho’éhótaehétsenótse His __ (pl) did not come to me
Ésáaho’éhótaehetse His (obv) __ did not come to him  Ésáaho’éhótaehétsenótse His (obv) __ (pl) did not come to him
Násáaho’éhótaehétsémóné His __ did not come to us (ex)  Násáaho’éhótaehétsenéstse His __ (pl) did not come to us (ex)
Nésáaho’éhótaehétsenóné His __ did not come to us (in)  Nésáaho’éhótaehétsenéstse His __ (pl) did not come to us (in)
Nésáaho’éhótaehétsénóvo His __ did not come to you (pl)  Nésáaho’éhótaehétsenótse His __ (pl) did not come to you (pl)
Ésáaho’éhótaehétsénóvo His (obv) __ did not come to them  Ésáaho’éhótaehétsenótse His (obv) __ (pl) did not come to them

Examples in sentences
Káhámáxe násáa’a’ta’óéhe The stick did not accidentally hit me
Ésáa’a’ta’óehétsenótse hemóxe’éstónéstotótse His (another’s) pencils did not accidentally hit him
Háomóhtáhestótse ésáaho’éhótaehetse hee’haho Sickness didn’t come to his son.
Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Interrogative verbs

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ná’a’ta’óehe</th>
<th>Did it acc. hit me?</th>
<th>Ná’a’ta’óenotse</th>
<th>Did they acc. hit me?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Né’a’ta’óehe</td>
<td>Did it acc. hit you?</td>
<td>Né’a’ta’óenotse</td>
<td>Did they acc. hit you?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Éa’ta’óehe</td>
<td>Did it acc. hit him?</td>
<td>Éa’ta’óenotse</td>
<td>Did they acc. hit him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É’a’ta’óetshe</td>
<td>Did it acc. hit him (obv)?</td>
<td>É’a’ta’óetsenotse</td>
<td>Did they acc. hit him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ná’a’ta’óenonehe</td>
<td>Did it acc. hit us (excl)?</td>
<td>Ná’a’ta’óenonevotse</td>
<td>Did they acc. hit us (excl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né’a’ta’óenonehe</td>
<td>Did it acc. hit us (incl)?</td>
<td>Né’a’ta’óenonevotse</td>
<td>Did they acc. hit us (incl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né’a’ta’óenovohe</td>
<td>Did it acc. hit you (pl)?</td>
<td>Né’a’ta’óenovotse</td>
<td>Did they acc. hit you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É’a’ta’óenovohe</td>
<td>Did it acc. hit them?</td>
<td>É’a’ta’óenovotse</td>
<td>Did they acc. hit them?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-**Ho’éhót ‘come to (someone)’**

| Ná’ho’éhótaehe | Did it come to me? | Ná’ho’éhótaenotse | Did they come to me? |
| Né’ho’éhótaehe | Did it come to you?| Né’ho’éhótaenotse | Did they come to you?|
| Ého’éhótaetshe | Did it come to him?| Ého’éhótaenotse    | Did they come to him?|
| É’a’ho’éhótaetshe | Did it come to him (obv)? | É’a’ho’éhótaetsenotse | Did they come to him (obv)? |
| Ná’ho’éhótaenonehe | Did it come to us (ex)? | Ná’ho’éhótaenonevotse | Did they come to us (ex)? |
| Né’ho’éhótaenonehe | Did it come to us (in)? | Né’ho’éhótaenonevotse | Did they come to us (in)? |
| Né’ho’éhótaenovohe | Did it come to you (pl)? | Né’ho’éhótaenovotse | Did they come to you (pl)? |
| Ého’éhótaenovohe | Did it come to them?| Ého’éhótaenovotse | Did they come to them? |

Examples in sentences

- Káhámxé né’ta’óehe? Did a stick accidentally hit you?
- Pëhévtanohéšt otse ého’ahótaetshe hestónaho? Did happiness come to his daughter (obviative)?
- Né’a’ta’óenovotse he’kon otse? Did bones accidentally hit you (plural)?

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Interrogative relational verbs

| Ná’a’ta’óetshe | Did his __ acc. hit me? | Ná’a’ta’óetsenotse | Did his __ (pl) acc. hit me? |
| Né’a’ta’óetshe | Did his __ acc. hit you?| Né’a’ta’óetsenotse | Did his __ (pl) acc. hit you?|
| Éa’ta’óetshe  | Did his __ acc. hit him?| Éa’ta’óetsenotse    | Did his __ (pl) acc. hit him?|
| É’a’ta’óetsenonehe | Did his __ acc. hit us (ex)? | É’a’ta’óetsenonevotse | Did his __ (pl) acc. hit us (ex)? |
| Né’a’ta’óetsenonehe | Did his __ acc. hit us (in)? | Né’a’ta’óetsenonevotse | Did his __ (pl) acc. hit us (in)? |
| Né’a’ta’óetsenovohe | Did his __ acc. hit you (pl)? | Né’a’ta’óetsenovotse | Did his __ (pl) acc. hit you (pl)? |
| É’a’ta’óetsenovohe | Did his __ acc. hit them?| É’a’ta’óetsenovotse | Did his __ (pl) acc. hit them? |

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Negative Interrogative verbs

| Násá’a’ta’óehehe | Didn’t it acc. hit me? | Násá’a’ta’óehonotse | Didn’t they acc. hit me? |
| Nésá’a’ta’óehehehe | Didn’t it acc. hit you?| Nésá’a’ta’óehehenotse | Didn’t they acc. hit you?|
| Ésó’a’ta’óehohehe | Didn’t it acc. hit him?| Ésó’a’ta’óehonotse    | Didn’t they acc. hit him?|
| Ésó’a’ta’óehetshehe | Didn’t it acc. hit him (obv)? | Ésó’a’ta’óehetsenotse | Didn’t they acc. hit him (obv)? |
| Nósó’a’ta’óehonenonehe | Didn’t it acc. hit us (ex)? | Nósó’a’ta’óehonenovotse | Didn’t they acc. hit us (ex)? |
| Nésó’a’ta’óehonenonehe | Didn’t it acc. hit you (pl)? | Nésó’a’ta’óehonenovotse | Didn’t they acc. hit you (pl)? |
| Ésó’a’ta’óehenovohe | Didn’t it acc. hit them?| Ésó’a’ta’óehenovotse | Didn’t they acc. hit them? |

Examples in sentences

- Hemôxé ehôhôtsé né’ta’óetshe? Did his pencil (relational) acc. hit you?
- Káhámxé nésá’a’ta’óeheshehe? Didn’t the stick accidentally hit you (plural)?
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.

\(/-\text{mét}/ 'give (something to someone)’\)

These ditransitive verbs refer to when a single inanimate object is given to someone.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne verb</th>
<th>English meaning</th>
<th>Cheyenne verb</th>
<th>English meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtse</td>
<td>I gave it to myself</td>
<td>Émétahtsetse</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétátse</td>
<td>I gave it to you</td>
<td>Námétaetsenone</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméto</td>
<td>I gave it to him</td>
<td>Námétaetsenone</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétamóho</td>
<td>I gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétaetsenőo</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nématsénóvo</td>
<td>I gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td>Êmétaenóvo</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétónóvo</td>
<td>I gave it to them</td>
<td>Némétatsemeno</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to you</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Námétone110</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Németse</td>
<td>You gave it to me</td>
<td>Námétamone111</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétahtse</td>
<td>You gave it to yourself</td>
<td>Námétahtsénőne</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméto</td>
<td>You gave it to him</td>
<td>Námétaatsetse</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamóho</td>
<td>You gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>Némétaatsemeno</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némésetsemeno108</td>
<td>You gave it to us (ex)</td>
<td>Némétoñeoo112</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némétónóvo</td>
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<td>Némétoñe113</td>
<td>We (in) gave it to him</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Némétoñone</td>
<td>We (in) gave it to him (obv)</td>
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<td>He gave it to me</td>
<td>Némétaamone</td>
<td>We (in) gave it to ourselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétaa’e</td>
<td>He gave it to you</td>
<td>Némétahtsénone</td>
<td>We (in) gave it to them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Émétahtse</td>
<td>He gave it to himself</td>
<td>Némétoñeoo114</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétoñño109</td>
<td>He gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>Némétsénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétaenóne</td>
<td>He gave it to us (excl)</td>
<td>Némétoñóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaenone</td>
<td>He gave it to us (incl)</td>
<td>Némétoñomoovo</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némétaenóvo</td>
<td>He gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némésemeno</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to us (in)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Némétahtsénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to yourselves</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

108 Also Námésetsemeno 
109 Or Émeto for some speakers because of its stem-final phonemic high pitch
110 Also Námétoñone 
111 Also Námétoñone
112 Also Námétoñone 
113 Also Némétoñone 
114 Also Némétoñone
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Némétónóvo</th>
<th>You (pl) gave it to them</th>
<th>Námétaenóvo</th>
<th>They gave it to me</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émétónóvo</td>
<td>They gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>Émétáhtsenénóvo</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétaenone</td>
<td>They gave it to us (ex)</td>
<td>Námétaetsenénóvo</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to us (ex)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némétaenone</td>
<td>They gave it to us (in)</td>
<td>Némétaetsenénóvo</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to us (in)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némétaenóvo</td>
<td>They gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némétaetsenénóvo</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétáhtsénóvo</td>
<td>They gave it to themselves</td>
<td>Émétáhtsénóvo</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétáne</td>
<td>I was given it</td>
<td>Némétatsemenóvo</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétáne</td>
<td>You were given it</td>
<td>Némétatanóntse</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émetse</td>
<td>He was given it</td>
<td>Némétamóntse</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to him (obv)</td>
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<td>Námétanénóne</td>
<td>We (ex) were given it</td>
<td>Némétatsemenóntse</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétanénóne</td>
<td>We (in) were given it</td>
<td>Némétatsemenóntse</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétsénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) were given it</td>
<td>Némétonóntse</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émetsénóvo</td>
<td>They were given it</td>
<td>Némétaetsenóntse</td>
<td>We (in) gave them to themselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*'give (some things to someone)'*

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Námétatsemenótsé</th>
<th>I gave them to myself</th>
<th>Námétsenótsé</th>
<th>You (pl) gave them to me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némétsenótsé</td>
<td>I gave them to you</td>
<td>Némétsenótsé</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétonótsé</td>
<td>I gave them to him</td>
<td>Némétamóntse</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them to him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétatsemenótsé</td>
<td>I gave them to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némétatsemenótsé</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétonótsé</td>
<td>I gave them to them</td>
<td>Némétaetsenótsé</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them to themselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Námétaenótsé</th>
<th>You gave them to me</th>
<th>Námétaenótsé</th>
<th>They gave them to us (ex)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némétaetsenótsé</td>
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</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>Námétahtsenötse</th>
<th>I gave him to myself</th>
<th>Námétaenövo</th>
<th>They gave him (obv) to me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Némétatsonötse</td>
<td>I gave him to you</td>
<td>Némétaenövo</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétatonoto</td>
<td>I gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Émétonovo</td>
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<td>Námétamónoto</td>
<td>I gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétaenóneo'o</td>
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<tr>
<td>Németatšenövo</td>
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<td>Námétaenóneo'o</td>
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<tr>
<td>Náméttonono</td>
<td>I gave him (obv') to them</td>
<td>Námétaenóvoo'o</td>
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<td>Námétanénéone</td>
<td>We (ex) were given him</td>
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<td>Némétsemenö</td>
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<td>Námétanénéone</td>
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<tr>
<td>Néméttonovo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétanöto</td>
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<td>Némétanenötse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétatsonöto</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>

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115 Also Námétamónone
116 Also Némétamónone
/-mét/ 'give (plural animate objects to someone)'

These ditransitive verbs refer to when more than one animate object is given to someone.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbose Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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117 This can also be translated as 'him (obv) since obviatives can be either singular or plural.
118 Also Námétamónóne
119 Also Námétamónóne
Some other Ditransitive Independent Indicative verbs
Návóo'séhonôtse I showed them (inan) to him
Évóo'sêhônôto He showed them (obv') to him (obv)
Návóo'sêhaenône He showed it to us (exclusive)
Návóo'sêhaenoto He showed them (obv) to me
Nánomáhtsêhaenôtse He stole them (inanimate) from me
Nánomáhtsêhaenoto He stole him (obv) from me

Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs
Násáamétôhe I didn't give it to him
Násáamétaêhe He didn't give it to me
Násáavóo'séhaêhe He didn't show it to me
Násáamêtôhenôtse I didn't give them (inanimate) to them
Ésáamétaehénôvó He (obviative) didn't give it to them
Násáamêtôhenônestse We (exclusive) didn't give them (inanimate) to him
Nésáamêtôhenône We (inclusive) didn't give it to him
Násáamétaehénovôtse They didn't give them (inanimate) to you
Násáamétaehénovôto They didn't give him/them (obv) to me
Násáanomáhtsêhóhenôtse I did not steal them (inanimate) from him

Some Ditransitive Independent Interrogative verbs
Némétohe? Did you give it to him?
Émétohovohe? Did he give it to him (obviative)?
Némétonovohe? Did you (plural) give it to him?
Émétonovohe? Did they give it to him (obv)?
Némétaenotse? Did he give them (inanimate) to you?
Némétaenotohe? Did he give him (obvative) to you?
Névóo'séhônovohe?? Did you (plural) show them (inanimate) to them?

Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Interrogative verbs
Nésáamétôhénovohe? ?? Didn't you (plural) give it to them?
Nésáamétaehenôtohe? ?? Didn't he give them (inanimate) to you?
Ésáamétaehénotohe? Didn't he (obv) give him (obv') to him?

Some Ditransitive Independent Inferential verbs
Mómétohenôtse He must have given them (inanimate) to him (obv)
Mónávóo'sêhaehénôtohe?? He must have shown him (obviative) to me
Mónánomáhtsêhaehêhe He must have stolen it from me

Some Ditransitive Imperative verbs
Métseha! Give it to him!
Néhmetsêstse!120 Give it to me!

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

---

120 This includes the cislocative preverb néh-, which is the most common way of saying this command. This preverb is high-pitched in commands, but low-pitched elsewhere.
Overview of Conjunct Order modes

The conjunct order is used for dependent verbs and a few verb types\(^{121}\) which function as independent verbs. Conjunct modes express a variety of modal relationships that the action or state of a conjunct verb has to an independent verb to which it has a syntactic relationship. Conjunct modes are differentiated by mode prefixes. In the conjunct order, animacy, person, number, and obviation of subjects and objects are marked only by suffixes. Here is an overview of conjunct modes:

Indicative

The conjunct indicative refers to an action or state which a speaker assumes to have occurred or be true. The conjunct indicative prefix is tsé-. It is most commonly followed by the morpheme /h-/ which appears to be the same morpheme as the past tense /h-/ of the independent order. However, this /h-/ has a wider semantic range in the conjunct order than it does in the independent order. In the independent order this /h-/ only refers to past tense (farther back in time than English past tense). In the conjunct order, however, this /h-/ can also function to indicate location and a generic form of causality.

- **tséhnéménése**\(^{122}\) when/where/since he sang
- **tséhmanéto** when/where/since I drank
- **tséhvóonā’o** when/since it was morning

Potential

The conjunct potential mode refers to an action or state which has not yet occurred, but, typically, a speaker expects to occur. The prefix for the potential mode is máh-. Suffixes in the potential for third person subjects require an /ht/ whereas third person suffixes in the indicative are usually /s/.

- **máhméovóonā’o** when it is morning
- **máhnèxho'èhnéstse** when he arrives

Conditional

This mode uses the potential prefix and adds the preverb vé'- to it, creating a conditional:

- **máhvé'néménéstse** if he sings
- **máhvé'háomóhtáhévōhtse** 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

\(^{121}\) A few Cheyenne verbs have conjunct morphology but function as independent verbs. Among them are negative inferentials, optatives, and the obligative mode. There are some conjunction indicatives which function as independent verbs, if they include an oh- preverb following the tsé- conjunct indicative prefix. This oh- preverb is obsolescing and is not well understood. **\$RECHECK AND NOTE DICY AND TEXT EXAMPLES??**. The few Cheyenne conjunct forms that can function as independent verbs may reflect earlier wider usage of pre-Cheyenne conjuncts functioning as independents, since some conjunct verbs still function as independent verbs in some other Algonquian languages.

\(^{122}\) Some speakers also say tséhnéménéstse. It is unclear what, if any, difference there is between tséhnéménése and tséhnéménéstse.
vé’hetanéveto  

if you were a man

Iterative

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

hó’néménèse  
whenever he sang

hó’tonéto  
whenever it was cold

Habitual

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

Épéhévoöstomo’he. ’She is kind.’ Response: ȯhnaóotseséstse! ’when she's asleep’
(humorous response about a sister-in-law)

ȯhméóvóona’oo’éstse  
in the mornings

Concessive

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

hó’néšenéménéstse  
even if he sings, even though he sang

hó’néšé-hoháetonéto  
even if it is really cold

Contraindicative

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

Máa’séóhe néménéstse.  
I thought he was singing (but he wasn't).

Máa’séóhe hámóóhtáheto.  
I thought you were sick (but you aren't).

Optative

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

Momóxenéménéstse  
I wish he would sing.

Momóxéhéne’enómo.  
I wish I understood it.

Interrogative

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

éónéménéstse  
whether/if he sang (e.g. I wonder if he sang)

Násáahéne’enóhe éóhoo’kóho  
I don't know whether/if it rained

Obligative

The obligative uses the prefix áh-. This conjunct mode may be nearly obsolescent. Its meaning
is now commonly expressed with the me'- 'should' preverb in a verb of the independent order.

Áhnémeneséstse He should sing (cf. Éme'néméne 'He should sing')

**Oratio Obliqua**

The term oratio obliqua comes from Petter (1952:105). This mode is marked by a word-final conjunct suffix –vo. It is difficult to characterize the meaning of this mode suffix. Petter stated that it "refers or relates to a place or time removed from one" (1952:106). It is possible that this –vo suffix is related to the –vo suffix of absentative participles. The spiritual song "Jesus Above" (from the book Tsese-ma'heone-nemeotótse, page _____) has a verb in the oratio oblique mode:

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

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

**Infinitive**

\[ \text{RECHECK: This mode takes the prefix é- plus the me'- 'should' preverb and the heše- complementizer preverb.} \]

\[ \text{émehése-néménéstse} \quad \text{how he should sing ??} \]

**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-.

\[ \text{(Mó)ho'nó-néménéstse} \quad \text{He must not have sung} \]
\[ \text{Ho'nó-hoo'kóhóhane??} \quad \text{It must not have rained} \]

**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-.

| tsénéménéstse | the singer (i.e. the one who sings) |
| tsénémenese | the singers (those who sing) |
| tséheškese | the one who is his mother |
| Tsétséhéstâhese (Tsitsistas) | Cheyennes (i.e. those who are Cheyennes) |
| néhnésése | the two of you |
| néhno'kâhéto | I alone |
| nóstóxétsese | all of us |

Participles are required when a verb is needed to ask Cheyenne questions about 'What?' (e.g. Hénáá'e) and 'Who?' (e.g. Névááhe): RECHECK
Conjunct Order morphology summary
("tse" = /te/; "est" = /eht/; /eht/ = "est")

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

AI
-tó 1 [-tó(n)?]
-to 2 [-tó(s)?]
-s´ 3
-et 3' (obviative)
-tsé /-té/ 1PL
-sé 2PL
-vós 3PL

AI participles
-tó 1
-to 2
-hť´ 3
-tse-se /-te-se/ 3'
-tsé 1PL
-sé 2PL
-se 3PL

AI iterative
-tó 1
-to 2
-hť
-tse-hť 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'é + -s (INV-3.CJT) 3:1
- áta'e 3:2 (INV.2.CJT) 3:2
- s' 3:3'
- tse 3(PL)咨:1PL
- sé 3(PL)咨:2PL
- a'é + -tse + -s (INV-OBV-3.CJT) 3':1
- áta' + -osé 3(PL)'-2
- ae + -s (INV-3.CJT) 3':3
- a'é + -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'é + -ht 3:1
-ht’ 3:3’
-ae + -ht 3’:3
-a’é + -vo + -ht’ 3PL:1

TI

(These take the FTI theme of /-ó(m)/ instead of /-á(n)/ of the Independent Order.)

-é ~ -ó 1:I(PL) (Or is the /-m/ part of the FTI theme?)
-e ~ -o 2:I(PL)
- (no additional suffix)
-tse + -s (OBV-3.CJT) 3’:I(PL)
-a + -tsé 1PL:I(PL) (What is -a here?)
-a + -sé 2PL:I(PL)
-e + -vó + -s 3PL:I(PL)

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Indicative verbs

/-némené/ 'sing'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhñémenéto</td>
<td>when I sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséñémeneto</td>
<td>when you sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhñéménése</td>
<td>when he sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhñémenetsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhñémenétse</td>
<td>when we sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhñémenése</td>
<td>when you (plural) sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhñémenévose</td>
<td>when they sang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-mané 'drink'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhmanéto</td>
<td>when I drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmaneto</td>
<td>when you drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmanése</td>
<td>when he drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmanetsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmanétse</td>
<td>when we drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmanése</td>
<td>when you (plural) drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmanévose</td>
<td>when they drank</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséxháóénáto</td>
<td>when I prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháoenato</td>
<td>when you prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháóénáse</td>
<td>when he prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháoensése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháóénátse</td>
<td>when we prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháóénsése</td>
<td>when you (plural) prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháóénávose</td>
<td>when they prayed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-mésehe 'eat'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhméséhéto</td>
<td>when I ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhméséhéto</td>
<td>when you ate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

123 It is uncertain whether a penultimate pitch is mid or high when it is preceded by one or more low pitches.
124 There is no difference between exclusive and inclusive 'we' subjects of Cheyenne AI conjunct verbs.
It is uncertain if the penultimate pitch is high or mid when it is preceded by one or more low pitches.
### /-émá/ 'take a sweat'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé'émáto</td>
<td>when I took a sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'émato</td>
<td>when you took a sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'émàse</td>
<td>when he took a sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'ématsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) took a sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'émátse</td>
<td>when we took a sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'émáse</td>
<td>when you (plural) took a sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'émávóse</td>
<td>when they took a sweat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### -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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhnéehóvéto</td>
<td>as for myself $$RECHECK GLOSSES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhnéehóveto</td>
<td>as for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhnéehovése</td>
<td>as for him/her</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhnéehovésé??</td>
<td>as for him/her (obviative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhnéehóvétse</td>
<td>as for us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhnéehovése</td>
<td>as for you (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhnéehóvévóse</td>
<td>as for them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### néh- prefix conjunct verbs

Some conjunct forms take a néh- prefix and conjunct indicative third person suffixes but have meanings more like participles:

**'the one alone'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>néhno'kahéto</td>
<td>I alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhno'káheto</td>
<td>you alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhno'kaese</td>
<td>he/she alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhno'kahetsése??</td>
<td>he/she (obviative) alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhno'káhétse??</td>
<td>we alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhno'kahése??</td>
<td>you (plural) alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhno'kahévóse</td>
<td>they alone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**'both of'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>néhnéšétse</td>
<td>both of us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhnésése</td>
<td>both of you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhnésévóse</td>
<td>both of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhnéšetsése??</td>
<td>both of them (obviative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**'all of'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>néstóxétse</td>
<td>all of us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstóxése</td>
<td>all of you (plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstóxévóse</td>
<td>all of them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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: Máhnémeneto naïhtapéhétanóotse 'When you sing I’ll be happy'.

/-némené/ 'sing'

máhnémenéto when I sing
máhnémeneto when you sing
máhnéménéstse when he sings
máhnéménetséstse when he (obviative) sings
máhnéménétse when we sing
máhnéménése when you (plural) sing
máhnéménévóhtse when they sing

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

máxháóénáto when I pray
máxháoenato when you pray
máxháóénátse when he prays
máxháóenatséstse when he (obviative) prays
máxháóénátse when we pray
máxháóénáse when you (plural) pray
máxháóénávóhtse when they pray

-mésehe 'eat'

máhméséhéto when I eat
máhméséheto when you eat
máhméseestse when he eats
máhméséhetséstse when he (obviative) eats
máhméséhétse when we eat
máhméséhése when you (plural) eat
máhméséhévóhtse when they eat

/-sévanó/ 'ski, skate'

máśévanóto when I skate
máśévanoto when you skate
máśévánóhtse when he skates
máśévanotséstse when he (obviative) skates
máśévanótse when we skate
máśévanóse when you (plural) skate
máśévanóvóhtse when they skate

/-ovešená/ 'go to bed'

ma’ovešenáto when I go to bed
ma’ovešenato when you go to bed
ma’ovešéstse when he goes to bed
ma’ovešenatséstse when he (obviative) goes to bed
ma’ovešenátse when we go to bed
ma’ovešenáse when you (plural) go to bed
ma’ovešenávóhtse when they go to bed
Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

/-némené/ 'sing'

- némenéhéto when I did not sing
- némenéheto when you did not sing
- némenéée when he did not sing
- némenéhetsése when he (obviative) did not sing
- némenéhéése when we did not sing
- némenéhéése when you (plural) did not sing
- némenéhévéése when they did not sing

/-mésehe 'eat'

- méshéhéto when I did not eat
- méshéheto when you did not eat
- méshéhéése when he did not eat
- méshéhetsése when he (obviative) did not eat
- méshéhésése when you (pl) did not eat
- méshéhésése when they did not eat

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

- häóénahéto when I did not pray
- häóénaheto when you did not pray
- häóénääése when he did not pray
- häóénähetsése when he (obviative) did not pray
- häóénähése when you (pl) did not pray
- häóénähésése when they did not pray

/-néé/ 'be standing'

- nééhéto when I was not standing
- nééheto when you were not standing
- nééése when he was not standing
- nééhetsése when he (obviative) was not standing
- nééhéése when you were not standing
- nééhévéése when they were not standing

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

- häoo'e /-hoo/ when I was not (here/there)
- häoo'heto when you were not (here/there)
- häoo'ése when he was not (here/there)
- häoo'hetsése when he (obviative) was not (here/there)
- häoo'hése when you were not (here/there)
- häoo'hésése when they were not (here/there)

---

126 It is uncertain if the penultimate pitch is mid or high when there are one or more low pitches preceding it.
Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Potential verbs

/-némené/ 'sing'

másáanénênéhéto when I do not sing
másáanémenéheto when you do not sing
másáanénênééstse when he does not sing
másáanémenéhetséstse when he (obviative) does not sing
másáanénênéhétsë when we do not sing
másáanémenéhéssé when you (plural) do not sing
másáanémenéhévôhtse when they do not sing

-mésehe 'eat'

másáaméséhéhéto when I do not eat
másáaméséhéheto when you do not eat
másáaméhéhééstse when he does not eat
másáaméhêhéhetséstse when he (obviative) does not eat
másáaméséhéhêtse when we do not eat
másáaméséhéhêsé when you (plural) do not eat
másáaméséhéhévôhtse when they do not eat

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

másáaháoóénhéto when I do not pray
másáaháoóénêheto when you do not pray
másáaháoóéhêéstse when he does not pray
másáaháoóéhêhêstsë when he (obviative) does not pray
másáaháoóéhêhétsë when we do not pray
másáaháoóéhêsé when you (plural) do not pray
másáaháoóéhévôhtse when they do not pray

/-néé/ 'be standing'

másáanéhéhéto when I am not standing
másáahnéhéheto when you are not standing
másáanéhééstse when he is not standing
másáanéhéhêstsë when he (obviative) is not standing
másáanéhéhêtse when we are not standing
másáanéhéhése when you (plural) are not standing
másáanéhéhévôhtse when they are not standing

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

másáahoehéto\(^{127}\) when I am not (here/there)
másáahoehtse when he is not (here/there)
másáahoehêstsë when he (obviative) is not (here/there)
másáahoehtse when we are not (here/there)
másáahohehêse when you (plural) are not (here/there)
másáahoehvôhtse when they are not (here/there)

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Habitual verbs

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

\(^{127}\) It is uncertain if the penultimate pitch is mid or high when there are one or more low pitches preceding it.
often omitted. Conjunct habitual verbs require suffixes in addition to the normal AI person and number suffixes.

-\textit{naóotse 'sleep'}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(óh)naóotsétonh\textit{tse}</td>
<td>when I sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(óh)naóotséto\textit{s}éstse</td>
<td>when you sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(óh)naóotsésetse\textit{s}éstse</td>
<td>when he sleeps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(óh)naóotsétesetse\textit{e}éstse</td>
<td>when he (obviative) sleeps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(óh)naóotsésee\textit{e}éstse</td>
<td>when we sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(óh)naóotsésésee\textit{e}éstse</td>
<td>when you (plural) sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(óh)naóotsésévósésetse</td>
<td>when they sleep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{\textendash ho'sóe/ 'dance'}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xho'sóetonh\textit{tse}</td>
<td>when I dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'sóeto\textit{s}éstse</td>
<td>when you dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'sóesésetse</td>
<td>when he dances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'sóetsésésésetse</td>
<td>when he (obviative) dances</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'sóetsee\textit{e}éstse</td>
<td>when we dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'sóosee\textit{e}éstse</td>
<td>when you (plural) dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'sóevósésetse</td>
<td>when they dance</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{\textendash mésehe 'eat'}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to'séméséhétonh\textit{tse}</td>
<td>when I'm going to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'séméséhéto\textit{s}éstse</td>
<td>when you are going to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'séméséhesésésetse</td>
<td>when he is going to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'séméséhetsésésésetse</td>
<td>when he (obviative) is going to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'séméséhésésee\textit{e}éstse</td>
<td>when we are going to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'séméséhésee\textit{e}éstse</td>
<td>when you (plural) are going to eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to'séméséhvósésetse</td>
<td>when they are going to eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Generic}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sáanaóotséheto\textit{n}ónh\textit{tse}</td>
<td>when I do not sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáanaóotséhotosésetse</td>
<td>when you do not sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáanaóotséhesésésetse</td>
<td>when he does not sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáanaóotséhetsésésésetse</td>
<td>when he (obviative) does not sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáanaóotséhésésee\textit{e}éstse</td>
<td>when you (plural) do not sleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sáanaóotséhvósésetse</td>
<td>when they do not sleep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textbf{Examples in sentences}

- \textit{Ohnaóotsésetse néohkenésó'ene}me.\textsuperscript{128} When(ever) you sleep you snore.
- \textit{Xho'sóetonóte} néakhéhátsé'tóó'e he'eo'o.\textsuperscript{129} When I dance the women laugh at me.
- \textit{Tsévéstoemo éohkéhéné'ená to'séméséhétonóhtse}. My wife knows when I'm going to eat.
- \textit{Ma'heo'o éohképéhávtáste óhméhosanétsee'éstse}. God likes it when we love.

\textsuperscript{128} Some speakers consider the iterative mode more natural: \textit{Ho'naóotseto néohkenésó'ene}me 'Whenever you sleep you snore.'

\textsuperscript{129} Some speakers consider the iterative mode more natural: \textit{Ho'ho'sóéto néakhéhátsé'tóó'e he'eo'o} 'Whenever I dance the women laughed at me.'
Animate Intransitive Conjunct Iterative verbs

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

/-némené/ ‘sing’

- hó'némenéto whenever I sang/sing
- hó'némeneto whenever you sang/sing
- hó'néménéstse whenever he sang/sings
- hó'němenetséstse whenever he (obviative) sang/sings
- hó'némenétse whenever we sang/sing
- hó'němenése whenever you (plural) sang/sing
- hó'němenévōhtse whenever they sang/sing

-a'xaame 'cry'

- hó'ea'xaamēto130 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'xaamēvōhtse whenever they cried/cry

Examples in sentences

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

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

Negative inferentials take the forms of the conjunct order but function like verbs of the independent order. They are the negative counterparts to the animate intransitive independent order positive inferentials, seen earlier in the independent order verbs section of this book. Note that these negative inferentials require an old negative preverb ho'nó-, rather than the usual negative preverb sáa-. Ho'nó- seems to appear only in negative inferentials. The inferential prefix mó- may optionally appear on negative inferentials. In previous editions of this book negative inferentials were translated as intensives. For instance, Móho'nónemenéto was translated as 'No doubt I did not sing'. The claim of intensive meaning was incorrect. Instead, negative inferentials have the same meaning as positive inferentials (taking the independent order), except that they have a negative meaning.

/-némené/ 'sing'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Móho'nónemenéto</th>
<th>Móho'nónemeneto</th>
<th>Móho'nónéménéstse</th>
<th>Móho'nónemenetséstse</th>
<th>Móho'nónemenétse</th>
<th>Móho'nónemenése</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I must not have sung</td>
<td>You must not have sung</td>
<td>He must not have sung</td>
<td>He (obviative) must not have sung</td>
<td>We must not have sung</td>
<td>You (plural) must not have sung</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-mésehe 'eat'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Móho'nóméséheto</th>
<th>Móho'nóméséheto</th>
<th>Móho'nóméseestse</th>
<th>Móho'nóméséhetséstse</th>
<th>Móho'nóméséhéstse</th>
<th>Móho'nóméséhovhtse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I must not have eaten</td>
<td>You must not have eaten</td>
<td>He must not have eaten</td>
<td>He (obviative) must not have eaten</td>
<td>We must not have eaten</td>
<td>They must not have eaten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Ho'nóháóénáto</th>
<th>Ho'nóhaoenato</th>
<th>Ho'nóháóénähtse</th>
<th>Ho'nóhaoenatséstse</th>
<th>Ho'nóháóénätse</th>
<th>Ho'nóháóénáse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I must not have prayed</td>
<td>You must not have prayed</td>
<td>He must not have prayed</td>
<td>He (obviative) must not have prayed</td>
<td>We must not have prayed</td>
<td>You (plural) must not have prayed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Participles

/-némené/ 'sing'

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

/-hetanév/ 'be a man'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tséhetanéveto</th>
<th>tséhetanévéto</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I who am a man</td>
<td>you who are a man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tséhetanevéstse  he who is a man
tséhetanévetse  he (obviative) who is a man
tséhetanévétse  we who are men
tséhetanévése  you (plural) who are men
tséhetanévese  they who are men

/-háóéná/ 'pray'
tséháóénáto  I who pray
tséháoenato  you who pray
tséháóénáhtse  he who prays
tséháoenatsese  he (obviative) who prays
tséháóénátse  we who pray
tséháóénáse  you (plural) who pray
tséháoenase  they who pray

-tséhéstahahe 'be Cheyenne'
Tsétséhéstahéto  I who am a Cheyenne
Tsétséhéstaheto  you who are a Cheyenne
Tsétséhéstaaestse  he who is a Cheyenne
Tsétséhéstahétsese  he (obviative) who is a Cheyenne (practical spelling: Tsitsistaists)
Tsétséhéstahéte  we who are Cheyennes (practical spelling: Tsitsistats)
Tsétséhéstahése  you (plural) who are Cheyennes
Tsétséhéstahese  they who are Cheyennes (practical spelling: Tsitsistas)

-hotse‘ohe 'work'
tséhotse‘óhéto  I who work
tséhotse‘óheto  you who work
tséhotse‘óestse  he who works
tséhotse‘óhetsese  he (obviative) who works
tséhotse‘óhétse  we who work
tséhotse‘óhése  you (plural) who work
ntséhotse‘óhese  they who work

Examples in sentences
Tsénémenese étsehéstaha'oo  The singers are Cheyennes
Hóhtséme tséheóvaestse étahpeta  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'
tsésánémenénéhéto  I who do not sing
tsésánémenéheto  you who do not sing
tsésánémeñééstse  he who does not sing
tsésánémenéhetsese  he (obviative) who does not sing
tsésánémenéhétse  we who do not sing
tsésánémenéhese  you (plural) who do not sing
tsésánémenéhese  they who do not sing

/-hetanéve/ 'be a man'
tsésáahetanévéhéto  I who am not a man
ntsésáahetanévéheto  you who are not a man
ntsésáahetanévééstse??  he who is not a man
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'
  tsésáaháóénáníhéto  I who do not pray
  tsésáaháoenáheto  you who do not pray
  tsésáaháóénáéstse??  he who does not pray
  tsésáaháoenáhetsese??  he (obviative) who does not pray
  tsésáaháóénáhése  we who does not pray
  tsésáaháoenáhése  you (plural) who does not pray
  tsésáaháóénáhe  they who does not pray

-hotse'ohe 'work'
  tsésáahotse'óhéhéto  I who do not work
  tsésáahotse'óheheto  you who do not work
  tsésáahotse'óééstse??  he who does not work
  tsésáahotse'óhehetsese  he (obviative) who does not work
  tsésáahotse'óhéhéte  we who do not work
  tsésáahotse'óhehése  you (plural) who does not work
  tsésáahotse'óhehese  they who does not work

Examples in sentences
Nánōhtsevátámo tsésáahoééstse?131  I miss the one who isn't here
Nánēševátámo tsésaháóénáéstse  I pity the one who doesn't pray
Mómáta'eehohevóhe hetanóho tsésáahotse'óhehetsese  He must be angry at the man (obviative)
  who isn't working

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

- tséhvóonā’o  when it was morning
- tséxhoo’kóho  when it rained
- tséxhó’ta  when it was (here/there)
- tséxho’taa’ėstse  when they (inanimate) were (here/there)
- tsé’ó’o  when it was dry
- tsé’ó’oo’ėstse  when they (inanimate) were (here/there)

Examples in sentences:
Tséhvóonā’o nátatsēhe’ōhtse É’ėxováhtóva  This morning I went to Billings
Nátavóóhta mòxe’ėstoo’o tséxhó’ta máhe’one  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’kohotse  when it rained (relational)
- tséxho’tatse  when it was (here/there)
- tséxho’tatsee’ėstse (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’kêšenahēhe tséhvóona’otse  He must have gotten stuck this morning (relational)
Éaseōhtse tséxhoo’kohotse  He left when it was raining (relational)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

- tséssáahoo’kóhóhane  when it did not rain
- tséssáaho’táhane  when it was not (here/there)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Generic verbs

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

- óhvóona’oo’ėstse  in the mornings
- óhtonétoo’ėstse  when it's cold
- xhoo’kóhoo’ėstse  when it rains
- xho’éeto’ėstse  when it snows
- to’séháoho’taa’ėstse  when it's going to be hot
- óhméséhéstovee’ėstse  when there is eating

Examples in sentences
Hátšéskheo őohkēhéne’enánovo to’śehoo’kóhoo’ėstse  Ants know when it's going to rain
(Őx)háoho’taa’ėstse náohkeametó’hóna  When it's hot I swim

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

(ó)xho'ëtotsëe’ëstse when it snows (relational)
to'semésëhéstovëtsee’ëstse when there's going to be eating (relational)

Examples in sentences

(Ó)xho'ëtotsëe’ëstse éohkevá’nenaöotse ma'hákéso When it snows (rel) the old man just sleeps.
Épëhévanoo'o òhmésëhéstovëtsee’ëstse They are happy when there's eating (rel)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential verbs

These function as independent order inferential mode verbs but take the affixes of the conjunct order.

(Mó)ho'nóhoo'kóho It must not have rained
(Mó)ho'nópëhëva’ë It must not be good
(Mó)ho'nópëhëva’ee’ëstse They (inanimate) must not be good
(Mó)ho'nómësëhéstove There must not have been eating

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential relational verbs

(Mó)ho'nópëhëva’ë It (relational) must not be good
(Mó)ho'nómësëhéstove There must not have been eating (relational)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Participles

tsehéóvo that which is yellow
tséhëovoo’ëstse those which are yellow
tséhëovëstëavoo’ë yellow flower (lit., that which is yellow-headed plant)
tséhëovëstëavoo’ëëstse yellow flowers
tséhëesevót’ë that which boils
tséhëesevót’ëëstse those (inanimate) which are boiling
tseñëphëva’ë that which is good
tsépëhëva’eeëstse those (inanimate) which are good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Participles

tsésháaho’táhane that which is not (here/there)
tsésháaho’táhanëehëëstse those which are not (here/there)
tséshëaheóvëhane that which is not yellow
tséshëaheóvëhanëehëëstse those which are not yellow
tséshëapëhëva’ëhane that which is not good
tséshëapëhëva’ëhanëehëëstse those which are not good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Relational Participles

tseñëhëovëtse that (relational) which is yellow
tséhëovëtsee’ëstse those (relational) which are yellow
tséhëesevët’sëtse that (relational) which is boiling
tséhëesevët’tësee’ëstse those (relational) which are boiling
tsépéhéva'etse that (relational) which is good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Relational Participles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phrase</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáaho'táhanéhetse</td>
<td>that (relational) which is not (here/there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáaho'táhanéhetsee'ëstse</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'ëstse</td>
<td>those (relational) which are not yellow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáapéhéva'éhanéhetse</td>
<td>that (relational) which is not good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáapéhéva'éhanéhetsee'ëstse</td>
<td>those (relational) which are not good</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

Éhestána ho'évohkótse tsésáapéhéva'éhanéhetse He must have taken the meat that (rel) isn't good.

Nátavóóhta hemáhē’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)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Example Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomáhtsēto</td>
<td>when I saw myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomātse</td>
<td>when I saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamo</td>
<td>when I saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomatsēse</td>
<td>when I saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomōno</td>
<td>when I saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóometo</td>
<td>when you saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóómáhtseto</td>
<td>when you saw yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóómose</td>
<td>when you saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamose</td>
<td>when you saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomemenoto</td>
<td>when you saw us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomōse</td>
<td>when you saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóoma'ēse</td>
<td>when he saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomāta'e</td>
<td>when he saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomahsēse</td>
<td>when he saw himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomōse</td>
<td>when he saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomāetse</td>
<td>when he saw us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaēse</td>
<td>when he saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóoma'etsēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomatā'ōse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaa'ēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōamatsētse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóamātse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóamāēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóamōse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomatsemeno</td>
<td>when we (ex) saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomōn</td>
<td>when we saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomamō</td>
<td>when we saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomatsētse</td>
<td>when we saw ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomatsemeno</td>
<td>when we (ex) saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomō</td>
<td>when we saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomēse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomōse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomamō</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomemenoto</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomōse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw yourselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-Also pronounced as tsé'ovéstomō étse
–héne'enov 'know (someone)'

The "ov" at the end of TA verb stems contracts in the inverse voice. $$RECHECK PARADIGM

tséxhéne'enóvâhatsêto when I knew myself  
tséxhéne'enovâtse when I knew you  
tséxhéne'enovo when I knew him  
tséxhéne'enóvâtsése? when I knew you (pl)  
tséxhéne'enovôno when I knew them

tséxhéne'enoveto when you knew me  
tséxhéne'enovâhtseto when you knew yourself  
tséxhéne'enovôse when you knew him  
tséxhéne'enovemenoto when you knew us (ex)  
tséxhéne'enovôse when you knew them

tséxhéne'enóvâtéése when he knew me  
tséxhéne'enovâta'e? when he knew you  
tséxhéne'enóvatâhêsése when he knew himself  
tséxhéne'enôvamôse when he knew him (obv)  
tséxhéne'enoë tôse when he knew us

tséxhéne'enova'etsêse? when he (obv) knew me  
tséxhéne'enata'ôse? when he (obv) knew you  
tséxhéne'enoo'ëse when he (obv) knew him  
tséxhéne'enoëhtsêsése? when he (obv) knew himself  
tséxhéne'enoëtse when he (obv) knew us  
tséxhéne'enoëse when he (obv) knew you (pl)  
tséxhéne'enoëvôse when he (obv) knew them

tséxhéne'enovatemenoto when we (ex) knew you  
tséxhéne'enovôtse when we knew him  
tséxhéne'enôvamôtse when we knew him (obv)  
tséxhéne'enóvâhtsêsése when we knew ourselves  
tséxhéne'enôvatemenoto when (ex) knew you (pl)  
tséxhéne'enovôtse when we knew them

tséxhéne'enovôse when you (pl) knew me  
tséxhéne'enovôse? when you (pl) knew you  
tséxhéne'enovovôse when you (pl) knew him  
tséxhéne'enoëtse when you knew us  
tséxhéne'enoëse when you (pl) knew them

tséxhéne'enôvâta'e? when they knew me  
tséxhéne'enôngâta'ôse? when they knew you  
tséxhéne'enoëvôse when they knew him (obv)  
tséxhéne'enoëtsêse when they knew us  
tséxhéne'enoëse when they knew you (pl)  
tséxhéne'ênôvâhtsêsêsêsêsêsêsêsês when they knew themselves

tséxhéne'enona'etse when I was known  
tséxhéne'emonêto when I was known  
tséxhéne'emoneto when you were known  
tséxhéne'enoëse when he was known  
tséxhéne'enôngêtsêsêsêsês when he (obv) was known  
tséxhéne'emonêtse when we were known  
tséxhéne'emonêse when you (pl) were known  
tséxhéne'emonôhêvôse when they were known
Transitive Animate Conjunct Potential verbs

-vóom 'see (someone)'

máhvéoomáhtsěto  when I see myself
máhvéoomáte  when I see you
máhvéoomo  when I see him
máhvéoomam  when I see him (obv)
máhvéoomatsěse  when I see you (pl)
máhvéoomônô  when I see them
máhvéoometo  when you see me
máhvéoomáhtseto  when you see yourself
máhvéoomóhtse  when you see him
máhvéoomamóhtse  when you see him (obv)
máhvéoomameneto  when you see us (ex)
máhvéoomôse  when you see them
máhvéoomá’êstse  when he sees me
máhvéoomáta’ê  when he sees you
máhvéoomáhtséetse  when he sees himself
máhvéoomóhtse  when he sees him
máhvéoomáëse  when he sees us
máhvéoomáëvôse  when he sees you (pl)
máhvéooma'êtsêese  when he (obv) sees me
máhvéooma'tâ'ôse  when he (obv) sees you
máhvéoomaa’êstse  when he (obv) sees him
máhvéoomahtsêsesê  when he (obv) sees himself
máhvéoomaëse  when he (obv) sees us
máhvéoomâevese  when he (obv) sees you (pl)
máhvéoomatsemeneto  when we (ex) see you
máhvoomôste  when we see him
máhvéoomamôste  when we see him (obv)
máhvéoomamâste  when we see ourselves
máhvéoomateneto  when we see you (pl)
máhvéoomese  when we see them
máhvéoomëse  when you (pl) see me
máhvéoomôse  when you (pl) see him
máhvéoomamôse  when you (pl) see him (obv)
máhvéoomamoteneto  when you (pl) see us (ex)
máhvéoomamâste  when you (pl) see yourselves
máhvéoomôste  when you (pl) see them
máhvéoomâvôhte  when they see me
máhvéoomâta’ôse  when they see you
máhvéoomôvôhte  when they see him (obv)
máhvéoomâëste  when they see us
máhvéoomâëse  when they see you (pl)
máhvéoomâhtsêvôhte when they see themselves
máhvéomanêto  when I am seen
máhvéomaneto  when you are seen
máhvéomâste  when he is seen
máhvéometsêse?? when he (obv) is seen
máhvéomanêtse  when we are seen
máhvéomanêse  when you (pl) are seen
máhvéomëvôhte  when they are seen

Other examples
máhvéstáhémâ'êstse when he (obv) helps him
máhméota’â’êstse  when he (obv) fights him
máxhéne’ênôéstse when he knows us
máxhovéstomôêtse when he teaches us
máxho’ëtseho when I bring him
máxho’ëtseôse when you bring him
máxho’ëtseôssé when he brings him (obv)
máxho’ëtseôhtse when we bring him
máxhéne’ênôô’ëstse when he knows me
máxhéne’ênoo’ëstse when he (obv) knows him
ma’ovéstomô’ôëstse when he teaches me
ma’ovéstomoo’ëstse when he (obv) teaches him
máxhéne’ênôëvôhtse when he (obv) knows them
ma’ovéstomôëvôhtse when he (obv) teaches them
ma’ëestsêsto when I speak to him
máxheto when I tell him
máxhåoena’tovo when I pray to him
masé’âhamo when I throw him in

Examples in sentences
Máhñoshtsêstôvôhtse nêstsevêstähêma. When you ask him, he’ll help you.

Máhméôtôhtse náhtseaseôhtse. When he fights him (obv), I’ll leave.

Máhvéstáhémâ’êstse náahtrsepéhêvetâno. When he (obv) helps him, I’ll be happy.

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

-vóom ‘see (someone)’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</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>tséssáavóomóhóhevo</td>
<td>when I did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomamóhóhevo</td>
<td>when I did not see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomahétséhese</td>
<td>when I did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomamóhóhevoóno</td>
<td>when I did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóóméheto</td>
<td>when you did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehteto</td>
<td>when you did not see yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóómamóhóhevoése</td>
<td>when you did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóómamóhóhevoése</td>
<td>when you did not see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomahése</td>
<td>when you did not see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomahéhese</td>
<td>when you did not see (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóómáhehtése</td>
<td>when he did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhte'a'ëse</td>
<td>when he did not see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóómamóhóhevoése</td>
<td>when he did not see himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóómamóhóhevoése</td>
<td>when he did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehtése</td>
<td>when he did not see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehtése</td>
<td>when he did not see (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehtése</td>
<td>when he (obv) did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehtése</td>
<td>when he (obv) did not see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehtése</td>
<td>when he (obv) did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehtése</td>
<td>when he (obv) did not see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehtése</td>
<td>when he (obv) did not see (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehtése</td>
<td>when he (obv) did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhehtése</td>
<td>when we (ex) saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhetse</td>
<td>when we saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomamóhétse</td>
<td>when we saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomamóhétse</td>
<td>when we saw ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomamáhtséhese</td>
<td>when we (ex) saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomhóhétse</td>
<td>when we saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhése</td>
<td>when you (pl) did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhése</td>
<td>when you (pl) did not see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhése</td>
<td>when you (pl) did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhéhemeneto</td>
<td>when you (pl) did not see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomáhëhëhëtëse</td>
<td>when you (pl) did not see (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomhëhëtëse</td>
<td>when you (pl) did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomhëhëtëse</td>
<td>when they did not see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomhëhëtëse</td>
<td>when they did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomhëhëtëse</td>
<td>when they did not see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomhëhëtëse</td>
<td>when they did not see (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomhëhëtëse</td>
<td>when they did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomhëhëtëse</td>
<td>when I was not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomahëhëtëse</td>
<td>when you were not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomahëhëtëse</td>
<td>when you were not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóomhëhëtëse</td>
<td>when he was not seen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also pronounced as tsésáa’ovéstomóetse

Other examples

tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse when he (obv) did not help him
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when he (obv) did not help you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when he (obv) did not fight him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when he did not teach us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when I did not bring him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when you did not bring him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when they did not bring them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when you (pl) did not bring him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when he did not bring him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when we did not bring them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when he did not know me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when he did not know you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when he did not know him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when he did not teach me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when he (obv) did not teach him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when he (obv) did not know them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when he (obv) did not teach them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when he (obv) did not know them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when he (obv) did not teach them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when he (obv) did not know them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavéstahéméhëtëse</td>
<td>when he (obv) did not teach them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also pronounced as tsésáa’ovéstomóetse
Transitive Animate Conjunct Iterative verbs

**-vóom 'see (someone)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Transitive Animate Conjunct Iterative Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomáhtsēto</td>
<td>whenever I saw myself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomātse</td>
<td>whenever I helped you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomo</td>
<td>whenever I saw him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomamo</td>
<td>whenever I saw him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomatsēse</td>
<td>whenever I saw you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vómōno</td>
<td>whenever I saw them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóometo</td>
<td>whenever you saw me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomahtseto</td>
<td>whenever you saw yourself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomōhtse</td>
<td>whenever you saw him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomamōhtse</td>
<td>whenever you saw him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóommeno</td>
<td>whenever you saw us (ex)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomōse</td>
<td>whenever you saw them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomā'ēstse</td>
<td>whenever he saw me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomāta'e</td>
<td>whenever he saw you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomahstsēstse</td>
<td>whenever he saw himself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomōhtse</td>
<td>whenever he saw him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomaētse</td>
<td>whenever he saw us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomaēse</td>
<td>whenever he saw you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóoma'ētsēstse</td>
<td>whenever he (obv) saw me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomata'ōse</td>
<td>whenever he (obv) saw you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomaa'ēstse</td>
<td>whenever he (obv) saw him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomahstsetsēstse</td>
<td>whenever he (obv) saw him</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>hó'vóomaētse</td>
<td>whenever he (obv) saw us</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>hó'vóomaēse</td>
<td>whenever he (obv) saw you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>hó'vóomaēvōhtse</td>
<td>whenever he (obv) saw them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomatsemenoto</td>
<td>whenever we (ex) saw you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'voomōtse</td>
<td>whenever we saw him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomamōtse</td>
<td>whenever we saw him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomahstsētse</td>
<td>whenever we saw ourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomatsemenoto</td>
<td>whenever we (ex) saw you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'voomōtse</td>
<td>whenever we saw them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomēse</td>
<td>whenever you (pl) saw me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomōse</td>
<td>whenever you (pl) saw him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomamōse</td>
<td>whenever you (pl) saw him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomameneto</td>
<td>whenever you (pl) saw us (ex)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomahtsēse</td>
<td>whenever you (pl) saw yourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vómōse</td>
<td>whenever you (pl) saw them</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>hó'vóoma'évōse</td>
<td>whenever they saw me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomata'ēse</td>
<td>whenever they saw you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomovōhtse</td>
<td>whenever they saw him (obv)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomaētse</td>
<td>whenever they saw us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomaēse</td>
<td>whenever they saw you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomahtsēvōhtse</td>
<td>whenever they saw themselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomanētse</td>
<td>whenever I was seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomaneto</td>
<td>whenever you were seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomēse</td>
<td>whenever he was seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóometsēstse??</td>
<td>whenever we were seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomanētse</td>
<td>whenever you (pl) were seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomanēse</td>
<td>whenever they were seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vóomēvōhtse</td>
<td>whenever he looked at him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'vé'hóomōhtse</td>
<td>whenever we fought him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'méótótse??</td>
<td>whenever he fought us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'meótā'ēstse</td>
<td>whenever he discussed you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'totóxemāta'e</td>
<td>whenever he fed us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'hoxomaētse</td>
<td>whenever I found him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'mé'o</td>
<td>whenever he found me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'mé'oo'ēstse</td>
<td>whenever he hit me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'oomā'ēstse</td>
<td>whenever he hit me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples:

- whenever he hit me
- whenever he fed us
- whenever he discussed you
- whenever I found him
- whenever he fought us
- whenever we fought him
- whenever he looked at him (obv)
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 ōh- prefix is often omitted.

-vóom 'see (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétonótse</td>
<td>when I see myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when I see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when I see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when I see (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when I you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when I see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when I see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when you (pl) see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when you (pl) see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when you (pl) see themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when they see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when they see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when they see themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when I am seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when you are seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when he is seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when we are seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when you (pl) are seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhóómahtsétosee’</td>
<td>when they are seen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when I love you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when I love him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when I love you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when I love them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when you love me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when you love him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when you love them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when he loves me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when he loves you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when he loves (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when he loves you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when he loves us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when he loves him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when he loves you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when he loves us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when he loves me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when he loves you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when they love me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when they love you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when they love him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhméhotatsétosee’</td>
<td>when they love us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

RECHECK:

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

/-mékót/ 'love (someone)

|$RECHECK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotahtsëto</td>
<td>I who love myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótátse</td>
<td>I who love you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoto</td>
<td>the one I love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotoamó</td>
<td>I who love him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotosëse</td>
<td>I who love you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótóno</td>
<td>those I love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoxeto</td>
<td>you who love me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotahtseto</td>
<td>you who love yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotohtse</td>
<td>the one you love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotoamhötse</td>
<td>you who love him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoxemenoto</td>
<td>you who love us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótóno</td>
<td>those I love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoxeto</td>
<td>you who love me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoxetoamó</td>
<td>you who love him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoxetose</td>
<td>you who love us (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótóno</td>
<td>those I love</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples

tsévóomo | the one who I see |
| tsévóomamótsese | he (obv) who sees me |
| tsévóomamótse | he (obv) who sees him (obv') |
| tsévóomamótsese | he (obv) who is seen |
| tséméoto | the one I fight |
| tsévéstoemo | my spouse |
| tsévéstoemamótsese | your spouse |
| tsévéstoemamótse | his/her spouse (obv) |
| tsévéstoemamótsese | the one who teaches me |
| tsévéstoemamótse | the one who teaches us |
| tsévéstoemamótsese | the one who knows me |
| tsévéstoemamótse | the one who knows us |
| tsévéstoemamótsese | the one I help |
| tsévéstoemamótse | the one (obv) he helps |
| tsévéstoemamótsese | the one who feeds us |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaamótsese</td>
<td>the one (obv) who is loved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaamótse</td>
<td>we who are loved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaamótsese</td>
<td>you (pl) who are loved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaamótse</td>
<td>those who are loved</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples

tsévóomo | the one who I see |
| tsévóomamótsese | he (obv) who sees me |
| tsévóomamótse | he (obv) who sees him (obv') |
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| tséméoto | the one I fight |
| tsévéstoemo | my spouse |
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| tsévéstoemamótsese | the one who teaches me |
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| tsévéstoemamótse | the one who knows us |
| tsévéstoemamótsese | the one I help |
| tsévéstoemamótse | the one (obv) he helps |
| tsévéstoemamótsese | the one who feeds us |

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

$SHOULD$ 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'.

| tséhéhéto  | my father | tséhéhetono | my fathers |
| tshéhéto   | your father | tséhéhétóse | your fathers |
| tséhéhese  | his father(s) | tséhéhese | his father(s) |
| tséhéhétse | our father | tséhéhetsee'e | our fathers |
| tséhéhése  | your (plural) father | tséhéhesee'e | your (plural) fathers |
| tséhéhëvose | their father(s) | tséhéhevose | their father(s) |

| tséheškëto  | my mother | tséheškëtoono | my mothers |
| tshéheškëto | your mother | tséheškëtóse | your mothers |
| tséheškëse  | his/her mother(s) | tséheškëse | his/her mother(s) |
| tséheškëtse | our mother | tséheškëtsee'e | our mothers |
| tséheškësë | your (plural) mother | tséheškësee'e | your (plural) mothers |
| tséheškëvose | their mother(s) | tséhešévose | their mother(s) |

| tséhestónahëto  | my daughter | tséhestónahëtono | my daughters |
| tshéhestónahëto | your daughter | tséhestónahëtóse | your daughters |
| tséhestónahëse  | his/her daughter(s) | tséhestónahëse | his/her daughter(s) |
| tséhestónahëtse | our daughter | tséhestónahëtsee'e | our daughters |
| tséhestónahëse  | your (plural) daughter | tséhestónahësee'e | your (plural) daughters |
| tséhestónahëvose | their daughter(s) | tséhestónahëvose | 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.

| tséheškë'toveto | you who have me for a mother |
| tséheškë'tovése | you (plural) who have me for a mother |
| tséheškë'tóó'ëstse | the one who has me for a mother |
| tséheškë'toeše | those who have me for a mother |
| tséheškë'tovâtse | I who have you for a mother |

Transitive Animate Conjunct Absentative Participles

Conjunct participles take an absentative suffix when the person referred to is absent or deceased.

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

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137 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>Tséškévoo'ò</th>
<th>The one who is my absent mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tsétó'omémáxamoo'ò</td>
<td>The one (obviative) who I shot stiff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$$\text{RECHECK}$$ ?? The following "tentative" forms from earlier editions of book:
- Tséhéhevóše  | The one who is your absent father  |
- Tséhéhévótse  | The one who is our absent father  |
- Tséhéhévóše  | The one who is your (plural) absent father  |
- Tséhéheoomoo'ò  | Those who are my absent fathers  |
- Tséheškévoomoo'ò  | Those who are my absent mothers  |
Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Indicative verbs

TI verbs are inflected (marked) for person of their subject. Unlike TA conjunct verbs, they are not inflected for number of their objects. So, for instance, tséhvóóhto means either 'when he saw it' or 'when he saw them (inanimate)'.

Unlike with TI independent order verbs, there is no difference in pronunciation between the conjunct order TI verbs which refer to exclusive 'we' and inclusive 'we'.

Speakers differ on whether the last vowel is "e" or "o" on first and second person singular subject verbs which have a TI theme of –om. So, for instance, 'when I saw it' is pronounced both as tséhvóóhtómó and tséhvóóhtóme.

'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtómó / tséhvóóhtóme</td>
<td>when I saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtómó / tséhvóóhtóme</td>
<td>when you saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtóho</td>
<td>when he saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtotsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtomátse</td>
<td>when we saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtomáse</td>
<td>when you (plural) saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtomévóse</td>
<td>when they saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóome??</td>
<td>when it was seen??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomeé'éstse</td>
<td>when they (inanimate) were seen??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'listen to (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtómó / tsé'áahtóme</td>
<td>when I listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtómó / tsé'áahtóme</td>
<td>when you listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtóho</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'áahtomátse</td>
<td>when we listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtomáse</td>
<td>when you (plural) listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtomévóse</td>
<td>when they listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtohé ??</td>
<td>when it was listened to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahtohéé'éstse ??</td>
<td>when they (inanimate) were listened to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'eat (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Example</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>tséhméséte</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>tséhméséstoveé'éstse??</td>
<td>when they (inanimate) were eaten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'tsêto</td>
<td>when I had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'tseto</td>
<td>when you had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'tsêse</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>
<tr>
<td>Verb Form</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxho'.tsétse</code></td>
<td>when we had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxho'.tsése</code></td>
<td>when you (plural) had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxho'.tsévôse</code></td>
<td>when they had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>'take (something)'</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxhestanômo / tséxhestanôme</code></td>
<td>when I took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxhestanomo / tséxhestanome</code></td>
<td>when you took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxhestânô</code></td>
<td>when he took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxhestanotse</code></td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxhestanomatse</code></td>
<td>when we took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxhestanomáse</code></td>
<td>when you (plural) took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxhestanomévôse</code></td>
<td>when they took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>'want (something)'</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxho'a'hêto</code></td>
<td>when I wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxho'a'heto</code></td>
<td>when you wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxho'a'ese</code></td>
<td>when he/she wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxho'a'etsése</code></td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxho'a'hêtse</code></td>
<td>when we wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxho'a'hése</code></td>
<td>when you (plural) wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséxho'a'hévôse</code></td>
<td>when they wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Examples in sentences**

- Tséhvóóhtóm e ho'évohkôtse námese. ’When I saw the meat I ate it.’
- Tsé’éšeááhto nemenestôtse náéestséstôvo. ’After he listened to the radio I talked to him.’

**Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Negative verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>tséssáavóóhtohêmô / tséssáavóóhtohêmô</code></td>
<td>when I did not see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséssáavóóhtohêmô / tséssáavóóhtohêmô</code></td>
<td>when you did not see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséssáavóóhtohôtôe</code></td>
<td>when he did not see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséssáavóóhtohêtsêsê</code></td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) did not see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséssáavóóhtomâhêtse</code></td>
<td>when we did not see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséssáavóóhtomâhèhêse</code></td>
<td>when you (plural) did not see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséssáavóóhtomêhêvôse</code></td>
<td>when they did not see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>'take (something)'</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséssáahestanôhême</code></td>
<td>when I did not take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséssáahestanôhême</code></td>
<td>when you did not take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséssáahestanônôe</code></td>
<td>when he did not take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséssáahestanôhêtsêsê</code></td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) did not take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséssáahestanomâhêtse</code></td>
<td>when we did not take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséssáahestanomâhêse</code></td>
<td>when you (plural) did not take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>tséssáahestanomêmêhêvôse</code></td>
<td>when they did not take it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Generic verbs**

TI conjunct generic verbs take suffixes like those of TA conjunct generic verbs. As with other conjunct generic verbs the ōh- prefix is often omitted by Cheyenne speakers.

'**see (something)**'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ōhvóohtomonṓtsé</td>
<td>when I see it / them</td>
<td>Ōhvóohtomonṓtsé vétsé 'hóvkává. 'When I see frybread I get happy.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvóohtomosḗstsé</td>
<td>when you see it / them</td>
<td>Ōhvóohtomosḗstsé vétsé 'hóvkává. 'When you see frybread I get happy.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvóohtosḗstsé</td>
<td>when he/she sees it / them</td>
<td>Ōhvóohtosḗstsé vétsé 'hóvkává. 'When he/she sees frybread I get happy.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvóohtotsesḗstsé</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) sees it / them</td>
<td>Ōhvóohtotsesḗstsé vétsé 'hóvkává. 'When he/she (obviative) sees frybread I get happy.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvóohtomášeé̂stse</td>
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<td>Ōhvóohtoméšosḗstsé vétsé 'hóvkává. 'When they see frybread I get happy.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'take (something)''

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xhestanomó̂ntse</td>
<td>when I take it / them</td>
<td>Xhestanomó̂ntse váotseváheho évohkótse náohkema'xemésehe. 'When she cooks deer meat I eat a lot.'</td>
</tr>
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<td>xhestanomosḗstsé</td>
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<td>Xhestanomosḗstsé váotseváheho évohkótse náohkema'xemésehe. 'When she cooks deer meat I eat a lot.'</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'**cook (something)**''

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xho'oesḗtsétō̂ntse</td>
<td>when I cook it / them</td>
<td>Xho'oesḗtsétō̂ntse váotseváheho évohkótse náohkema'xemésehe. 'When she cooks deer meat I eat a lot.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'oesḗtsétosḗstsé</td>
<td>when you cook it / them</td>
<td>Xho'oesḗtsétosḗstsé váotseváheho évohkótse náohkema'xemésehe. 'When she cooks deer meat I eat a lot.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'oesḗtsḗstsé</td>
<td>when he/she cooks it / them</td>
<td>Xho'oesḗtsḗstsé váotseváheho évohkótse náohkema'xemésehe. 'When she cooks deer meat I eat a lot.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'oesḗtsē̂tsḗstsé</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) cooks it / them</td>
<td>Xho'oesḗtsē̂tsḗstsé váotseváheho évohkótse náohkema'xemésehe. 'When she cooks deer meat I eat a lot.'</td>
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<tr>
<td>xho'oesḗtsē̂tseé̂stse</td>
<td>when we cook it / them</td>
<td>Xho'oesḗtsē̂tseé̂stse váotseváheho évohkótse náohkema'xemésehe. 'When she cooks deer meat I eat a lot.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'oesḗtsē̂vosḗstsé</td>
<td>when they cook it / them</td>
<td>Xho'oesḗtsē̂vosḗstsé váotseváheho évohkótse náohkema'xemésehe. 'When she cooks deer meat I eat a lot.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

Ōhvóohtomonṓtsé vétsé 'hóvkává. 'When I see frybread I get happy.'

Xho'oesētsḗstsé váotseváheho évohkótse 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>Base Form</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsévóóhtómo</td>
<td>what I saw</td>
<td>tsévóóhtómenőhtse</td>
<td>those that I saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóóhtomo</td>
<td>what you saw</td>
<td>tsévóóhtomosésőtse</td>
<td>those that you saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóóhtó</td>
<td>what he saw</td>
<td>tsévóóhtosésėtse</td>
<td>those that he saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóóhtótse</td>
<td>what he (obv) saw</td>
<td>tsévóóhtótėsėtse</td>
<td>those that he (obv) saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóóhtomá</td>
<td>what we saw</td>
<td>tsévóóhtomášėtse</td>
<td>those that we saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóóhtomáse</td>
<td>what you (pl) saw</td>
<td>tsévóóhtomášėtse</td>
<td>those that you (pl) saw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóóhtomé</td>
<td>what they saw</td>
<td>tsévóóhtoméšėtse</td>
<td>those that they saw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'eat (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséméšo</td>
<td>what I ate</td>
<td>tsémésensonőhtse</td>
<td>those which I ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméšo</td>
<td>what you ate</td>
<td>tsémésesėtse</td>
<td>those which you ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémés</td>
<td>what he ate</td>
<td>tsémésesėtse</td>
<td>those which he ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémés</td>
<td>what he (obv) ate</td>
<td>tsémésesėtse</td>
<td>those which he (obv) ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémés</td>
<td>what we ate</td>
<td>tsémésesėtse</td>
<td>those which we ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémés</td>
<td>what you (pl) ate</td>
<td>tsémésesėtse</td>
<td>those which you (pl) ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméš</td>
<td>what they ate</td>
<td>tsémésėsėtse</td>
<td>those which they ate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Form</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanó</td>
<td>what I took</td>
<td>tséhestanomóntőhtse</td>
<td>those which I took</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanó</td>
<td>what you took</td>
<td>tséhestanomóntőhtse</td>
<td>those which you took</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestane</td>
<td>what he took</td>
<td>tséhestanomóntėšėtse</td>
<td>those which he took</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanó</td>
<td>what he (obv) took</td>
<td>tséhestanomóntėšėtse</td>
<td>those which he (obv) took</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanó</td>
<td>what we took</td>
<td>tséhestanomóntėšėtse</td>
<td>those which we took</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanó</td>
<td>what you (pl) took</td>
<td>tséhestanomóntėšėtse</td>
<td>those which you (pl) took</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanó</td>
<td>what they took</td>
<td>tséhestanomóntėšėtse</td>
<td>those which they took</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'want (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Form</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsého</td>
<td>what I want</td>
<td>tséhoňenőhtse</td>
<td>those that I want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého</td>
<td>what you want</td>
<td>tséhoňetišėtse</td>
<td>those that you want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého</td>
<td>what he wants</td>
<td>tséhoňetišėtse</td>
<td>those that he wants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého</td>
<td>what he (obv) wants</td>
<td>tséhoňetišėtse</td>
<td>those that he (obv) wants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého</td>
<td>what we want</td>
<td>tséhoňetišėtse</td>
<td>those that we want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého</td>
<td>what you (pl) want</td>
<td>tséhoňetišėtse</td>
<td>those that you (pl) want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého</td>
<td>what they want</td>
<td>tséhoňetišėtse</td>
<td>those that they want</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'make (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base Form</th>
<th>1st Person</th>
<th>2nd Person</th>
<th>3rd Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéstó</td>
<td>what I made</td>
<td>tsémanéstóñenőhtse</td>
<td>those which I made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéstó</td>
<td>what you made</td>
<td>tsémanéstóñetišėtse</td>
<td>those which you made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéstó</td>
<td>what he made</td>
<td>tsémanéstóñetišėtse</td>
<td>those which he made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéstó</td>
<td>what he (obv) made</td>
<td>tsémanéstóñetišėtse</td>
<td>those which he (obv) made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéstó</td>
<td>what we made</td>
<td>tsémanéstóñetišėtse</td>
<td>those which we made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéstó</td>
<td>what you (pl) made</td>
<td>tsémanéstóñetišėtse</td>
<td>those which you (pl) made</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéstó</td>
<td>what they made</td>
<td>tsémanéstóñetišėtse</td>
<td>those which they made</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

138 Another pronunciation is tsévóôhtóme. Similarly, other first and second person singular subject participle forms with the TI theme -om have an alternate pronunciation with a word-final "e". 223
Examples in sentences
Hénová’e tsévohtomo? What did you see
Hénová’e tséméseto? What did you eat?
Hénová’ehótsé tsemanéstse? What (plural) did you make?
Nápêhêvâtsésta tséhót’tséstse. I like what he had.
Tsémanéstseto épêhêva’e. What you made is good.

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Negative Participles

'see (singular object)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtóhémømó</td>
<td>what I didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtóhémømø</td>
<td>what you didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtóhéstse</td>
<td>what he/she didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtóhêsêsêsêséstse</td>
<td>what he/she (obviative) didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtómâhêtsêeéstse</td>
<td>what we didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtómâhêsesêstse</td>
<td>what you (plural) didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtómâhêvévoéstse</td>
<td>what they didn't see</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'see (plural object)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtóhémonóñôhtse</td>
<td>those that I didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtóhemosêsêsêsêstse</td>
<td>those that you didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtõhêsêsêstse</td>
<td>those that he/she didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtõhêtsêsêsêsêstse</td>
<td>those that he/she (obviative) didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtõmâhêtsêeéstse</td>
<td>those that we didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtõmâhesêêstse</td>
<td>those that you (plural) didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtõmêhêvévoéstse</td>
<td>those that they didn't see</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'make (singular object)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehëto</td>
<td>what I didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehêto</td>
<td>what you didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstseéstse</td>
<td>what he/she didn't make</td>
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<td>tsésáamanéstsehêtsêsêsêstse</td>
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<tr>
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<td>what you (plural didn't make</td>
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<tr>
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'make (plural object)'

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<th>Verb</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehêtonôhôhtse</td>
<td>what I didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehêtosêsêsêsêstse</td>
<td>what you didn't make</td>
</tr>
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<td>tsésáamanéstsehêsêsêsêstse</td>
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<tr>
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<td>tsésáamanéstsehêsêsêsêeéstse</td>
<td>what you (plural) didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehêsêsêsêsêvévoéstse</td>
<td>what they didn't make</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáahêstânóhémømó</td>
<td>what I didn't take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáahêstânóhêmesêsêsêstse</td>
<td>those which he/she didn't take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésâamésëhëto</td>
<td>what I didn't eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésâamésëhêto</td>
<td>what you didn't eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésâamésëéstse</td>
<td>what he/she didn't eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples in sentences $\#3 "I'm looking for those who don't have them"?

Tsésáaméséheto eóseepéhvééno'e.  What you didn't take tastes very good.
Tsésáaheséstse ęsó'hóta.??  What he didn't take is still here. ??
Nánóhtsevóohtanótse tsésáaho'tséhevos.  I'm looking for those (in) that they don't have. ??

Ditransitive Conjunct Indicative verbs

Ditransitive conjunct indicative verbs look like Transitive Animate Conjunct Indicative verbs. ($$RECHECK THAT). Ditransitive conjunct verbs are inflected for person and number ?? of the subject of the verb as well as the indirect object (morphosyntactic primary object). Animacy and number of the semantic secondary object (the thing or person which is given) are not marked on the conjunct ditransitives, as they are on independent order ditransitive verbs. So when the thing given is translated as "it" in the following verbs, the translation could also be "him", "her", or "them (inanimate or animate)".

$$RECHECK??

tséhmétahšítse  when I gave it to myself  tséhmétatsemánono  when we (ex) gave it to you
tséhmétatšé  when I gave it to you  tséhmétámónó  when we gave it to him
tséhmétamó  when I gave it to him (obv)  tséhmétahšítšé  when we gave it to ourselves

When I gave it to them

When we (ex) gave it to you
When we gave it to him
When we gave it to ourselves
When we (ex) gave it to them

Examples in sentences

when I gave a dog/dogs (obviative) $\#$ADD MAIN VERBS
when I gave a knife
when I gave him knifes
when I gave them a duck/ducks (obviative)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tséhmétóno sémonótse</th>
<th>When I gave them boats (inanimate)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tséhmétóse póesono</td>
<td>When you gave him a cat/cats (obviative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhmétóse sémonótse</td>
<td>When you gave him boats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhmétesenonto oéškeso</td>
<td>When you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) a dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhmétesenonto oéškéseho</td>
<td>When you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhmétesenonto sémonótse</td>
<td>When you (sg/pl) gave us boats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhméta’ése oéškéseho</td>
<td>When he gave me a dog/dogs (obviative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhméta’ése motšéške</td>
<td>When he gave me a knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhméta’ése mótšéšheótse</td>
<td>When he gave me knives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhmétsemenoto oéškeso</td>
<td>When you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) a dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhmétsemenoto oéškéseho</td>
<td>When you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhmétsemenoto sémonótse</td>
<td>When you (sg/pl) gave us boats</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ditransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

| Tséssámétáhtséheto sémo | When I did not give myself a boat |
| Tséssámétóhevo še'xo    | When I did not give him (obv) a duck/ducks (obv) |

Ditransitive Conjunct Indicative relational verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$\text{RECHECK (from Petter 1952:105 ??)}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tséhmétsevo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhmétsevóse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhmétatsevo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ditransitive Conjunct Participles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>$\text{RECHECK}$</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tséhmétáhtséto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhmétátse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséméto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsématamo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsématatsése</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsémétóno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsémetetto</td>
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<td>Tsémetáhtseto</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tsémetóhtse</td>
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<td>Tsémetatemoto</td>
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<td>Tsémhéstse</td>
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Examples of ditransitive participles in sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
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<tr>
<td>tsémétsemenoto</td>
<td>what you (pl) gave us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétahtsése</td>
<td>what you (pl) gave yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétoсеe’e</td>
<td>what you (pl) gave them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméta’ese</td>
<td>what they gave me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétata’öse</td>
<td>what they gave you</td>
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<tr>
<td>tsémétovose</td>
<td>what they gave him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétaese??</td>
<td>what they gave you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétáltsese</td>
<td>what they gave themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétotsese</td>
<td>what he (obv) gave him (obv’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétanēto</td>
<td>what I was given</td>
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<tr>
<td>tsémétaneto</td>
<td>what you were given</td>
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<tr>
<td>tsémétsesstse</td>
<td>what he was given</td>
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<tr>
<td>tsémétanētse</td>
<td>what was given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétsessee</td>
<td>what you were given</td>
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<tr>
<td>tsémétanēse</td>
<td>what they were given</td>
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<tr>
<td>tsémétsesse</td>
<td>what they were given</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Complex sentences

Now that we have examined independent and dependent (conjunct) verbs, we can study complex sentences in Cheyenne. A complex sentence contains at least two verbs, one of which is dependent upon the other, typically called the main (or matrix) verb.

Cheyennes often utter complex sentences in which there is a conjunct verb which has some kind of temporal or adverbial relationship to the main verb of a sentence:

$$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.
- Nánaóotsétáno. I want to sleep.
- Êháöénátáno. 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.
- Êvóomáhtsétanoo'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'séhánátanó'tóvo. I want to show it to him.
- Náhestanátanó'ta. I want to take it.
- Námésetanó'ta. I want to eat it.
- Námésetanó'tanó'tse. I want to eat them (inanimate).

Word order

It is important to know what order words should appear in in any language. In some languages, such as English, word order can tell us who is doing what to whom, as in the sentence "John kissed Mary." In this English sentence we can tell from the word order that John is the one who did the kissing and Mary is the who who was kissed. In a language like English we say that word order is syntactically determined, that is, the grammar (syntax) of the language determines the order of words such as subjects, objects, and verbs in a sentence.

Many languages, including Cheyenne, do not have word order that is determined by grammatical relationships such as subjects and direct objects. Instead, word order of subject and object nouns in Cheyenne sentences is determined by how speakers organize information in their speech context. For such languages we say that word order is pragmatically determined.

So two different systems determine word order in English and Cheyenne. This is why it is very important that sentences not be translated from English to Cheyenne using the same word order that the sentence had in English. Instead, it is important to follow the Cheyenne rules for word order, which have to do with matters such as what is in focus in a Cheyenne speaker's mind. If you are a Cheyenne speaker, try not to think about the words of an English sentence if you are translating
something from English to Cheyenne. Instead, just try to think about the meaning of the Cheyenne sentence and what you have already said in Cheyenne that is related to that sentence. Then try to say the sentence "the Indian way", saying it as naturally as if you did not know any English and were just talking in Cheyenne.

**Fixed word orders**

There are some fixed word orders in Cheyenne. Quantifiers precede the nouns they modify, as do demonstrative pronouns:

- **haesto** ka'êškóneho 'many children'
- **na'estse** amâhoh'estóste 'one car'
- **neše** he'eo'o 'two women'

Question words (interrogative pronouns) occur as the first element in a sentence:

- **Hénová'e** tséméseto? 'What did you eat?'
- **Névááhe** tsévéhonevéstse? 'Who is the boss?'
- **Tóne'se** néévaho'êhoo'ohtsê? 'When did you get back home?'
- **Tósa'e** néhoo'e? 'Where do you live?'

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**Word order and speech context**

Cheyenne subject and object nouns occur in an order determined by the speech context. That is, their order is pragmatically determined. Elena Leman (1999) has researched the pragmatic factors that determine word order in Cheyenne. **(GIVE EXAMPLES FROM HER BOOK)** She discovered that a word that is "newsworthy" occurs as the first element in a Cheyenne sentence.

A word is newsworthy if it receives some special attention such as if it is emphasized or contrastive. **(RECHECK THAT SENTENCE)** The newsworthy word in a sentence may be a subject or object noun, a verb, or some other sentence element. The first word in each of the following sentences is newsworthy:

- Mé'êstse néohkenéhe'to'éetahe! 'Always you're doing that!'
- Naa móséškanetsénoonáhe músto'uvéseéetsêhe'ohtsêhêhe tséhmóheeotséstovetse. '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)

---

If you are a Cheyenne speaker and someone asks you how to translate an English sentence to Cheyenne, do not copy the order of words in the English sentence. Cheyenne word order is different from English word order in sentences. English sentences usually have a required word order based on English syntax (grammar), namely, subject nouns come before their verbs and object nouns follow their verbs. Cheyenne grammar does follow this syntactic order for words in a sentence. A Cheyenne sentence which follows the English word order may not sound wrong by itself, but it will not have the

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139 The "newsworthiness" concept has been described by Mithun (1987).
140 Or it can be the second position if the first position is a discourse connector such as naa 'and'.
best word order unless it follows the natural order for words as a Cheyenne conversation or other discourse progresses.

Free word order
Linguists often refer to languages such as Cheyenne as free word order (or nonconfigurational) languages. In such languages subject and object nouns, verbs, and sometimes other sentence elements can occur in any order. But what these linguists actually mean by the term free word is that the order of words is not determined by the syntax (grammar) of the language. Instead, Cheyenne, like many other languages, has word order which is determined by the speech context (known as pragmatics), rather than syntax.

Basic word order and naturalness
Linguists refer to basic word order in languages in terms of the abbreviations S, V, and O, where S = Subject, V = Verb, and O = Object. English is an SVO language because in a typical English sentence the subject comes before the verb and if there is an object it comes after the verb. For instance, if there is a man we’ve been talking about and he shot a deer we could say what happened in English as "The man shot a deer." "The man" is S (Subject). The verb (V) is "shot". And the O (Object) is "a deer".

Sometimes linguists ask if Cheyenne is an SVO language, or if it has some some other basic word order, such as SOV. To answer this question, we must return to the observations just made, that overall Cheyenne word order in sentences is not determined by syntax, but, instead, by speech context (pragmatics). So we really cannot say that Cheyenne has a basic word order such as SVO.

Next, it should be noted that it is rare in Cheyenne for both a subject and object noun to occur with a verb. If you study natural Cheyenne texts, such as those which appear in the Texts section of this book, you will find very few sentences with subject and object nouns along with a verb. So it’s basically a moot question to ask what is the basic word order in Cheyenne, in terms of linguistic symbols such as S, V, and O.

It is important for Cheyenne sentences to be grammatically correct as well as natural. So, if you are a Cheyenne speaker and someone asks you to translate an English sentence with both a subject and object noun, hesitate before simply translating the English sentence word for word. For instance, hesitate before translating an English sentence such as "The man saw a deer" to Cheyenne. It is possible to translate this sentence directly to Cheyenne as: Hetane mohvóomôhevóhe 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 mö’amehstehëhe 'A man was going along.' Then in the next sentence it can be said what the man saw, as in: Móhvóomôhevóhe 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.

231
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.002

e×xaemáhê'tánése
é-  h-  xae-  mähê'tá  -né  -s
3-  PST-  simply-  all.camped  -FII  -RPT
pro  tns-  pv-  vii  -sfx  -mode
There were many tepees.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.003

máhtamáhááhe
naa  ho'oxé  táháóhe  tsé-  h-  ta-  énoneo'tsé  -htóve  máhtamáhááhe
and  end  there  CNJ-  OBL-  TRL-  end.camp  -IMPERS  old.woman
p  p  p  pfx-  tns-  dir-  vai  -fii  na
éhvéeséstse
é-  h-  vée  -sest
3-  PST-  camp  -RPT
pro  tns-  vai  -mode
And at the edge there where the camp ended an old lady camped.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.004

hevéxaho  éhnéše'enásesto
he-  véxah  -o  é-  h-  nése'ená  -sest  -o
3PS-  grandchild  -OBV  3-  PST-  live.with  -RPT  -OBV
pro  na  num  pro-  tns-  vai  -mode  -num
Her grandson lived with (her).

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

éxhoháeanáhtóvéñése
é-  h-  ho-  háeaná  -htóve  -né  -s
3-  PST-  very-  hungry  -IMPERS  -FII  -RPT
pro  tns-  REDUP-  vai  -fii  -sfx  -mode
There was great hunger.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.006

tsé'tóhe  kásóvááhe  néseé'èše  náa
tsé'tóhé  kásóvááché  néseé'èše  náa
this  young  man  2.days  and
pro  na  p  p
ná'héé'èše
ná'héé'èše
3.days
p
éstaokveoneotséséstse
é-  h-  ta-  ohke-  voneotse  -sest
3-  PST-  TRL-  HABIT-  disappear  -RPT
pro  tns-  dir-  pv-  vii  -mode
For two days and for three days this young man  would disappear.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.007

hévámóhe  móstaokkéhénéšë'néváhèhe
hévá=móhe  mó-  h-  ta-  ohke-  hé-  nése'névá  -hé  -hé
Apparently he would go to hunt.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.008

é'òhkhë'o'oxësëstse
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

é'òhkeô'ësôvàsëstse máhtamâhââhe
é- h- ohke- ò'ësóvá -sest máhtamâháâhéh
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

éxhôhåeesenêhësesto
é- h- ho- háeesenehe -sest -o
3- PST- very- have plenty food -RPT -3PL
pro- tns- REDUP- vai -mode -num

They had plenty to eat.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.011

nêhê'še ame
nêhe'šé ame
then pemmican
p ni

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

Then she would make pemmican.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.012

mó'ôhkëmësëhenëvôhe nêhë'êsëvôse
mó- h- ohke- mëse -hë -nô -vo -hë nêh- nëše -vô -s
INF- PST- HABIT- eat -NEG.SFX -FTI -3PL -INF.SFX CJT.PPL- two -3PL -3
mode- tns- pv- vti -sfx -sfx -num -sfx pfx- vai -num -pro

hevéxaho
he- vëxah -o
They would eat it, the two of them, her grandson (and her).

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.013

They would eat it, the two of them, her grandson (and her).

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.014

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.015

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

He announced that way.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.017

He announced that way.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.018
A tepee was there in the place-of-honor.

Then they gathered, young men, men.

The young lady was in the place-of-honor.

Many men gathered-came inside.

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

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

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

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

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.023
Then this young man said to his grandmother.

"Grandmother, you, too, go there!" he told her.

"Go to listen!" he told her.

"Go to find out who is going to be son-in-law!" he told her.
"This pemmican, take it along!" he told her.

"Just a little one, make a package!"

When the talking is about over, when you're going out, drop it!" he told her.

And there was great hunger.

And there was great hunger.
Then that old lady also went there.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

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

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law

When the talking was about over, she came out.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law

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

She came out.

She dropped that (thing).

When she was about to go outside, "Hey!" she said.

"Oh! My grandson's ointment, I dropped it," she said.
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.040

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

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

éhne'évahésehesevánánóse
é- h- neh- év- hôse- heseváen -á -nó -s
3- PST- CIS- back- again- pick.up.quickly -FTI -FTI -RPT
pro- tns- dir- pv- pv- vti -theme -sfx -mode
héné  ame
héné  ame
that  pemmican
pro  ni
She quickly picked back up that pemmican.

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

nóxa'e
nóxa'e
Wait!
p
éstähetaesesto
é- h- ta- het -ae -s est -o
3- PST- TRL- tell -INV -RPT -OBV
pro- tns- dir- vta -voice -mode -num

"Wait!" this chief told her.

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

táaxa'e  he
táaxa'e  héné
let's see  that
p  pro

néstóxanome
néh- tóxan -om -e
CIS- pass.around -FTI -IMPV
dir- vti -sfx -sfx

éxheséstse  néhe  vého
é- h- he -s est 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

éstatóxanesé
é-{pro} h-{tns} ta-{dir} tãoan{vti} -é -s -e -s -é
3- PST- TRL- pass.around
éstatóxánese??

hótáhtsei ame
hótáhtsi ame
unexpectedly pemmican
p ni
It was passed around, behold, (it was) pemmican!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.045

nöoo éhpéhévéno'énése
nöoo é h- pèhève- èno'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

nèhe hetane
nèhe hetane
that man
pro na
é'onèha'enânése
é- h- onéha'en -an -ó -s
3- PST- loose -by.hand -FTI -RPT
pro- tns- vti -fii -theme -mode
That man unwrapped it.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.047

éhmésénose
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

nèhe'sè
nèhe'sè
then
p
éstsèhetósesto
é- h- tsè- het -ó -sest -o
3- PST- CAT- tell -DIR -RPT -OBV
pro- tns- pv- vta -voice -mode -num
nèhe màhtamáháheho táaxa'e
nèhe màhtamáháhéh -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

"Let him come over!" he told her.

When the old lady returned, she told her grandson. (Does máhtamáháhe go with the preceding or following verb??)

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.052

"I have done what you told me."

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.053
You are invited," she told him.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.054

éstaosáanéhe'ohtseséstse
é- h- ta- osiáane- néhe'ohtsé -sést
3- PST- TRL- so- go there -RPT
pro- tns- vta -voice -mode -num

náhe kásovááhe
náhe kásováahé
that young man
pro na
That young man went there.

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

éstáho'ehneséstse
é- h- ta- ho'ehné -sést
3- PST- TRL- come -RPT
pro- tns- dir- pv- vai -mode

He arrived.

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

éhnóhtséstóesesesto vého
é- h- nóhtsést -óé -sést -o vého
3- PST- ask s.o. -INV -RPT -OBV chief
pro- tns- vta -voice -mode -num na

He was asked by the chief.

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

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

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

hóxe'anáhtseo'o
hóxe'an -ahtse -o
clean -REFL -IMPV.DEL
vta -sfx -mode

Prepare (lit., clean) yourself!

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

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

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.060

You are the one, I select you to marry my daughter," he told him.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.061

That young man became very happy.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.062

"Yes," he said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.063

And that young lady was beautiful.
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.064

éstaévahó'ōhtseséstse
é- h- ta- éva- hóo'ōhtsé -sest
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- véškem -o
3PS- grandmother -OBV
pro- na -num
móstanéhetôhevôhe
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

éstano'vé'ȯhtsémȯsesto
é- h- ta- no'- vé'óżtsém -ó -sest -o
3- PST- TRL- also- accompany -DIR -RPT -OBV
pro- tns- dir- pv- vta -voice -mode -num
tséohkéhó'o'xevätsese
tsé- ohke- hóo'xevá -tse -se
CNJ- HABIT- announce -OBV -OBV
pfx- pv- vai -pro -pro
He went with the one who announced.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.067
éhnèhxó'oxeváséstse
éh- ta- nè- hóo'xevá -sest néhe hetané
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

néhñoht'énöhtse
néh- nóhtō'en -ó -ht
CIS- fetch.by.wagon -FTI -IMPV
dir- vta -theme -mode
"Come after it!

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

né'ämëhnéstse
néh- amëhne -ht
CIS- walk -IMPV
dir- vai -mode
Walk toward (me)!
Come after your food!" the chief was told.

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

Word formation
Cheyenne words are often made up of smaller parts (morphemes). These parts are like building blocks, so we informally call them blocks.

Noun formation
A noun may consist of a single morpheme. The following nouns cannot be divided into any smaller meaning parts:

ame 'pemmican'
heē'e 'woman'
hetane 'man'
hohpe 'soup'
štěšé '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'atae-meo'o 'railroad, train' (literally, iron-road)
mo'óhtáe-vé'ho'e 'Negro' (literally, black-non-Indian)

A noun may consist of a noun which acts as a prenoun plus another noun:

he'é-ka'ěškóne 'girl' (literally, woman-child)
hetané-ka'ěškóne 'boy' (literally, man-child)

A noun may consist of a noun which acts as a prenoun plus a noun final that cannot exist by itself:

vé'ho'é-otóá'e 'cow' (literally, whiteman-buffalo)

A noun may consist of a prenoun plus a noun final:

Óoe-tane 'Crow' (literally, crow-person)
món-é'e 'bride' (literally, new-woman)

**Noun-verb compounds**
A noun may consist of a verb plus a noun:

mòxe'éstóne-máhëö'o 'school' (literally, writing-house)
amèhá-ve'ho'e 'pilot' (literally, flying-non-Indian)
homósé-ve'ho'e 'cook' (literally, cooking-non-Indian)

A noun may consist of an initial, an optional medial, plus a noun final:

éškóse-esé-hotame141 'pig' (literally, sharp-nose-domesticated.animal)
ka'-énë-hótame 'bulldog, cat'142 (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal)
vóhp-o'ha 'white horse' (literally, white-horse)143
to-óom-ášë'së-stó'tse 'soda pop, cold drink' (lit., cool-liquid-drink-NOM)
Mo'óhtáv-áhahtá-tane 'Blackfeet Indian' (lit., black-foot-person)

---

141 Historically, hótame referred to a dog. Later, the word oeškëse was used to mean 'dog'. When that happened, hótame narrowed in meaning to refer to a special kind of dog, such as a 'hound' (e.g. greyhounds and rottweilers). But it also broadened in meaning to refer, more generally, to a domesticated animal.

142 Southern Cheyennes have used the word ka'ěnéhótame to refer to a cat. They also use the word póéso for a cat, perhaps borrowing it from Northern Cheyennes, who themselves may have borrowed it as a sound translation from the English word "pussy". Petter (1915:215) lists the word ka'eesěhótame (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal) for 'cat'. Petter began his work in Oklahoma, before moving to Montana perhaps Southern Cheyenne have used both ka'ěnéhótame and ka'eesěhótame for a cat.

143 The Cheyenne noun final /-o'há/ descends from a PA final that originally meant 'dog'. Over time, the final came to mean 'horse' in Cheyenne.
Nominalization
A noun may be consist of verb stem plus a nominalizer (a suffix that turns a verb into a noun):

ame'ha-htôte 'airplane' (literally, flying-thing)
mésêhe-stótse 'food' (literally, eating-thing)
éškós-éné-hé 'greyhound' (literally, sharp-face-being)
tsêhe'ëse-esë-he 'elephant' (literally, long-nose-being)
vovéstomósané-he 'teacher' (literally, teaching-being)
hoéstônéhe -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-146 third person + future tense

Tense
Cheyenne marks two tenses: h- ‘remote past’ and –htse ‘future’ on its verbs. Verbs which are unmarked for tense refer to the present or recent past. Preterit, which is a tense in some languages, is not a tense in Cheyenne. Instead, the Cheyenne preterit is a mode.

Unmarked tense
The following verbs are unmarked for tense. They may refer either to the present or recent past.

Návóómé. 'I see him', or 'I saw him'.
Énéméne. 'He's singing', or 'He sang'.
Ého'sóeo'o. 'They are dancing', or 'They danced'.

Past tense
Past tense is marked with phonemic /h-/ , which has the following pronunciations:

---

144 This is the most general of the Cheyenne nominalizers. It is phonemically /-htot/. It can create either animate or inanimate nous from verbs.
145 The suffix /-hé/ is another animate nominalizer. It seems to have a more specialized meaning than /-htot/ that is difficult to characterize semantically, perhaps something like ‘being’. It often acts as a personifier, as in the common word vovéstomósanéhe 'teacher', literally 'teaching-being' or 'teaching-person'.
146 The pronominal prefix é- is omitted with future tense.
1. [s] preceding [t] or [s] (with [ss] pronounced twice as long as a single [s])
2. [ʃ] 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ná-h-vómó.</td>
<td>I saw him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né-s-tšéhe'késtahé.</td>
<td>You were short.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-h-néméne.</td>
<td>He sang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-‘-a’xaame.</td>
<td>He cried.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-s-séváno.</td>
<td>He skied.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-x-h’o’soo’e.</td>
<td>He danced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-s-tséhetósesto.</td>
<td>He is said to have said this to him (reportative mode).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-š-koká’a’xeséstse.</td>
<td>He is said to have danced (reportative mode).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-x-hetóhoono.</td>
<td>He said that to him (preterit mode).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Far past tense**

---

**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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ná-h-tséméhe.</td>
<td>I shall eat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né-stse-vé’néhešévé!</td>
<td>Don’t do that (in the future)!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tse-névéóhta.</td>
<td>(The cow) will have four legs. (said by Sweet Medicine)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ná-h-ta-vé’háhtse.</td>
<td>I will go along.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né-sta-évahósevómátsé.</td>
<td>I will see you again.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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-/ and /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-hó'ehne. He's coming.
É-ne'-amoo'kóho. Rain is approaching.
É-nés-tséheta'háhtse. He threw it toward here (that is, toward the speaker).

Imperative cislocatives
Néh-metséstse! Give it to me!
Néx-héstánóhtse! Bring it to me!
Nés-tséhe'ooestse! Come here quickly!

Translocative
The directional that indicates action away from a speaker is called a translocative. It is spelled ta-.

É-tá-hémanohe. He went for water.
É-tá-éšeta'ehne éše'he. The sun has set.

Preverbs
Preverbs give aspekual 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 sáa- 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.

1-HAB-not-EP-truly-well-Cheyenne-pronounce-NEG
I truly do not pronounce Cheyenne well.

Q-HAB-why-about-bury-lie-NEG-INF

147 Glossing with Q for the inferential prefix and INF for the inferential suffix comes from Sarah Murray (p.c.).
That must be why he lies around buried hiding. (The Bat)

4. Tse-nēs-sá-'-évá-ho'e-anōhe-ohtsē-he.
   He won't come back down. (The Whiteman and the Indian)

5. É-sta-nēšé-hétóse-ame-nēhov-ō-se-t-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.

7. Nē-to'se-vá'ne-onésē-hēhpōheh-a.
   2-going.to-only-try-scare-INV
   He is only going to try to scare you.

8. É-h-ne'-osáane-éé-nēšē-to-táha'ha-hhtsē-nō-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-évá-nē-heše-ho'-hōo'-ōhtsē-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-hōe-évo'soo'e.
    FUT-morning-out-play
    He will come out to play early in the morning.

12. tse-s-tā-hōse-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. Nā-to'se-vá'ne-tšēške'-mé'ést-ā.
    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-RECIPE-RPT-3PL
   It's said they simply all piled in on each other.

19. É-x-keké-hešé-hosó-hně-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'-ohké-sáa-sé'hove-évá-ho'-éhné-he-hoo'o.
   3-PST-HAB-suddenly-back-arrive-walk-NEG-PRETT
   Once upon a time he would suddenly not come back.

23. Ná-ta-móne-éva-asé-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>Preverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>áahtse'</td>
<td>simultaneously</td>
<td>e'(e)</td>
<td>upward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhane</td>
<td>extremely</td>
<td>e'se</td>
<td>afraid to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'ene</td>
<td>forever</td>
<td>émoose</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame</td>
<td>along</td>
<td>éne</td>
<td>end, stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anóhe</td>
<td>down</td>
<td>ése</td>
<td>in, into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ase</td>
<td>start</td>
<td>éšé</td>
<td>already</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Aspectual preverbs

Some preverbs are primarily aspectual in nature, including:
ase-
ène-
ése-
méhae-
hétóse-
móne-
nèse-
ohke-
osáane-
má’se-
nonaháxe- / onaháxe- / onáxe-
to’se-

Examples with aspectual preverbs
Máheameōestse nèhéno é-méhæ-‘éevo’éstanéheve. All Runner used to live there. (1987:182)
Tse-nonaháxe-pe’pe’eotse. There might be trouble. (1987:27)
È’-osáane-asénoovósesto. He began to sing to them. (1980:45:18)

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

anôhe-
e’(e)-
ése-
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-
- pēhéve-
- véhone-
- xae-, xamae-

Examples with quality preverbs

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

- a'ene-
- hetóeve-
- méo-
- taa'éve-

Examples with temporal preverbs

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

- ta- + to'se- > tao'se-

Tšéške'e né-tao'se-vá'néhóhta'haovatsénóvo 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:

- éšė-hó'ko-: of necessity
  É-éšė-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).

- éšė-to'se-: on the verge of
  Mó-éšė-to'sé-hestsevévėshēhe. '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'èstomeve. 'You should have told me.'
oh-to'se-: almost but failed
Ná-oh-to'sé-hovánee'e. 'I almost died.'

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

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

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

tó'-tae-
tónëš-e-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>-éémá/</td>
<td>take a sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-émóhóne</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>-ho’mosé/</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-hotse’óhe/</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mae/</td>
<td>bark (of a dog)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mane</td>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mésehe</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/-mó′é/  invite to a meal
/-naa′é/  doctor
/-nae/  die
/-néé/  be standing
/-némené/  sing
/-néne/  nurse (of a baby)
-nomáhtse  steal
/-ohaé/  arise
/-sévanó/  skate, slide
/-to′é/  get up (from bed)
/-véé/  camp

Examples of verbs with roots
Éa′xame.  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>
<th>é'</th>
<th>break</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>á′(k)av-</td>
<td>droop</td>
<td>ém(ooh)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhan-</td>
<td>extreme</td>
<td>én-</td>
<td>end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áv-</td>
<td>fall over</td>
<td>ést-</td>
<td>into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a′e′-</td>
<td>separate (be)</td>
<td>éstov-</td>
<td>blow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a′enó′n-</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>éš-/éx-</td>
<td>already/finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a′k-</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>éškos-</td>
<td>pointed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a′kón-</td>
<td>squat</td>
<td>év-</td>
<td>about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a′t-/'a′s-</td>
<td>accidentally</td>
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<td>brush</td>
<td>oné'xov-</td>
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<tr>
<td>nóon-</td>
<td>dried up/brown</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
ováne' - stab
oxës(t)- side/other way
páhav- good
páho(n)- stuck to
pa'(k)- lump/knob/hump
páhpon- flat on top
pano'- spread on
pé(n)- grind
péhp- loose/shaggy
péhév- good
pe'pe'- rough/troubled
pó'(k)- lump/knob/hump
pó(n)- flat on top
póh- good
pó(nov)- spread on
pó(n)ov- thick
póhp- edge/around
póhtom- aimless
tóv- how?
tóhtom- copy
tóho'v- gap (cf. slit)
tó(n)- cold
tóeh- string (e.g. bead)
tóe(n)- hold
tóhkom- few
tomóht-/tomôts- raise
toox- low
tovó'k- slit (cf. gap)
tse'o'- sprawl
tse'va(n)- dusty
tse'hés(t)- Cheyenne
tse'he's(t)- long
tsehe'kês(t)- short
tshêske'- small
tshé'š- free
vá'ht-/vá'ös- complete
vé'h- contain
vé'ke- sweet
vé'ok- bitter/sting/pain
vé's- rapid
véhon- chiefly
véhp- empty/hollow
vé'n- disagreeable/cross
vés(t)- with
ve'ev- concave
vó(k)om- white
vó'ho'- light/shine
vó'n- light
vó(hp)- light (color)
vóeše- rejoice
vóhk- bend
vóho'oes- discard
vóhpon- strict
vóoon- all night
vós- hole/depression
vóvo'k- naked
von- remove
vonó- lift
vovéh-  scarred
vovó’h-  spotted (white)
vovó-  first/ahead
xá’xán-  massage
xanov-  straight
xo’-  salve (put on)
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-nëše’x-ahtse. He gargled. (lit., he-wash-mouth)
- É-pëhéve-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-óená. He's praying secretly. (lit., he-secret-pray)
- É-he'kon-ose. He's frozen hard. (lit., he-hard-cold)
- É-pëhév-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-oo'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>-éné</td>
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<td>finger</td>
<td>-(hk)osé</td>
<td>mo’ēškö</td>
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<td>foot / feet</td>
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148 Ma’aatse includes the hand and forearm.
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<td>-ohosé</td>
<td>vétoo'ótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>-esé</td>
<td>ma'evo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stomach, abdomen, bowels</td>
<td>-ohtá</td>
<td>matonéše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>testicle</td>
<td>-ta'xevá</td>
<td>ta'xevótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thigh</td>
<td>-nómá</td>
<td>hénóme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>throat</td>
<td>-éstooná</td>
<td>maéstoo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>-tanevá</td>
<td>vétanove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>-onené</td>
<td>vée'èse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vagina</td>
<td>-ahá</td>
<td>ma'kēsta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of verbs with body part medials

Body part medials are boldfaced in the following verbs:

- **Nánémo-noná-otse.** I twisted my ankle.
- **Náé'e-škóhtá-xe.** I fell and broke my leg.
- **Énéxóös-éne.** He has a cute face.
- **Éma'e-esé-vose.** He has a red nose from the cold.
- **Néšé'shé-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.
- **Éoókohkeve-notóva.** He has a black dirty neck. (lit., he-crowlike-neck)
- **Étséhe'se-na'éva.** He has long arms.
- **Étotšéške'e-ésta.** His ears stick out.
- **Évóhpe-tanēva.** He has thrush. (lit., he-white-tongue)
- **Nápó-e-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-tanahá-no'hāme.** He's milking. (lit., he-squeeze-udder-livestock).
- **Náéxové-hahtá-ho'he.** I'm warming my feet. (lit., I-warm-foot-by.heat)
- **Éhéšk-onené'-o.** He (especially a dog) is showing his teeth (for example, when snarling at someone).

Néstsevé'hetséhēno éše'he! Néstsematse-óse. 'Don't point at the sun (or moon)! You'll get an infected finger.'

Taa'éva néstsevé'novo'eohtséme! Méstaa'e néstseném-áhtsená-o'haēvo. 'Don't eat outside at night! A ghost will give you Bell's palsy (lit., crooked mouth).'

\textsuperscript{149} Rarely used as a noun.
Other medials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>medial</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ground, land</td>
<td>-óma'</td>
<td>ho'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband</td>
<td>-éhamá</td>
<td>naéhame150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snow</td>
<td>-éen</td>
<td>héstá'se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strand</td>
<td>-ón(e)</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water, liquid</td>
<td>-óom</td>
<td>mahpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood</td>
<td>-ó'(e)</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>-'evá</td>
<td>náhtse'eme151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of verbs with other medials

Ée'-óma'-o'e. It's upward sloped ground.
Évóhp-een-o'o'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>

150 Naéhame 'my husband' is obsolescent. Today Cheyennes usually say tsévéstoemo 'the one who is my spouse' for either a husband or wife.

151 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).
Examples of verbs with instrumental finals

Nápo'-ôhn-o. I broke him off with a tool. (lit., I-off-by.tool-him)
Nápo'-ēs-o. I cut him off. (litl, I-off-by.cutting-him)
Éa't-āx-a. He accidentally cut it. (lit., I-accidentally-by.cutting-it)
Nápéhév-ātam-o. I like him (lit., I-good-regard-him)
Étsëške'-ōóva. It shrunk from washing. (lit., it-small-by.water)
Éta'p-ose. He gets cold easily. (lit., he-weak-by.cold)
Éhe'kon-ōhta. It's frozen. (lit., it-hard.by.cold)
Návon-ahō'h-a. I burned it up. (lit., I-remove-by.heat)
Énonom-e'hāna. He fell asleep eating (lit., he-drowsy-eat)
Nápéhév-ém-o. I spoke well of him. (lit., I-well-by.speaking-him)

Positional finals

Positional finals indicate a position or posture in which the action of a verb is performed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hang</td>
<td>-oése(ná) (AI), -oéstá (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie</td>
<td>-eše(ná) (AI), -eha (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>/-oe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>/-óé/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of verbs with positional finals

Ésétov-oésta. It's noon. (lit., it-middle-hang)
Éov-ēše. He went to bed. (lit., he-prostrate-lie)
Návéhp-ēš-mo. I emptied him. (e.g. a jug; lit., I-empty-lie-him)
Éháoéná-ôó'e. He prayed standing up. (lit., he-pray-stand)
Énomon-oo'e. He fell asleep sitting. (lit., he-drowsy-sit)

Action finals

Action finals tell what kind of general action was done. An initial with an action final further describes the kind or path of the action:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>carry on back</td>
<td>-o'xe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dance</td>
<td>-ohomó'he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>-asé'se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>-e'haná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall</td>
<td>-a'ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flow</td>
<td>'-'sevó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>-e'há</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>-ohtsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housework</td>
<td>-mosé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jerk</td>
<td>-a'xe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of verbs with action finals

É-én-o'xe. He unburdened. (lit., he-stop-carry.on.back)
Éam-ó'-éna. He hauled it by wagon. (lit., he-along-roll-FTI-it)
Éhosó-hne. He walked backwards. (lit., he-backwards-walk)
Énèhe-móse. She does housework quickly. (lit. he-quickly-do.housework)
Éanòhe-'sêvo. 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)

Examples of verbs with abstract finals

The abstract finals in the following verbs are preceded by hyphens and boldfaced:

Épèhév-ahe. He is good.
Épèhév-a’e. It is good
Éhe’kot-ahe. He is a quiet person.
Éotá'tav-ahe. He's blue.
Éotá'tav-o. It's blue.
Éhe'kon-ahe. He's hard.
Éhe'kon-o. It's hard.
Éméhoht-ahe. He is a loving person.
Éméhó-sáne. He loves.
Érovéstom-ósáné. He's teaching
Ééaht-ósáné. He listens (to people).
Émásèstsést-ósáné. He welcomes (people).
Éháoen-htove. There is praying.
Émésèhë-stove. There is eating.
Émáné-nove. There is drinking (same as Émáné-stove)
Nápéhév-omóhtahe. I feel good (physically).
Náhá-omóhtahe. I'm sick.
Nápéhévè-tánò. I'm happy. (lit., I-good-mental-state)
Návóo-m-o. I saw him. (lit., I-see-TAOM-him)
Épëvévé-tov-óho. He was good to him (obviative) (lit., he-good-TR-obv)

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-\(^{152}\) 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:

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

**Examples with the relative preverb**
Kovááhe ná-heš-véhe. 'Youngman, that's how I am called (named).'
Taháohé háko'ë tósa'e hoháá'ëse móstá-hešé-hëtoo'ëhehevóhe. 'Far away somewhere that's where they were taken to prison.' (1987:185)

**Examples with the relative initial**
Mónáoseeháeanähëhe; náahpoo ná-heš-e'hâna. 'I must have been very hungry; everything,

---
\(^{152}\) The pronunciation heš- is used before the "e" vowel; het- is used before "a" and "o".
\(^{153}\) The verb of saying in quote margins functions as a relative root.
that's what I ate.'  

né-héht-áhtomóne 'I heard (it) that way'  

é-héht-óhta'hāne 'he told the story that way.'

'have' stems  

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

Instrumentals  

Instrumentals are language forms that indicate the tools or means used to do actions. Cheyenne has two ways of expressing that someone is doing something "with" or "by means of" something:

1. Instrumental preverb vé'se-
2. Instrumental suffix –vá

Ná vé'se-mésehe ane'kohomó'héstotse. I ate with a fork.  
Námésehe ane'kohomó'héstó-vá. I ate with a fork.

$ARE THE EXAMPLES FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF THE BOOK NATURAL ENOUGH TO INCLUDE?? TRY TO INCLUDE SOME NATURAL EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS BELOW.

Instrumental preverb vé'se-  

The preverb vé'se- is used to indicate that the action or state of a verb was accomplished or reached by means of something.

Návé'se-ooma káhámáxe. ?? He hit me with a stick.

Ho'évohkôtse ná vé'se-háomóhtahéotse. The meat made me sick.
Kokóhéáxa ná vé'se-háomóhtahéotsenótse. The chicken (animate) made me sick. $IS THIS A NATURAL EXAMPLE??

Instrumental suffix –vá  

The suffix /–vá/154 marks a noun which is used to perform some action.

Náóoma káhamáxéhé-vá. He hit me with a stick.
Náa táxestse mótséské-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'se-oó'xoemâhâne hóhkoxé-vá. I chopped wood with an ax. $RECHECK

Other examples  

Náó'xoemâhâne hóhkoxéva. I chopped wood with an ax.
Návé'seoó'xoemâhâne hóhkoxe. I chopped wood with an ax.

---

154 Because of word-final devoicing, the high pitch on this suffix is not heard when a word on which it occurs is pronounced. But the high pitch does cause the preceding syllable to be pronounced higher than a low pitch.
Hé’tohe ná-vé’šé-hetótaetāno. ?? This makes me happy.

Ho’évohkótse nápénóha ho’honáéva. I ground ?? meat with a rock.
Máhaemenótse nápénóhanótse ho’honáéva. I ground corn with a rock.
Máhaemenótse návé’sepénóhanótse ho’honáéva. 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
Náháoenavomotahó I prayed for him
Néháoenavomotahtse I prayed for you
Néháoenavomotatsemeno 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.

Náhotse’óhevomotahó 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:

Náhotse’óta I worked for him (that is, he employed me)
Náhotse’óto He worked for me (that is, I employed him)
Nátotse’ótoo’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.
Nánéméövo. I sang for him (benefactive).
Nánéméova. He sang for me (benefactive).

Náhonóhta. I baked it.
Náhonóhtomévo. 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.

-’seh
The TA final –’seh can be added to many TA verb stems to create causatives:

155 Corn is referred to as a grammatical plural in Cheyenne.
Nánémené’sého.  I made him sing. (without the final, Ênéméne = He sang)  
Nánémené’seha.  He made me sing.  
Námésëhë’sëho.  I made him eat.  
Náovësëná’sëho.  I made him go to bed.  
Nánaótsë’sëho.  I made him sleep.  
Náhotse’óhë’sëho.??  I made him work.  
Náhomosé’sëho.  I made him cook.  
Námésëhë’sëhatsenòtse.??  I made you eat him (e.g. a duck).  
Námésëhë’sëhatsënoto.??  I made you eat them (animate).  
Êmésëhë’sëhônëto.??  He made him (obv) eat him (obv).  
Némésëhë’sëseòtse.??  You made me eat him.  
Návóó’sëho.  I showed it to him (lit. I caused him to see it).  
Návóó’sëhonòtse  I showed them (inan) to him.

**Other causative finals**

Some other, more abstract finals, combine with some verb roots to have a causative kind of meaning:

- **m abstract TA final**

Some TA verbs with an abstract final sometimes communicate a causative meaning:

- Éhohátsemóho.  He made him (obv) laugh. (Éhohatse = He laughed)  
- Éhetótaemóho.  He made him (obv) rejoice.  
- Éháestáhémóho.  He angered him (obv).

**REVIEW AND COORDINATE THIS LIST WITH THE LIST IN THE PARTS OF SPEECH SECTION**

**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 only
néhe'še  then
nonohpa  so that

Some connectives occur in combinations:

naa māto  and also
naa oha  but

**Demonstratives**

Demonstratives are particles which point to things in the speech context. Demonstratives are marked for animacy and distance from a speaker. They are not marked for number (singular or plural):

- tsé'tóhe  this (animate)
- hé'tóhe  this (inanimate)
- tá'tóhe  that (animate)
- há'tóhe  that (inanimate)

Demonstratives can modify a noun which they precede:

- tsé'tóhe ka'ēškóne  this child
- hé'tóhe māheonétse  these houses
- tá'tóhe mo'éhno'ha  that horse
- há'tóhe máhē'ō'o  that house

Demonstratives can stand alone, referring to something which is not overtly mentioned by name:

- tsé'tóhe  this one (animate)
- hé'tóhe  this one (inanimate)
- tá'tóhe  that one (animate)
- há'tóhe  that one (inanimate)

**Discourse demonstratives**

Another set of demonstratives refers to things which have already been spoken about in some speech context. We call these discourse demonstratives. Discourse demonstratives can modify a following noun or stand alone.

- néhe  this one referred to in the more recent discourse (animate)
- héne  this one referred to in the more recent discourse (inanimate)
- náhe  that one which speaker assumes hearer knows about (animate)
- háne  that one which speaker assumes hearer knows about (inanimate)

**Indefinite pronouns**

- hová'ēhe  something, nothing
- hovánee'e  no one
- nevá'eséstse  someone
- nevá'ésesto
- néséhoo'o

$$GIVE EXAMPLES. INCLUDE DESCRIPTION AND EXAMPLES OF DISCOURSE USE OF naa to mark discourse "episodes" (paragraphs?).$$
néséhoono
nésévooho
hénáá'énése

hénése
hénésehe
Móhenéséhanehe

**Interrogative particles**
Interrogative particles ask questions: **GLOSS THESE PARTICLES**

néváâhe
névááso
neváaseo'o
nevásóho
hénová'e
hénová'ehótse
hénová’éto
hénová’etotse
hénová'etse
hénová’etsénése
hénová’etotsénése
hénáá'e
hénáá’énése
tóne'sé
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.

Exclamatory particles

Exclamatory particles express strong feelings, typically of surprise or amazement. Cheyenne exclamatory particles traditionally have different pronunciations for females and males. Cheyenne exclamatory particles function like English interjections.
Hesévávo! / Sévávo!  Wow! / Amazing

**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.$$$RECHECK CLAIM

- ametọ as time goes on
- anłóheto down
- hehpeto later
- hóseto again
- oné'séometo truly
- sóhpeto through
- táxeto on top

**Examples with emphatic particles**

- hehpeto tsé'éšeméesee Tséhe'ësta'ëhe 'after the battle with Long Hair (Custer)' (1987:59)

  - Naa nëhe'se hóseto, "Amëške nëistse'komatsénoho vóohe." 'And then again (he would say), "Fat, I'll take a small bite of you, stop."' (Croft 1988:18)

**Numbers**

Cheyenne numbers are expressed through several well developed systems. One set of numbers is used for counting how many things there are. Another set of numbers is used for counting how many times some action is done. Another set of numbers is used for counting groups. Some numbers are particles. Others are parts of verbs. Let's examine the various number systems. $$REVISE (include nó'kóvé, number preverbs, how many overnights, numbers of days: nëšeë'ëstse, etc.)

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 "Nëvé' nëhešéve!" or thousands of other words in
whatever language you speak.

Even though learning to recite a list of Cheyenne numbers may not help children very much to learn to understand and speak Cheyenne, it is important, eventually, to learn the various ways that Cheyennes organize numbers and use them in natural speaking. Always, however, Cheyenne language needs to take place in natural speech contexts. While children are walking, eating, or playing, talk with them in Cheyenne about what they are doing and what you are doing. No one can learn to understand and speak Cheyenne by learning lists of words, looking up words in a Cheyenne dictionary, or even reading this grammar book. Cheyenne dictionaries and grammar books can be helpful resources. They just should not be used as patterns for teaching Cheyenne to others. Let’s now learn about Cheyenne numbers, even though we encourage you not to simply memorize the lists that are written in this section about numbers.

**Number particles**

Numbers which indicate how many things and how many times can be considered particles. Number particles are not inflected for animacy of a noun that they modify.

**Cardinal numbers**

Cardinal numbers tell how many things there are. Things counted can be anything, such as trees, cars, tepees, babies, men, women, dogs, cats, deer, books, or chokers. The pronunciation of a number does not change if the noun it modifies is animate or inanimate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Transliteration</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na'estse</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>na'estse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neše</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>neše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'he</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>na'he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neve</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>neve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noho</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>noho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naesohto</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>naesohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésohto</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>nésohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nohto</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>na'nohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sóohto</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>sóohto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhtohto</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>máhtōhtō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóhtō)hóhtáhna'estse</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>(máhtóhtō)hóhtáhnešē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóhtō)hóhtáhnešē</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésó'e</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>nésó'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésó'e hóhtáhna'estse</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>nésó'e hóhtáhnešē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésó'e hóhtáhnešē</td>
<td>22</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésó'e hóhtáhna'he</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>néné'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nó'e</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>na'nó'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nó'e hóhtáhnoho</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>na'nó'e hóhtáhnoho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névó'e</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>névó'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóhóno'e</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>nóhóno'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naesóhtóhnó'e</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésóhtóhnó'e</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nóhtóhnó'e</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sóohtóhnó'e</td>
<td>90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no'ka máhtóhtóhnó'e ??</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of numbers of things

- na’éstse hetane: one man
- na’éstse kahámáxe: one stick
- neše máheonótse: two houses
- neve he’eo’o: four women
- noho ka’eskóneho: five children
- naesohto póesono: six cats
- nés’o’e mo’kéhanótse: twenty shoes

Multiplicative numbers

Multiplicative numbers tell how many times some action was done. This set of numbers end with -a for 1-5 and -ha for 6-10.

- no’ka: once
- nexa: twice
- na’ha: 3 times
- neva: 4 times
- nóhona: 5 times
- naesóhtoha: 6 times
- nésóhtoha: 7 times
- na’hóhtoha: 8 times
- sóohtoha: 9 times
- máhtóhtoha: 10 times
- (mahtóhtoh)hóhtahnó’ka: 11 times
- (mahtóhtoh)hóhtahnexa: 12 times
- nés’o’e: 20 times (same pronunciation as for 20 things)
- no’ka máhtóhtohno’e: 100 times (same pronunciation as for 100 things)
- no’ka vonoéstónestóva: 1000 times (lit., once lost-count)

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 hámohęshnééstóva tsénéhe’sévoénéstse 'twice tepee raising that's how long his face is' (This is a funny phrase said by a lady related to a man who had a long face, whom she wished to shame for having beaten his wife. It can be paraphrased as something like "his face is so long he could pitch two tepees on it").
4. Neva náhoxéhé’séva.?? 'Four times I pledged to put on a Sun Dance.'

Numbers of groups

These numbers tell how many groups there are. A group can be a pair, a band, etc. A group number is composed of a number stem plus the group suffix /-óvé/.

- nó’kóve: one group
- nésóve: two groups
- ná’névé: three groups
- névóve: four groups
- nóhónóve: five groups
- naesóhtóhnóve: six groups
nésóhtóhnóvé seven groups
na'ñosóhtóhnóvé eight groups
sóóhtóhnóvé nine groups
máhtóhtóhnóvé ten groups

Examples of numbers of groups
nésóvé mo'kéhanótse two pairs of shoes
névévé xamaevo'éstaneo'o four tribes of Indians
nóhóónóvé nóta'xo'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'kéé'ěše one day^{156}
néšéé'ěše two days
na'héé'ěše three days
névéé'ěše four days
nóhonéé'ěše five days

Examples in sentences:
Néšéé'ěše náévahéo'éhtse. 'I returned four days ago.'
Névéé'ěše móhónméma'éméoehevého. 'For four days they ran around.' (The Great Race, W. Leman, 1987:245)

Numbers in verbs
Cheyenne numbers appear in several verb constructions. They can occur as preverbs, initials, and roots of verbs.

Number preverbs
Here are some number preverbs:

no'ke- one
néše- two
na'he- three
néve- four
nóhone- five

Examples with number preverbs
Ná-no'ke-ene. I stayed one night.
Ná-néšé-ene. I stayed two nights.
É-névé-ené-o'é. It's the second day of the week.
Nána'he-ené-étse. I camped three nights.
É-na'he-némeneo'o. There are three of them singing.
É-névé-éné-o'é. It was four overnights ago.
Vé'ho'éñóó tse-névé-óhta. The cow will have four legs. (Sweet Medicine's prophecy)
É-nóhone-aénáma. He is five years old.

^{156} That is, an overnight.
Number initials

Here are some number initials:

- no'k- one
- nés- two
- na'n- three
- név- four
- nóhon- five

Examples with number initials

É-nésoeme. He/It costs two (dollars).
É-na'noéséne. Three hang. (e.g. of three stars in a constellation)
É-névanène. 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-nésséme. There are two of us (exclusive).
É-na'heo'o. There are three of them (animate).
É-néveo'o. There are four of them (animate).
É-nóhono'o. There are five of them (animate).
É-naesohtóxeo'o. There are six of them (animate).
É-na'nóhtóxeo'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'oheo'o. There are twenty of them (animate).
É-néso'oënéstse. 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-naesohtóhánéstse. There are six of them (inanimate).
É-nésóhtóhánéstse. There are seven of them (inanimate).
É-na'nóhtóhánéstse. There are eight of them (inanimate).
É-sóohtóhánéstse. There are nine of them (inanimate).
É-máhtóhtóhánéstse. There are ten of them (inanimate).

Numbers as participles

Number roots occur in participles that refer to either animate or inanimate things. The participles can take subjects of any person, first, second, third, or obviated:
Animate Intransitive participles
- tsé-no'kaestse: the one (animate) which is one in number
- tséh-no'káhéto: by myself, I alone
- néh-no'káhéto: I alone
- néh-néšése: both of you (plural)
- tsé-néšése: the two of them (animate)
- tsé-na'ha'hese: the three of them (animate)
- tsé-névése: the four of them (animate)
- tsé-nóhonese: the five of them (animate)
- tsé-naesóhtoxesë: the six of them (animate)
- hotóhke'o tsé-nésóhtoxesë: the seven stars (Cheyenne for the Pleiades constellation)
- tsé-na'nóhtoxesë: the eight of them (animate)
- tsé-sóohtoxesë: the nine of them (animate)
- tsé-máhtóhtoxesë: the ten of them (animate)

Inanimate Intransitive participles
- tsé-nó'ka'e: that which is number one
- tsé-néixa'e: that which is number two
- tsé-na'ha'a'e: that which is number three
- tsé-néva'a'e: that which is number four

Ordinal numbers
Ordinal numbers tell what place something has in sequential order. The Cheyenne final /-a'ónéto/ indicates number sequence. Ordinal numbers can be expressed in either the independent or conjunct orders, as shown in the following examples (the conjunct order examples begin with tsé-):

- É-no'ka'ónéto: It is the first one.
- tsé-no'ka'ónéto: the first one
- É-néxa'ónéto: It is the second one
- tsé-néxa'ónéto: the second one
- É-na'ha'ónéto: the third one
- É-néva'ónéto: It is the fourth one.
- tsé-nóhona'ónéto: the fifth one
- tsé-naesóhtoxna'ónéto: the sixth one
- tsé-nésóhtoxna'ónéto: the seventh one
- tsé-na'nóhtoxna'ónéto: the eighth one
- tsé-sóohtoxna'ónéto: the ninth one

Group number verbs
Cheyenne verbs can take a number initial plus an AI /-óvahe/ or II /-óvató/ 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-néováhe'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:157

Éno'keéno'e. Tuesday (lit., 'It's the first day.')
Énéšeéno'e. Wednesday (lit., 'It's the second day.')
Éna'heéno'e. It's Thursday (lit., 'It's the third day.')
Énéveéno'e. It's Friday (lit., 'It's the fourth day.')
Étséške ma'heóneéšeeve. It's Saturday (lit., 'It's the little holy day.')
Éma'heóneéšeeve. It's Sunday (lit., 'It's the holy day.')
Éénema'heóneéšeeve. 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')
Nóhona éšēeva Friday (lit., 'on the fifth day')
Tšéške ma'heóneéšēeva Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day')
Ma'heóneéšēeva Sunday (lit., 'on the holy day')

Language change

Changes occur over time in every language. Sounds and meanings of Cheyenne words have experienced such historical changes.

Cheyenne has descended from Proto-Algonquian (PA), the ancestor of all the Algonquian languages. Through careful study linguists are able to observe changes which have occurred in the sounds and grammar between Proto-Algonquian and each of its descendant languages, including Cheyenne.

We have also been able to observe further changes taking place in the Cheyenne language in the past few decades. Let's outline some of the main changes which have occurred in the long history that has led to the current sounds and grammar of Cheyenne.

Proto-Algonquian to Cheyenne changes

Following are some Cheyenne words with their Proto-Algonquian (PA) source words (etyma). Proto-words are marked with the asterisk (*), following standard practice.

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157 From Internet webpage: http://www.swosu.edu/academics/catc/dictionary/c04.aspx
ame (PA *pemyi, "grease")
he'e (cf. PA *weθkweni, "his liver")
hē'e (PA **eθkwe·wa, "woman")
hetane (PA *er*$enyiwa, "man")
matana (PA *meθenyi, "milk")
šé’šé
šémo
xō’o
pe’e
netse
hotóá’e
neše
na’he

$RECHECK PA AND ADD MORE EXAMPLES

PA: Cheyenne correspondences
Common Cheyenne reflexes of PA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PA</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$others

More recent Cheyenne sound changes
We can observe some changes in Cheyenne from published records. Other changes have been personally observed.

h-addition
We have noted that PA nouns that began with a vowel now begin with the letter "h" in Cheyenne. Most of this change occurred before the end of the 1800s when Petter began his study of Cheyenne. However, Petter (1915) did record some Cheyenne nouns which he heard beginning with a vowel, which later began with "h":

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>Petter</th>
<th>modern Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>azesc</td>
<td>hátsêke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
<td>oxzem</td>
<td>höhtsême</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siouxs</td>
<td>Ohoomoheo</td>
<td>Ho’ôhomoeo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>oxoozz</td>
<td>cf. hoxo’ôhtsêvô’êstse 'grass' $$DELETE EXAMPLE??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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>tamáháahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book</td>
<td>móxe’éstoo’o</td>
<td>xe’éstoo’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I asked him</td>
<td>nánóhtséstóvo</td>
<td>nánéstóvo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berries</td>
<td>menòtse</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>Mâhpevana’hâne</td>
<td>Pevaana’hâne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I see you</td>
<td>névóomátse</td>
<td>névóoméstse ??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regularization

Cheyennes have been regularizing some irregular grammatical patterns.

Obviation regularization

Cheyenne obviatives have been undergoing some regularization. Remember that Cheyenne, like other Algonquian languages, allows only one third person to be in focus at any one time. Any other third person is moved out of focus. It is called an obviative. A third person which remains in focus is called a proximate. Obviated nouns take an obviative suffix. Verbs which have obviated objects take obviative suffixes, as well.

Some proximate and obviative nouns, along with the phonemic spelling of the proximate, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>phonemic</th>
<th>proximate</th>
<th>obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>/he’é/</td>
<td>hē’e</td>
<td>he’óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>/hetane/</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetanóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clock</td>
<td>/éše’he/</td>
<td>éše’he</td>
<td>éše’hóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sioux</td>
<td>/ho’óho’mo’é/</td>
<td>Ho’óhomō’e</td>
<td>Ho’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’honaao’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>/nóte/</td>
<td>notse</td>
<td>noto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nighthawk</td>
<td>/pé’e/</td>
<td>pe’e</td>
<td>pe’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>/šé’šé/</td>
<td>šé’šé</td>
<td>šé’xo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pitches of obviatives and their suffixes alternated between high and low depending on the phonemic pitch of the penultimate (next-to-the-last) vowel. For several decades many fluent speakers have


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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>hése</td>
<td>hésóho ($$ RECHECK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>/ho'honáé/</td>
<td>ho'honáá'e</td>
<td>ho'honáóho($$ RECHECK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>/note/</td>
<td>notse</td>
<td>nótóho($$ RECHECK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nighthawk</td>
<td>/pé’e/</td>
<td>pe’e</td>
<td>pé’óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>/šé’sé/</td>
<td>šé’sé</td>
<td>šé’xóho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By the 2020’s most Cheyenne speakers no longer use any obviative endings on nouns.

The same regularization is occurring with verbs which are marked for obviation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>phonemic stem</th>
<th>older</th>
<th>newer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he (obv) is praying</td>
<td>/-háóéná/</td>
<td>éháoenaho??</td>
<td>éháóénáho ??$$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he loves her (obv)</td>
<td>/-méhót/</td>
<td>éméhoto</td>
<td>éméhótóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he fought him (obv)</td>
<td>/-méót/</td>
<td>éméoto</td>
<td>éméótóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he ate him (obv)</td>
<td>/-mév/</td>
<td>émevo</td>
<td>émévóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he (obv) invited to feast</td>
<td>/-mó’é/</td>
<td>émo'o</td>
<td>émó’óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she suckled him (obv)</td>
<td>/-néh/</td>
<td>énehho</td>
<td>énéhóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he (obv) is nursing</td>
<td>/-néne/</td>
<td>éneno</td>
<td>énénóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there are two of them (obv)</td>
<td>/-néše/</td>
<td>énexo</td>
<td>énéxóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there are four of them (obv)</td>
<td>/-néve/</td>
<td>énevo</td>
<td>énévóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he hates him (obv)</td>
<td>/-péót/</td>
<td>épéoto</td>
<td>épéótóho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The older pronunciation has a low-pitched ending if the stem-final vowel is high-pitched. The regularized pronunciation has a high pitch on the first vowel of the obviative suffix, regardless of the pitch of the stem-final vowel.

Regularization of the TI theme sign

A increasing number of speakers regularize the TI theme sign to /á/ instead of retaining the older /ó/ theme sign which occurred in TI negative verbs. The theme sign vowels are underlined in these examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>positive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>older negative</th>
<th>newer negative</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>návóóhta</td>
<td>I saw it</td>
<td>násáavóóhtóhe</td>
<td>násáavóóhtáhe</td>
<td>I did not see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhestána</td>
<td>he took it</td>
<td>ésáahestánóhe</td>
<td>ésáahestánáhe</td>
<td>he did not take it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'éná</td>
<td>I know it</td>
<td>násáahéne'énóhe</td>
<td>násáahéne'énáhe</td>
<td>I do not know it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regularization of irregular possessives

We previously mentioned that Cheyennes have been changing irregular possessive prefixes so that they are regular. We repeat a few examples here:
Irregular       Regular
néno 'my home' $RECHECK  navénove ??
nétové  navétové ??
néséne 'my friend'  navéséne ??

Idiolectal changes
Some changes in Cheyenne are focused more in the speech of

Semantic change
Not only do sounds change over time, but meanings of words do also. $$
vého'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 tóhevetse, phonetically [tʰoɪɪc]. 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 Vášëtaēno. 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'
Pévééšeeva '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:

Épévevónā'o 'It's a good morning'
Épéveéšeeve 'It's a good day'
Épévéhetóeve 'It's a good evening'
Épévetaa'eve 'It's a good night'

**Good-bye**

The English leavetaking 'good-bye' (historically shortened from "God be with you") has not been literally translated to Cheyenne. Instead, Cheyennes have borrowed English "See you later!" as a leavetaking used by many speakers for many decades. Cheyennes have adapted this borrowing to be pronounced as the following fully inflected verb:

Néstaévahósevóomátse 'I'll see you again later.'

**Other loan translations**

The Cheyenne verb né'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'anató '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'xenéhotoanató 'It's plum difficult'. Cheyennes enjoy playing with words.

If enough Cheyennes like the literally translated idioms they sometimes become more widely used.

**Creation of new words**

Cheyennes create new words when the need arises. Most new words are descriptive, made up of smaller meaning parts. Some created words have been used for so long that they are no longer thought of a new words. Others are more recently minted. Some have been created recently but are not in common usage.

**Older created words**

Here are some words which were created when Cheyennes encountered new things and needed names for them. These words have been a regular part of the Cheyenne language for many
The lexicon of a language is its entire inventory of words (vocabulary) and other important...
meaning parts (morphemes). The lexicon also should indicate relationships among the words. The Cheyenne lexicon is found in dictionaries of Cheyenne. The most recent dictionary is titled Cheyenne Dictionary. We have attempted to include all the words and lexical relationships among them in the Cheyenne Dictionary. We have attempted to write the words in the dictionary are accurately as possible. An online version of this dictionary can be accessed at this Internet address:

http://cdkc.edu/cheyennedictionary/index.html

The online dictionary includes links to audio files so that thousands of the words and other morphemes in the dictionary can be heard.

Study of the Cheyenne lexicon is very interesting. Through study of the Cheyenne lexicon we can learn so many interesting things about how Cheyenne speakers say words.

**One word or two words**

An interesting thing to learn when studying the lexicon of a language is whether it uses one or more words for something. Different languages use different numbers of words to refer to the same thing. Such differences between languages are interesting. If all the flowers in the world had the same color and shape, flowers would be a little boring. It's the same way with languages. If all languages said everything the same way, they would not be as interesting as they are. Differences among flowers, animals, people, cultures, and languages are interesting and beautiful. Just because one language says something one way and another language says it a different way is not a cause for shame or a feeling that one language is better than another language, regardless of what you might have been taught about your language by schoolteachers or others.

**Monomials**

If a language uses a single word for something, that word is called a monomial. Some English monomials are "baby", "child", "dog", "water", "tree", and "always". Cheyenne has monomials (single words) that match those English words: mé'ėševótse 'baby', ka'ěškóne 'child', oeškēse 'dog', mahpe 'water', hoohtsēstse 'tree', and mé'ēstse 'always'.

**Binomials**

Sometimes one language requires two or more words to say the same thing said in another language by only one word. A two word phrase that refers to something is called a binomial. Cheyenne speakers use a single word (monomial), kāsovááhe, that requires two words (binomial) to say the same thing in English, "young man". English uses one word (monomial), "boy", that requires a compound word to say the same thing in Cheyenne, hetané-ka'ěškóne, 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'ěškóne"? Hopefully, you will answer that neither one is better. Both are good, appropriate ways to say the same thing in each language.

With that understanding, that each way of saying something is good, let us compare some monomials (single words) and binomials (double words) of Cheyenne and English:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>monomial</th>
<th>binomial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kāsovááhe</td>
<td>young man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kāse'éehe</td>
<td>young woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sometimes a language can say something with a single word that is said by an entire sentence in another language. Cheyenne verbs are single words (monomials), often with several smaller parts (morphemes). But Cheyenne single word verbs usually must be translated as entire sentences in English. Neither way is better than the other. Both ways of saying the same thing are good:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monomial</th>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émésehe.</td>
<td>He (or She) is eating (or He, or She, ate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ékoká’a'xe.</td>
<td>He (or She) is jumping. (or He, or She, was jumping.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náháéána.</td>
<td>I'm hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néešemésehéhe?</td>
<td>Did you already eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épêhēva’e.</td>
<td>It's good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo’kōho.</td>
<td>It's raining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáatsēhe’sevóomatsēhe.</td>
<td>I never see you.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Semantic ranges

Sometimes a word in one language does not exactly match a word (or words) in another language. The words in the different languages might have slightly different meanings. Or they might share some of the same meanings, but have some meanings that are not the same. Again, this does not mean that one of the languages is better than the other language. It just means that the languages have different ways of saying things.

The set of meanings that a word has is called its semantic range. Often the semantic ranges of words between languages do not match up exactly. This makes the job of translating between these language more difficult, but not impossible.

Cheyenne and English have different semantic ranges for words having to do with siblings. For instance, in the Cheyenne language there are several words that refer to sibling relationships: older sibling, younger sibling, older brother, younger brother, sibling/cousin, etc. **DESCRIBE THE DETAILS, TRY TO SHOW THEM WITH SEMANTIC RANGE CIRCLES**

**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. **FILL OUT THIS SECTION; IMPORT WHAT CAN BE USED FROM MY PAPER ON SEMANTIC CATEGORIZATION OF THE CHEYENNE LEXICON**

*Plurals*

*Animacy pairs*

*Diminutives*

*Antonyms*

*Synonyms*

*Hyponyms*

**Figurative language**

Figurative language is the use of speech to express meanings different from the literal meanings of words used. Cheyenne figurative language includes metaphors, similes, and idioms. In examples that follow, the literal meaning of an expression is given in parentheses after its figurative meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Énéšetaneva.??</td>
<td>He lies. (lit., he is two-tongued).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhéstova'kehe.</td>
<td>He is duplicitous. (lit., he is dual-natured??)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'néhevēhōhtse.</td>
<td>She outsmarts men. (lit., she has wolf footprints)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épéeëeëse.</td>
<td>He is a hellraiser. (lit., he has a ground up nose)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhesō'xo'ēsta.</td>
<td>He doesn't listen. (lit., he has slippery ears)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énéhestāha.</td>
<td>He's gets angry easily. (lit., he is quick-hearted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó'kohome</td>
<td>sly, conniving person (lit., coyote)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éó'kōhomēheve’èxāne.</td>
<td>He is sly/he cheats. (lit., he has coyote eyes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énhēpōëse ma’ēno.</td>
<td>It’s foggy. (lit., the turtle is hanging shrouded)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námēvāá’e.</td>
<td>They gossiped about me. (lit., they ate me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heávohe nētāxe’hā'tova.</td>
<td>You are in a bad mood. (lit., the devil is hanging over you)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hesevāvónō’e a’e hestonvónō’e!</td>
<td>Wow, that’s amazing! (lit., wow, close to a drymeat rack)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vó’kéme éhonóva.</td>
<td>It has snowed and snow is hanging on tree branches. (lit.,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Old Man Winter is hanging drymeat
oonahæ'ee maxhevéésévöhtse never (lit., when frogs have teeth)
Moéséto'séhestsevévéšéhëhë. He's "crazy". (lit., he's about to have horns)
Ého'ëohë'tóó'ë hávé'sévévéhan'éhë. He's angry. (lit. The mad drummer came to him)
Náto'sémahéëto ho' honáá'ë. I'm going to be stubborn. (lit., I'm going to swallow a rock)
Náno'ee'ëha' onótse voohe. I got up really early. (lit., I put on my shoes with the morning star)
Névááhe tséheaxévétnéstse? Who is the boss? (lit., Who has the bell? This idiom is based on the image of the lead cow wearing a bell)
Éhonë'a vé'ho'émahpe. He drinks all the time. (lit., he is clothed with whiskey)
Émaa'ë. He's courting. (lit., he's barking)
Étaoméhótsenóhtóvenéstse napáhpóneehéhame. My stomach is growling. (lit., my tapeworm can almost talk by itself)

Semantic domains

Semantic domains are how speakers of a language group words according to how they belong together in topics. Speakers of a language group words together as they view that they belong together. The culture of the speakers determines how the groupings of words are made. Groups of words that belong together, according to speakers of a language, are called semantic domains. Some Cheyenne semantic domains have been influenced by interaction between traditional Cheyenne culture and other cultures, especially those of the vé'ho'ë (white people) and their educational, business, and entertainment cultural patterns. Following are some of the semantic domains of Cheyenne language and culture. Many others can be found in the Cheyenne Topical Dictionary (Glenmore and W. Leman, 1984), as well as online copies of the Cheyenne Dictionary.

Numbers

The Cheyenne language has words for various numbers. Cheyennes have traditionally spoken about how many deer they shot or how many children they have. Cheyennes tell how many times they have done some action. Cheyenne speakers knew their numbers as fluent speakers of the language. It is probable, however, that Cheyennes never traditionally counted as an exercise in itself, as in done today in Cheyenne bilingual education programs. But counting is now considered an important part of Cheyenne language learning. Many Cheyenne children have learned to count from 1 to 10, using one or both of the two traditional Cheyenne number systems, numbers for how many things and numbers for how many times something is done:

Numbers of things

Numbers of times

Animals

Horses

Cheyenne life changed significantly after Cheyennes moved to the Great Plains and acquired horses. A horse culture developed. Words about horses became one of the most developed semantic domains of the Cheyenne language.
Fluent Cheyenne speakers have traditionally referred to various colors. Some of the words for colors can be used about almost any object. Other words are only used for certain purposes, such as the various colors of horses.

For several decades Cheyenne children have been taught Cheyenne colors in bilingual education programs. "$\text{FILL OUT THIS SECTION AND INCLUDE COLOR SECTION FROM THE FIRST EDITIONS OF THIS BOOK}$"
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Étönetôhtâhave</th>
<th>Étönetôhtâhêve?o</th>
<th>Étönetôhtâhêvenêstse</th>
<th>Étönetôva</th>
<th>Étönetôto?éva</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>It is black</td>
<td>émo?ôhtávo</td>
<td>émo?ôhtâvahe</td>
<td>émo?ôhtâvahe</td>
<td>éôcôno</td>
<td>éôcônahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>He is black</td>
<td>éma?éhaövo</td>
<td>éma?éheôvahe</td>
<td>éma?éheôvahe</td>
<td>éôcôno</td>
<td>éôcônahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue</td>
<td>It is blue</td>
<td>éotá?távo</td>
<td>éotá?tavahe</td>
<td>éotá?tavahe</td>
<td>éôcôno</td>
<td>éôcônahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown</td>
<td>It is brown</td>
<td>émoşö?kâno</td>
<td>émoşö?kånehe</td>
<td>émoşö?kånehe</td>
<td>éôcôno</td>
<td>éôcônahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown, tan</td>
<td>He is brown, tan</td>
<td>éôcôno</td>
<td>éôcônahe</td>
<td>éôcônahe</td>
<td>éôcôno</td>
<td>éôcônahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gray</td>
<td>It is gray</td>
<td>éôpô?o</td>
<td>éôpô?o</td>
<td>éôpô?o</td>
<td>éôcôno</td>
<td>éôcônahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td>It is green</td>
<td>éhoxo?ôhtsâvo</td>
<td>éhoxo?ôhtsåvahe</td>
<td>éhoxo?ôhtsåvahe</td>
<td>éôcôno</td>
<td>éôcônahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orange</td>
<td>It is orange</td>
<td>éma?éhaövo</td>
<td>éma?éheôvahe</td>
<td>éma?éheôvahe</td>
<td>éôcôno</td>
<td>éôcônahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purple</td>
<td>It is purple</td>
<td>éhoxo?ôkóko?so</td>
<td>éhoxo?ôkóko?sahe</td>
<td>éhoxo?ôkóko?sahe</td>
<td>éôcôno</td>
<td>éôcônahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>It is red</td>
<td>éma?ô?o</td>
<td>éma?ôta</td>
<td>éma?ôta</td>
<td>éôcôno</td>
<td>éôcônahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>It is white</td>
<td>évo?ô?mo</td>
<td>évo?ô?mahe</td>
<td>évo?ô?mahe</td>
<td>éôcôno</td>
<td>éôcônahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white, light</td>
<td>It is white, light</td>
<td>évo?ô?mo</td>
<td>évo?ô?mahe</td>
<td>évo?ô?mahe</td>
<td>éôcôno</td>
<td>éôcônahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>It is yellow</td>
<td>éheôvo</td>
<td>éheôvahe</td>
<td>éheôvahe</td>
<td>éôcôno</td>
<td>éôcônahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow-furred</td>
<td></td>
<td>He is yellow-furred.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nice fur</td>
<td>He has nice fur.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e.g. a horse)</td>
<td>He (e.g. a horse) is bay-colored.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chestnut-colored</td>
<td>He is chestnut-colored.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown-black-colored</td>
<td>He is brown-black-colored.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bucks skin</td>
<td>He is bucks skin.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan-colored</td>
<td>He is tan-colored.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinto</td>
<td>He is pinto.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COLOR PARTICIPLES:**
- tsêheôvo: the yellow one (inan)
- tsêheôvo?ô?e: the yellow one (inan)
- tsêheôve: the yellow one (an)
- tsêheôvâhe: the yellow ones (an)
- tsêma?êse: the red ones (an)
- tsêvô?komoo?ô?e: the white ones (inan)

**COLORS AS "ADJECTIVES":**
- heôve-mee?e: yellow feather
- heôve-mâheô?o: yellow house
- otá?tave-amâho?nestôse: blue car
- vôhe-nâhkhe: polar bear (white-bear)

**COLORS IN VERB CONSTRUCTIONS:**
- éheôvôvëse: He has yellow hair.
- éma?ëse: He has a red nose.
- émoşö?kâne?ô?xâna: 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>tséhéhéstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhéhé̱to</td>
<td>father, paternal uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškéstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhešké̱to</td>
<td>mother, maternal aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheméšéméstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséheméšémé̱to</td>
<td>grandfather, fa-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevéškenéstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhevéšké̱no̱to</td>
<td>grandmother, mo-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe̱ee?hahéstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhe̱ee?hahé̱to</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe̱estónáhéstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhe̱estónáhé̱to</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevéxahéstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhevéxahé̱to</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe̱estatanénméstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhe̱estatanéné̱to</td>
<td>brother (of female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheméhéstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséheméhé̱to</td>
<td>older sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevé̱seméstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhevé̱semé̱to</td>
<td>younger sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe̱ee?né̱héstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhe̱ee?né̱hé̱to</td>
<td>older brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevé̱sésónéstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhevé̱sésóné̱to</td>
<td>sibling (incl. cousin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheaxéa?éheméstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséheaxéa?é hé̱mé̱to</td>
<td>sister (man's), sis-in-law (fem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe̱estové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhe̱eto</td>
<td>maternal uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe̱skamónéstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhe̱skamóné̱to</td>
<td>maternal aunt, stepmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe̱vetamóstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhe̱vetamé̱to</td>
<td>paternal aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevé̱tové̱stové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhevé̱tové̱to</td>
<td>cross sibling-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe̱haménéstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhe̱haméné̱to</td>
<td>brother-in-law (man's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe̱tséṉotahéstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhe̱tséṉotahé̱to</td>
<td>cross niece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe̱stse?éméstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhe̱stse?émé̱to</td>
<td>cross nephew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe̱heméstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhe̱hemé̱to</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe̱sé̱náméstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhe̱sé̱namé̱to</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe̱náméstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhe̱námé̱to</td>
<td>niece, stepdaughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe̱amónéstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhe̱amóné̱to</td>
<td>nephew, stepson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe̱amónéstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhe̱amóné̱to</td>
<td>paternal uncle, stepfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe̱sónéstové̱stse</td>
<td>tséhe̱sóné̱hé̱to</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: see other material on kinship terms under TRANSITIVE ANIMATE CONJUNCT PARTICIPLES.*
Medical terms

Néto'sev'hoomátse.
Tósa'e néháama'ta?
Tósa'e néoméotshe?
Neháamá'tahe netonáye?
Néhóse'eh?
Nétonéstóhe'se'hama?
Néona'ebotshe hetséóhe?
Náseónóebohtshe, OR,
Néánétanohe?
Né'asebse'henáte?
Né'eta'xotvahtse!
Né'exe-omotoméatsel!
Néomotomeotsêtsel!
Náto'sev'hóóta néstovoo'ótse.
Néó'sésóonoóme.
Néhoveó'o'éstse!
Hámésto'o'éstse!
Náto'séánta násteseta.
Nésteseta éphéhva'e.
Nétonéstóhe'senána?
Étonéstóhe'se'hama?
Nêtate'n'énéháomóhtahe?
Nétonemomóhtahe?
Néhevésévomómótáhe?
Náchéo, néhevésévomómótahe.
Náháomótahe.
Nétonéstóhnoohne?
Néháamá'továntsehe?
Néto'nêxováháomóhtahe?
Nâ té'éike'háomóhtahe.
Náhoháaháomóhtahe.
Névé'kembévomómótáhe?
Návé'kembévomómótahe.
Névé'háahó'eha?
Nóhokpéhévenaótshe, OR,
Nóhokpéhévenomáhe?
Néo'óhtahe?
Némomómóhtahe?
Náháomóhta.
He' toche heséecó'ótse améhestanomeo'o!
He' toche heséecó'ótse amemaneo'o!
Nó'ka testanomeo'o
másá'a'éeméshéheto!
Nexa testanomeo'o
másá'a'éeméshéheto!
Ná'éétsé testanomeo'o nava
no'ka-aáveeva!
Évé'ohkeothse?
Nóhokhéheotsotséthe?
Náhtse'mame éhe'amoësta.
Náhe'haha?
Náhe'haaa'e.

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’éhasēō'o, which literally means 'ticking thing’. This word is also animate.

Questions about time

Tóne’še ého’oése éše’he? ?? What time is it? (lit., When has the sun arrived hanging?)
Tóne’še ého’oésta? What time is it? (lit., When has it arrived hanging?)
Étöne’ého’oése (éše’he)? What time is it? [lit. How high is he (the sun) hanging?]
Étöne’ého’oésta? What time is it? (lit., How high is it hanging?)

Times of the day

Independent order verbs can be used to refer to times of a day:

Éasevónéóhtse. It’s daybreak. (lit. it’s starting to get light)
Éhosóvoománo’e. It’s dawn.
Éhosóvoomaeóhtse. It’s dawning.
Éméovóonā’o. It’s early morning.
Évóonā’o It’s morning.
Éméshéhévoésta. It’s noon. (lit., it’s eating time)
Ésétovoésta. It’s noon.
Éhomoése. It’s afternoon. [lit., it’s already (past) noon]
Ékáhoése. It’s almost sunset time.
Ékāhóésta. It’s close to evening [lit., he (the sun) is hanging close]
Éhetóéve. It’s evening.
Étaa’eve. It’s night.
Ésétöhtaa’eve. It’s midnight. (lit., it’s middle-night)

Past times

Conjunct indicative verbs are used to refer to time which is already past:

tséhméovónā’o when it was early morning
tséhvónā’o when it was morning
tséssétovoésta when it was noon
tséxhetóéve when it was evening
tséstaa'eve when it was night
tsésstōhtaa'eve when it was midnight

**Future times**

Conjunct potential verbs are used to refer to time which has not yet occurred:

- máhméovónā'o when it is early morning
- máhvónā'o when it is morning, when it is tomorrow
- másétovóésta when it is noon
- máxhetṓeve when it is evening
- ?? **when it is night**
- mássétōhtaa'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:

- eše day
- táa'e night

**Temporal particles**

The temporal / locative suffix /-vá/ is added to time nouns to refer to periods of time:

- éšeēva in the daytime, yesterday
- hetōéva in the evening
- taa'ēva at night
- sétōhtaa'ēva at midnight, in the middle of the night
- oéšeēva daily
- totáa'ēva 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'eohe. It's 1 o'clock.
- Ééšenésòxe'oehe. It's 2 o'clock.
- Ééšena'nòxe'ohe. It's 3 o'clock.
- Ééšenévòxe'ohe. It's 4 o'clock.
- Ééšenóhonòxe'ohe. It's 5 o'clock.
- Ééšenaesòhtòxe'ohe. It's 6 o'clock.
- Ééšenésòhtòhnòxe'ohe. It's 7 o'clock.
- Ééšena'nóhtòxe'ohe. It's 8 o'clock.
- Ééšesòóhtòxe'ohe. It's 9 o'clock.
- Ééšemáhtòtóxe'ohe. It's 10 o'clock.
- Ééšehóhtåhno'kòxe'ohe. It's 11 o'clock.
- Ééšehóhtåhnèsòxe'ohe. It's 12 o'clock.
Ééšenésőxe'ohe tséhvónā'o. It’s 2 o’clock in the morning.
Ééšemahtótxe'oehe tsésta'evé?? It’s 10 o’clock at night.
Neva o’xe ééšéhepoésta. It’s 4:30.

Past hours

tséhno'kőxe'ohe when it was 1 o’clock
-tséhnésőxe'ohe when it was 2 o’clock
-tséhna'nöxe'ohe when it was 3 o’clock
-tséhnévőxe'ohe when it was 4 o’clock
-tséhnóhonőxe'ohe when it was 5 o’clock
-tséhnaesóhtőxe'ohe when it was 6 o’clock
-tséhnésőhtőhnőxe'ohe when it was 7 o’clock
-tséhna'nöhtőxe'ohe when it was 8 o’clock
-tséssőhótxe'ohe when it was 9 o’clock
-tséhmáhtóhtőxe'ohe when it was 10 o’clock
-tséxhóhtáhno'kőxe'ohe when it was 11 o’clock
-máxhóhtáhnésőxe'ohe when it was 12 o’clock

Future hours

-máhno'kőxe'ohe when it’s 1 o’clock
-máhnésőxe'ohe when it’s 2 o’clock
-máhna'nöxe'ohe when it’s 3 o’clock
-máhnévőxe'ohe when it’s 4 o’clock
-máhnóhonőxe'ohe when it’s 5 o’clock
-máhnaesóhtőxe'ohe when it’s 6 o’clock
-máhnésőhtőhnőxe'ohe when it’s 7 o’clock
-máhna'nöhtőxe'ohe when it’s 8 o’clock
-mássóhtótxe'ohe when it’s 9 o’clock
-máhmahtóhtőxe'ohe when it’s 10 o’clock
-máxhóhtáhno'kőxe'ohe when it’s 11 o’clock
-máxhóhtáhnésőxe'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
Months

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

Here is one list which is in used on a Cheyenne calendar which has been distributed annually for many years. There has never been any official endorsement of this particular set of names, so Cheyennes should feel free to improve upon this list if improvement is possible at this date in history.

In the following lists a Cheyenne name for a month is given first, then its literal meaning, then a month on the "white" calendar that it may correspond to:

Hohtseéše'he, Hoop Moon: January
Ma'xéhohtseéše'he, Big Hoop Moon: February
Pónoma'a'èhasenéeše'he, Drying Up Moon: March
Véhpotseéše'he, Leaf Moon: April

Énano'eéše'he, Planting Moon: June
Méanééshe'he, Summer Moon: July
Oenenééshe'he, Harvest Moon: August
Tonóééshe'he, Cool Moon: September
Sé'énehé, Facing Into: October (This name refers to when thin ice begins to form on ponds and rivers.)
He'koneneéše'he, Hard Face Moon: November
Ma'xéhe'koneneéše'he, Big Hard Face Moon: December

Some alternative names are:
He'koneneéše'he, Hard Face Moon: January (instead of November)
Tšéške'hohtseéše'he, Little Hoop Moon: February
Pónoma'a'èhasenéehe, Drying Up: March (or April)
Heše'kévénéhe, Dusty Face: March (also, variant Heše'événéhe)
Heše'événéhééshe'he, Dusty Face Moon: March (or April)
Véhpotsééše'he, Leaf Moon: May (perhaps part of April also)
É'omééše'he, Fattening Up Moon: latter part of June and first part of July
Sétoveméanééešêhe, Midsummer Moon: July  
Héмотséešêhe, Breeding Moon: latter part of August and first part of September  
Tonóeevëséežehe, Cool Moon: September  
Sé'eneešehe, Facing Into Moon: October  
Se’ma’ómevëséežehe, Starting To Freeze Moon: October  
Hešé'kévënëstse, Dirt In the Face (Moon): October  
Sétovëáneéšêhe, Midwinter Moon: December

Days of the week
In Oklahoma the first day of the week begins on Tuesday, while in Montana the first day begins on Monday. Following are Cheyenne names for days of the week.

Montana days of the week

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day of the week</th>
<th>Cheyenne name</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>No'ka éšëeva</td>
<td>Monday (lit., 'on the first day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>Nexa éšëeva</td>
<td>Tuesday (lit., 'on the second day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Na’ha éšëeva</td>
<td>Wednesday (lit., 'on the third day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>Neva éšëeva</td>
<td>Thursday (lit., 'on the fourth day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>Nóhona éšëeva</td>
<td>Friday (lit., 'on the fifth day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Tšëške’ma’heóneéšëevë</td>
<td>Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>Ma’heóneéšëevë</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:\n
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day of the week</th>
<th>Cheyenne name</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>Éno’keéno’e.</td>
<td>Tuesday (lit., 'It's the first day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Énéšëéno’e.</td>
<td>Wednesday (lit., 'It's the second day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>Éna’heéno’e.</td>
<td>It's Thursday (lit., 'It's the third day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>Énéveéno’e.</td>
<td>It's Friday (lit., 'It's the fourth day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Étšëškee’ma’heóneéšëevë.</td>
<td>It's Saturday (lit., 'It's the little holy day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>Éma’heóneéšëevë.</td>
<td>It's Sunday (lit., 'It's the holy day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>Éénema’heóneéšëevë.</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>Day of the week</th>
<th>Cheyenne name</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>No’ka tsé’éšëevë</td>
<td>when it was Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>Nexa tsé’éšëevë</td>
<td>when it was Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Na’ha tsé’éšëevë</td>
<td>when it was Wednesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thursday</td>
<td>Neva tsé’éšëevë</td>
<td>when it was Thursday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friday</td>
<td>Nóhona tsé’éšëevë</td>
<td>when it was Friday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saturday</td>
<td>Tšéšëške’ma’heóneéšëevë?</td>
<td>when it was Saturday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunday</td>
<td>Tséhmá’heóneéšëevë</td>
<td>when it was Sunday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Montana future days of the week

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day of the week</th>
<th>Cheyenne name</th>
<th>English translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monday</td>
<td>No’ka ma’éšëevë</td>
<td>when it is Monday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuesday</td>
<td>Nexa ma’éšëevë</td>
<td>when it is Tuesday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wednesday</td>
<td>Na’ha ma’éšëevë</td>
<td>when it is Wednesday</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Neva ma'éšeeve when it is Thursday
 Nóhona ma'éšeeve when it is Friday
 Máhtšéške'ma'heóneéšeeve?? when it is Saturday
 Máhma'heóneéšeeve?? when it is Sunday

Overnights
Cheyennes refer to the passage of time both in terms of how many overnights have occurred and in terms of how many days have gone by.

Some particles and verb finals /-éno'e/ and /-éno'tse/ refer to time spent as overnights:

-éno’e final
The verb final –éno'e refers to how many overnights have gone by:

Étanéšeéno’e. It was two days (lit., overnights) ago.
É-améstóheéno’e. It is a week.
ma’taaméstóheéno’e in the coming "days" (lit., overnights)
ma’tahóseaméstóheéno’e next week

-éno’tse final
The verb final –eno’tse refers to how many nights of camping:

Éno’keenō’tse. He camped one night.
Énéšeenō’tse. He camped two nights.

Numbers of days
Numbers of days can refer to how many days ago something happened or how many days it will be until something happens in the future:

no'kée'eše one day
néšée'eše two days
na'hee'eše three days
névé'eše four days
néhonée'eše five days
naesóhtōhéé'ešè six days
nésohtōhéé'ešè seven days
na'nohtōhéé'ešè eight days
sóhohtōhéé'ešè nine days
máhtóhtōhéé'ešè ten days

Numbers of weeks

Numbers of months

A number preverb plus the verb stem -éše'hamá refers to how many months old someone is or how many months have transpired: ??
Éno'keéše'hāma. He's one month old.
Énéveéše'hāma. He's four months old.

Other preverbs can occur with this verb stem:
Étónéstōhe-éše'hāma? How many months old is he?/ How many months pregnant is she?
Énēhestōhe-éše'hāma. That's how many months she has (= her months are up; she is due to deliver her child).

Numbers of years
$$\text{He's so many years old, etc.}$$
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'keää’e for one year
néšeää’e for two years
nahëeña’e for three years

No'keää’e étanëhë’xove. It’s been one year ago.

Temporal particles
Some particles refer to time:
á’e soon\textsuperscript{160}
ta’e until
hehpeto later
nenóveto shortly, a little while later
maato in the future\textsuperscript{161}
hákó’e far in the past\textsuperscript{162}
tótehe a long ago
evaveto back then
nómöse a long time
séetó’e’së 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

\textsuperscript{160} Á’e can also refer to being physically close.
\textsuperscript{161} Maato can also refer to being physically ahead.
\textsuperscript{162} Hákó’e can also refer to far distance.
Temporal preverbs
Some preverbs refer to time in relation to the action of the verb stem which they precede:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>háaa'éše-</td>
<td>for a long time, late</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nenóve-</td>
<td>for a short while</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'ëše-</td>
<td>as long as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'še-</td>
<td>during</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éše-</td>
<td>already</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móne-</td>
<td>recently</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésta-</td>
<td>previously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vonë'še-</td>
<td>for a long time</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vóone-</td>
<td>all night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>së'hoove-</td>
<td>suddenly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of verbs with temporal preverbs
$\$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.

- šé'šeno: rattle
- šé'šenovötse: snake
- Évávahe: He's swinging.
- hevávhkema: butterfly
- po'po'eho'hóvahótse: firecracker, motorcycle
- Épó'eho'he: He was fired / He had a blowout.
- pó'eho'hémahpe: beer (lit., exploding water)
- pó'po'eho'hémáhámenótse: popcorn (lit., popping corn kernels)
- Épá'panestse: He repeatedly farted.
- kokohéáxa: chicken
- kó'konoxé'estónestótse: typewriter (lit., pecking thing)
- kó'ko'ehašéö' o: clock (lit., ticking thing; an Oklahoma Cheyenne word)
- hevovetäso: whirlwind, dragonfly

Translation

$\text{DEVELOP THIS SECTION ON TRANSLATION TO AND FROM CHEYENNE. Describe literal and idiomatic translation. (Include mention of the late Tom Gardner's stating that we needed "thought translation", which would be a good way of referring to idiomatic translation.) Include translation of figures of speech. Address the issue that some things said in one language sometimes do not have a translation equivalent in another language, e.g. Merry Christmas, Happy Birthday. Address the difference between: (1) Can this be said? vs. (2) Is this actually said? Discuss the CAN(A) acronym standard for acceptable translation: Clear, Accurate, Natural, (Acceptable). }$

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’hahtȯtse, literally 'flying thing'. The Cheyennes did the same thing when they created the word for 'car, automobile'. They took a verb already widely used by Cheyennes, -amaho’he ‘to go along by heat’ and turned it into nouns, animate amāho’héhe and inanimate amāho’hestȯtse, both meaning 'going along by heat thing'.

The Cheyenne words for 'airplane' and 'car' clearly and naturally communicate the function of these two forms of transportation. We can follow this principle whenever we are asked to translate something from English to Cheyenne. We can try to find an expression already in use in Cheyenne which functions in the same way as the English expression functions.

With the principle of translation equivalence in mind, let’s think about translating a common English expression to Cheyenne. English speakers use the expression "Happy New Year!" to celebrate the beginning of a new year. Cheyennes do not say "Happy New Year!" in the Cheyenne language. So how might we translate "Happy New Year!" to Cheyenne, without creating an expression that sounds unnatural? Instead of focusing on trying to literally translate the individual words of the English expression, we can look for any expression already in use in Cheyenne that could function as a some kind of equivalent to "Happy New Year!" The closest expression already in use in Cheyenne is Aa’e émôna’e which literally means "The year is new." Now, this expression doesn't initially sound like it has the same meaning as English "Happy New Year!" But it is what Cheyennes have said at the beginning of a new year, for as long as they have known about the ending and beginning of a year. Even though the English and Cheyenne expressions do not literally mean the same thing, the Cheyenne saying can be at least a first candidate as a translation equivalent, since it performs much of the same cultural function. For both English and Cheyenne, the two expressions are what people say to note the beginning of a new year. The two expressions are as close as we can find without creating a new expression that would literally mean "Happy New Year!" But how would one even try to say in Cheyenne that a new year is happy?! Translation is difficult. Of course, Aa’e émôna’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'ê êmôna'ê, pevetano! Sound natural in Cheyenne. I think it would. Does it include the idea of happiness? Yes. Does it include the idea of a new year. Yes, it does. It is worth testing this new translation to see how acceptable it is to other Cheyenne speakers.

Translation adequacy

Here are two of the most important principles to follow when translating.

Accurate

Does the translation have the same meaning as the original? Accuracy is not a matter of keeping the form of the original, but, rather translating the original meaning however it is actually said in the translation language.

Translation of Ó'kôhomôxháaheta to English as Little Wolf was clear and natural, but not accurate. Its meaning was actually Little Coyote.

Natural

The literal translation of "Hang around!" to Cheyenne was perhaps accurate, but it was not natural. It is not how Cheyennes would actually express the meaning of the English expression.

In order for a translation to be both clear and natural, it must respect the grammatical patterns of the both the source and target languages. Every language is different from every other language. If you are translating from English to Cheyenne, or from Cheyenne to English, it is important not to try to force either language to use the grammatical patterns of the other language.

Some grammatical relationships different from English

In this section we describe some ways that the grammatical patterns of English and Cheyenne do not match, yet it is possible to translate accurately and naturally between these languages, while respecting these differences.

There are many interesting differences between how the grammars of Cheyenne and English express some semantic relationships. By pointing out these differences, we are not suggesting that either language is inferior, non-standard, or "backwards". On the contrary, both languages are grammatically logical and beautiful in how they express the intended meanings. For examples of other Cheyenne verbs which have different grammatical relationships from English to express the same semantic relationships, see the end of the next major section of this book, Transitive Inanimate Independent Indicative verbs.

'¬háamá'tov 'hurt (to someone)'

The Cheyenne TA verb –háamá'tov grammatically treats an animate body part that hurts as its direct object:

Náháamá’tóvo namó’ēško. My finger hurts.
Náháamá’tovo’o namó’ēškono. My fingers hurt.

The first example can be literally translated as 'I hurt to my finger." This literal translation sounds odd in English, but there is nothing odd about the Cheyenne verb. In spite of what some Cheyennes believe and have said, based on what they have learned, explicitly or implicitly, from teachers and
administrators in English schools, there is nothing "backwards" about the Cheyenne language. Each language is beautiful and has unique ways of saying things. Just because a language expresses something in a different grammatical way from another language does not make that language backwards, ugly, or in any way inferior to any other language.

'fit (something)'

This Cheyenne verb treats that part that fits as the object of the verb. Again, this is a perfectly logical way to express the intended meaning. The English wording 'The cap fits me' is correct for the English language and the corresponding Cheyenne sentence is correct for the Cheyenne language. Neither language is "backwards" in how they express meaning about fitting; they simply express the same meaning using different grammar.

So, if you are translating a Cheyenne sentence such as Nátáá’e hóhkéha’ê, 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’ê. The cap fits me. (lit., I fit to the cap)
Nátáa’anótse hóhkéha’êstse. The caps fit me. (lit., I fit to the caps)

Compare corresponding TA verbs:

Nátáa’ōvo éstse’hé. 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 –pékévé’áhtá:

Nápékévé’áhta ho’évohkótse. The meat tastes good to me. (lit. I good taste to it)

'think well of (someone)'

In Cheyenne the person who is thought well of is grammatically the semantic subject (causer of the thinking well) of the TA verb –pékévoemeh 'cause (someone) to value good.'

Nápékévoemeha. I think well of him. (= 'He is of good value to me.')
Nápékévoemēho. 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'estse kase'eehe éhnóhtséstovósesto heške,
One young woman asked her mother,

"Éohkeóxóhevoône oonâhá'e òhmónenéstoothévoséstse?"
"What do they say, frogs, when they first croak (in the spring)?"

"Héméhe, naa kováááhe, éohkéhevoône, éxheséstse.
"Oh, well, 'kovaaahe,' they say," she said.

náa éxoháátse'tôheséstse màhtamâhááhe,
And she was laughed at, the old lady, (because)

Kovááhe móxheševéhehevóhe hevéxaho.
Kovaahe he was named, her son-in-law.

If a woman wants her son-in-law to fetch some water or firewood, she can speak about him, in his hearing, with words like these:

Tell that lazy husband of yours to get some water. $$

Brothers-in-law are expected to tease each other within Cheyenne culture. Such teasing has become an art form. Language forms and quality of speech are influenced by the effort to tease, sometimes close to the point of shaming, a brother-in-law in front of others.

The following story illustrates brother-in-law teasing. Notice all the direct in-your-face kind of speech in this text. This is characteristic of teasing speech. $$TRY TO FIND SPECIFIC LANGUAGE FORMS TO COMMENT ABOUT IN THIS TEXT

The Brothers-in-law163

Tséhéno he'ameo'he'è éhéstahe hetane. Aénôhenéstoohe éohkéhestohe.
There up the river he is from, a man. Hawk Howler he is called.

Naa náohkeévená'so'eémáhtsém164. Néhestoahóvóomoo'estse tséhéohe 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!

É'tóve ééveota'hóhá'ó'ène," náohkèheta. "Nésáa'aéstoméhev'étové'tovatséhe,
Your brother-in-law is very thirsty," he says to me. "You are not my brother-in-law for nothing,"

náohkèheta.
he tells me.

163 This text was first recorded and transcribed by linguist Kenneth Croft, in 1949, in Oklahoma. His fieldnotes label this as "Text 56". The Cheyenne narrator is not given in the fieldnotes. We have updated Croft’s spelling. We have stayed close to his English translations. The editor (Leman) has added paragraphing.

164 This text illustrates Cheyenne humor of joking relationships. Cheyenne culture encourages brother-in-law joking.
"Nétónèsevéhevé'tove'továte néhe'še?" náhéto.
"How am I a brother-in-law to you then?" I told him.

"Heé, naa némáhevéstoemo'o naaxaa'éhemo, néhéne'enhòvétsé," náhéta.
"Yes, and you married all my sisters, I know you," he told me.

"No, you are lying," I told him.  "You must just think of me that way," I told him.

"No, I know you very well.  You married all my sisters," he told me.

"Nonótovéhëmanóxehe'á'tóvé!" náhéta.  "Náota'ëvéhááóéene," éhevoo'o.
"Hurry give a drink to your brother-in-law!" he told me.  "I am very thirsty," he said.

Naa vo'éstáne ohtsëvého'ëtòtaetsëéstse tsëohkeévëhëshëémëno'ëéstóves
And whenever a person comes to us where they always stand in bunches

tsëhëohe máhoëve'ho'eno náohkëhësëma,
"Tsë'tóhe né'tóvé," náohkëheta,
here in town, he always tells about me, "This one, my brother-in-law," he says about me,

"ëmáhevëstoemo'ëho naaxaa'éhemo. Hená'hanetsëhe / nándëshehevé'tovenótse," náohkëheta.
"he married all my sisters.  That's how I am a brother-in-law to him," he says about me.

Naa néhe'še hò'ótóva tåhåóhe nomá'heo'héë mótaëetsëhe'ëhtsëhëe.
And then all of a sudden over there to Kingfisher he must have gone.

Násáanhaxëeévavóomóhe.  Étanësëhàa'xóvetse.
I had not seen him for awhile.  Quite a while went by.

Naa hò'ótóva náhosëévavóomó. Tsëhëno éne'ameòhtse háp'o'é
And all of a sudden I saw him again.  Here he was coming along just
tséstaaameohtsevo. Së'ëa'ë éne'ëxëxàmëhëë'o. Naa náho'ëhòto,
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 tåhåóhe nomá'heo'héë nátaëetsëhe'ëhëtse. Nåhå'ohe / návéëa'ënnoo'e," náhéta.
"Well, over there to Kingfisher I went.  There I stayed all this time," he told me.

"Hëná'ë náhåóhe tsëtëhësëa'ënnooëto? Heëa'ë náhåóhe nëtåhe'ëtànëo tòsa'ë
"Why there did you stay so long? Maybe there you wanted a woman somewhere at
Nomá'heo'héë," náhéto.
Kingfisher," I told him.

"Heé, ovánëhoo'ëstë! Heëa'ë néhéne'ënövo Këhàênëë.  Nåhåóhe náho'ëhòto,
"Hey, keep quiet!  Maybe you know Squint Eye Woman.  There I came to her.

165 Literally, 'Fish River'.
náhó'xatamáots'é'tóvo," náheta //
I got used to her," he told me.

"Hééhe,'e," náheto. "Naa néohkého'é'éšenoto neaxaa'éhemo. Néhe Kéha'ené'e
"Yes," I told him. "And you always accuse me of your sisters. That Squint Eye Woman

náhe'haméhenótse, mónétaéšéheváxahé'tovatséhéhe," náheto. "Né'tóve,
is my niece, you must (therefore) already be my son-in-law," I told him. "Brother-in-law,
néohkevé'ééváheše. Namášéme né'óhkehešéstse néhe'se.
don't again call me that. Father-in-law, always call me from now on.

Nétaéšéheváxahé'tovatsémohó!166" náheto.
You are already now my son-in-law!" I told him.

"Hová'áháne," éhevoo'o. "Nééšetá'hóxéhev'é'tove'továtse,
"No," he said. "I am so used to being a brother-in-law to you,
ésáátóénéšé'évánétáhévé'étséhane," náheta.
it cannot be made different," he said to me.

"Heé, h'é'tóbe émóná'e, nétaéšé'mónenóhóévé," náheto.
"Hey, this is brand new, this is the first time you've been married," I told him.

"Néstašéenéšéheváxahé'továste. 'É'tóvé, hémanóxéha!'
"You are just going to be my son-in-law. Your brother-in-law, give him a drink!"
néohkehešé," náheto." "Naa néhe'se háp'o'e hétsetseha, Hémanóxéha
you always tell me," I told him. "And from now on likewise now, Give a drink to
nemášéme! n'étahtétatse," náheto. "Nenástéhe'óhtsešéstse tséhéóhe
your father-in-law! let me tell you," I told him. "Come take me here
pó'ëho'hé-máhpé-máhe'öne néhe'se néhma'xéhémanóxééstse!" náheto.
to the saloon167 then give me a big drink!" I told him.

Éhohatse. "He'e, táxó'e n'étséšáa'éñenéhéhe, vo'éstane
He laughed. "Hey, again and again don't keep repeating that, someone
néstenséstova. Néstaééavó'éstimó'he (?),
will hear you. You will have them all start thinking that way,

náhtsénóhpaohkeéémáenésétámañe. Nává'nehkevééestéstóvo tsé'tóhe Kéha'éné'e,
I will be thought of that way. I always just talk to this Squint Eye Woman,"

éhevoo'o.
he said.

166 This appears to be a mirative usage of a preterit. Usually preterits occur with third person arguments, but this verb
shows that a local verb can be marked as a preterit as well.
167 Literally, 'popping-water-house-LOCATIVE'.
"Heé, nééšetaomevé'néhetóhta'haove naa," náhéto.
"Hey, you had already told me that story yourself and," I told him.

"Náhtaémaenéhetoo'o tsé'tóhe tséohkeévéévêhnese vo'éstaneo'o," náhéto,
"I'm going to tell all these who go around, people," I told him,

"tsetamáhehéne'enohe  tséhešéheváxahé'tovâtse,"\(^{168}\) náhéto.
"so then it will all be known that you are my son-in-law," I told him.

"Nésáatónéšenonáháxé'tanóhe," náhéto. "Ohkeépëhëvé'tovéstse, ohkeéhëmanöxëvánënëstse
"You have no way to get out of it," I told him. "Always treat me good, always give me a drink
má'öhkevóometo  nonóha néstanëhešepëpëhevëxahé'tovatse!" náhéto //
whenever you see me so that way you will be a good son-in-law to me!" I told him.

Éhohatse. "Taxó'e  nëstaa'avó'estomo'he (?)
He laughed. "Again and again you will have them start thinking that way.

nësenó'ka  nëhešeha!" náheta //
Not even once again say it!" he told me.

"Heé, néšahotómenëhetatséhe  neaxaa'éhemo tséhmáhehévéstoemono,
"Hey, I didn't complain to you, (that) your sisters I had married them,
tséohke'evëhëtôhta'haneto," náhéto.
the way you always tell the story," I told him.

"Naa  náoné'se'oméhetómé, émáhehéne'enohe," éhevoo'o.
"Well, I really tell the truth., it is all known," he said.

"Heé, névéááhe tsémahëhéne'ëno?  Névá'nééé'öhkeno'kenëheve\(^{169}\)
"Hey, who is it that knows all of it? You are the only one who says that

Nátaeenësëameeo'ëvótâhtsëme.  Hená'hanëhe hëné
We went along quarreling with each other. That's it, that's

náohkeénëheëna'ë'sëëëbëëksëme tsé'tóhe hëtane, Aënohënestoohe
how we always tease each other, this man, Hawk Howler,
tséohkëhëstoestse.
as he is called.

\(^{168}\) These two words form a complex sentence in Cheyenne. There is an independent order verb of knowing followed by its complement in the conjunct order. The conjunct verb takes the complementizer preverb heše-.

\(^{169}\) The preferred order of morphemes in this word would be néohkevá'neéenö'kenëheve.
Speech styles

Baby talk

Some words are simplified and used as baby talk. These words have traditionally been said by and to young children. Ke’éehe 'grandma' and mémééhe 'grandpa' are also affectionally used by older people speaking about their grandparents.

- kéeso 'puppy'
- ke’éehe 'grandma'
- kókó'e 'bread'
- mánóóhe 'I want a drink'
- mémééhe 'grandpa'
- nénéhe 'bottle, nurse'
- pápááhe 'ride on back'
- etc??

Affected speech

Cheyenne speakers can create various kinds of social affect by varying their speech styles.

Exaggeration

A syllable of a word can be lengthened to exaggerate the word:

tóotseha 'a very long time ago' (lengthened version of tótseha 'long ago')
Néváááhe? 'Who?!' (this lengthened version of Névááhe typically indicates that the speaker emphatically does not know who someone is)
Névááááso? 'Who?!' (emphasized form of Névááso?)
Nóóoo! 'Wow!' (emphasized form of Nóoo! 'Wow!')
Véetsēno! Exactly! (emphasized form of vētsēno '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'ehase'o'o (onomatopoeic; literally, ticking thing)
   md: éšëhe (orig. meaning of 'sun' and continues to mean this in both od and md)
2. apple: od: má'xeme (inanimate); ma'xemenötse '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: něxó'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: töhétsetse (loan translation from English 'two bits')
   md: tséháónóto (lit. that (coin) which is thick)
6. cat: od: ka'ënë-hótame (lit. short-nosed-dog; the literal meaning may initially sound odd, but historically hótame seems to have been semantically extended beyond orig. 'dog', to something like 'small domesticated animal'; cf. éškósee-se-hotame 'pig' (lit. sharp-nosed-dog); for md speakers, and perhaps for some od speakers, too, this means 'bulldog')
   md: póésó (we suspect this s a sound translation from an English word for cat, "pussy")
7. pay: od: éhóoetsésane 'he got paid' (lit. he's bringing (something) out; refers to bringing money out of the office)
md: éonénéxôhemohe he got paid' (lit. it was destroyed to him; perhaps refers to destroying an indebtedness)

8. crackers: od: tóhkoneve-kóhkonoheonótse (lit. skinny little breads; it is said that od speakers call crackers this, in teasing imitation of the md word)
   md: mo'óhkoneve-kóhkonoheonótse (lit. dried little breads)

9. potatoes: od: aéstome-méséhéstoto (lit. false eating things)
   md: méséhéstoto (lit. eating things)

10. washboard: od: nêška'óséo'o or hahéhaseo'o (lit. rubbing-thing)
    md: nêškéhásé'o'

11. He’s really a strong Christian (typically said with derision):
    od: éhoháestaahe (lit. he-very.much-baptized(?))
    md: éhoháema'heónevého'eve (lit. he-very.much-holy-whiteman-be)

12. car: It is said that Oklahoma speakers call a car amáho'héhe (animate), while the most common term in Montana is inanimate amáho'héstôtse, but I have heard some Montana speakers refer to a car as amáho'héhe (animate), and I would not be surprised to discover that some Oklahoma speakers have used the inanimate word for car.

13. days of the week: When saying days of the week, Oklahoma speakers begin counting of the 'first day' with Tuesday (and calling Monday the 'end of the holy day'), while Montana speakers start the 'first day' with Monday. The words for 'Saturday' and 'Sunday' are the same in Montana and Oklahoma, so Montana speakers pronounce five days with a number in the term for the day of the week, while Oklahoma speakers only have four such days.

   In each case of a dialect word difference which we have listed, speakers from one area understand what speakers from the other area mean when they say one of the words. Much good-natured joking takes place over such words. For instance, a Northern Cheyenne speaker may teasingly ask a Southern Cheyenne speaker how he pronounces the word for 'cat'. If the answer is given as ka'énê-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?
MISCELLANEOUS

$$DON'T INCLUDE THE ORIGINAL SCANNED PAGED IN THE REVISED EDITION, BUT DO MAKE SURE THAT SOME OF THE DATA IS INCLUDED IN EARLIER SECTIONS, SUCH AS THE indefinite pronouns nevá’esêstse and nevá’esesto with reportative suffixes

Cheyenne discourse

Discourse is ____ $$FILL OUT THIS SECTION; INCLUDE TYPICAL BEGINNINGS OF DISCOURSE

MONOLOGUES (náto’sêhôsêmo, etc.), DISCOURSE-FINAL SAYINGS: Who would add tie on anything?

That’s the way it lies, hena’hóanêhe, etc., PREPONDERANCE OF POST-QUOTE MARGINS, DISCOURSE STATUS OF OVERT NOUNS, ETC.

Dialogue

Dialogues are conversations that occur between two or more people. It is essential for anyone wishing to speak Cheyenne to learn to converse in Cheyenne. Cheyenne dialogues follow rules for what grammatical forms are appropriate to use for each turn of a conversation. It is also essential that conversation follow these rules so that each turn will sound natural. Conversations turns must not be literal translations from English dialogues. $$SEE IF ANYTHING NATURAL ENOUGH CAN BE IMPORTED FROM "LET'S TALK CHEYENNE"

Topic continuity

Questions and answers

$$AVOID COPYING "ELICITATION" PAIRS FROM ENGLISH

Single word utterances

Common utterances and responses ($$copy from dictionary, etc.) $$Etc.

Monologues

Monologues are longer stretches of speech by a single individual. Typical kinds of monologues are prayers, instructions, sermons, and stories. Many of the same patterns followed in dialogues are followed in monologues, except that all elements of the patterns are provided by a single individual in monologues. Sometimes what people say are called texts.

Following are texts which were told by Cheyennes in Oklahoma and Montana:

When Cheyennes Crossed the Ice, by Mrs. Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

\_sh v3.o 400 Cheyenne Interlinear

\ref 001
\t hóomá móhvo’estanêhevêhevôhe
\m hóomá mó h- vo’estanêheve -hé -vo -hé
\g across INFER- PST- live -NEG -3PL -NEG
\p p tns- vai -sfx -fta -sfx
\t tôsa’e.
\m tôsa’e

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They lived across somewhere.

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).

And they found out about (those) near (them), that they were (just like) 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.

They moved across.
And some had already come across.

They did not know where those others were.

Maybe they drowned.

And those kept moving across.
This story, it is a story.

Whitemen, before they came, it (the story) from long ago must be from.

And I do not know it well.

And just the way I heard it, I'll tell it like that.

He's discussed all over, but I do not know him, -do not know it.

Sweet Medicine, they say, used to talk to them, whitemen

tsséáa'esého'ehnéhévôse.
before they came.

And he used to explain to them something maybe that was going to come,

something.

And now I'm just going to tell, like, a little. Uh,

"He'll come to you, a person," (Sweet Medicine) said.
10) tsemâhevéšenohe éxhe- / éxheséstse ///
   "He'll be all sewed up," he-, he said.

11) ho'évötse tseohkêhestohe éxheséstse //
   "Earth Man, he will be called," he said.

12) Tôsa'e ésáapo'véšenóhéhe, tsé'tóhe vo'éstane
   Nowhere will he not be sewed up, this person
   tséto'seho'a'ó'tóése.
   who is going to come to you.

13) néto'vonéanóhtse, / netao'o hová'éhe / tséméhae/'ňhe'éené'etamése5 ///
   He'll destroy for you everything that you used to depend on.

14) "Éto'semâhevonéanôhtse," éxhetósesto.
   "He'll destroy everything," he told them.

15) "Naa / máto / néto'seho'a'ó'tóévo mo'éhno'ha /
   "And also it will come to you, the horse.

16) "Mo'éhno'ha," néstseohkêhetóvo éxheséstse, "hôva."
   "Horse," you will call it," he said, ",(this) animal."

17) tsenéveohta / (tse)néxanetotse hestovootótse
   It will have four legs. There will be two, his ears.

18) naa he'éxánéstse máto tsenéxanetotse, énéxanetotse.
   And his eyes also there will be two, there are two.

19) naa hestse'konótse tsenévéóhta //
   And his legs, there will be four.

20) néstseohketáhóénóvo hoháá'éše
   You'll ride him very far away.

21) néstseohketséhe'ôhtséháévo,
   He will take you there,

22) tsé'tóhe mo'ehno'ha / néstseohkêhetóvo //
   this horse, you will call him that.

23) tséohkê'sôtôome'ého'óése éše'he
   It will still hang firm (in the sky), the sun (during your travels)
24) nėstseohkého'ehéme hákó'e / éxhesaneséstse / 
you will arrive far away,” he said.

25) nėstsenéheše/vo'ėstanéhévéme 
"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) tsenéšë'ësta 
It will have two ears.

30) naa / mátó=he'éxánëstse tsenéxanetotse / 
And also his ears, there will be two.

31) hestséhévá'xe / tseohkemáhexóneehatse / ho'ëva / 
His tail will reach all the way to the ground.

32) tsenésöhkonávéháhta // hestóohevono tsenésöhkonaho / 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'ëše tseohkëhešëméa'xe éxheséstse / 
From very far away he'll be smelled," he said.

36) Éxhetósesto néhe hováhne, "Vé'ho'éotóá'e," tséohkëhetóse. 
He told them (about) this animal, "Cow," as you'll call it.

37) naa tsé'tóhe tséto'sëho'a'ó'tóése 
And this one who will come to you

tsemahetáeotsé'ta ho'e tséxhetaa'ómá'ö'e / 
will take over all the land throughout the world.

38) Totósa'e nėstseohkëevesmé'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'tamáséhánéeße / másaá'évatóxétanó'tomáhése / nésta  
    "But if you are  
    tséheševo'éstanéhévéése, néstamóhkevóhpá'éme," éxhesaneséstse.  
    how you used to live, you'll have gray hair," he said.

41) naa máto mé'éševótse tséhóehevéése7/  
    And also a baby will come out (be born) with teeth."

42) Éstaéšéhetósema'xemé'estomósaneséstse.  
    He was constantly explaining a lot.

43) Nává'néhetaa'mé'estomóvo.  
    I am just telling this much about him.

44) Néhe'se  
    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

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next clause, 9), that this narrator also uses the full form of the preverb, to'ëse-

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".

The Corn and Meat, by Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

\name The Corn and Meat
\ref The Corn and Meat 001
\t éxo'hooné'tánése ta'ëva.
\m é- ho'hooné'tá -né -s ta'ëva
\g 3- PST- be_camp_in_a_circle -FII -REPORT at_night
\p pro- tns- VII -sfx -sfx obl

\f There was a camp at night.
\ref The Corn and Meat 002
\t é'ováxenásesto hetaneo'o.
\m é- ováxená -s -o hetane -o
\g 3- PST- dream -REPORT -PL man -PL
\p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx na -sfx

\f Men dreamed.
\ref The Corn and Meat 003
\t naa tséhvóona'o é'ahkóheohtséesto
\m naa tsé- h- vóona'ó é- h- ahkóheohsé -s -o
\g and REAL- PST- be_morning 3- PST- play_hoop_game -REPORT -PL
\p p pfx-cjt- tns- VII pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\t kásováaheho.
\m kásováahéh -o
\g young_man -PL
\p na -sfx

\f And the next morning young men were playing the hoop game.
\ref The Corn and Meat 004
\t netao'o éxoháetanevoo'éñése.
\m netao'o é- h- ho- háetanevoo'e -né -s
\g everywhere 3- PST- very- be_big_crowd -FII -REPORT
\p p pro- tns- RED- VII -sfx -sfx

\f Everywhere there was a big crowd.
\ref The Corn and Meat 005
\t naa néhe'sé éhváxeésesto.
And then they were dressing fancy.

One who was on (from?) the south side (of the camp) who had dreamed came to the center.

He was painted yellow; a feather stood on his head.

And from the north side one who had dreamed came to the center.

He was dressed the same (as the other one).
When the one from the south looked at that one from the north, (he said,) "Maybe you are copying me," (he said).

"And I was thinking the same about you," (the other one said to him).

"Well, I dreamed," (said the first man).

"And likewise I dreamed," (said the second man).

"Look at our people, they are very hungry," (he said).
"What did you dream?" (asked the first man).

"And I dreamed the same," (answered the second man). (More modern word, nánéheševáxe.)

"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.

It was already tasseled.
\t They looked again.
\ref The Corn and Meat 039
\t ésevone éhmáheóehoo'o.
\m ésevone é- h- máhe- óé -ho -on
\g buffalo herd 3- PST- all- stand -PRET -PRET
\p na pro- tns- pv- fai -sfx -sfx

\f A buffalo herd was standing.
\ref The Corn and Meat 040
\t "naa hé'tóhe taanáhoeotséstse!
\m naa hé'tóhe taaná- hóeotsest -é
\g and this do- take_out -INAN
\p p pro pv- vti -fti

\f "And take this out!
\ref The Corn and Meat 041
\t ovóehoxomóhéne!
\m vovóe- hoxom -ó -héne
\g first- feed -DIR -22:IMPV.DEL
\p pv- vta -fta -sfx

\f Feel (the herd) first!
\ref The Corn and Meat 042
\t onóomóhéne!
\m onóom -ó -héne
\g call -DIR -2p:IMPV.DEL
\p vta -fta -sfx

\f Call (the herd)!
\ref The Corn and Meat 043
\t ma'háhkéso tséhóo'xëva.
\m ma'háhkéso tse- hóo'xevá
\g old_man 3:FUT- announce
\p na tns- vai

\f An old man will announce.
\ref The Corn and Meat 044
\t ma'háhkéseho tseovóeméséheo'o.
\m ma'háhkéseh -o tse- vovóe- mésehe -o
\g old_man -PL 3:FUT- first- eat -PL
\p na -sfx tns- pv- vai -sfx
The old men will eat first.

And step-by-step according to their ages.
And the children ate next.

This meat and corn suddenly got smaller.

Children who had just learned to eat ate it all up.

And babies who did not yet know how to eat, that grease was put on their heads.
"And look toward here early in the morning!

A calf will come out to play," she told them.

"And then maybe the next one who will be one year old," she told them.

"And then a little (bigger) one who is bigger.
And then a buffalo will appear as it comes out," she told them.

And they told the story that way.

And then in the morning they looked.

A calf appeared playing.

And then the next sized one.

And then buffalo 3: FUT- appear- go_out

And then a buffalo was told them.

And then another size.
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'éstane é'éenéšeohtsésesto.
Whiteman and Indian were going along together.

Naa hetóéva  exhonótovésesto še'xo  ho'éstáva.
And in the evening they roasted  a duck in the fire.

Naa ts'éšééxáho'hetsése  é'áhto'hohnóvésesto páéva.
And when it was done cooking they buried it in the ashes.

Naa mósto’seovéšenáhevé.
And they were going to lie down.

Naa néhe’se vě’ho’e éhnéhetósesto tsě’tóhe xaevo’éstanóho.
And then the whiteman told this Indian,

“Tsépēhévévéxèst ehtsetseha taa’eva tsetamevo tsě’tóhe še’xo,”
"He who dreams well now at night will eat this duck,”

éxheséstse.
he said.

Naa tsę’tóhe xaevo’éstanóe é’amáhtovósesto tsě’tóhe vě’hó’e.
And this Indian agreed with this whiteman.

Naa néhe’se ě’ovéšenásesto.
And then they lay down.

Naa tséhvóona’otse vě’ho’e ě’oseméoto’eséstse.
And when it was morning the whiteman got up really early.

Naa tsě’tóhe xaevo’éstanóe é’éseáahtse’tótoešananásesto.
But this Indian was already lying with his eyes open.

Naa vě’ho’e ě’osehóhta’hanétanoséstse.
And the whiteman really wanted to tell his story.

Éhnéhetósesto tsě’tóhe xaevo’éstanóho, “Nátavóvéhoséstse
He told this Indian, “Let me be first to tell
naováxestóte!” éxhetósesto.
my dream!” he told him.

Naa tsě’tóhe xaevo’éstanóe éhphéváváxestánóse.
And this Indian thought well of that.

Naa néhe vě’ho’e ě’aséstóhta’hanéséstse.
And that whiteman started telling his story.

Éhnéhetósesto tsě’tóhe xaevo’éstanóho.
He told this Indian,

"Tsé’ováxenáto vě’ho’á’é’o tséhetsénoonese éhne’anóheéséne.
"When I dreamed white women who had wings (= angels) were coming down.

"Naa tséhéóhe tsě’ésého’óësenávóse e’evonóhó’o éhne’anóheneeotse,"
"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 tséstaésého'óhta'hanése tsé'tóhe
And there when he got to that point in the story this

xaevó'éstane éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe vé'hó'e,
Indian told this whiteman,

"Hee, hápó'e náto'éstó'néheto'ováxe
"Hee, likewise I dreamed about the same

tséheto'ováxenáto," éxheséstse.
the way I dreamed," he said.

"Naa hápó'e vétséóhe tó'néhe'xóvéva
"And likewise then at exactly the same time

móñáováxenáhehe," éxheséstse tsé'tóhe xaevó'éstane.
I must have dreamed," said this Indian.

"Hénéhéóhe nétavóomatse. E'evonóhó'óne
"There I saw you On a ladder

nétaame'eoh'tse," éxhetósesto.
you were going up," he told him.

"'Naa tsenésáa'éváho'eanóheohtséhe,' néhóovéhesétamátse,"
"'And he won't come back down,' I mistakenly thought about you,"

éxhetósesto.
he told him.

"Tsé'tóhe še'še náhestano, námévo," éxhetósesto.
"This duck I took it, I ate it," he told him.

Hená'hanehe.
That's it.

The Bat, by Edward Riggs (Oklahoma)

1. no'ka tótseha éhmóheeoh'séhoono hováhne
   Once long ago they met, animals.
   Once long ago the animals met.

2. naa mato hapo'e móhmóheeoh'séhevóhe vé'késeho tséohkéheetaa'eame'hávóse
   And also likewise they met, birds those who fly.
   And also likewise birds, those who fly, met.
3. naa mōsēskanetsénoonáhe mōsēsto'ievēsēetse'ōhtsēhēhe
   And bat was also going to go to
   And a bat was also going to go to

4. tsēhmōheeohstsēstovetse
   where there was a meeting.
   the meeting.

5. ēstatsēhe'ōhtsēhoo'ohovāhne tsēhmōheeohstsētse
   He went to animals where they were meeting.
   He went to where the animals were meeting.

6. hovāhne ēstsēhetaesesto nēsāahovāhvéhe nēvē'kēsēheve
   Animals told him, "You are not an animal. You are a bird.
   The animals told him, "You are not an animal. You are a bird.

7. tatsēhe'ōhtsēstse vé'kēseho tsēhmōheeohstsēvōse
   Go over to birds where they are meeting!"
   Go to where the birds are meeting!" 

8. ēxhestōhehoo'o mōsēskanetsénoonáhe
   he was told, bat.
   the bat was told.

9. naa épēhēva'e ēxhetōhoono
   And, "That's good," he told them.
   "Well, that's good," he told them.

10. nāhtaēvatsēhe'ōhtse vé'kēseho tsēhmōheeohstsēvōse ēxhēhoo'o
    "I'll go to birds where they are meeting," he said,
    "I'll go to where the birds are meeting," said

   mōsēskanetsénoonáhe
   bat.
   the bat.

11. ēstatsēhe'ōhtsēhoo'o mōsēskanetsénoonáhe tsēhmōheeohstsētse
    He went to, bat, where they were meeting,
    The bat went to where the birds were meeting.

   vé'kēseho
   birds.

12. naa hānāhāohe tsēstāho'ēohstsēse ēnēxhōseπēohhehoo'o
    And over there when he arrived he was again rejected.
And when he arrived there he was rejected again.

13. tatséhe’ohntsélstse hovahne tsemóhpectéevošé
   "Go over to the animals where they are meeting!
   "Go to where the animals are meeting!

14. nésaavékéséhévéhévéhépáhováheve éhestóhehoo'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'evaaseohntséhoo'o
   He came away.
   He left.

16. naa námé'tatón'esévémášé
   And "What should I do?
   "Well, what in the world should I do?

17. tósa'énáhó'xéstahémášé éhestétsanóhoo'o
   Where do I belong?" he thought.
   Where do I belong?" he wondered.

18. tás'ě=hotáhtse náhováheve
   "I thought I was an animal,
   "I thought I was an animal,

19. naa vé'késó náhetsáne
   and 'bird' I am called.
   but I am called a bird.

20. naa tseheš'ésáavékéséhvéheto
   And since I am not a bird,
   But since I am not a bird,

21. tósa'énáhó'xéstahémášé
   where do I belong?
   where in the world do I belong?

22. násáaxaahéne'ënöhe
   I just do not know."
   I just don't know."

23. tsé'tóhe hóhta'ahë'o éhéshëntëtsëšë
   This story thusly lies (is told that way).
   That’s how this story is told.
24. tósa’e  éssáho’xéseotséheséstse móséškanetsénoonáhe
   Someplace he does not belong, bat.
   The bat doesn’t belong anywhere.

25. mó’óhkéhéseéveatoešenáhëhë éšeëva
   That must be why he hides in daytime.
   That must be why he hides in the daytime.

26. tósa’e  heva  ma’tää’e heva véhpotsëva éohkeahtoešenasëstse
   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’nóhkeéeaménështse táhta
   Someplace he doesn’t go around in open.
   He doesn’t go around anywhere in the open.

28. naa  hena’háanehe énéhe’estósëše
   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)
She would say,

"When my brothers look nice (dancing) I am happy,"

The two young men danced.

Both of those who danced had tailfeathers stuck in their hair on their heads.

The two young men danced.
While they danced, the frog spoke,

"Nahtatanemo óhpéhévenenoohé’ševoséstse na -htataném-o oh -péhéve-nenoohé’šé-vó -s-et"

"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  henà’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. “Nèhe’se 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.

   Here, one I accidentally shot.

8. Náhtató’omemáso.
   I shot him stiff.

9. Éhne’ameaná’o.
   He was falling down.

10. Nèhe’se éhma’xepe’pe’e’háooheo’o  néhe  henà’e.
    Then they were really hollering flying, those geese.

11. Éhne’évanóhenéheohé’tovovo néhe na’éstse tséméhaetó’omemáxamoo’o.
    They followed him down, that one that I shot stiff.

12. É’évanàha’enovo.
    They caught him.

13. Éstaévaaséhe’ame’hao’o.
    They started to fly back up.
14. Éstaévåhe’ameno’ase’hánovo.  
   They took off upward with him.

15. Éstaévåtø’nëseasevéseame’ha néhe tsémèhaetó’omemaso,”
   Right then he also started flying again, that one that I shot stiff,”

16. éxhetóhta’håne.
   he told the story that way.

**I’m Beading Moccasins**, by Jeanette Howlingcrane (Oklahoma)

1. Tséxho’éhneto náoxa’ôhène.
   When you came I was beading.

2. Mo’k’éhanotse námanéstsenotse.
   Moccasins, I was making them.

3. A’e nahtaéxananotse.
   Soon I’ll finish them.

4. Hé’ tôhe mo’k’éhanotse námanéststotáhahtsenotse.
   These moccasins I’m making them for myself.

5. Náto’setaomèhemo’k’éhanenotse,
   They are going to be my own moccasins,

6. naa mátô=hé va vo’estane máxho’aæstse náhtanéšëhohtóvanotse.
   or someone if he wants (them), I’ll sell them.

7. Móme’héhaoeménéstse.
   They surely won’t be expensive.

8. Éohkevå’nemáhtóhtôhanoeménéstse.
   They just cost ten (dollars).

**How Birney Got the Name Oevemanaheno**, by Elaine Strange Owl (Montana)

   Naa tséheškéto nánøhtéstéovo hé’ tôhe tséhmano’éevóse Oévemanahéno
   And my mother I asked her (about) this where they have a village, Scabby Place,

   tséhestohe. Hénova’te tséohkéhèsenøhestohe hé’ tôhe Oévemanahéno, náheto.
   as it is called. "Why is it called that, this Scabby Place?" I said to her.

   Naa hákóke tótseha tséhéóhe tséssáa’éeæmano’éeëvévøse vo’ëstaneo’o,
   “Well, long ago here when the people did not yet have a village,”

   éhevoo’o, netao’o háá’eše móméhaenonó’kevo’ëstanéhevéhevóhe tsé’tóhe Oévemanaho,
   she said, "all over far away they used to live by themselves, these Scabbies,

   tséohkéhestóhese hétsetseha, naa tséssáa’éeæmano’éeëvévøse, éhevoo’o.
   as they are called now, and when they did not yet have a village," she said.
Mó'ňhkomémah'e ovóénéhestóhehanéhe. Tó'ňséhahntámahóvé'e ho'éno, 
"It first used to be called Longfoot Town, 
mó'ňhkomémahchehstohehanéhe. Hetane néhóéhe móhvo'éstanéhevéhéhe. 
it used to be called that. A man lived there. 
Móxhoháa'éstáhehéhe naa móhtó'ňséhahntáhehé. Tó'ňséhahntámahóvé'e ho'éno, 
He was tall and he had long feet. Longfoot Town, 
éóhkemémah'e ovóehestohe, éhevoo'o. Naa tsé'tóhe hetane móhnhéheševéhéhehé 
it first used to be called," she said. "And this man was named 
Oévenmana. Naa hétsétseha Oévenmanáhéno tsétaohkéhóšéhestohe, éhevoo'o. Naa 
Scabby. And now Scabby Place as it is again called," she said. "And 
néhe'xóvéva ésá'êsámahóöstvéhane hétséhóéhe, 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 hátšeške. 
\mr háhkota naa hátšeške 
\mg grasshopper and ant

\ft The grasshopper and the ant.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 2

\tx Háštšeske éhma'xéhotse'óheséstse. 
\mr hátšeseke é-h -ma'xe-hotse'óhe-sest 
\mg ant 3-PST-big -work -REPORT

\ft An ant worked hard.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 3

\tx éhnéšema'xéstovóhtsénóse héstáme hemáhéóne. 
\mr é-h -néše-ma'xe-éstovóhtsé -nó-s hé -htamé he -máheón-é 
\mg 3-PST-CONT-big -put.in.s.t.-FTI-REPORT 3POSS-food 3POSS-house -LOC

\ft She brought in her food, lots, to her house.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 4

\tx Méanéva hová'èhe mó'éeho'tsehéhe 
\mr méane-vá hová'èhe mó-h -ée -ho'tsé -hé -hé 
\mg summer-OBL something DUB-PST-about-have.s.t.-NEG -NONAFFIRM
\tx tséhemáheónése.
\mr tsé-h -he -máheón-é -s
\mg CJT-OBL-have-house -FAI-3

\ft In the summer she had something where she had her house.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 5

\tx Naa tsé'tó=háhkota é’ohkenémeneséstse.
\mr naa tsé'tóhe háhkota é-h -ohke -némené-sest
\mg and this.AN grasshopper 3-PST-HABIT-sing -REPORT

\ft And this grasshopper sang.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 6

\tx E’ohkevé’hébo’sóeséstse méanēva.
\mr é-h -ohke -vé’ -hé -ho’sóe-sest méane -vá
\mg 3-PST-HABIT-PROHIB-INTENT-dance -REPORT summer-OBL

\ft He would just dance during summer.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 7

\tx "Hápó’e éme’hotse’óhestove.
\mr \ hápó’e é-me’ -hotse’óhe-htove
\mg \ likewise 3-should-work -IMPERS

\ft "Likewise you should work.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 8

\tx Hápó’e hová’èhe émé’éseotsehe nemáheóne
\mr hápó’e hová’èhe é-me’ -éseotseh -e ne -máheón-é
\mg likewise something 3-should-put.in.s.o. -PSV 2POSS-house -LOC

\tx nonóhpa máxho’tonéto néstsemese
\mr nonóhpa máx -ho’ -tonéto ne -htse-mése
\mg so.that CJT.IRREAL-arrive-be.cold 2POSS-FUT -eat.s.t.

\tx hová’èhe,"
\mr hová’èhe
\mg something

\ft Likewise something should be put in your house so that when it's cold you'll eat something,"

\ref GRASSHOP clause 9

\tx éxhetaesesto háňšeškeho.
\mr é-h -het -ae -sest -o háňšeškek-o
\mg 3-PST-say.to.s.o.-INV-REPORT-OBV ant -OBV
He was told by the ant.

"Hová’áháne," said the grasshopper.

"No," said the grasshopper.

"Nató'seéeho'soo'e, I'm gonna dance."

"Naa màto náto'senéméne. and also I'm gonna sing."

"Násáahotse’óhetanóhe. I don't want to work."

"Eheóméhoháaeho'ta." 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,"

he said.

He went to eat.
\ref GRASSHOP clause 22
\tx E’ěšeméhaenēhetaesesto,  
\mr é-h -ēše -mēhæ -nē -het -ae -sest -o  
\mg 3-PST-already-previous-ANAPH-say.to.s.o.-INV-REPORT-OBV
\ft She had already told him,

\ref GRASSHOP clause 23
\tx "Něstsésáahoxomatséhe máxháeanato,"  
\mr ne -htse-sáa-hoxom -atse-hé máx -háeaná -to  
\mg 2-Poss-Fut-NEG-feed.s.o.-1:2 -NEG CJT.IRREAL-be.hungry-2
\ft "I’ll not feed you when you’re hungry."

\ref GRASSHOP clause 24
\tx Naa éstanēšěševátamósesto hátšeške  
\mr naa é-h ta -něše-ševám-ó -sest -o hátšeške  
\mg but 3-PST-TRANSLOC-CONT-pity -DIR-REPORT-OBV ant
\tx háhkotaho  
\mr háhkotah -o  
\mg grasshopper-OBV
\ft But the ant had pity on the grasshopper.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 25
\tx éxhoxomósesto.  
\mr é-h -hoxom -ó -sest -o  
\mg 3-PST-feed.s.o.-DIR-REPORT-OBV
\ft She fed him.
The Snake and Mice, by James Shoulderblade (Montana)

1) nátato?séhóséstomévatsonó, édé?shenovótse naa hónkhéhesono
   I’m going to tell you about a snake and little mice.
2) éshé?shenovótse éstaamevonénhéhoo’s 3) ésháho?événénhóntanche vóxe
   A snake was crawling along. He came upon a hole (den).
4) naa ésháho?événénhéhoo’s 5) hotátse éxóhoono hónkhéhesono
   And it crawled inside. Behold, there were little mice (there).
6) éxóhoono hónkhéhesono 7) ve?kótama tsétsennéstse éxóhoono
   They really welcomed him; “In place-of-honor go sit!” they told him.
8) hónkhéhesono ésháho?événénhéhoo hene’sono tsé?tohe nemi?shémévé
   The mouse said to her children, “This (is) your grandfather.
9) náho?náho?óntsévéévo ésháho?événhócono 10) náhe’she tsétsaÁè’éshénóvé?xóvetse
   He came to visit you,” she told them. Then after a little while
   ésháho?événhócono na?éstse hene’sono náékhéhóstamóvéhaha káhámaÁè’éstse
   she told one (of) her children, “Go fetch firewood!
   I’ll cook for your grandfather,” she told him.
12) éstaosánéhóva?xóhoo’s 13) tsétsaÁè’éshénóvé?éhéhtávé
   He went outside. After he had been gone a little while
   éxóhoono hónkhéhesono na?éstse náékháho?omóvéhaha mahpe
   she told one (child), “Go fetch water!
   I’ll cook for your grandfather. He’ll eat,” she told him.
16) éstaosánéhóva?xóhoo’s 17) tsétsaÁè’éshénóvé?éhéhtávé
   He went outside. After he had been gone a little while
   éxóhoono tsénséhe?otsetse hene’sono táhénthótsévóma
   she said to the two remaining (of) her children, “Go look for them!
   What are they doing? They have been gone a long time. Go help them!”
21) ésháho?événhócono 22) tsétsaÁè’éshénóvé
   They went outside. Again after a
   little while she said to the snake, “It’s taking them too long!
   tááxa?e náékháho?otsévóma?xóhoono 23) éstaosánéhóva?xóhoo’s
   “Let’s see, I go look for them,” she told him. She went outside.
24) tsétsaÁè’éshénóvé?shéháno éstaásevéno?ótsohácono 25) naa náhe’she
   *When she got outside, her children she began moving from danger. And then
   the snake likewise when they did not return crawled back out.
26) tsétsaÁè’éshénóvé?shéháno éstaasé?otset?ó?óšé éxóhoono hónkhéhesono
   After crawling outside, upon looking around, they were simply gone.
27) hene’aháane’eháono hóhaÁè’éshé?shéháñoÁè’éshénóvé?shóndó?he’?t?huÁè’éhoono
   That is it, likewise, what was told to me, this story,
   tsétsaÁè’é?”káho’é?he’?t?huÁè’éhoono 28) hene’aháane’ehá
   when I was young. That is all.
Corn Pemmican, by Elva Killsontop (Montana)

1) nahko'eehe emanestse ho'xestoha

2) máheemenótse eeséstahonohotanótse hononéstova

3) tse'ešexáho'tatse eevaononanótse

4) epeenanótse

5) naa néhe'se ehohpe'ha amčše

6) eaesto'enanótse máheemenótse ve'kee-mahpe naa néhe'se amčše

7) eova'kanenéstse

   Nahko'eehe emanestse ho'xestoha.
   My mother made corn penmnican.

Eesetahonohotanotse
Sheput
   mahaemenotse hononestova. corn in the oven.
Tse' geexaho'tatse
   men shetook it out.
   Epeenanotse. Naanehe'ge ehohpe'ha arnegke. She ground it. And then she melted grease.
Eaesto'enanotse
Shemixed together
   mahaemenotse, ve'kee-mahpe, naanehe'ge amegke. corn, sugar, and then grease.
Eova'kanenestse.
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'e náháóhe ó'kóhóme móchnéheohtsé'tóhéhe.
   Likewise there coyote followed it
   Likewise there a coyote was following it.

4. Néhe'se éstóo'e'ováhtséhoono.
   Then they met
   Then they met.
5. Náhkohe éstatséhóhoono ó'kóhomeho, 
bear told coyote 
The bear said to the coyote,

6. "No'héhnéstse! 
Move aside 
"Move aside!

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

8. éxhetóhoono. 
he told him 
he told him.

9. "Hova'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. éxhetáehoono. 
he told him 
he told him.

13. Tséxhe'ééseo'evotáhtsevóse éxhe'kené'ëhnéhoo'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'evonëhnéhoo'o. 
he slowly turned around 
He slowly turned around.
18. Exhe'kéhešéhosóhnéhoo'o.
   he slowly backed up
   He slowly backed up.

19. Tséhvómomvóose 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'óoméhesesto tósa'ë tséhešasetá'xevóse.
   they were not caught sight of wherever they took off to
   No one ever saw them again, wherever they took off to.

Making Chokecherry Patties, by ElvaKillsontop (Montana)

1) to'seo'éšemeé'ëstse menótse

2) eohkeovoeho'enenéstse

3) naa eohkéhoxe'anenéstse

4) eohkepeenenéstse naa mátó=héva eohkepenöhenéstse

5) eohkeova'kenenéstse

6) hešeeše eohkeo'ëšemenéstse

7) naa eohkeonee'osenenéstse kokakhése

8) (naa eohkene'evavoomeo'o ve'késého) naa ohtšeëëo'ëotsee'ëstse

   hoo'henova eohkeeto'ehenéstse

9) tosa'ë tse'o'o eohkého'henéstse

$SREVISE TEXT AND DELETE FOLLOWING DEFECTIVE SCAN

To'seo'ëMemee'ëstse menotse eohkeovoeho'enenéstse
   When they are going to be dried, chokecherries, they are first picked
naa eohkehóxe'anenéstse.  Eohkepeenenéstse naa mato eohkepenöhenéstse.
   and they are cleaned.  They are ground or they are pounded (with a tool).
HeMeeMe
Bohkeova'kenenéstse.  They are made into patties.
eohkeo'e Memenestse  naa
In the sun they are dried and

eohkeonee'osenenestse kakahkese.      Naaoh Meo' e etsee' estse
they are turned over every little while. And when they become dry,
hoo' henova eohkeeto' ehenestse.       Tosa' e tse' o' eohkeho' henestse.
in a bag  they are put.  Some place where it is dry they are kept.

COMMENTS ON THE TEXTS

**$\text{CORRECT DEFECTIVE SCAN}**

I have attempted to have a wide variety of texts from several viewpoints. There is geographical variety. Speakers who live in Montana have (mt) after the author credit in the text; speakers who live in Oklahoma have (ok). Some stories are told by men, others by women. Some stories are first-person eyewitness accounts while others are popular folktales. There are other categories of "historicity", too, for instance, first-person accounts which were made up for pedagogical purposes for bilingual programs. I have tried to select texts for inclusion which illustrate the various verbal modes. In this section I will briefly comment on various aspects of the texts.

Two of the texts, "The Drumming Owls" and "The White Man and the Indian" illustrate the popular motif of tension between the Indian (xamæ-vo' estane, 'ordinary-person') and a trickster. Around the world it is very common to find that different groups of people have stories illustrating the tension they feel as they come into contact with other kinds of people. In some Indian groups of Mexico stories first spoke of the tension between the Indians and the conquering Spaniards. Today the same stories are told, but the oppressor is now the "wealthy" Mexican land-owner. Often, stories illustrating the cultural tension have plots in which the "underdog" ultimately overcomes or tricks the oppressor. This motif of the tension between a people and a trickster is a common one in Cheyenne stories, and also in other languages of the people who first inhabited North America. In some languages the trickster is a coyote. It is probably no accident that some of the language groups use the same word for 'spider' and 'trickster'. Such is the case with Cheyenne and Arapaho and I seem to recall that a Muskogean language also uses the same word for 'spider' and 'trickster'. The Cheyenne word is ve’hoë. The Arapaho word is nih?o8oo (Salzmann, IJAL 22.151). After having used these words for their cultural tricksters, both Cheyennes and Arapahos applied these words to the white man once he arrived on the scene.

Today, the term "vé’ho’e" first triggers the meaning 'white man' in the mind of the Cheyenne speaker. The folklore trickster in stories is usually translated by 'white man', as it is in the preceding texts. Interesting folk etymologies have developed around the term "vé’ho'e". Today I8 speakers know that vé'ho'e means both 'white man' and 'spider'. Some people say that the white man was given the same name as the spider because he arrived on Indian land and fenced in the range land so that it like a spider's web. Others point to Sweet Medicine's prophecy of the coming "person"
who would be tsemâhevê's 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'evé.

Because of the similarity in sounds between the verb roots for 'wrapped up' and 'be a white man', some say that the word ve'ho'e is a shortened form of the terminology that Sweet Medicine used.

This is perhaps as good a place as any to point out that Cheyennes divide the human world into three basic types of peoples:

1. Tsêtsêhéstâhese 'Cheyennes',
2. Nótseso'o 'other tribes',
3. Vé'hö'e. Cheyennes and other tribes are sometimes grouped together and designated as xamaa-vo'estaneo'o (or xaa-vo'estaneo'o) 'ordinary people' (namely, 'Indians'). The terms v 'h 'e various ways to refer to specific groups of non-Indians. For instance, ma'é-v 'ho'e 'Germans' (red-ve'ho'eo), me'gees -v 'hb'e Mexicans' (hairy-nosed (moustached)-v 'hb'e), and mo'ohtae-ve'hö'e are 'Negroes' (black-ve'ho'eo). 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 two verbs are Impersonals. Describing a situation with an Impersonal verb is one way of generalizing it, enabling the speaker to leave out reference to specific subjects. This can be done particularly when the participants involved are well-known to the speaker and hearers. In this case, there is no mistaking that the speaker is referring to Cheyennes (not, for example, Crows or Siouxs!). There are some Conjunct Intensive Negative verbs, e.g.

ho'noamahtavotse and ho'nonexhohtamaevotse.

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. êxheséstse '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. tsenévéohta 'he will have four legs' and tsenéseésta 'he will have two ears. There are some conjunct potential verb forms toward the end of the text, ma'tamáséóéê 'if, when you (pl) are crazy' and másaáévatóxetanó'tomáhêse 'if, when you (pl) do not want to discuss it'.

The story about "The Geese" has an interesting verb -stó. The verb stóhoo'o 'they were singing'. 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 éstahó'konoehoo'o and éhnenénêhoo'o. The verb óhpehévenenóóhévovéstse (??) 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 éhnenénêhoono 'they were singing'.

"I'm Beading Hoccasins" is a brief first-person account. Study of the verb forms would be useful for everyday conversational ability in Cheyenne. The strong verbal construction, móme'héhaoemenéstse is interesting. This is an example of a negative inferential, which takes conjunct suffixes instead of the usual independent order affixes for inferentials.

Stories which give reasons for certain present conditions are popular all over the world. "How Birney Got the Name 'Oevemanáhêno'" 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, tseohkeve'14(??)eamoohestovestse'êstse. 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 héváhméméstanehevóhe (???) 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" (??) 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 eanohesevanoo'o (??) contains the preverb -anohe- 'down', and the verb évahósevoohe Meanaha'xo'o(??) besides having the preverbs -eva- and -hose-, contains the preverb -voheMe(??)- which means 'anew'.

The text about "The Whiteman and the Indian", illustrates the tensions between Indians and the cultural trickster (subsequently applied to the white man). There is
a question and answer dialogue in henaa'etseohkee'tome? and hová'ëhe
náohkésáa'a'ëtóhe••• 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'ëhe naelita would mean ìI am afraid of
something ñ but if'-le ð add hova'ëhe to the verb nasaa'ë'tóhe ì ì I am not afraid of
it ì • ì ñ we get hova'ëhe nasaa'ë'tohe 'I'm not afraid of anything' (the verb in the text also
containsthe preverb -ohke- 'regularly'). This is one story where the trickster gets the best of the
Indian. But the next story turns the tables on the trickster in a delightful plot.
Note the formality and "pushiness" of the white man in the text
"The I< Jhiteman and the Indian". But, in the end, the cleverness and intelligence of the Indian
wins out.

The story of "The Grasshopper and the Ant" is a familiar one from Aesop's Fables. But
the Cheyenne version puts a strong cultural statement on the conclusion. In the English
version, the grasshopper is not fed, but he is, in the end, in the Cheyenne version.
It is very much against Cheyenne tradition to turn a needy person out, even if much of their trouble is self-inflicted.

"The Snake and Hice" shows how cunning can rescue one from danger. It is another
story of the victory of the "underdog" over the oppressor.

The last two texts are self-explanatory. "Corn Pemmican" is a kind of recipe, told in
an eyewitness form.
"The Bear, the Coyote, and the Skunk" always brings a laugh from those who hear it.
(Note: the "Oklahoma" texts were first transcribed by Donald Olson, the text by James
Shoulderblade was first transcribed by Danny Alford.)
Phonological rules

This section of the book describes the sound system of Cheyenne and how the sounds and tones interact with each other when words are pronounced. Much of this section will be quite technical. Feel free to skip reading anything that is confusing to you. But it would be good to at least try to understand what is described in the example words. It is necessary to learn the technical explanations about the sound changes, but it is necessary to learn how to correctly pronounce words which have experienced the sound changes.

Although there are fourteen letters in the Cheyenne alphabet, there are only thirteen phonemes. The letter "x" is always phonologically derived from some other sound.

The Cheyenne alphabet is mostly phonemic, but not entirely so. It is intended to be a "pronomination 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":

   \[ t \rightarrow \text{ts} / \_ \_ e \]

   nótá'e /nóta'é/ 170 '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:

   \[ h \rightarrow [\alpha \text{ PLACE}] / \_ \_ [\alpha \text{ PLACE}] \]

   éssóhpeohsésêtse /é-h-sóhpeohté-seht/ 'it is said he walked through'
   tséssáanéménéhéto /té-h-sáa-néméné-hé-tó/ 'when I did not sing'
   tséssééšése /té-h-šééšé-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":

   \[ h \rightarrow s / \_ \_ t \]

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170 As noted earlier, orthographic "e" is typically pronounced as phonetic [i]. For practical purposes, however, we will symbolize the orthographic letter "e" as phonemic /e/ even though it is never pronounced as phonetic [e].
Néhmetséstse! /néh-méteht/ 'Give it to me!'
Néstséhe'ooestse! /néh-tehe'ooeht/ 'Come here quickly!'

Náhtona /na-htónah/ 'my daughter'
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.

Néspáhávéameotšéšemenô! ~ néhpáhávéameotšéšemenô! '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'espáhô'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'éehe /ná-hko'éehe/ 'my mother'
Neško /ne-hko/ 'your mother'

5. **š-Backing (š-Back)**
Phonemic /š/ is pronounced as [x] when it precedes a back vowel, /a/ or /o/:

š → x / __ V
[+back]

Še'xo /šé's-o/ 'duck (obviative)' (cf. še'se 'duck')
Néxahe /néšahe/ 'my grandchild' [cf. néšé /néšé/ 'Grandchild! (vocative)']
Éháóénáxe /éháóénáše/ 'he's lying praying'
Énéše'xáhtse /éneše'šahté/ 'he gargled (lit., he washed his mouth; cf. énèše'šévóéne 'he washed his face')
Énéxánéstse /énešánét/'there are two of them (inanimate)' [cf. énéšeo'o 'there are two of them (animate)']

6. **s to š Assimilation**
/s/ assimilates to [š] preceding /š/:

š → š / __ e š

Note: This rule is optional when the /e/ is voiced, but obligatory when it is voiceless.
hátšēške ~ hátseške /hátehke/ 'ant'
égemóšēške ~ égemótšēške /éhémótehke/ 'he has a knife'
motšēške /mótehke/ 'knife'
néameotšēšemeno /néameotešemeno/ 'you led us'

7. **h-Dissimilation (h-Diss)**
A phonemic /h/ is pronounced as phonetic [x] preceding another phonemic /h/:

\[
\text{h} \rightarrow \text{x} \quad /\text{h}/
\]

nánéxhē'ōhtse /ná-neh-hé'ohté/ 1-CIS-there.come.from 'I came from there'
néxhéstánōhtse! /néh-hestan-ó-h/ CIS-take-IOAM-IMP 'Bring it to me!'
tséxhónónévōse /tē-h-honóné-vōs/ CJT-PST-bake-3PL 'when they baked'
náxhéné'ēna /ná-h-héné'en-ā/ 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.

\[
a \rightarrow ɔ \quad /\text{o}/ (\text{h})
\]

énaóotse /í ɒ : c/ 'he's sleeping'
émá'ō /í ɔ ʔ o/ 'it's red'
héstónaho /h ɪ s t ŋ o h/ 'his/her daughter'
páhóošéstotse /páhóošéstot/ [pʰɔ : ʃ ɪ t ŋ c] 'cradleboard'

9. **y-Glide Insertion (YGI)**
A phonetic [ʏ] glide occurs between "e" and a following back vowel ("a" or "o"):

\[
\text{Ø} \rightarrow ʏ \quad /\text{e}/ \quad [\text{back vowel}]
\]

Náháéána [n á h á iyá n á] 'I'm hungry'
Néá'éna [n iyá ? in 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'éna 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":

\[
\text{Ø} \rightarrow \text{w} \quad /\text{o}/ \quad \text{a}
\]

hotóá'e [h o t ów á ? ñ] 'buffalo'
 Nóávóse [n ów á w õs] 'Bear Butte'
Énóahešéve [í n ów a h ɪ sɪ f] 'he is giving away'

Sometimes it is difficult to hear the difference between a non-phonemic [w] glide and the [w] sound of a phonemic /v/ that appears between "o" and "a". But it is often possible to tell whether a "w" sound is phonemic or not by listening to morphological alternations. For instance, we can tell that énóvahe 'he is slow' has a phonemic /v/, rather than the phonetic [w] glide, when the word is pluralized, énóváheo'ó [í n ófʰ a v o ʔ 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/:

\[
C \quad V \quad \rightarrow \quad [-\text{voiced}] / C \_ \quad \_ \quad [\text{[-voiced] \ C_o} \quad \_ \quad V
\]

\[ [-\text{high}] \quad \_ \quad \_ \quad [+\text{cont}] \]

PPD applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

táhpeno /tahponon/ 'flute'
köšáne /kosáné/ 'sheep (plural)'
mőxe'estoo'ó /mošė'ehtóon/ 'paper, book'
namešéme /namešémé/ 'my grandfather'
máhnótséstovótse /mahnohtehtovot/ 'if you ask him'

13. **Penultimate Devoicing (PD)**

\[ V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / C \_ \quad (h) \quad C \# \]

Penultimate vowels devoice if they are followed by an obstructive which, in turn, is followed by a word-final "e". The word-final "e" is inserted by the following rule of e-Epenthesis.

hohköxe /hóhkoš/ 'ax'
tsétáhpétáhtse /tétahpetáht/ 'the one who is big'
tséxonónévéso /téhxonónévos/ 'when they baked'
éšénéstse /éšénét/ 'days'
vóhpoma'ôhtse /vóhpoma'øht/ 'salt'

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éheóvaheséstse /éheóvaheseht/ 'he is said to be yellow'
motšēške /mótehk/ 'knife'

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 ū i ] 'he drank'
máhtamáhááhe [má t a mʰ á: h ] 'old woman'
éheóvo [í h v ō f ū ] '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:

\[ V [+\text{back}] \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / V \_ h C $ \_ \]

This special devoicing is indicated in the examples below, although it would not normally be noted.

náohkého'soo'e 'I regularly dance'
émóheeoháhtseo'o 'they are gathering'
nápoahhtsenáhno 'I punched him in the mouth'

16. Preverb Devoicing
Vowels often devoice following a preverb and immediately preceding a voiceless stop:

\[ V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / + \_ \_ C [-\text{voiced}] \]

ééšéhpéhává'e ~ ééšéhpéhává'e /ééšé+héhává'e/ it's already good'
énéšéhpéhává'e ~ énéšéhpéhává'e /énéšé+héhává'e/ 'it's okay'

The same rule applies at the boundary between an initial and a following voiceless stop:

\( \text{($$COMBINE RULES$$)} \)

éasét'a'xe ~ éasét'a'xe /éase+ta'se/ 'he started to run'
asétánohtse ~ asétánohtse /ase+tánoht/ 'Pass it!'
nánéheštáno ~ nánéheštáno '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:
\( \varnothing \rightarrow ? / V \_ + V \)

This rule is obligatory with the preverb sáa-:

éssaa’a’xaaméhe 'he did not cry'
násáa’éšeméséhéhe 'I did not eat yet'

For other preverbs the rule appears to apply mostly when there is hesitation in speech after the preverb.

18. e-Epenthesis (e-Ep)
An "e" is added to the end of a word ends with a phonemic obstruent:

\( \varnothing \rightarrow e / C \_ \# \)

See examples of e-Epenthesis under the preceding rule, PPD.

19. Non-obstruent Deletion (ND)
Nasals are deleted when they are phonemically word-final:

\[
C \_ \rightarrow \varnothing / \_ \# \\
[-obs]
\]

mée’e /méen/ 'feather' (cf. méeno /méeno/ 'feathers')
mo’keha /mó’kehan/ 'moccasin, shoe' (cf. mo’kéhanötse /mókehanot/ 'moccasins, shoes'
mo’éhno’ha /mo’éhno’ham/ 'horse' (cf. mo’éhno’hámë /mo’éhno’hamé/ 'horses'

20. s-Epenthesis (e-Ep)
/h/ is inserted between /e/ and a phonemic word-final /t/. This /h/ is pronounced as [s] according to the preceding HSA rule:

\( \varnothing \rightarrow h / e \_ t \# \)

PPD (Prepenultimate Devoicing) follows, causing the "e" added by e-Ep to be voiceless.

hóhkéhá’ėstse /hóhkeha’ét/ 'hats'
ého’tánėstse /ého’tánét/ 'They (inanimate) are here/there'

21. Complex Syllable Formation (CSF)
A complex syllable is formed when a consonant is followed by a voiceless vowel, /h/, then a voiced vowel. The /h/ becomes aspiration on the consonant.

\[
C \rightarrow C^h / \_ V h \_ V^{171}
\]

tóhołko /tohołkon/ [tʰ o h k o] 'hammer'
máheóo’o /mahenón/ [mʰ a♭ o ϩ o] 'house'
énóváheóo’o /énóvahéo/ [í nófʰ a♭ o ϩ o] 'they are slow'

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171 V stands for a voiceless vowel here.
pahoešestótse /pahoešéstot/ [pʰ ɔ: ʃ i s t ɔ c] 'cradleboard'

22. Diphthongization
The two vowels of a complex syllable form a diphthong:

\[ V \rightarrow [-syl] / \_\_ V \]

mo’kéhanótse [m o ʔ kʰ a n ɔ c] 'mocasins, shoes'
náohkéhomóse [n á o kʰ o m õ s] 'I regularly cook'
pahoešestótse [pʰ ɔ: ʃ i s t ɔ c] 'cradleboard'
nátahéovēše [n á t á ō w ō ñ s] 'I'm going to lie down'
mähē’o [mʰ ā ʔ ō õ c] 'house'
Náhkohá’e [n á h k b á Ḳ] 'Bear Woman'
énahahkahe [i n b 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:

\[ h \rightarrow \_ / V \]

tsééna’héstse [c í: na ? s c] 'the one who is old'
tséháóénáhtse [c í h ɔ: n á c] 'the one who is praying'
Héstahnéstse! [h ˈstähnóc] 'Take it!'
Vonahó’hóhtse! [v o n b ŏ õ c] 'Burn it up!

24. High-Raising (HR)
High-Raising is one of several rules which adjust the pitches (tones) of Cheyenne. Pitch marks used in these rules are: ˈ (high), ˘ (raised high), ˉ (mid), and ¯ (low).¹⁷²

A high is pronounced as a raised high when it is followed by a word-final high and not preceded by another high:

\[ ˈ \rightarrow ˘ / \{#\} _\_ ˈ # \]

šēšé /ʃēšé/ 'duck'
sémo /sémón/ 'boat'
éma’ovēše /éma’ovésé/

25. Low-to-High Raising (LHR)
A low is raised to a high if preceded by a high and followed by a word-final phonemic high:

\[ ˌˈ \rightarrow ˈ / ˈ _\_ ˈ # \]

méšéne /méšené/ 'ticks'
návóómo /návómó/ 'I see him'

¹⁷² The grave accent low pitch mark is only used in the pitch rules themselves when it is needed. Otherwise, low pitches are left unmarked.
póéso /póesón/ 'cat'
émēhósáne /émēhósané/ 'he loves'
ésásašévéhe /ésásašévénehé/ '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:

```
\( \text{\`} \rightarrow \text{\`} / \text{\`} (Y) (\$) \text{\`} \# \)
```

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.

éávónése /éávoonešé/ 'he's lying fasting'
éstséné 'swamp'
ého'néhenóne /ého'néhenoné/ 'he sang a wolf song'
náhtóhévo /nahtóohevón/ 'my fingernail'
onéhavó'ke 'bead'

27. Low-to-Mid Raising (LMR)
A low is raised to a mid when it precedes a phonemic word-final high and is not preceded by a high. (This second condition can be eliminated from the rule if there is rule ordering and LMR is ordered after LHR.)

```
\( \text{\`} \rightarrow \text{-} / \text{\`} \# \)
```

kōsa /kosán/ 'sheep (singular)'
he'ē /he'ē/ 'woman'
ehomōse /éhomosé/ 'he is cooking'
etāhpē'āse /étahpe'asé/ 'he has a big belly'

28. Word-Medial High-Raising (WMHR)
A high is raised if it follows a high (which is not a trigger for the High Push-Over rule) and precedes a phonetic low:

```
\( \text{\`} \rightarrow \text{\`} / \text{\`} \left( (C\ V\ [-\text{voiced}] )\ C_o \right)_{o\ \text{\`} C_o\ V\ [-\text{high}]\ [+\text{cont}] \text{\`} \right) \)
```

One or more voiceless syllables may come between the two highs. (A devoiced vowel in this process must be phonemically low, not a phonemic high vowel which has been devoiced by the HPO rule.) Many verbal prefixes and preverbs are affected by WMHR.

éhâméstoo'e /éhámehhtoe/ 'he sat down'
émēsehe /émēsehe/ 'he is eating'
émôna'e /émôna'e/ 'it's new'
tséhnêmenéto /téhnêmenétó/ 'when I sang'
násâamétohénôto /násâamétohénôto/ 'I did not give him (obv) to him'
éssâaméséhéêo'o /éssâaméséhéêo'o/ 'they did not eat'
tséhevéssóneto /téhevéssóneto/ 'the one who is your cousin'
mónêsô'hâéanâmê /mónêsô'hâéanâmê 'Are you (plural) still hungry?'
név'e'a'xaâme! /nev'e'a'xaamé/ 'Don't cry!'

29. Stem-final Raising (SFR)
A stem-final low pitch is raised to a high pitch word-medially (i.e. antepenultimate or before in a word):

\[ V \rightarrow \acute{\prime} / \_ ]_{\text{stem}} ^{\text{\$2#}} \]

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.

e térâ'pôsê-stove 'there is drinking' (cf. émânê 'he is drinking')
námëséhé-otse 'I ate quickly' (cf. námëséhe 'he ate')
mèsëhê-stoto 'potatoes'
amâhô'hê-stotôse 'cars' (cf. éâmâhô 'he's going along by car')
esâanaâotsê-hëo'o 'they are not sleeping' (cf. énâoôtse 'he is sleeping')
esâapëhëvë'ë-hane 'it is not good' (cf. épëhëvë 'it is good')
tsépëhëvë'ë-tsee'ëstse 'those (things) which are not good'
ëhe'köhê-sësto 'they are said to be quiet (reportative mode) (cf. éëhêkôtahe 'he is quiet)
ë'ameohe-hoo'o 'Wow, he quickly walked!' (preterit mode) (cf. é'ameohe 'he quickly walked')
esâapëhëvëhënôhë-hehoono 'Wow, they do not look good!' (cf. épëhëvëhënôhe 'he looks good')

30. High Push-Over (HPO)
A high is realized as a low if it is preceded by a high and followed by a phonetic low:

\[ \acute{\prime} \rightarrow \acute{\prime} / \acute{\prime} \_ \_ \_ \acute{\prime} \]

As formulated, HPO must be preceded by HR (High-Raising). HPO applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

nëhâoenâma /nëhâoênâma/ 'we (incl) prayed'
némëhotone /némëhötône/ 'we (incl) love him'
nâmëhosanêmë /nâmëhosanêmê/ 'we (excl) love'

31. High-Lowering (HL)
A high is pronounced as a low preceding a word-final low:

---

173 I perceived this as a "hanging low" pitch (between a mid and low) in my 1981 article on Cheyenne pitch rules and the first editions of this book. Since then, however, I have concluded that there is insufficient evidence to say that there is such a pitch. Most, if not all, speakers pronounce a lowered high as a phonetic low pitch.
pe’e /pé’e/ 'nighthawk'
mene /méne/ 'berry'
motšėške /mótehk/ 'knife'
éhe’eve /éhe’éve/

32. Word-Final Lowering (WFL)
A word-final vowel is realized as a low pitch. If the word-final vowel is pre-pause, it will be devoiced by the Phrase-Final Devoicing Rule (PFDR).

V → ` / __ &
návõomo#náhohe 'I saw a bear'
évõohta#mâheöó '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’óėsó’o /ó’óseo/ 'clothesline'
óová’hasó’o /óova’hase/ 'pump'
éhestó’tonóhño ‘he braided his (someone else’s) hair.’
tsévéhestá’amañse /tévehehta’amañse/ 'who had gunshot wounds’ (1987:107)

34. Vowel-Stretching (VS)
Cheyenne does not permit word-final vowel sequences for pronunciation. If there is a phonemic word-final vowel sequence, a glottal stop and a copy of the last phonemic vowel will be inserted.174

Ø → V
[β high] 3 [β high] 4 ([−voiced] )
[γ PITCH] 5

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 /honóno/ 'roast'
vee’e /véen/ 'lodge, tepee'
xā’o /śaón/ 'skunk'

174 This process was first observed in Cheyenne by Algonquianist Ives Goddard and described in a slightly different formulation (1978).
néšéé’ēše /néšeéš/ ‘for two days’

There is a minor exception to this formulation of the VS rule when the phonemic word-final vowel sequences are ea# or oa#. Instead of expected phonetic ea’a# or oa’a#, respectively, most speakers pronounce ea’e# and oa’e#. We suggest that some kind of neutralization rule accounts for this exception. Such a rule may involve something like "strong" and "weak" vowels in Cheyenne, where "o" and "a" are strong vowels and "e" is a weaker vowel used in neutralization contexts such as this. Such known exceptions are:

hēā’e /heá/ 'maybe', instead of expected hēā’a
émea’e /éméa/ 'he gave', instead of expected émea’a
hotóá’e /notóá/ 'buffalo', instead of expected hotóá’a

Another minor exception in the speech of at least some speakers involves retention of high pitch on some phonemic pre-VS penultimate vowels when a lowering of the high pitch is expected. Such exceptions include:

vée’ēse /vées/ 'tooth', instead of expected vee’ēse
séo’otse /séot/ 'ghost, corpse', instead of expected seo’otse

$/$/ 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:

énā’a’e /énna’a’e/ 'he doctored (cf. énaa’e /énae/ 'he died')
nánē’pó’ó’/ /nāné’pō’ö’/ 'I peeked over'
éméó’e /éméó’e/ '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:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c}
V & V & V \\
[-back] & [\alpha \text{ back}] / [\alpha \text{ back}] & [\beta \text{ high}] / [\beta \text{ high}] \text{ C}
\end{array}
\]

Sometimes this assimilation is not total, but usually it is nearly so. Assimilation occurring to vowels which have undergone Vowel-Stretching is total, and so I write the second vowel in its assimilated form. I do not write non-Vowel-Stretched sequences in their assimilated forms, since they are sometimes not totally assimilated and also since their underlying (phonemic) forms can be more easily recovered from their written forms.

návóomāā’e [náwôomā:ʔɪ] 'they saw me'
névóomaene [nįwôoma:fi:] 'he saw us (incl)'
ého’oéstse [įhoʔö:sc] '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.

Námòxe'oha mòxe'ëstoo'o. [ná ŋnò xw ʔ ô ã # ŋnò xw ʔ ñ s t o: ô] 'I wrote a book.'  
Násáavóomóhe náhkhke. [nássáawó:mó #:náhkh] 'I did not see the bear.'

h-Loss also occurs with some word-medial sequences in natural rapid speech:

éméhaemane [í m ía:maňí] 'he used to drink'  
étséhe'kéhahe [čeh ʔ k í ah] 'he is young'  
éhoháetonéto [í ŋoh á:ton í tô] 'it's very cold (weather)'

37. **Labialization**  
The consonants "x" and "h" take on the labial quality of a preceding /o/ if they are followed by /e/ or /a/:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow w / o [+back] _ [+high] _ [+cont] \]

oha [ohwâ] 'only'  
namòxe'ëstoo'o [na° m ŋxw ʔ oì s t o: ô] 'my book'

38. **Palatalization**  
Cheyenne /h/ is palatalized if it is preceded by /e/ and followed by /a/ (?) or /o/: $$\text{RECHECK RULE; DOES IT NEED TO BE WORD-FINAL?}$$

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow y / e \ h _ [+high] _ [+cont] \]

eho /ého/ [´ í h y ô] 'your father'  
$$\text{OTHER EXAMPLES??}$$

39. **h-Metathesis (h-Met)**
A phonemic /h/ and a vowel exchange places when they are preceded by a vowel and followed by a word-final /ht/:  

\[ V _ 1 \ h \ V _ 2 \rightarrow V _ 1 \ V _ 2 \ h / _ _ h t \# \]

Méseestse! /mésehe-ht/ 'Eat!'  
Né’ësto'hahtse! /né’eho’haha-ht/ 'Take your gloves off!'  
Po’ōohse! /po’oh-ō-hht/ 'Break it off (by tool)!'  
tsénóvaestse /té-nóvahe-ht/ 'the one who is slow'
40. Cliticization

Particles phonologically attach to a word with which they have a grammatical relationship. The particles become "glued" to that word. This attachment process is called cliticization. We indicate cliticization with the "=" sign.

Proclitics attach to the beginnings of words:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow = / \_ \_ \ # X \]

hévá=móhe 'apparently, maybe'

hévá=hméméstanéhevóhe 'maybe they drowned' (1987:4:23)

Enclitics attach to the ends of words:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow = / \ # \_ \_

tá'sé=háma 'Isn't that right?'

nóhásé=háma 'any way'

heá'è=háma 'I guess, maybe'

If a particle ends with "he", this syllable is lost during cliticization:

\[ \{h \ e\} \rightarrow = / \_ \_ \ # X \]

In the following examples, compare the particles as they are pronounced as single words with their cliticized forms:

tsé'tóhe 'this one (animate)'; tsé'tó=mé'èševótsé 'this baby'

hé'tóhe 'this one (animate)'; hé'tó=mahé'o 'this house'

néhe 'that one (referred to; animate); né=ka'èškóne 'that (referred to) child'

móhe 'True?, Really?'; mó=néháéána? 'Are you hungry?'; mó=héva 'maybe'; mó=néhe 'You mean that one (animate)?'

nékéóhe 'there'; nékéó=Nóávéóse '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=éštse'he 'this shirt'

mó=éháohó'ta 'Is it hot?'

mó=éšépèhéva'e 'Is it good already?'

42. Contraction

We have referred several times in this book to a rule of contraction which affects some Transitive Animate (TA) verbs. If a TA stem ends with either of two abstract TA finals, -ov or -ev, these finals contract in the inverse voice if anything follows these finals:
$$\{ov\} \rightarrow \text{óe} / \__ X$$
$$\{ev\}$$

The /o/ of these two finals becomes high-pitched during contraction. Cheyenne contraction reflects vowel coalescence which occurred in Proto-Algonquian and continues to occur in other Algonquian languages. Examples of Cheyene contraction follow:

náhéne'enóó'e 'they know me' (cf. náhéne'enova 'he knows me')
nánéhóó'e 'they chased me' (cf. nánehova 'he chased me')
nénéhoehe? 'Did he chase you?'
néhéne'nohe? Does he know you?
návovéstomóó'e 'he taught us (excl)' (cf. návovéstomeva 'he taught me')
névovéstomóóne 'he taught us (incl)'
tséhvovéstomóó'ėse 'when he taught me'
tséxhéne'enóétse 'when he knew us'

Suggestions from Rich Rhodes:

h -- $\rightarrow$ s /__ [+obs, -lab] (i.e., t, s, k, ŝ)

s -- $\rightarrow$ ŝ /__ [+obs, +back] (i.e., k, ŝ)

with a codicil that for the speakers who assibilate before p the first rule is:

h -- $\rightarrow$ s /__ [+obs]

But there is also an /x/, which should get swept up in the first rule, and writing /x/ out isn't straightforward.

However, the dictionary examples make it look like there is also a rule, h -- $\rightarrow$ Ø /__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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