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ABOUT ERRORS, TYPOS, IDEAS TO
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Cheyenne Reference Grammar

by

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In 1980 this book was slightly revised and mimeographed as A Reference Grammar of the Cheyenne Language, Volumes 1 and 2, in the Occasional Publications in Anthropology, Linguistics Series, no. 5, by the Museum of Anthropology, University of Northern Colorado, Greeley, Colorado. This museum publishing program no longer exists, and so this book was re-issued to make it available to others. This latest edition of the book includes many additional revisions and a new title.

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Dedicated to all the Cheyenne teachers who have
patiently taught their language

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Acknowledgements

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

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Other available resources

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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. 285

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. 285

Hohtseéše'he, Hoop Moon: January 286

Ma'xéhohtseéše'he, Big Hoop Moon: February 286

Pónoma'a'èhasenéše'he, Drying Up Moon: March 286

Véhpotseéše'he, Leaf Moon: April 286

Énano'eéše'he, Planting Moon: June 286

Méanéše'he, Summer Moon: July 286

Oenenéše'he, Harvest Moon: August 286

Tonóese'he, Cool Moon: September 286

Sé'énéhe, Facing Into: October (This name refers to when thin ice begins to form on ponds and rivers.) 286

He'koneneéše'he, Hard Face Moon: November 286

Ma'xéhe'koneneéše'he, Big Hard Face Moon: December 286

Some alternative names are: 286

He'koneneéše'he, Hard Face Moon: January (instead of November) 286

Tšěške'hohtseéše'he, Little Hoop Moon: February 286

Pónoma'a'èhasenéhe, Drying Up: March (or April) 286

Heše'kévénéhe, Dusty Face: March (also, variant Heše'évenéhe) 286

Heše'évenéheéše'he, Dusty Face Moon: March (or April) 286

Sétoveméanéše'he, Midsummer Moon: July 286

Hémotséše'he, Breeding Moon: latter part of August and first part of September 286

Tonóeveéše'he, Cool Moon: September 286

Sé'eneéše'he, Facing Into Moon: October 286

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How Birney Got the Name Oevemanaheno 329

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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

ˈ	high pitch
—	mid pitch ¹
ˆ	raised high pitch ² (not marked in this book)
˘, ˙	lowered high pitch ³ (not marked in this book and no longer believed to exist)
	low pitch is unmarked

Other symbols

˙, ˚	Voiceless (whispered) ⁴
-	Meaning-separation mark (for example, taa'e-éše'he 'moon', literally 'night-sun')
[]	symbols indicating a phonetic transcription
/ /	symbols indicating a phonemic transcription
*	symbol for ungrammatical; with "PA" it marks a Proto-Algonquian form

Other abbreviations

sing., sg.	singular
pl., p.	plural
obv., ob.	obviative
obv'	further removed obviative
excl., ex.	exclusive (used with first person plural)
incl., in.	inclusive (used with first-person plural)
AI	Animate Intransitive (Intransitive verb with Animate Subject)
II	Inanimate Intransitive (Intransitive verb with Inanimate Subject)
TA	Transitive Animate (Transitive verb with Animate Object)
TI	Transitive Inanimate (Transitive verb with Inanimate Object)
anim., an.	animate
inan., in.	inanimate
MASC	masculine
FEM	feminine
POS	positive
NEG	negative

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 ¨ and ~ symbols from earlier books.

² The raised high pitch was marked with the ˆ (circumflex) symbol in earlier editions of this book. It is marked with the regular high pitch park ˈ 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 ˆ 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 ˆ 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.

NOM	nominalizer
PST	past tense
FUT	future tense
REL	relational (verb)
INT	interrogative
Q	question
INF	inferential
RPT	reportative
PRET	preterit
CNJ	conjunct
PA	Proto-Algonquian
mt	Montana
ok	Oklahoma
e.g.	for example
i.e.	namely
in	independent noun
inc.n	incorporated noun
rr	relative root

The Cheyenne language

Cheyenne is a member of the large Algonquian family of languages spoken in Canada and the United States⁵. 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.

meaning	pronunciation	another pronunciation
star	hotohke	hetohke
hill	hoéhose	hoéhase
my throat	naéstoo'o	naéstoo'e
uninvited??	hópose	hápose

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

for example	hámó'òhtse	hómó'òhtse
Listen!	Ótahe!	Átahe!
Listen to me!	Áahtovéstse!	Áhahtovéstse!
I reached it.	Náhohtamésta.	Náhestamésta.
for that reason	hése-	hóse- ⁶

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:

meaning	k pronunciation	old man pronunciation
hat	hóhkéha'e	hóhtšéha'e
mouse	hóhkeehe	hóhtšeehe
female twin	hestáhkéhá'e	hestáhkéhá'e
regularly	ohke-	ohťse-

The Suhtai dialect

Many years ago Cheyennes were about to fight a band of people called the Suhtai⁷. But they stopped when they could understand what the Suhtai were saying.⁸ So the Suhtai 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, however, Cheyennes today who claim descent from the Suhtai.

Cheyennes continue to hope that remnants of the Suhtai language can still be discovered. Some believe that Suhtai words may be retained in the Sacred Hat (Esevone)⁹ ceremony which the Suhtai people brought with them when they united with the Cheyennes.

History of Cheyenne language research

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

Cheyenne sounds

There are 14 letters in the Cheyenne alphabet¹⁰:

letter	pronunciation	example	English meaning
a	as in English "father"	mahpe	water
e	as in English "pit"	ehane	our father
h	as in English "happy"	hese	fly

⁶ This pronunciation is the same as for the preverb hóse- meaning 'again'.

⁷ Spelled So'taeo'o in the official orthography used in this book.

⁸ Mutual understanding between the Cheyennes and Suhtai is mentioned by Mrs. Albert Hoffman in her Cheyenne story, "When Cheyennes Crossed the Ice", found in the Texts section near the end of this book. Mrs. Hoffman refers to the Suhtai as xaevo'ěstaneo'o 'Indians' in sentence 3 of the story.

⁹ Spelled as Issiwun by Grinnell.

¹⁰ This grammar book uses the Cheyenne alphabet which has been officially adopted by the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council.

k	as in English "skip"	kosa	goat
'	as in English "Uh-oh!"	he'eo'o	women
m	as in English "man"	me'ko	head
n	as in English "never"	nahkohe	bear
o	as in English "note"	okohke	crow
p	as in English "spoon")	poeso	cat
s	as in English "say"	semo	boat
š	as in English "shirt"	še'se	duck
t	as in English "stop"	tosa'e	Where?
v	as in English "van"	vee'e	dwelling
x	as in German "Achtung!"	xao'o	skunk

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

Cheyenne e

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

Many Cheyenne vowels are whispered (voiceless). Various symbols can be used to indicate voicelessness. In this book the most common symbol for voicelessness is a dot over a vowel: à, è, ò.

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:

hátseške 'ant'
ná**h**áéána 'I'm hungry'

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

ma**h**pe 'water'
pó**h**késo 'kitten'
évó**h**ko 'it's bent'
mé**h**ne 'water serpent'
sé**h**pató'ohēō'o 'teepee pin, safety pin'
he**h**peto '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 a n̥ í] 'he drank'
máhpēva [m̥ á p í f á] 'in the water'
máhtamáhááhe [m̥ á t a m̥ h á: h] 'old woman'

Cheyenne s

Cheyenne s is pronounced the same as English s in all environments.

Cheyenne p, t, and k

Cheyenne p, t, and k¹¹ 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', nahkóheo'o (or in simpler spelling, nahkoyo'o). As perceived, the "g" sound of 'bear' changes to a "k" sound even though the meaning of 'bear' remains the same when we add the ending to make the word for 'bears'.

English p, t, and k are aspirated (having a puff of air after them) when they are the first letter of a word, as in "poor", "ten", and "kill". English p, t, and k are unaspirated, without this puff of air, when they are not the first letter of a word, as in "spot", "stick", "skip", and "letter". English b, d, and g are actually different from what is perceived as b, d, and g in Cheyenne in that the English letters are voiced, that is, our vocal cords vibrate when we say them, as in the English words "bird", "dog", and

¹¹ Linguists call p, t, k stops.

"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:

meaning	word
ashes, powder	paa'e
kitten	pohkeso
on top	taxeto
in the middle	setove
ka'ěškone	child
bread	kohkonóheo'o

Cheyenne š

The š symbol has the same sound as the two English letters "sh". The š symbol has been used to write Cheyenne for more than 100 years, since the late 1800s when Rodolphe Petter developed an alphabet for Cheyenne. The š symbol¹² 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, you can spell the Cheyenne words with "sh" instead of "š". For instance, if an author asks you to spell the word for 'snake' for a novel, consider spelling it as shi'shinofots instead of the official spelling še'senovótse.

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".

meaning	official spelling	newspaper spelling
Day Walking Woman	Ešeaméhe'e	Ishiamhi'i / Ishiamhi'
Day Woman	Ešeeva'e	Ishiiva'i / Ishiiva'
Rising Sun	Eše'he Öhme'ehnéstse	Ishi' Ohmi'ihnsts
Two Moon	Eše'he Öhnešeséstse	Ishi' Ohnishists
Dusty Nose	Heše'eveesehe	Hishi'iviisih
Porcupine	Heškovéstse	Hishkovsts
Alights On the Clouds	Ho'évahtoeshéstse	Ho'ivahtoishsts
Lying Wolf	Ho'nehešeeše	Ho'nihishiish
Wooden Thigh	Kamáxevěše'o	Kamaxivshio / Kamaxivshio'o
Raccoon	Matšěškome	Machgom

¹² Some linguists transcribe this sound with the IPA system [ʃ] symbol.

Mint Woman
Two Crows
Little Snowbird
Pine Woman
Little Creek

Moxěšeha'e
Okòhkeo'o Òhnešese
Šeheso
Šestoto'a'e
Tšěške'eo'he'e

Moxshiha'i
Okohkeo'o Ohnishis
Shihiso / Shihis
Shistota'i / Shisdoda'
Chki'io'hi'i / Chki'io'hi'

Some other Cheyenne words with the "š" sound are: aměške 'grease' (simpler spelling amshk), eše'he 'sun' (simpler spelling ishi'), meškeso 'bug' (simpler spelling mishkis), neše 'two' (simpler spelling nish), náéšemésehe 'I already ate' (simpler spelling naishimisih), and éověše '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.

Some pairs of Cheyenne words are different only by the presence or absence of a glottal stop¹³:

with glottal stop

he'ama 'above'
he'e'hame 'mares'
ma'estoo'o 'pillow'
eše'šeotse 'he woke up'

without glottal stop

heama 'on the side'
heehame 'her husband'
maestoo'o 'throat'
ešešeotse 'it came loose'

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

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

Cheyenne x

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

Cheyenne v

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

meaning

dwelling, tepee

spelling

vee'e

phonetic

[v]

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

fat	vetšěške	[v]
for four days	névéé'ěše	[v]
He's on the go	ééva'xe	[v]
fan	vá'vanòhēō'o	[v]
cloud	vo'e	[w]
bald eagle	vóaxáa'e	[w]
deer	váótséva	[w]
He fell over	éává'o	[w]
I dreamed	náovaxe	[w]
It's white	évó'komo	[w]
He went to bed	éověše	[w]

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 maahe 'arrow', naa 'and', and vetšěške '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 máhpēva 'in the water'. Notice that you feel no vibration until you get to the "e" in this word. When a sound that is normally voiced is whispered we say that it has been devoiced. There is widespread devoicing in Cheyenne.

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

Voiceless vowels

Cheyenne is famous for its many whispered (voiceless) vowels. The preferred symbol to indicate that a vowel is whispered is a dot over the vowel: à, è, ò. 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:

máhpēva	in the water
ka'ěškone	child
semonótse	boats
táhpeno	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), mähpēva 'in the water', phonetic [m̥äp̥i f̥ä]. 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', nēhpe'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:

Kásovaahasēstse, nēstooheonane, nēsto'ane, nemehohtanone.
Young men, our (incl) flag, our (incl) land, we love it.

Northern Cheyenne Flag Song, Busby version, as sung:

Kásovaahasēstse, nestooheonane, nesto'ane, nemehohtanone.

Notice that the second person possessor prefix ne- is voiceless (whispered) in the spoken version but voiced in the sung version. This voiceless syllable nē- is difficult to hear in the spoken words nēstooheónane **\$\$RECHECK PITCH** 'our (incl) flag' and nēsto'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 pitch¹⁴. Mid pitch vowels are marked with a macron like this: ā, ē, ō.

Notice the pitches in these words:

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

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

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.

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 [o:] while English "oo" is phonetically [ʊ]. Cheyenne "ee" is phonetically [ɪ:] 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:

$C \vee h V > C^h V / _ \$$

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

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

meaning	word	phonetic
It's good	ép <u>éhé</u> va'e	[í p ^h é v a ʔ í]
They (an.) are good	ép <u>éhé</u> váheo'o	[í p ^h é v ^h a ^y o ʔ ô]
cradleboard	pá <u>h</u> oešestótse	[p ^h ɔ: š ɪ š t ô c]
hammer	tó <u>h</u> ohko	[t ^h o h k ô]
Go to bed!	tá <u>h</u> éověšestse	[t ^h á ^y o w ɪ š s c]
I'm tired	ná <u>k</u> ahaneotse	[n á k ^h a n i ^y o c]
shoes	mo' <u>k</u> éhanótse	[m o ʔ k ^h y a ñ ô c]
They are proper	éonó' <u>á</u> heo'o	[í o n ó ʔ ^h a ^y o ʔ ô]
house	má <u>h</u> ēō'o	[m ^h ā ^y ō ʔ ô]
then	nē <u>h</u> e'se	[n ^h ɪ ʔ š]
I caught it	náná <u>h</u> a'ēna	[n á n ^h a ʔ ɪ n ā]

bears	náhkó <u>heo</u> 'o	[n á h k ^h o ^y o ʔ ǝ]
they are eating	émésé <u>heo</u> 'o	[í m í s ^h ɪ ^y o ʔ ǝ]

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:

aspirated

éta'páheo'o 'they are weak'
 ésáanétáhéhe 'he is not a different one'
 éno'káhehe 'Is he single?'
 éono'áheo'o 'they are proper'

unaspirated

éta'pahe 'he is weak'
 énétahe 'he is a different one'
 éno'kahe 'he is single'
 éono'ahe 'he is proper' nó'??

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

house	máhē <u>o</u> 'o	[m ^h ā ^y ǝ ʔ ǝ]
then	nèhē' <u>š</u> e	[n ^h ɪ ʔ š]
I caught it	náná <u>h</u> a'ēna	[n á n ^h a ʔ ɪ n ǎ]

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'

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

máhēō'o 'house'

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

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

énóvahe 'he is slow'
énóváheo'o 'they are slow'

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

Phonemes

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

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

néše 'Grandchild! (vocative)', néxahe 'my grandchild'
éněše'šévóéne 'he washed his (own) face', éněše'xāhtse 'he gargled'
éněše'o 'there are two of them (an.), énéxáněstse 'there are two of them (inan.)
šé'se 'duck', še'xo 'duck' (obviative)

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

Éhnméne 'he sang', Éxho'soo'e 'he danced'
Néhmetséstse! 'Give it to me!', Néxhéstánóhtse! 'Bring it to me!'

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 Lama 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

speculations.

¹⁶ This phonological rule is called š-Backing.

¹⁷ This phonological rule is called h-Dissimilation.

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:

meaning	Petter	official spelling
grasshopper	hàkota	hahkota
man	hetan	hetane
liver	hée	he'e
womanhee	hē'e	
soup	hòhp	hohpe
bear	nàko	nahkohe
water	màp	mahpe
God	Maheo	Ma'heo'o
house	mhayo	máheo'o
gopher	eszemae	estsema'e
grass	móesz	mo'e'èstse
one	nasz	na'èstse
alien	noz	notse
whiteman	vého	ve'ho'e
white woman	véhoa	ve'ho'a'e
cloud	voe	vo'e
body	mavōxōz	mavoxōtse
Cheyennes	Zezestassō	Tsetsèhestàhese (simpler spelling Tsitsistas recommended)
clothes	honeōnoz	hone'oonōtse
my son	nāha	nae'ha
his son(s)	hēhya	hee'haho
tepee	vē	vee'e
dress	hōstoz	hoestōtse
it's moist	ehēkōva	ehe'koova
he barked	emāe	emaa'e
it's empty	evèpeha	evèhpeha
it's bad	ehavseva	ehavèseva'e
he's bad	ehavsevae	ehavèsevae

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:

meaning	book spellings	Holliman
one	no'ka	no ga
two	nexa	ni khi
three	na'ha	na ha
year	aa'e	ah i

night	taa'eva	dii i vi
evening	hetoeva	hi doi vi
my child	naneso	nii niss sso
your child	neneso	ni niss sso
bear	nahkohe	na go
bears	nahkôheo'o	na ko yoo
hawk	aenohe	ii noo
hawks	aenôheo'o	ii nho yoo
cat	poeso	boi sso
turtle	ma'eno	ma i no
sun	eše'he	i sshi i
trees	hoohtseto	ho zi do
snake	še'šenovôtse	sshi no vo zi
house	máheo'o	mha yoo

Phonetic spelling

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

But phonetic spelling can miss important patterns of how a language works. If we wrote 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 Tsetsêhestâhese, or with pitch marks, Tsétséhéstâhese. 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 Tsistsistas. 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

¹⁸ This is different from what linguists call phonetic spelling, which uses international phonetic alphabets. The word Cheyennes call themselves can be spelled like this using international phonetic symbols: [tsɪtsɪsɪsthas] or [cɪcɪsthas]. The Cheyenne phonetic spelling of Tsistsistas is easier to read, isn't it?

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 naměšeme. 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.)

phonetic	official	meaning
um (or am)	ame	pemmican
amshk	aměške	grease
boyso (or boiso)	poeso	cat
gashgon	ka'ěškone	child
gi'iih	ke'eehe	grandma
Ipiva.	Epěheva'e.	It's good.
Idonit.	Etoneto.	It's cold (weather).
Itsisinists.	Etsěhesenestse.	He (or She) speaks Cheyenne.
Itsidsa.	Etsěhestahe.	He (or She) is a Cheyenne.
hiss	hese	fly
hochk	ho'tšěške	sinew
khao	xao'o	skunk
machk	ma'tšěške	bow
Maheo	Ma'heo'o	God
mhayo	máheo'o	house
mochk	motšěške	knife
nahgo	nahkohe	bear
nahkoyo	nahkóheo'o	bears
Nahka	Nahkóha'e	Bear Woman
Nahkoso	Nahkóheso	Littlebear
nahgo'iih	nahko'eehe	my mother
namshim	naměšeme	my grandfather
Natsisdah.	Natsěhestahe.	I'm Cheyenne.
niho'iih	neho'eehe	my father
nish	neše	two
nishgi'iih	neške'eehe	my grandmother
nits	netse	eagle
Nidonshif?	Netoněševe?	What are you doing?
Nidonshivih?	Netoněševehe?	What is your name?
Nitsistahe?	Netsěhestāhehe?	Are you Cheyenne?
Niya'ish	Nea'eše	Thank you
okom	o'kóhome	coyote
oishkis	oeškese	dog
shi'sh	še'se	duck
Tsitsistaists	Tsetsěhestaestse	Cheyenne (person)



Tsitsistas	Tsetséhestáhese	Cheyennes	
Tsisinstsistots	Tséhesenéstsestótse	Cheyenne language	
vichk	vetšěške	fat	
waodzif	vaotseva	deer	
Wohihif	Vooheheve ¹⁹	Morning Star	Vooheheve (Wohihif)

¹⁹ Vooheheve was the Cheyenne name of Chief Dull Knife.

Cheyenne pitches

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

Phonemic pitch

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

Derived pitches

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

Mid pitch

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

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

Raised high pitch

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

šê'se /šé'sé/ 'duck'
émêsehe /émésehe/ 'he is eating'
émôna'e /émóna'e/ 'it's new'
mónésó'hâeanáme /mónésó'háéanámé 'Are you (plural) still hungry?'

Derived low pitches

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

pe'e /pé'e/ 'nighthawk'
mene /méne/ 'berry'
motšêške /mótéhk/ 'knife'
némêhotone /néméhótóne/ 'we (incl) love him'

Impermanent antepenultimate high

Certain phonemic low pitched vowels are pronounced with high pitch if they are in the antepenultimate²⁰ 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:

hóma'e /homa'e/ 'beaver' (cf. homā'e beavers)\$
ma'háhko'e /ma'hahko'e/ 'badger' (cf. ma'hahkō'e 'badgers')
tšêške'e /tehke'e/ 'a little' (cf. étšêšké'o 'it's little')
éné'ta'e /éne'ta'e/ 'it's important' (cf. éne'ta'ehe 'Is it important?')
hótame /hotame/ 'dog' (cf. hotāme 'dogs')²¹

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.

²¹ This is an older Cheyenne word for 'dog'. For several decades the most commonly most commonly used word for has

koohková'e /koohkova'e/ 'quail, bobwhite' (cf. koohkovā'e 'quails, bobwhites')
 hésta'se /hehta'se/ 'snow' (cf. hesta'sóho 'snow (obv); éhesta'seve 'it is snow, there is snow')
 nóma'ne²² /nomá'ne/ 'fish (singular)' [cf. nomá'ne 'fish (plural)']
 hexóva'e /hešova'e/ 'bedbug' (cf. hexová'e 'bedbugs')
 héta'e /heta'e/ 'gland' (cf. hetā'e 'glands')
 hó'nehe /ho'néhe/ 'wolf' (cf. ho'néheo'o 'wolves')
 hésta'he /hehta'he/ 'umbilical cord'
 oónāha'e /oonaha'e/ 'frog' (cf. oónāhā'e 'frogs')
 hóema /hoema/ 'blanket/mosquito' (cf. hoemaho 'blankets/mosquitos')
 mäháeme /mahaemen/ 'corn kernel' (cf. máheemenötse 'corn kernels')
 xáa'e /šae/ 'weasel' (cf. xaeho 'weasels')
 hēna'e /hena'e/ 'goose' (cf. henā'e 'geese')
 héško'e /hehko'e/ 'leech' (cf. heškō'e 'leeches')
 má'ome /ma'ome/ 'ice' (cf. ma'oméva 'on the ice')
 ó'he'e /o'he'e/ 'river' (cf. o'hé'e 'at the river', o'hé'éstse 'rivers')
 má'xeme /ma'šemen/ 'apple, plum' [cf. ma'xemenó 'apples (Northern Cheyenne),
 ma'xemenötse 'plums' (Southern Cheyenne)]
 héše'ke /heše'ke/ 'dirt/dust' (cf. éheše'keve 'it's dusty/it's got dirt on it')
 hēsevo /hesevon/ 'calf (of leg)' (cf. hesevono 'calves')
 hénóme /henóme/ 'thigh' (cf. henomötse 'thighs')
 héstahke /hestahkeh/ 'twin' (cf. hestáhkeho 'twins')
 mo'óhta'e /mo'ohta'en/ 'turnip', (cf. mo'óhtá'éne 'turnips')
 móněške /moneškeh/ 'bean' (cf. moněškeho 'beans')
 ónonevóněške /ónonevoneškeh/ 'prairie dog' (cf. ónonevoněškeho 'prairie dogs')
 séavóněške /séavoneškeh/ 'woodchuck' (cf. séavoněškeho 'woodchucks')
 nāháa'e /nahaeh/ 'my auntie/auntie (voc.)' (cf. náhehaehenötse 'she is my aunt')
 vóhe'e /vohe'e/ 'shoestring' (cf. vohē'éstse 'shoestrings')
 mó'e'e /mo'e'e/ 'blade of grass' (cf. mo'ē'éstse 'grass')
 nāhtsemá'eme /nahtema'eme/ 'my blood', hestsema'emēvo 'their blood, ma'ēva 'in the blood'
 ho'háme'e /ho'hama'e/ 'spring (of water)' (cf. ho'hamé'éva 'at the spring')
 émo'óna'e /émo'ona'e/ 'it's beautiful' (cf. émo'ona'ehe 'Is it beautiful?', émo'onahe 'she's
 beautiful', ésáamo'ona'éháne 'it's not beautiful'
 épéhévatamáno'e /épéhévatamano'e/ 'it's nice weather' (cf. ésáapéhévatamano'éháne 'it's not
 nice weather', épéhévatamano'ehe 'Is it nice weather?')
 épéhévenóno'e /épéhévenono'e/ 'it looks nice' (cf. épéhévenono'ehe 'Does it look nice?')

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 éškōseesé-hotame 'pig (lit., sharp-nosed-domesticated.animal)

²² The singular is also pronounced as nóma'he.

énó'ka'e /éno'ka'e/ 'there is one (inan.)' (cf. éno'ka'ehe 'Is there one (inan.)?', éno'kahe 'there one (an.)')

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

Proper name high pitches

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

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

Parts of speech

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

tsé'tóhe	this, these (animate)
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?
ótséhámóhe	oops
héehe'e	yes
hová'áháne	no

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', aměške 'grease', mahpe 'water', ho'evohkötse 'meat', and vétsěškévahonoo'o 'frybread'.

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

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

Nánéehove 'I am the one.'

tséhnéehovèse 'as for him/her'

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

tse'tohe and he'tohe words

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

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

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

oeškese



hoohtséstse

poesono



néxo'mevehe

vaotseva



eše'he

he'eka'ěškone



hotohke



mo'ěško



hestahpe



hestsetato



ho'honaéo'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



vetšěškeváhono'o



mahpe



mo'eško



hohkéha'e



hoestato



ho'ota



mo'kéhanótse

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

Animacy

According to Cheyenne grammar, every noun is either animate or inanimate. Biologically, we think that if something is animate it is living, and if something is inanimate it is non-living. But the grammatical categories of animate and inanimate do not line up exactly with what is biologically living or non-living.

In the Cheyenne language, most things we would think of as living, such as people, animals, and trees, are grammatically animate. But even if objects have biological life, not all of them are grammatically animate. In Cheyenne trees are grammatically animate but bushes are inanimate, as is grass.

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

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

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

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

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

Here are lists of some animate and inanimate nouns:

Animate nouns

vo'ěstane	person
hē'e	woman
hetane	man
ka'ěškóne	child
póeso	cat
váótséva	deer
vé'késo	bird
netse	eagle
vóhkóóhe	rabbit
ma'heono	sacred powers
méstaeo'o	spooks
hoohtséstse	tree
maxe	log
méséhéstoto	potatoes
henene	tomato
ése'he	sun
taa'e-ése'he	moon
hotohke	star
ho'honáeo'o	rocks
hestahpe	brain
hestsétato	kidneys
mo'ěškono	fingers
héta'e	gland
heévaho	rope
éstse'he	shirt, coat
hóoma	blanket, mosquito
hoestoto	dresses
héva'kéehéstótse	scarf
něhpe'ěhestótse	diaper
tseene'ěheono	combs
hone'kōmo	button
mata	peyote
hóhtséme	ball
ma'xemenó	apples (but inanimate ma'xemenótse in Oklahoma)
móxe'eotsestótse	picture

Inanimate nouns

ame	pemmican
mahpe	water
ho'évohkótse	meat
méséhéstótse	food
menótse	berries
ma'xemenótse	apples (in Oklahoma, but animate ma'xemenó in Montana)
hetanémenō'e	juneberry bush
mo'ě'ěstse	hay
heséóvó'e	sand
mo'kéhanótse	shoes
hóhkéha'e	hat
hoestáto	belt

káhamaxe	stick
évo'sóesēō'o	toy
mo'ěškonótse	rings
me'ko	head, hair
ma'ěxánéstse	eyes
maāhe	arrow
máheo'o	house
he'e	liver
he'po	lung
ho'ěsta	fire, stove
motšěške	knife
ta'ta'ohēō'o	key

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

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

Plurals

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

Animate plural nouns

meaning	singular	plural
ant	hátseške	hátšěškeho
baby	mé'ěševótse	mé'ěševoto
bear	náhkóhe	náhkóheo'o
bee	háhnomá	háhnomaho
bird	vé'kése	vé'késeho
cat	póéso	póesonono
child	ka'ěškkóne	ka'ěškkóneho
clam	hexovo	hexovono
comb	tseene'ěheo'o	tseene'ěheono
dog	oeškese	oeškéseho
ghost ²⁴	seo'ótse	séoto
dress	hoestótse	hoestoto
duck	šé'se	šé'seo'o
feather	mee'e	méeno
finger	mo'ěško	mo'ěškono
fly	hése	héseo'o
man	hetane	hetaneo'o
monster	méhne	méhneo'o
nighthawk	pe'e	pé'eo'o
pipe	he'ohko	he'óhkono
porcupine	heškovéstse	heškovéto
rabbit	vóhkóóhe	vóhkóóheho
shirt, coat	éstse'he	éstse'heno
tomato	henene	heneno

²⁴ The word seo'ótse refers to the spirit of a dead person.

animal	hōva	hováhne
chicken	kokōhéáxa	kokōhéaxáne
deer	váótséva	váotseváhne
sheep	kōsa	kósáne
tick	meše	méseáne
turtle	ma'ēno	ma'enóné
skunk	xāō'o	xaóne
badger	ma'háhko'e	ma'hahkō'e
beaver	hóma'e	homā'e
goose	hēna'e	henā'e
white man	vé'ho'e	vé'hó'e
horse	mo'éhno'ha	mo'éhno'hāme
cougar	nanóse'hame	nanósé'háme

Inanimate plural nouns

meaning	singular	plural
airplane	ame'hahtótse	ame'háhtotótse
arm	ma'ahtse	ma'áhtsenótse
ax	hohkōxe	hóhkōxehótse
beard	mé'hahtse	mé'hahtsenótse
berry	mene	menótse
bone	he'ko	he'konótse
dish	hetohko	hetóhkonótse
head	me'ko	mé'konótse
house	máheo'o	máheonótse
road	meo'o	méonótse
shoe	mo'keha	mo'kéhanótse
bead	onéhávó'ke	onéhávó'késtse
belt	hoestáto	hoestátónéstse
bowstring	ma'tāno	ma'tanónéstse
coin, money	ma'kaata	ma'kaatánéstse
day	eše	éšénéstse
fire	ho'ēsta	ho'éstánéstse
hat	hóhkēha'e	hóhkēhá'éstse

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.²⁵

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

Plurals ending in -o

meaning	singular	stem	plural
ant	hátseške	hátseškeh	hátšěškeho
baby	mé'ěševòtse	mé'ěševot ²⁶	mé'ěševoto
bean	móneške	móneškeh	móněškeho
bear	náhkohe	náhkohe	náhkòheo'o
bee	háhnomah	háhnomah	háhnomaho
bird	vé'kése	vé'keséh	vé'kěseho
cat	póéso	póesón	póesonno
child	ka'ěškóné	ka'ěškónéh	ka'ěškóného
comb	tseene'éheo'o	tseene'éheon	tseene'éheono
man	hetane	hetane	hetaneo'o
duck	šé'se	šé'sé	šé'seo'o
feather	mee'e	méen	méeno
rabbit	vóhkóóhe	vóhkoohéh	vóhkooheho

Plurals ending in -e

animal	hōva	hováhn	hováhne
chicken	kokóhéáxa	kokohéaxán	kokóhéaxáne
sheep	kōsa	kosán	kósáne
skunk	xao'o	xaón	xaóne
tick	meše	méšen	méséne
turtle	ma'ēno	ma'enón	ma'enóne

Inanimate noun stems

Plurals ending in -òtse

meaning	singular	stem	plural
arm	ma'ahtse	ma'ahtsen	ma'ahtsenòtse
ax	hóhkóxe	hóhkoxeh	hóhkóxehòtse

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).

bone	he'ko	he'kon	he'konótse
shoe	mo'keha	mo'kehan	mo'kéhanótse
<i>Plurals ending in -éstse</i>			
belt	hoestáto	hoestátón	hoestátónéstse
coin	ma'kaata	ma'kaatan	ma'kaatānéstse
hat	hóhkéha'e	hóhkéha'	hóhkéhá'éstse

Deriving singulars and plurals from noun stems

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

Deriving animate singulars and plurals

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

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

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

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

Vowel-stretching

Why are the two extra letters -'o added to the -o pluralizer of šé'seo'o? There is a restriction in Cheyenne phonology that does not allow a word to end with two or more vowels. Instead, if a stem ends in two or more vowels, something we call vowel-stretching occurs, stretching out one of the two last vowels of a stem and inserting a glottal stop. This creates a kind of echo sound at the end of a word. Algonquianist Ives Goddard³⁰ first discovered and described Cheyenne vowel-stretching (1978:79, fn. 14). See the Vowel-Stretching section of the phonological rules later in this book for further explanation of this important phonological process.

Deriving inanimate singulars and plurals

We have stated that there are two pluralizers for inanimate nouns, -ot and -ét. But inanimate noun plurals actually end with "phonetic" spellings -ótse and -éstse, as seen in the preceding list. (The

²⁷ Some speakers pronounce 'bird' as vé'késo.

²⁸ Historical and comparative evidence from Proto-Algonquian and other Algonquian languages should also support Cheyenne noun stem spellings.

²⁹ A High Push-Over rule lowers the second high pitch. This rule is described in the Phonological rules section of this book.

³⁰ Because of this important observation by Goddard, I called this process Goddard's Law in my early publications. Later I used the descriptive term, vowel-stretching.

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

If we add -ötse to the stem for 'shoe', we get the plural spelling mo'kehanötse. A phonological rule causes the first /e/ to devoice, giving us the actual plural spelling, mo'kèhanötse. 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'kèhaneve '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, hoestátónéstse. When we subtract the -n from the stem, we get the proper spelling for the singular, hoestáto 'belt'.

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

noun	singular	plural	underlying stem
alien	nótse	nótseo?o	nóte
alien (female)	nótá?e	nóta?eo?o	nóta?é
ant	hátseške	hátšěškeho	hátehkéh
antelope	vo?kaa?e	vo?kaeho	vo?kaeh
apple	ma?xeme	ma?xemen	ma?xemen
baby	mé?ěševótse	mé?ěševoto	mé?ěševot
ball	+ hóhtséme	hóhtsemōno	hóhtemón
bandit	šéenováhe	šéenováheo?o	šéenováhé
bean	móneške	móněškeho	mónehkéh
bear	náhkoe	náhkōheo?o	náhkoe
bee	hálnoma	hálnomaho	hálnomah
beetle	háměško	háměškono	hámehkón
bird	+ vé?kése	vé?keseho	vé?keséh
blanket	hoema	hoemaho	hoemah
bride	móné?e	móné?eo?o	móné?é
buffalo	hotóá?a	hotóao?o	hotóá
bullsnake	ne?ē?e	ne?e?eo?o	ne?e?e
butterfly	hevávāhkema	hevávāhkemaho	hevávāhkemah
button	hone?kōmo	hone?komōno	hone?komón
buzzard	oo?he	oo?heo?o	oo?he
playing card	mōheněšēmo	mōheněšemōno	mōheněšemón
cat	póeso	póesōno	póesón
cat	póeso	póesōneho	póesóneh
kitten	póhkése	póhkēsōno	póhkesón
chief	vēho	véhoo?o	véhón
child	ka?ěškōne	ka?ěškōneho	ka?ehkōneh
clam	hexōvo	hexovōno	hexovón
cockle-burrs		hálnovāso	hálnovás
comb	tseene?éheo?o	tseene?éheono	teene?éheon
corpse	sěō?ótse	séoto	séot
coyote	o?kōhōme	o?kōhomeho	o?kohoméh
crane	ne?potātse	ne?potatseo?o	ne?potaté
cricket	héško?sema	héško?semaho	héhko?semah
crow	ókohke	ókōhkeo?o	ókóhke
curtain	něhpóeseo?o	něhpóeseono	něhpóeseon
dog	+ oeškēso	oeškēsēho	oehkeséh
dog	hótame	hotameho	hotaméh
doll	méno?kēso	méno?kēsōno	méno?kesón
dragonfly	hevovetāso	hevovetāsōno	hevovetasón
dress	hoestótse	hoestóto	hoehtót
duck	šě?šě	šě?šeo?o	šě?šě
duckling	šě?šěškése	šě?šěškēsōno	šě?šěhkesón
eagle	netse	netseo?o	nete
bald eagle	vóaxaa?e	vóaxaa?eo?o	vóaxaa?é

(Note: Forms preceded by a plus sign (+) have special complications with the vowels -e and -o.)

elephant	tse?ěseesěhe	tse?ěseesěheo?o	te?eseesěhé
elk	mo?ěhe	mo?ěheo?o	mo?ěhe
feather	měě?e	měeno	měen
finger	mo?ěško	mo?ěškono	mo?ehkon
little fish	nomá?hěso	nomá?hesōno	nomá?heson
flicker	vě?ee?e	vě?eeho	vě?eeh
fly	hěse	hěseo?o	hěsé
fox	ma?ěhođhe	ma?ěhođheo?o	ma?ehođhe
glove	to?ha	to?haho	to?hah
god	ma?heo?o	ma?heōno	ma?heón
grasshopper	háhkota	háhkotaho	háhkotah
hawk	aěnohe	aěnoheo?o	aěnohe
horn (animal)	věvēstse	věvēto	věvēt
insect	měškěso	měškěsono	měhkesón
judge	ho?emaněhe	ho?emaněheo?o	ho?emaněhe
jug	kāso?ěē?e	kāso?eeho	kāso?eéh
jug	kāso?ěške	kāso?ěškeho	kāso?ehkéh
knee	maněstāne	maněstāneo?o	manehtané
land-monster	axe	āxeho	axeh
log	maxe	māxeho	maxeh
lumber	oomāhōđ?o	oomāhōđono	oomāhōon
lumber	oomāhōhko	oomāhōhkono	oomāhōhkon
meadowlark	+ honóxeāso	honóxeaseo?o	honóxease
watermelon	něxo?mévéhe	něxomévéheo?o	něxo?mévehé
kidney	hestsétatse	hestsétato	hehtétat
man	hetane	hetaneo?o	hetane
young man	kāsovāāhe	kāsovāāheho	kāsovāāhéh
old man	+ mā?hāhkěso	mā?hāhkěseho	mā?hāhkeséh
mockingbird	hāestōhe?šemehe	hāestōhe?šemeheo?o	hāehtohe?šeméhé
monster	měhne	měhneo?o	měhné
moose	māhpěmo?ěhe	māhpěmo?ěheo?o	māhpěmo?ěhe
mushroom	hestovo?ěško	hestovo?ěškono	hehtovo?ehkón
muskrat	heo?kěso	heo?kěsōno	heo?kesón
napkin	něhe?onāxestōtse	něhe?onāxestoto	nehe?onāxehtot
nighthawk	pě?e	pě?eo?o	pě?e
opossum	oo?kěhevā?séhe	oo?kěhevā?séheo?o	oo?kehevā?séhé
otter	+ naěne	naěno	naén
owl	vě?kěsěheměstaa?e	vě?kěsěheměstaeo?o	vě?kesěhéméhtae
owl	městaa?e	městaeo?o	měhtae
screech owl	městahke	městāhkeo?o	měhtahke
pelican	manehe	maněheo?o	manehe
pet	māhtōtse	māhtotsěho	mahtotéh
peyote	māta	mātaho	mātah
pine tree	šéstotō?e	šéstotó?eo?o	šěhtotó?e
pinto	vovō?hasěhe	vovō?hasěheo?o	vovō?haséhé
pipe	he?ōhko	he?ōhkono	he?ōhkon
pipe	he?ōđ?o	he?ōđono	he?ōon
porcupine	heškōvēstse	heškōvēto	hehkōvet
porcupine quill	heškōvetsee?e	heškōvetsěeno	hehkōvetéen
potato	měsěhestōtse	měsěhěstoto	měsehěhtot

queen	véhóná?e	véhona?eo?o	véhóná?é
quilt	honó?ko	honó?kono	honó?kon
quiver	éstóso	éstósono	éhtosón
rabbit	vóhkoehe	vóhkoeheho	vóhkoehe
rabbit	vóehe	vóeheho	vóeheh
raccoon	matšěškōme	matšěškomeho	matehkoméh
rat	nó?kétse	nó?ketseho	nó?keté
rattle	šě?šeno	šě?šenono	šě?šénon
rock	ho?honáá?e	ho?honáeo?o	ho?honáé
rug	séohaseo?o	séohaseono	séohaseon
scorpion	vóhkēhevá?séhe	vóhkēhevá?séheo?o	vóhkēhevá?séhé
shirt, coat	éstse?he	éstse?heno	éhte?hen
snail	néma?ke	néma?keo?o	néma?ke
snake	šě?šenovótse	šě?šenovoto	šě?šénovot
sock	hoxeo?o	hoxeono	hoxeon
squirrel	no?éé?e	no?éeho	no?ééh
star	hotôhke	hotóhkeo?o	hotóhké
stone	ho?honâhke	ho?honâhkeo?o	ho?honâhké
sun	éše?he	éše?heo?o	éše?heo
swallow	mésó?ke	mésó?keho	mésó?kéh
swan	voestāso	voestāsōno	voehtasón
teacher	vovéstomósanêhe	vovéstomósanéheo?o	vovéhtomósanéhé
tobacco plug	tse?némoo?o	tse?némoono	te?némóon
tomato	+ henēne	henēno	henen
tree	hoóhtsēstse	hoóhtseto	hoóhtet
turkey	ma?xē?ne	ma?xe?neo?o	ma?xe?né
twin	hestahke	hestâhkeho	hehtahkeh
twin girl	hestâhkêhá?e	hestâhkêhá?eo?o	hehtahkehá?é
warrior	nótaxe	nótâxexo?o	nótaxe
weasel	xāa?e	xæho	xæh
wolf	ho?nehe	ho?néheo?o	ho?néhe
woman	hē?e	he?eo?o	he?é
young woman	kāse?ééhe	kāse?éehoho	kase?ééhéh
old woman	māhtamāhááhe	māhtamāháaheho	mahtamaháahéh
woodchuck	séavoneške	séavoněškeho	séavonehke
woodpecker	ko?konôhō?e	ko?konôhó?eo?o	ko?konohó?e

PLURALIZATION: ANIMATE NOUNS having é in pluralizer

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

noun	singular	plural	underlying stem
animal	hōva	hovâhne	hovâhn
blackbird	he?heēno	he?heenône	he?heenón
blue thrush	e?ē?ta	e?e?tâhne	e?e?tâhn
chicken	kokôhéáxa	kokôhéáxâne	kokohéaxán
chipmunk	néške?ēsta	néške?éstâhne	néhke?ehtâhn
deer	váótseva	váotsevâhne	váotevâhn
magpie	mo?ē?ha	mo?e?hâne	mo?e?hán
sheep	kōsa	kôsâne	kosán
tick	měše	měšêne	měšen
turnip	mo?ôhta?e	mo?ôhtá?éne	mo?ôhtá?en
turtle	ma?ēno	ma?enône	ma?enón

Nouns which retain -n word-internally:

gourd	māho?ôxêno	māho?ôxénône	maho?oxénón
melon	māhō?o	māhóône	mahóon
cantelope	māhōhko	māhóhkône	mahóhkon
salamander	heo?ôhtâto	heo?ôhtátône	heo?ôhtátón
skunk	xāo?o	xaône	xaón

Nouns with pitch change:

badger	ma?hâhko?e	ma?hahkō?e	ma?hahko?
beaver	hōma?e	homā?e	homa?
bedbug	hexóva?e	hexovâ?e	hexová?
dog	hótame	hotāme	hotam
fish	nóma?he	nomâ?he	nomá?h
frog	oónâha?e	oonâhâ?e	oonaha?
goose	hénâ?e	henā?e	hena?
gopher	éstsema?e	éstsemā?e	éhtema?
leech	héško?e	heškō?e	hehko?
white man	vé?ho?e	vé?hó?e	vé?ho?

Nouns which retain -m word-internally:

horse	mo?éhno?ha	mo?éhno?hāme	mo?éhno?ham
mare	he?é?hame	he?é?hāme	he?é?ham
male horse	hetané?hame	hetané?hāme	hetané?ham
lion	nanóse?hame	nanóse?hāme	nanóse?ham

INANIMATE NOUNS taking pluralizer -ot

noun	singular	plural	underlying stem
airplane	ame?háhtótse	ame?háhtotótse	ame?háhtot
answer	no?éstáhtótse	no?éstáhtotótse	no?ehtáhtot
apple (So. Ch)	ma?xeme	ma?xemenótse	ma?xemén
arm	ma?ahtse	ma?áhtsenótse	ma?ahten
armpit	matseno	matsenonótse	matenon
arrow	maāhe	maahótse	maah
axe	hohkóxe	hohkóxehótse	hohkoxéh
back	ma?pā?o	ma?pa?onótse	ma?pa?ón
beard	mé?hahtse	mé?hahtsenótse	mé?hahten
bed	šééšéstótse	šééšéstotótse	šééšéhtot
berry	+ mene	menótse	mén
boat	sēmo	sémonótse	sémón
bone	he?ko	he?konótse	he?kon
bow	ma?tšěške	ma?tšěškehótse	ma?tehkeh
branch (tree)	hestaa?e	hestaenótse	hehtaen
bread	kóhkonóheo?o	kóhkonóheonótse	kóhkonóheon
breech-cloth	hóxáso	hóxásonótse	hóxasón
belt			
broom	móxéheo?o	móxéheonótse	moxéheon
buckskin	me?šěško	me?šěškonótse	me?šéhkón
dish	hetohko	hetóhkonótse	hetóhkon
dish	hetoo?o	hetóonótse	hetóon
door	he?nétoo?o	he?nétoonótse	he?nétoon
ear	mahtovóó?ótse	mahtovóotótse	mahtovóot
earring	hósee?ése	hóseesótse	hósees
elbow	mahtsé?oo?o	mahtsé?oonótse	mahté?oon
flute	tāhpeno	tāhpenonótse	tahpenon
hammer	tóhohko	tóhóhkonótse	tóhóhkon
hair/head	me?ko	mé?konótse	mé?kon
heart	hesta	hestahótse	hestáh
house	maheo?o	maheónótse	maheón
shed	maheško	maheškonótse	mahehkón
knife	mótšěške	mótšěškehótse	mótehkéh
lance	xomoo?o	xomoonótse	xomoon
lung	hē?po	he?pónótse	he?pón
cigarette	he?pótótse	he?pótotótse	he?pótot
meat	ho?évohkótse	ho?évohkotótse	ho?évohkot
meat	ho?évoo?ótse	ho?évootótse	ho?évoot
dry meat	honóvóhko	honóvóhkotótse	honóvohkó
name	véhestótse	véhestotótse	véhéhtot
neck	he?ótse	he?otótse	he?ot
nose	ma?evo	ma?evotótse	ma?evot
nose	ma?evo	ma?evonótse	ma?evon
purse	ka?éméstótse	ka?éméstotótse	ka?éméhtót
ring	mo?eško	mo?ěškonótse	mo?ehkon
road	měó?o	méonótse	méon
roast	honóó?o	honóonótse	honóon
shoe	mo?keha	mo?kéhanótse	mo?kehan
year, winter	āā?e	aēnótse	aén

INANIMATE NOUNS taking pluralizer -ét

noun	singular	plural	underlying stem
axe	hohkoxe	hohkōxēst se	hohkox(əh)
bead	onéhavo?ke	onéhavō?kēst se	onéhavo?k
belt	hoestâto	hoestátónēst se	hoehtátón(əh)
bow	ma?tšěške	ma?tšěškēst se	ma?tehk
bowstring	ma?tāno	ma?tanōnēst se	ma?tanón
branch (tree)	hestaa?e	hestāā?ēst se	hehtae(n)
cloud	vo?e	vō?ēst se	vo?
coin	ma?kaēta	ma?kaetānēst se	ma?kaetán
raw corn	hoókóhtse	hoókóhtsēst se	hoókoht
corral	ména?o?e	ména?ō?ēst se	ména?o?
day	ěše	ěšēnēst se	ěšen
eye	ma?ēxa	ma?éxānēst se	ma?éxán
fire	ho?ēsta	ho?éstānēst se	ho?ehtán
fishhook	nonónóó?e	nonónóó?ēst se	nonónóé
hat	hóhkēha?e	hóhkēhá?ēst se	hóhkeha?
hay	mo?e?e	mo?ē?ēst se	mo?e?
lake	ne?hāne	ne?hanēnēst se	ne?hanén
land	ho?e	hō?ēst se	ho?
liver	hē?e	hē?ēst se	he?(éh)
liver	hē?e	he?ēnēst se	he?én
medicine	heséeo?ōt se	heséēōtsēst se	hesééot
night	taa?e	taa?ēst se	taa?
night	taa?e	taa?ēnēst se	taa?en
rib	hē?pe	hē?pēst se	he?p(éh)
river	ó?he?e	o?hē?ēst se	o?hé?
skin	vóhtāne	vóhtānēst se	vóhtan
forest	ma?tāā?e	ma?tāā?ēst se	ma?taé
year, winter	āā?e	āā?ēst se	aé(n)

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

Obviatives

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

\$\$REVISE WHERE NECESSARY

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

meaning	singular	plural	obviative
cat	póéso	póesonono	póesonono
dog	oeškése	oeškéseho	oeškéseho
child	ka'ěškóne	ka'ěškóneho	ka'ěškóneho
tree	hoohtséstse	hoóhtseto	hoóhtseto
snake	sé'senovótse	šé'senovoto	šé'senovoto
grasshopper	háhkota	háhkotaho	háhkotaho
god	ma'hēō'o	ma'heono	ma'heono ³⁴
apple	má'xeme	ma'xemenono ³⁵	ma'xemenono
my daughter	náhtona	náhtónaho	náhtónaho
deer	váótséva	váotseváhne	váotseváhne
skunk	xāō'o	xaóne	xaóne

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

man	hetane	hetaneo'o	hetanóho
woman	hē'e	he'eo'o	he'óho
duck	šé'se	šé'seo'o	še'xo ³⁶
sun	ěše'he	ěše'heo'o	ěše'hóho
bear	náhkóhe	náhkóheo'o	náhkóhóho
rock	ho'honáá'e	ho'honáeo'o	ho'honaa'o
white woman	vé'ho'á'e	vé'ho'há'eo'o	vé'ho'a'o

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

Examples of obviatives in sentences:

Hetane évóomóho šé'xo.	The man saw a duck/ducks (obv).
Éonóomaevóho henésonéhevóho.	Their children (obv) called them.
Oeškése ématómóho xaóne.	The dog smelled a skunk/skunks (obv).
Oeškéseho ématómovo xaóne.	The dogs smelled a skunk/skunks (obv).
Éméhótóho ³⁷ náhtónaho.	He loves my daughter/daughters (obv).
Ka'ěškóne évéstáhémóho heške.	The child helped his mother (obv).
Henésono évéstáhémáá'e.	Her child(ren) (obv) helped her.

³⁴ Or ma'heóneva

³⁵ This is the animate Montana pronunciation. Oklahoma pronunciation is inanimate ma'xemenótse.

³⁶ An alternate pronunciation is šé'xóho.

³⁷ Or Éméhoto.

Possessives

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

namáhēō 'o 'my house'
nemáhēō 'o 'your house'
hemáhēō 'o 'his/her house'

The prefixes indicating possession are:

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

We will study verbs in the next section of this book, but for now notice that the possessor prefixes are low pitched while the person prefixes on verbs are high pitched³⁸:

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

Possessee pluralization

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

unpossessed

sémo 'boat'
sémonótse 'boats'

mo'keha 'shoe'
mo'kéhanótse 'shoes'

possessed

hesémo 'his boat'
hesémonótse 'his boats'

namo'keha 'my shoe'
namo'kéhanótse 'my shoes'

Possessor pluralization

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

singular possessor

namáhēō 'o 'my house'
nevee'e 'your tepee'
hesto'e 'his land'
nenéso 'your child'

plural possessor

namáheónáne 'our (excl) house'
nevéenēvo 'your (pl) tepee'
hestō'éstse 'their lands'
nenésónéhévo 'your (pl) child'

Inclusive and exclusive 'our' possessors

In English, without other clues, we cannot tell whether or not the word "our" includes the person someone is speaking to. In Cheyenne there is no such ambiguity. If Cheyennes say 'our' which includes the person(s) they are speaking to, they use 'our' inclusive pronominal affixes.³⁹ If Cheyennes say 'our' that excludes the person(s) they are speaking to, they use 'our' exclusive pronominal affixes. So, *namáheónane* means 'our house' (which includes you as owner). And *namáheónáne* means 'our house' (which excludes you as owner). Some other inclusive and exclusive first person possessors (corresponding to English 'our') are:

inclusive 'our'

exclusive 'our'

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.'

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

nevéenane 'our (incl) tepee	navéenāne 'our (excl) tepee'
neamāho'héstonane 'our (incl) car'	namāho'héstónāne 'our (excl) car'
nenésónéhane 'our (incl) child'	nánésónéhāne 'our (excl) child'
néstotséhane 'our (incl) pet'	nāhtotséhāne 'our (excl) pet'

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

inclusive 'our'

nénémenema 'we (incl) sang'
névóomone 'we (incl) saw him'
néhetaene 'he told us (incl)'

exclusive 'our'

nánémenēme 'we (excl) sang'
návóomóne 'we (excl) saw him'
nāhetaēne 'he told us (excl)'

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

Obviated possessives

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

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: ****INCLUDE INTERLINEAR GLOSSES AND WORD TEMPLATES DISCUSSION**

máhēō'o 'house' (possessed)

namáhēō'o	my house	namáheonótse	my houses
nemáhēō'o	your house	nemáheonótse	your houses
hemáhēō'o	his ⁴⁰ house	hemáheonótse	his houses
namáheónáne	our (excl) house	namáheónanótse	our (excl) houses
nemáheónane	our (incl) house	nemáheónanótse	our (incl) houses
nemáheónévo	your (pl) house	nemáheónévótse	your (pl) houses
hemáheónévo	their house	hemáheónévótse	their houses

vee'e 'tepee, dwelling' (possessed)

navee'e	my tepee	navéenótse	my tepees
nevee'e	your tepee	nevéenótse	your tepees
hevee'e	his tepee	hevéenótse	his tepees

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'.

navéenāne	our (excl) tepee	navéenanótse	our (excl) tepees
nevéenane	our (incl) tepee	nevéenanótse	our (incl) tepees
nevéenēvo	your (pl) tepee	nevéenevótse	your (pl) tepees
hevéenēvo	his (pl) tepee	hevéenevótse	their tepees

mo'keha 'shoe' (possessed)

namo'keha	my shoe	namo'kéhanótse	my shoes
nemo'keha	your shoe	nemo'kéhanótse	your shoes
hemo'keha	my shoe	hemo'kéhanótse	his shoes
namo'kéhanāne	our (excl) shoe	namo'kéhananótse	our (excl) shoes
nemo'kéhanane	our (incl) shoe	nemo'kéhananótse	our (incl) shoes
nemo'kéhanēvo	your (pl) shoe	nemo'kéhanevótse	your (pl) shoes
hemo'kéhanēvo	their shoe	hemo'kéhanevótse	their shoes

amāho'hestótse 'car' (possessed)

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

naamāho'hestótse	my car	naamāho'héstotótse	my cars
neamāho'hestótse	your car	neamōho'héstotótse	your cars
heamāho'hestótse	his car	heamōho'héstotótse	his cars
naamāho'héstónāne	our (excl) car	naamāho'héstonanótse	our (excl) cars
neamāho'héstonane	our (incl) car	neamāho'héstonanótse	our (incl) cars
neamāho'héstóvévo	your (pl) car	neamāho'héstovevótse	your (pl) cars
heamāho'héstóvévo	their car	neamāho'héstovevótse	their cars

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 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', 'náhto'e 'my land', 'nèsto'e 'your land', hesto'e 'his/her land'
 -htótse 'pet', 'náhtótse 'my pet', 'nèstótse 'your pet', hestotseho 'his/her pet(s)'
 -'éxa 'eye', na'éxa 'my eye', na'éxánèstse 'my eyes', he'éxánèstse 'his/her eyes'
 -'evo 'nose', na'évo 'my nose', ne'évo 'your nose', he'évo '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'évo 'nose'
 ma'ahtse 'arm'
 manèstāne 'knee'

máhtáme '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".

meaning	independent form	ma- form
bone	he'ko	máhtse'ko
brain	hestahpe	máhtséstahpe
gland	héta'e	máhtséta'e
heart	hēsta	máhtsēsta
thigh	hénóme	máhtsénóme

ma- forms in word formation

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

ma'exa	eye	ma'éxánéstse	eyes
máhtsesta	heart	máhtséstahótse	hearts

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

amáho'hé-máhtse'ko 'tire' (literally, car-leg)

Possession suffix -am

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

ka'ěškóne 'child', naka'ěškóněhame⁴² 'my child'
ma'hěō'o 'god', nama'heóname 'my god'
mé'ěševótse 'baby', namé'ěševotame 'my baby'

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

motšěške 'knife', namotšěške 'my knife', namótšěškame 'my knife'

Inanimate dependent stem possessives

Here are some possessed inanimate nouns which have dependent stems:

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

navóhkéha'e ⁴³	my hat	navóhkéhá'ěstse	my hats
nevóhkéha'e	your hat	nevóhkéhá'ěstse	your hats
hevóhkéha'e	his hat	hevóhkéhá'ěstse	his hats
navóhkéha'āne	our (excl) hat	navóhkéha'anótse	our (excl) hats
nevóhkéha'ane	our (incl) hat	nevóhkéha'anótse	our (incl) hats
nevóhkéha'ěvo	your (pl) hat	nevóhkéha'evótse	your (pl) hats
hevóhkéha'ěvo	their hat	nevóhkéha'evótse	their hats

⁴¹ Cheyenne -em is a reflex of the PA possession 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.

ho'e 'land' (possessive stem –hto'e)

náhto'e	my land	náhtō'ěstse	my lands
něsto'e	your land	něstō'ěstse	your lands
hesto'e	his land	hestō'ěstse	his lands
náhto'āne	our (excl) land	náhto'anótse	our (excl) lands
něsto'ane	our (incl) land	něsto'anótse	our (incl) lands
něsto'ěvo	your (pl) land	něsto'evótse	your (pl) lands
hesto'ěvo	their land	hesto'evótse	their lands

ma'exa 'eye' (possessive stem –'exa)

ma'exa	eye	ma'éxáněstse	eyes
na'exa	my eye	na'éxáněstse	my eyes
he'exa	his eye	he'éxáněstse	his eyes
na'éxáéne	our (excl) eye	na'éxaenótse	our (excl) eyes
ne'éxaene	our (incl) eye	ne'éxaenótse	our (incl) eyes
né'éxáévo	your (pl) eye	ne'éxaevótse	your (pl) eyes
hé'éxáévo	their eye	he'éxaevótse	their eyes

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

náhtáme	my food	náhtamótse	my foods ⁴⁴
néstáme	your food	néstamótse	your foods
héstáme	his food	hestamótse	his foods
náhtámāne	our (excl) food	náhtámanótse	our (excl) foods
néstámāne	our (incl) food	néstámanótse	our (incl) foods
néstámévo	your (pl) food	néstámevótse	your (pl) foods
hestámévo	their food	hestámevótse	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 *naoeškēse⁴⁵, intended to mean 'my dog'. Following are the correct ways to speak about a dog that is possessed, as well as other possessives:

Animate possessives with the -am suffix

oeškēse⁴⁶ 'dog' (possessed)

naoeškēséhamo	my dog	naoeškēséhamo	my dogs
neoeškēséhamo	your dog	neoeškēséhamo	your dogs
heoeškēséhamo	his dog(s)	heoeškēséhamo	his dog(s)
naoeškēséhamāne	our (excl) dog	naoeškēséhamaneo'o	our (excl) dogs
neoeškēséhamane	our (incl) dog	neoeškēséhamaneo'o	our (incl) dogs
neoeškēséhamēvo	your (pl) dog	neoeškēséhamevoo'o	your (pl) dogs
heoeškēséhamevóho	their dog(s)	heoeškēséhamevóho	their dog(s)

veho 'chief' (possessed)

navéhonamo	my chief	navéhonamo	my chiefs
nevéhonamo	your chief	nevéhonamo	your chiefs
hevéhonamo	his chief(s)	hevéhonamo	his chief(s)
navéhonamāne	our (excl) chief	navéhonamaneo'o	our (excl) chiefs
nevéhonamane	our (incl) chief	nevéhonamaneo'o	our (incl) chiefs
nevéhonamēvo	your (pl) chief	nevéhonamevoo'o	your (pl) chiefs

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'. \$\$\$CHECK

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.

hevéhonamevóho	their chief(s)	hevéhonamevóho	their chief(s)
ma'hēō'o 'god, sacred power' (possessed)			
nama'heóname	my god	nama'heónamo	my gods
nema'heóname	your god	nema'heónamo	your gods
hema'heónamo	your god(s)	hema'heónamo	your god(s)
nama'heónamāne	our (excl) god	nama'heónamaneo'o	our (excl) gods
nema'heónamane	our (incl) god	nema'heónamaneo'o	our (incl) gods
nema'heónamēvo	your (pl) god	nema'heónamevoo'o	your (pl) gods
hema'heónamevóho	their god(s)	hema'heónamevóho	their god(s)
child (possessed)			
naka'ěškóněhame ⁴⁷	my child	naka'ěškóněhamo	my children
neka'ěškóněhame	your child	neka'ěškóněhamo	your children
heka'ěškóněhamo	his child(ren)	heka'ěškóněhamo	his child(ren)
naka'ěškóněhamāne	our (ex) child	naka'ěškóněhamaneo'o	our (ex) children
neka'ěškóněhamane	our (in) child	neka'ěškóněhamaneo'o	our (in) children
neka'ěškóněhamēvo	your (pl) child	neka'ěškóněhamevoo'o	your (pl) children
heka'ěškóněhamevóho	their child(ren)	heka'ěškóněhamevóho	their child(ren)
mòxe'ěotsestótse 'picture' (possessed)			
namòxe'eotsestótse	my picture	namòxe'eotséstoto	my pictures
nemòxe'eotsestótse	your picture	namòxe'eotséstoto	your pictures
hemòxe'eotséstoto	his picture(s)	hemòxe'eotséstoto	his picture(s)
namòxe'eotséstónáne	our (excl) picture	namòxe'eotséstonaneo'o	our (ex) pictures
nemòxe'eotséstonane	our (incl) picture	nemòxe'eotséstonaneo'o	our (in) pictures
nemòxe'eotséstóvévo	your (pl) picture	nemòxe'eotséstovevoo'o	your (pl) pictures
hemòxe'eotséstovevóho	their picture(s)	hemòxe'eotséstovevóho	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)
nanésóněhāne	our (ex) child	nanésóněhaneo'o	our (ex) children
nenésóněhane	our (in) child	nenésóněhaneo'o	our (in) children
nenésóněhévo	your (pl) child	nenésóněhevoo'o	your (pl) children
henésóněhevóho	their child	henésóněhevóho	their children
son (possessed)			
nae'ha	my son	nae'haho	my sons
nee'ha	your son	nee'haho	your sons
hee'haho	his son(s)	hee'haho	his son(s)
nae'hahāne	our (excl) son	nae'hahaneo'o	our (excl) sons
nee'hahane	our (incl) son	nee'hahaneo'o	our (incl) sons
nee'hahēvo	your (pl) son	nee'hahevoo'o	your (pl) sons
hee'hahevóho	their son(s)	hee'hahevóho	their son(s)
daughter (possessed)			
nāhtona	my daughter	nāhtónaho	my daughters
nēstona	your daughter	nēstónaho	your daughters
hestónaho	his daughter(s)	hestónaho	his daughter(s)

⁴⁷ The difference between –néso and –ka'ěškóněhame is that –néso refers to a child born to you, that is your biological child, while –ka'ěškóněhame refers to any person that you consider your child. A chief can call any of his people, naka'ěškóněhamo 'my children', but he could only call his biological child(ren) nanésoneho 'my children'.

nàhtónáháne	our (excl) daughter	nàhtónáhane'o	our (excl) daughters
nèstónáhane	our (incl) daughter	nèstónáhane'o	our (incl) daughters
nèstónáhévo	your (pl) daughter	nèstónáhévo'o	your (pl) daughters
hestónáhévóho	their daughter(s)	hestónáhévóho	their daughter(s)

pet (possessed)

nàhtõtse	my pet	nàhtotseho	my pets
nèstõtse	your pet	nèstotseho	your pets
hestotseho	his pet(s)	hestotseho	his pet(s)
nàhtotséháne	our (excl) pet	nàhtotséhane'o	our (excl) pets
nèstotséhane	our (incl) pet	nèstotséhane'o	our (incl) pets
nèstotséhévo	your (pl) pet	nèstotséhévo'o	your (pl) pets
hestotséhevóho	their pet(s)	hestotséhevóho	their pet(s)

brother (possessed by female) \$\$RECHECK

nàhtatanéme	my brother	nàhtatanemo	my brothers
nèstatanéme	your brother	nèstatanemo	your brothers
hestatanemo	her brother(s)	hestatanemo	her brother(s)
nàhtatanémáne	our (ex) brother	nàhtatanémane'o??	our (ex) brothers
nèstatanémáne	our (in) brother	nèstatanémane'o??	our (in) brothers
nèstatanémévo	your (pl) bro	nèstatanémévo'o	your (pl) brothers
hestatanémévóho	their bro(s)	hestatanémévóho	their brother(s)

grandfather (possessed)

naměšéme	my grandfather	naměšemo	my grandfathers
neměšéme	your grandfather	neměšemo	your grandfathers
heměšemo	his grandfather(s)	heměšemo	his grandfather(s)
naměšémáne	our (ex) grandfather	naměšémaneo'o	our (ex) grandfathers
neměšémáne	our (in) grandfather	neměšémaneo'o	our (in) grandfathers
neměšémévo	your (pl) grandfather	neměšémévo'o	your (pl) grandfathers
heměšémévóho	their grandfather(s)	heměšémévóho	their grandfather(s)

older brother (possessed)

nā'ne	my older brother	na'neho	my older brothers
nē'ne	your older brother	ne'neho	your older brothers
he'neho	his older brother(s)	he'neho	his older brother(s)
na'néháne	our (ex) older bro	na'néhane'o	our (ex) older bros
ne'néhane	our (in) older bro	ne'néhane'o	our (in) older bros
ne'néhévo	your (pl) older bro	ne'néhéveo'o	your (pl) older bros
he'néhévóho	their older brother(s)	he'néhévóho	their older brother(s)

older sister (possessed)

name	my older sister	nameho	my older sisters
neme	your older sister	nemeho	your older sisters
hemeho	his older sister(s)	hemeho	his older sister(s)
naměháne	our (ex) older sis	naměhane'o	our (ex) o. sisters
neměhane	our (in) older sis	naměhane'o	our (in) o. sisters
neměhévo	your (pl) older sis	naměhévo'o	your (pl) o. sisters
heměhevóho	their o. sister(s)	heměhevóho	their o. sister(s)

mother (possessed)

náhko'éehe ⁴⁸	my mother	-----	
neško	your mother	-----	
heške	his mother	-----	
něškane ⁴⁹	our (incl) mother	něškane'o	our (incl) mothers
něškevo	your (pl) mother	něškevo'o	your (pl) mothers
heškevóho	their mother(s)	heškevóho	their mother(s)

⁴⁸ No plurals are known for plural 'mothers' possessed by singular possessors.

⁴⁹ No form has been found meaning 'our (exclusive) mother'. \$\$RECHECK

relative (possessed) \$\$\$RECHECK

navóohestótse	my relative	navóohestoto	my relatives
nevóohestótse	your relative	nevóohestoto	your relatives
hevóohestoto	his relative(s)	hevóohestoto	his relative(s)
navóohestonāne	our (excl) relative	navóohestonaneo'o	our (excl) relatives
nevóohestonane	our (incl) relative	nevóohestonaneo'o	our (incl) relatives
nevóohestovēvo	your (pl) relative	nevóohestovevoo'o	your (pl) relatives
hevóohestovevóho	their relative(s)	hevóohestovevóho	their relative(s)

Irregular possessives

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

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

né'tóve ⁵⁰	my (masc) brother-in-law	né'toveo'o	my (masc) brothers-in-law
é'tóve	your (masc) brother-in-law	é'toveo'o	your (masc) brothers-in-law
hev'é'tovo	his (masc) brother-in-law	hev'é'tovo	his (masc) brothers-in-law
né'tóvāne	our (masc excl) bro(s)-in-law	né'tovaneo'o	our (masc excl) bro(s)-in-law
é'tovane	our (masc incl) bro(s)-in-law	é'tovaneo'o	our (masc incl) bro(s)-in-law
é'tovēvo	your (masc pl) bro(s)-in-law	é'tovevoo'o	your (masc pl) bro(s)-in-law
hev'é'tovevóho	their (masc) bro(s)-in-law	hev'é'tovevóho	their (masc) bro(s)-in-law

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

nétame	my (fem) brother-in-law	nétameo'o	my (fem) brothers-in-law
étame	your (fem) brother-in-law	étameo'o	your (fem) brothers-in-law
hevétame	her brother(s)-in-law	hevétame	her brother(s)-in-law
nétamāne	our (fem excl) brother-in-law	nétamaneo'o	our (fem excl) bro(s)-in-law
étamane	our (fem incl) brother-in-law	étamaneo'o	our (fem incl) bro(s)-in-law
étamēvo	your (fem pl) brother-in-law	étamevoo'o	your (fem pl) bro(s)-in-law
hevétamevóho	their (fem) bro(s)-in-law	hevétamevóho	their (fem) bro(s)-in-law(s)

friend (male friend of a male; possessed) ⁵¹

néséne	my (masc) friend	néseneo'o	my (masc) friends
éséne	your friend	éseneo'o	your friend(s)
hevésenóho	his (masc) friend(s)	hevésenóho	his (masc) friend(s)
nésénéhane	our (masc excl) friend	nésénéhaneo'o	our (masc excl) friends
ésénéhane	our (masc incl) friend	ésénéhaneo'o	our (masc incl) friends
ésénéhévo	your (masc pl) friend	ésénéhevoo'o	your (masc pl) friends
hevésénéhevóho	their (masc) friends(s)	hevésénéhevóho	their (masc) friends(s)

friend (female friend of a female; possessed) ⁵²

nésé'e	my (fem) friend	nésé'eo'o	my (fem) friends
ésé'e	your (fem) friend	ésé'eo'o	your (fem) friends
hevése'óho	her (fem) friend(s)	hevése'óho	her (fem) friend(s)
nésé'āne ⁵³	our (fem excl) friend	nésé'aneo'o	our (fem excl) friends
ésé'ane ⁵⁴	our (fem incl) friend	ésé'aneo'o	our (fem incl) friends
ésé'ēvo	your (fem pl) friend	ésé'evoo'o	your (pl fem) friends
hevése'evóho	their (fem) friend(s)	hevése'evóho	their (fem) friend(s)

⁵⁰ These brother-in-law words can only have male possessors.

⁵¹ These words are traditionally said only about friendship between males. But in recent years some Cheyenne women have been saying these words also, perhaps due to influence from English where the word "friend" can be used about friends who are not of the same gender.

⁵² Said only between females.

⁵³ Alternate forms are nése'éhane and navése'āne.

⁵⁴ Alternate forms are ése'éhane and nevése'ane.

father (possessed)

ného'éehe ⁵⁵	my father	-----	
eho	your father	-----	
heho	his father	-----	
néháne	our (excl) father	néhaneo'o	our (excl) fathers
éhane	our (incl) father	éhaneo'o	our (incl) fathers
éhévo	your (pl) father	éhevoo'o	your (pl) fathers
héhevóho	their father(s)	héhevóho	their father(s)

grandmother (possessed)

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

grandchild (possessed)

néxahe	my grandchild ⁵⁶	néxaho	my grandchildren
éxahe	your grandchild	éxaho	your grandchildren
hevéxaho	his grandchild(ren)	hevéxaho	his grandchild(ren)
néxáháne	our (ex) grandchild	néxahaneo'o	our (ex) grandchildren
éxahane	our (in) grandchild	éxahaneo'o	our (in) grandchildren
éxáhévo ⁵⁷	your (pl) grandchild	éxahevoo'o	your (pl) grandchildren
hevéxahevóho	their grandchild(ren)	hevéxahevóho	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) \$\$CHECK

násemáhe	my younger sibling	násemaho	my younger siblings
ésemáhe	your younger sibling	ésemaho	your younger siblings
hevásemo	his younger sibling(s)	hevásemo	his younger sibling(s)
násemáháne	our (excl) younger sibling	násemáhaneo'o	our (ex) younger siblings
ésemáhane	our (incl) younger sibling	ésemáhaneo'o	our (in) younger siblings
ésemáhévo	your (pl) younger sibling	ésemáhevoo'o	your (pl) younger siblings
hevásemevóho	their younger sibling(s)	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:

meaning	older word	newer word
my lodge/home	nénóve	navénove ⁵⁸ \$\$
my body??	nétove	navétove
my brother-in-law	né'tóve	navé'tove
your brother-in-law	é'tóve	nevé'tove
my sibling ⁵⁹	néséso	navéséso
your sibling	éséso	nevéséso

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

⁵⁸ An even newer word, used today by many Cheyennes, is náhtóo'óhtsestótse 'my home'.

⁵⁹ The Cheyenne words for 'sibling' refer to a cousin, brother, sister, step-brother, or step-sister.

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

Diminutives

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

Diminutives sometimes have a teasing meaning, with an affectionate connotation. For instance, you can call a 50-year old man ma'háhkéséhéso '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/⁶⁰:

regular word	meaning	diminutive	meaning
améstó'eeseo'o	travois	améstó'keeseo'o	little travois
amó'enēō'o	wagon	amó'kenēō'o	children's wagon
ao'éseto	hailstone	ao'késeto	little hailstone
hásoo'o	crowbar	hásohko	lance
hesó'xo'enēō'o	sled	hesó'xo'eneško	children's sled
hóma'e	beaver	hóma'ke	little beaver
káso'ee'e	kettle	káso'eške	jug
máhēō'o	house	máhěško	shed
máhōō'o	melon ⁶¹	máhōhko	small melon
mé'ěševótse	baby	mé'ěškevótse	baby (dim)
méstaa'e	owl, spook	méstahke	screech owl
mó'ésá'e	calf	mó'késá'e	calf (dim)
tòhoo'o	club	tòhohko	hammer
ó'he'e	river	ó'he'ke	creek
oonáha'e	frog	oonáha'kēso	little frog
ho'honáá'e	rock	ho'honáhke	stone
sásóóvéta	watersnake	sásòhkóvéta	watersnake (dim)
šéštótó'e	pine	šéštótó'ke	little pine
tse'némoo'o	tobacco	tsé'némohko	tobacco (dim)
váótséva	deer	váhkótséva	little deer
vé'ho'e	whiteman	vé'ho'ke	little white boy
vé'ho'sēō'o	suitcase	vé'ho'seško	purse, small suitcase

/-só(n)/ diminutives

Other nouns are marked as diminutives by addition of the diminutive suffix /-só(n)/⁶²:

regular word	meaning	diminutive	meaning
É'ometāā'e	Greasy River	É'ometaēso	Little Greasy River

⁶⁰ Phonemic /hk/ is pronounced as [šk] following the vowel "e".

⁶¹ This refers to a larger melon. In Oklahoma it specifically refers to a watermelon.

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

heávohe	devil	heávohéso	little devil
he'éhe	maggot	he'éhéso	rice (kernel)
hóhkeehe	mouse	hóhkeehēso	little mouse
hóhkóxe	ax	hóhkóxéso	little ax
hó'nehe	wolf	ho'néhéso	little wolf
ka'ěškóne	child	ka'ěškónéhéso	little child
káse'éehe	young lady	kás'eéehéso	young teenage girl
kásovááhe	young man	kásováahēso	young teenage boy
kóhkonóhēō'o	bread	kóhkonóheonēso	cracker (od), little bread
kokóhéáxa	chicken	kokóhéaxáéso	chick
ma'hááhe	old man	ma'háéso	old man
gméstaa'e	owl	méstāēso	little owl
mo'éhno'ha	horse	mo'éhno'hamēso	colt
náhkohe	bear	náhkóhéso	little bear
nóma'he	fish	noma'kēso	little fish
oeškēse	dog	oeškéséhéso	pup
vé'kése	bird	vé'késéhéso	little bird

Double diminutives

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

regular word	meaning	diminutive	meaning
hóma'e	beaver	homa'kēso	little beaver
ma'ēno	turtle	ma'enó'késo	small turtle
ma'hááhe	old man	ma'háhkéso	old man (dim)
ma'hááhe	old man	ma'háhkéséhéso	little old man
mo'éhno'ha	horse	mo'kéhno'hamēso	colt
nóma'he	fish	nomá'héškéso	minnow
šé'se	duck	šé'séškéso	duckling
vé'ho'e	whiteman	vé'ho'kēso	little white boy
vé'ho'á'e	white woman	vé'ho'ká'késo	little white girl
xāō'o	skunk	xaóhkéso	little skunk

Vocatives

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

noun	meaning	vocative	meaning
náhko'éehe	my mother	Náhko'e	Mother
ného'éehe	my father	Ného'e	Father
néške'éehe	my grandmother	Néške'e	Grandmother
naměšéme	my grandfather	Náměšeme	My grandfather
naměšemo	my grandfathers	Naměšemaséstse	My grandfathers
navěškemo	my grandmothers	Něške'ėehėhaséstse	My grandmothers
ka'ěškóneho	children	Ka'ěškónėhaséstse	Children
nanėsonėho	my children	Nėsonėhaséstse	My children
nae'ha	my son	Náe'ha	My son
náhtona	my daughter	Náhtse	My daughter
náhtónaho	my daughters	Náhtónahaséstse	My daughters
nėxahe	my grandchild	Něše	My grandchild

he'eo'o	women	He'esèstse	Women
hetaneo'o	men	Hetanesèstse	Men
kásováaheho	young men	Kásováahéhasèstse	Young men
káse'éehèho	young women	Káse'éehéhasèstse	Young women
né'tóve	my brother-in-law	Né'tovasèstse	My brothers-in-law
véhoo'o	chiefs	Véhonasèstse	Chiefs
ho'honáeo'o	rocks	Ho'honásèstse	Rocks
máhtamáháaheho	old women	Máhtamáháahéhasèstse	Old women
ma'háhkéseho	old men	Ma'háhkéséhehasèstse	Old men
nésésone	my siblings	Nésésónéhasèstse	Siblings
navo'èstanemo	my people	Navo'èstanémasèstse	My people
navóohestoto	my relatives	Navóohestonasèstse	My relatives
ma'heono	sacred spirits	Ma'heónasèstse	Sacred spirits

LOCATIVES

Locatives are nouns which refer to a location. **\$\$DISCUSS SUFFIXES**

Tósa'e éhoo'e?, Naa (name) ?	Where is _____?
Éhoo'e máheóne.	He's in the house.
hemáheóne.	in his house.
máheónéva.	on the house.
sémónéva.	in the boat, on the boat.
méóne.	on the road.
ho'honáéva.	on the rock.
hoóhtsetseva.	in the tree.
o'hé'e.	at the creek.
ma'omeva.	on the ice.
máhpeva.	at the water.
heamáho'héstóva.	in his car.
Tósa'e éhó'ta móxe'éstoo'o?	Where is the book?
Éhó'ta máheóne.	It's in the house.
sémónéva.	in the boat.
taxeméséhéstóva.	on the table.
éééhéstóva.	on the bed.
a'e he'nétoonéheva.	near the door.

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

Náooma káhamáxéheva.	He hit me with a stick.
hetóhkoneheva.	with a dish.

EXAMPLES IN SENTENCES:

Étaamehne méóne.	He's walking on the road.
Éto'sétse'óhtse sémónéva.	He's going to go to the boat.
Étaamehne hoóhtsetseva.	He's walking to the tree.
Étoo'hame o'hé'e.	He's bathing in the creek.
Táxeenanótse nemé'kóne!	Put it on your head!
Étáxe'see'e táxeméséhéstóva.	He's sitting on the table.
Étáhoeóó'e heamáho'héstóva.	He's sitting in his car.
Nae'ha nátaxeenano ho'honáéva.	I put my son on the rock.
Nae'ha náho'xóeenano oeškéséheva.	I put my son against the dog.
Nátatse'óhtse namáheóne.	I'm going to my house.
Ésétánótse néstsenéva!	Put it in your mouth!
Ésétánótse hetóhkoneheva.	Put it in the glass (or, dish)!
Náává'o ma'omeva.	I fell on the ice.
Étatse'óhtse É'éxováhtóva.	He went to Billings.
Nánéxhéstáhe Vóhpoometaneno.	I'm from Busby.

Place names

\$\$REVISE, CHECK

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

Vášetaēno –no suffix

Vóhpoométanéno White River Place

É'éxováhtóva Billings, Montana (lit., sawing-place)

ETC.\$\$ ANALYZE SUFFIXES MORE

Proper names

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

Noun phrases

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

Quantifier noun phrases

Quantifiers

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

na'èstse hetane 'one man'
neše he'eo'o 'two women'
háesto ka'èškóneho 'many children'
tòhkomo káhámáxèstse '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 mòxe'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 mòxe'èstoo'o 'that book' (the one being talked about)

Adjectival pre-nouns

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

mo'òhtávè-hohpe 'coffee' (literally, black-broth)
ma'è-ho'évohkòtse 'corned beef' (literally, red-meat)
ma'xè-háhnoma 'bumblebee' (literally, big-bee)
heóve-amáho'hestòtse 'schoolbus' (literally, yellow-car)
táxe-mésèhestòtse 'table' (literally, top-eating.thing)

Compound words composed of pre-nouns plus nouns, such as those in this list, are commonly used in the language. Cheyenne speakers seem only to use a pre-noun 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 pre-nouns

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

ma'aatae-meo'o 'railroad' (literally, iron-road)
 matanaé-ve'ho'e 'policeman' [literally, (badge on) chest-whiteman]]
 móxe'éstóoné-máhéó'o 'post office' (literally, letter-house)
 séotsé-amáho'hestótse '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 pre nouns

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

ame'há-ve'ho'e 'pilot' (literally, flying-whiteman)
 hohtóva-máhēō'o 'store' (literally, buying-house)
 móxe'éstóne-máhēō'o 'school' (literally, writing-house)
 ohtaené-máhéó'o 'motel' (literally, overnight-house)

Participle phrases

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

hetane tséhéne'enovaestse 'educated man' (lit., man who is educated)
 kásovááhe tséháa'éstaeestse 'tall young man' (lit., young man who is tall)
 ma'háhkésó tséhe'keoméstse 'fat old man' (lit., old man who is fat)
 amáho'hestótse 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. Nétáhóhta'haovátse.
Let me tell you a story.
2. Náhkohe éstaamenéheohtsé'tanoho meo'o.
A bear was following a path.
3. Hápó'e náháohe ó'kóhóme móhnéhnéheohtsé'tóhéhe.
Likewise there a coyote was following it.
4. Nèhe'se éstóo'e'ováhtséhoono.
Then they met.
5. **Náhkohe** éstatséhetóhoono **ó'kóhomeho**,
The bear said to the coyote,
6. "No'héhnéstse!
"Move aside!
7. Hé'tóhe nameo'o,"
This is my path,"

8. éxhetóhoono.
he told him.
9. "Hova'áhane,
"No,
10. hápó'e no'héhnéstse!
likewise you move aside!
11. Hé'tóhe nameo'o,"
This is my path,"
12. éxhetaehoono.
he (obviative, the coyote) told him.
13. Tséxhe'éšéóo'evotáhtsevóse éxhe'kemé'èhnéhoo'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. Tséhvóomovóse éstanéšéhe'névo'áhéotséhoono.
When they saw him they scattered in two different directions.
20. Essáanáha'óoméhesesto tósa'e tséhešeasetaxevóse.
No one ever saw them again, wherever they took off to.

Discourse pronouns and definiteness

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

\$\$EXAMPLES

Deictics

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

Demonstratives

We introduced Cheyenne demonstratives in the Noun phrases section earlier in this book.

\$\$COMBINE THE TWO SECTIONS AS WELL AS THE TWO SECTIONS ON DISCOURSE PRONOUNS??

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 + motšěške is pronounced as hé'tó=motšěške 'this knife', where the "=" symbol represents the phonological attachment with its smooth flow from the end of the demonstrative to the beginning of the noun.

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

Discourse demonstratives

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

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

Locative particles

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

Currently used locative particles

tséhéóhe	here (proximal; new location in discourse??)
hétséhéóhe	over here \$\$RECHECK GLOSSES FOR THE LONGER FORMS ??
néhéóhe	there (previously mentioned location)
hénéhéóhe	over there (previously mentioned)
táháohe	farther?? there (distal; new location in discourse)
hátáháohe	over there (previously mentioned)
náháohe	farther?? there (distal; previously mentioned location)
hánáháohe	over there (previously mentioned)

Older locative particles

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

tséhéno	here (proximal; new location in discourse??)
hétséhéno	over here
néhéno	there (previously mentioned location)
hénéhéno	over there (previously mentioned)
táhéno	farther?? there (distal; new location in discourse)
hátáhéno	over there (new location)
náhéno	farther?? there (distal; previously mentioned location)
hánáhéno	over there (previously mentioned)

Predicative pronouns

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

Inanimate predicative pronouns

heta'háanéhe	that's the one (proximal cataphoric??)
hetá'hanehe	(contracted form)
heta'háanevótse	those are the ones
hena'háanéhe	it's the one, that's it (proximal anaphoric)
hená'hanéhe	(contracted form)
hena'háanevótse	there they are; they are the ones
hata'háanéhe	that's the one (distal cataphoric??)
hatá'hanehe	(contracted form)
hata'háanevótse	there they are; those are the ones (farthest?? cataphoric??)
hana'háanéhe	there it is; that's the one (distal?? anaphoric)
haná'hanéhe	(contracted form)
hana'háanevótse	those are the ones

Animate predicative pronouns

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

\$\$INCLUDE EXX. FOR OTHER PREDICATIVE PRONOUNS

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

Temporal deictics

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

nèhe'še	then (marks temporal sequence)
tšèhe'še	at this time
nèhe'xóvéva	at that time
tsèhe'xóvéva	at this time
nèhetáa'e	from then on
tsèhetáa'e	from this time forward

Deictic preverbs

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

nè- examples

é- nè -hetóhoono	he said it that way to him (obv) (preterit mode)
é- nè -hetóhta'hāne	that's how he told the story
é- nè -hešenéméne	that's the way he sang
nè -he'xóvéva	at that time

tsè- examples

és- tsè -hetóhoono	he told like this (preceding a quote) (preterit mode)
é- tsè -hešenéméne ⁶³	he sang like this
tsè -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:

sentence types	speech functions
statements	inform
interrogatives	question
imperatives	command

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 hééhe'e 'yes' and hová'áháne '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:

⁶³ The cataphoric preverb tsè- is pronounced as tšè- preceding /š/ of the relative preverb heše-.

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

-he interrogative suffix

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

statement	meaning	question	meaning
Émane.	He drank.	Émane-he?	Did he drink?
Ého'éeto.	It's snowing.	Ého'éeto-he?	Is it snowing?
Éhoo'kōho.	It's raining.	Éhoo'kōho-he?	Is it raining?
Névóomo.	You saw him.	Névóomo-he?	Did you see him?
Néhestāna.	You took it.	Néhestana-he?	Did you take it?
Náméhótáéne.	He loves us (ex).	Náméhotaene-he?	Does he love us (ex)?

\$\$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. étóněšévěsesto 'What in the world are they doing?', or, náme'tatóněšévémáse 'What in the world could I do?' from The Bat story; whether word-internal question words are possible with the preterit mode, etc.)**)

mó- questions

The interrogative particle móhe can be attached to the beginning of several categories of words to question them. When it attaches to a word, it shortens to mó- and acts like a prefix to the word⁶⁴. Questions formed with mó- have an assumption that the answer will be positive, unlike questions formed with the interrogative suffix -he. Cheyenne mó- questions are similar in function to English tag questions, such as "You've eaten, haven't you?"⁶⁵

Here are examples of Cheyenne mó- questions:

regular word	meaning	questioned word	meaning
tsé'tóhe	this one (animate)	Mó-tsé'tóhe?	This one?
hetanéka'ěškóne	boy	Mó-hetanéka'ěškóne?	The boy?
Néěšěho'soo'e.	You've already danced.	Mó-néěšěho'soo'e?	You've already danced?
Náméhótáéne.	He loves us (ex).	Mó-náméhótáéne?	He loves us?
Éhoo'kōho.	It's raining.	Mó'-éhoo'kōho? ⁶⁶	It's raining?
Néhóxe'āna.	You cleaned it.	Mó-néhóxe'āna?	You cleaned it?

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:

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.

Mó'-éhoo'kòhónèse?
Mó'-éxhó'tàheváhoo'o?

Given what you heard (reportative), did it rain?
Given what was narrated (preterit), did he win?

Content questions

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

Interrogative pronouns are used to ask Cheyenne questions that correspond to English questions that begin with "What", "Who", "When", "Where", "Why", and "Which". An interrogative pronoun precedes the verb that accompanies it. We will study verbs and their categories in the next section of this book. In that section we will examine two main categories (called orders) of verbs, independent and dependent (called conjunct), which take different prefixes 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 tsémésèto?	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 tséhonóhtomo?	What are you baking / roasting?
Hénová'e tsépéénomo?	What are you grinding?
Hénová'e tsémanéstseto?	What are you making?
Hénová'e tsémòxe'òhomo?	What are you writing?
Hénová'e tsétoenomo?	What are you holding?
Hénová'e tsévé'hoohtomáse?	What are you (plural) looking at?
Hénová'ehòtse tsétoenomo?	What (plural things) are you holding?
Hénová'ehòtse tsévé'hoohtomáse?	What (plural things) are you (plural) looking at?
Hénová'e tsémetòhtse?	What did you give him?
Hénová'etotse tsémétòhtse?	What (relational) did he give him (obv)?
Hénová'etotse tséno'èhneséstse?	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 tséháóénàhtse?	Who is praying?
Néváaseo'o tséháoenase?	Who (plural) are praying?
Névááhe tsévéstòemòhtse?	Who is your spouse? (lit., Who is the one you sit with?)
Néváasóho tsévéstòemose?	Who (obviative) is his spouse?
Néváasóho tséméhotovose?	Who (obviative) do they love?
Névááhe tsémanestséstse?	Who made it?
Névááhe tséhóxe'ānòhtse?	Who cleaned it?

Névááhe tsémétata'e?
Neváasóho tsémétaa'èse?

Who gave it to you?
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**-vóhkéha'èstse?
Névááhe tsé-**he**-mo'kèhānèstse?
Névááhe tsé-**he**-voestóvèstse?

Whose hat is this? / Who has on the hat?
Whose shoe is this? / Who has on the shoe?
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'òhtse?	Which one is the salt?
Táasévoonèstse nemótšěškehòtse?	Which are your knives?
Táasévo'o tsévèstoemòhtse?	Which is your spouse?
Táasévoone tséoomata'òse?	Which ones (animate) hit you?
Táasévoone hoemaho tsémanèhòse?	Which shawls did you make?

Why questions

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

Hénová'e tsé- hése -oomòhtse?	Why did you hit him?
Hénová'e tsé- hése -háóénàhtse?	Why is he praying?
Hénová'èto tsé- hést -a'xaneto?	Why are you crying?
Hénáá'e tsé- hése -aseohtsése?	Why did you (plural) leave?

When questions

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

Tóne'she ého'eòhtse?	When did he arrive?
Tóne'she nééváho'eohe?	When did you return?
Tóne'she néto'seaeòhtse?	When are you going to leave?

How long questions

How long questions consist of the preverb or initial *tóne'éše-* within a verb of the independent order.

Néta-tóne'éše-háomóhtahe?	How long have you been sick?
Étaohke-tóne'éše-ohénove He'konemáhoéve'ho'éno? Hardin?	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.

⁶⁷ Alternate pronunciations are *táase*, *tóáse*, and *tóaso*.

Tósa'e néto'sètsèhe'òhtse?
 Tósa'e néohkèhotse'ohe?
 Tósa'e éhoo'e?
 Tósa'e néhohtóva?
 Tósa'e névóomo?
 Tósa'e éhó'ta namóxe'éstoo'o?
 Tósa'e éto'semóheeohtséstove?
 Tósa'e nénéxhéstahe?

Where are you going to go?
 Where do you work?
 Where is he?
 Where did you buy it?
 Where did you see him?
 Where is my book?
 Where is the meeting going to be?
 Where are you from?

How questions

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

Né-**tóněše**-véhe?
 Né-**tóněšě**-ho'ēhne?
 Né-**tóněšě**-héne'enovo-o'o?
 Né-**tóněše**-táno?
 Né-**tónet**-omóhtahe?
 Né-**tóněs**-étsésta?
 Né-**tóněs**-étámo?
 É-**tónet**-áho'ta?
 É-**tónet**-oeme?
 É-**tónet**-aeta?
 É-**tónet**-aō'o?
 É-**tónet**-ónóto?
 É-**tónet**-o'etame?
 É-**tóne**-'éhotoo'e?
 É-**tóne**-'ého'oésta?
 É-**tóne**-'ého'oése?
 É-**tóne**-'éstahe?
 É-**tóne**-'éhahe?
 É-**tóne**'xóv-anāno?
 É-**tóne**'xóv-aneta?
 É-**tónet**-aa'ene'hō'ta?
 É-**tóne**-'éhoo'e?
 É-**tónet**-otse'ohe?
 É-**tóne**-'éhoma'ō'e?
 É-**tónet**-òhtàheve?
 É-**tóne**-'éno'e?
 É-**tóne**-'énehe?
 É-**tónet**-átamáno'e?
 É-**tónet**-oéstomo'he?
 É-**tóněst**-àhevónó'e?
 É-**tóněst**-á'e?
 É-**tóněš**-éa'e?
 É-**tóněš**-e'seme?
 É-**tóněs**-évone?

What's your name? (lit., How are you called?)
 How did you come?
 How do you know them?
 How do you feel (mentally/emotionally)?
 How are you (in terms of wellness)? \$\$RECHECK GLOSS
 What do you think of it?
 What do you think of him?
 How is it cooked? (e.g. Is it cooked yet?)
 How much does it cost?
 What size is he?
 What size is it?
 How thick is it?
 How deep is it? (water)
 How deep is it? (a hole or cave)
 How high is it hanging?
 How high is he hanging?
 How tall is he?
 How old is he?
 How much does it weigh?
 How much does he weigh?
 How much room is there?
 How long is he staying / How long did he stay?
 What is his work?
 How far away is it?
 What color / design is it/he?
 How does it taste?
 How does he taste?
 How is the environment?
 What kind of personality does he have?
 What kind (or type) is it?
 How long is his hair?
 How does it feel (in texture)?
 What sound does he make?
 What sound does it make?

What 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-tónésó?	What is its condition?
É-tónesta?	What is his condition?
É-tóněšé'tovóho?	What did he do to him?

-tóněševe 'What is/are ____ doing?'

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

Ná-tóněšéve?	What did I do?
Né-tóněšéve?	What did you do?
É-tóněšéve?	What did he/she do?
É-tóněšévo'ho?	What did he/she (obv) do?
Ná-tóněšéveme?	What did we (exclusive) do?
Né-tóněšévema?	What did we (inclusive) do?
Né-tóněšéveme?	What did you (plural) do?
É-tóněšéveo'o?	What did they do?

'How many' questions

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

Tónesto néo'hamoo'o?	How many (fish) did you catch?
Né-tóněstóhe-aénáma?	How old are you? (lit., How many are you yeared?)
É-toněstóhe-ěše'hama?	How many months old is he?
Né-tóněstóhe-enō'tse?	How many nights did you camp?
É-tóněstóhe-éno'e?	What day of the week is it? (lit., how many days is it?)
É-tóněst-óxeo'o?	How many of them (an.) are there?
É-tóněst-oháněstse?	How many of them (inan.) are there?

'How many times' questions

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

Tóněstoha ného'soo'e?	How many times did you dance?
Tóněstoha éamo'ahéotseo'o?	How many times did they run?

To what degree questions

To what degree questions consist of the preverb tóněxóve- within an independent order verb.

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

Other question forms

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

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

'What say' questions

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

Ná- óxo -heve?	What did I say?
Né- óxo -heve?	What did you say?
É- óxo -hevoo'o?	What did he/she say?
É- óxo -hevoōne?	What did they say?
É- óxo -henove?	What is said?
Né- óxo -héto?	What did you say to him?
É- óxo -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'háeso?	Where's the old man?
Naa neamáho'hestótse?	How's your car?

Question words and indefinite meanings

When, Where, How many, and How question forms have indefinite meanings in sentences which are not asking questions. **\$\$DEVELOP THIS SECTION**; include *tóne'se* 'sometime', *tósa'e* 'somewhere', *tóněse*- 'somehow' (include Rolling Head sentence). 'something', *hénáá'énese* 'something', etc.

Tóne'se móho'eohtséhéhe. 'He must have come sometime.'

Tósa'e nóháso móstaněšema'xetóněšéhe'ame-póneneněhéhe. 'He just shot in any direction up in the air.' (1987:277)

Naa oha **tónesto** tséhetaa'he'konáhétse hétséhéóhe náho'maněstsénóne. 'But however many of us who were healthy, we made it back here.' (1987:37)

Naa hēna'hanehe náěšéhóhta'hāne **tónetāa'e** tséhéne'enómo. 'And I have told however much I know.' (1987:97) **\$\$CAN tónetāa'e FUNCTION AS A QUESTION WORD??** (perhaps *Tónetāa'e némese*? 'How much did you eat?')

Hēa'e éto'sè-**tónestáotse**. 'Maybe something is going to be wrong (with him).' (1987:195)

Móhmóne-**tónestóhe**aénamáhéhe. 'She was sometime in early age.' (1987:21)

Naa mós-**tónestóxé**hevóhe móstaaséhétoo'ěhehevóhe. 'And however many (suspects) there were, they were taken away to prison.' (1987:185)

Naa něhe'se me'ko móhněs-**tóněšésóhpo**'eohétóhanéhe. 'And then the (rolling) head came through somehow.' (1980:54)

Naa vé'ho'e mósta-**toněš**enéstomóněhéhe. '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- tóněš évéhe.	I'm not doing anything.
Násáa- tóněš etanóhe.	I'm not feeling anything.
Násáa- tóne' xóvomóhtáhéhe.	I'm not feeling anything.
Ésáa- tónestá he.	There's nothing wrong with him.
Ésáa- tóněs óhane.	There's nothing wrong with it.
Ésáa-tóněsóotséhane.	Nothing happened.

Násáa-**tónéstá**'tovóhe.

I didn't do anything to him.

Content of saying questions and negatives

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

Násáa'-**óxóhé**he.

I didn't say anything.

Néstsevé'e-**óxóhé**to!

Don't say anything to him!

hová'éhe and negatives

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

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

Násáaho'áhéhe **hová'éhe**.

I don't want anything.

Násáavóóhtóhe **hová'éhe**.

I didn't see anything.

'someone' indefinite particles

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

Hovánee'e ésáahoéhe.

No one was there.

\$\$DEVELOP SECTION HERE OR ELSEWHERE IN BOOK, e.g. nevá'eséstse 'someone', nevá'ésesto, nésésesto, néséhoo'o, etc. Also be sure there is/are (a) section in the book which covers the polarity behavior of hová'éhe, hovánee'e, the semantic relationship between hová'éhe and hénáá'énèse, etc. Nea'háanéhe and related forms, Énéehove and related forms. Also relationship to tsé'tóhe and hé'tóhe in terms of deixis and reference.

Rhetorical questions

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

Nésáahe'évèhehe!

Are you not a woman!

Névé'hétónèšéve!

Why did you do that!

Névé'hénéméne! ??

Why did you sing! \$\$RH Q??

Névé'héoxóhetoo'o!

Why did you say that to them!

Mónáme'hétone'otse! ??

Nothing would happen to me!

Mónéme'hé-tone'oëto.
powerful than you)

You won't be able to do anything to him. (e.g., he's more

Ésáatónèšéeno'éetóhane!

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:

Hámèstoo'èstse!	Sit down!
He'kotoo'èstse!	Be quiet! / Sit still!
Méseestse!	Eat!
Né'èstséhnèstse!	Come in!
Né'tòhkèhá'áhtse!	Take your hat off!
E'seéstse'hēnāhtse!	Put your coat on!
Né'seéstse'hēnāhtse!	Take your coat off!
E'ēhā'òhtse!	Put your shoes on!
Né'tó'èstse!	Take your shoes off!
Tàhéovēšèstse!	Go to bed!
Áahtovèstse!	Listen to me!
Néhmanoxèstse!	Give me a drink!
Něše'šévóénèstse!	Wash your face!
Něše'šèhe'ōnāhtse!	Wash your hands!
Vé'hóóhtòhtse!	Look at it!

Plural addressees

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

Hámèstoo'e!	Sit down!
He'kotoo'e!	Be quiet! / Sit still!
Mésehe!	Eat!
Né'èstséhne!	Come in!
E'tòhkèhá'a!	Put your hat on!
Né'tòhkèhá'a!	Take your hat off!
E'seéstse'hēna!	Put your coat on!
Né'seéstse'hēna!	Take your coat off!
E'ēhā'o!	Put your shoes on!
Né'tó'e!	Take your shoes off!
Tàhéovēše!	Go to bed!
Áahtove!	Listen to me!
Néhmanoxe!	Give me a drink!
Něše'šèhe'ōna!	Wash your hands!
Vé'hootome!	Look at it!

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

Delayed imperatives

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

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

Hámèstoeo'o!	Sit down later! (singular addressee)
Hámèstoehéne!	Sit down later! (plural addressee)
Néhmétseo'o!	Give it to me later! (singular addressee)
Néhmétséhéne!	Give it to me later! (plural addressee)
Né'évähósého'èhneo'o!	Come again later! (singular addressee)
Né'évähósého'èhnéhéne!	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' -méséhéme.	You (plural) should eat.
Né- me' -hestāna.	You should take it.
Né- me' -méhótahtséme.	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 nature mitigates the directness of the command, sounding more polite in some speech contexts.

É- me' -méséhé-stove.	There should be eating.
É- me' -méhotáhtsé-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' -nèhešéve!	Don't do that! (said to one person, a singular addressee)
Né- vé' -nèhešévémé!	Don't do that! (said to more than one person)
Né- vé'e -a'xaame!	Don't cry! (singular addressee)
Né- vé'e -a'xaamēme!	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 addressee)
Né- vé'e -óxóheve!	Don't say anything! (singular addressee)

Negative 'should' commands

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

Né- mé' - sáa -nèhešéve.	You (singular) shouldn't do that.
--	-----------------------------------

Né-**mé'**-**sáa**-nèhešévème. You (plural) shouldn't do that.

Né-**mé'**-**sáa**-tsèhe'òhtse. 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**-nèhešévè-stovè-hane. That shouldn't be done.

É-**mé'**-**sáa**-méotàhtsé-stovè-hane. There shouldn't be fighting one another.

É-**me'**-**sáa**-nèhenóvè-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**-nèhenóvè-hane. That is not said.

É-**sáa**-nèhešévè-stovè-hane. That is not done.

Rhetorical question commands

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

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

Negative interrogatives

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

Né-**sáa**-mésèhe-**he-he**?! Aren't you eating?!

Né-**sáa**-'-ovèšenà-**he-he**?! Didn't you go to bed?!

Né-**sáa**-naóotsè-**he-he**?! Aren't you asleep?!

Negative prohibitives

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

Né-**sáa-vé'**-mésèhé-he?! Shouldn't you eat?!

Né-**sáa-vé'**-nèhešévè-he?! Shouldn't you do that?!

Né-**sáa-vé'**-nèhešévè-hé-me?! Shouldn't you (plural) do that?!

Hortatives

Cheyenne hortatives are commands which tell someone to let someone else do something. Cheyenne hortatives are created by adding the hortative suffix -ha to a verb stem. More details about hortatives can be found in the hortatives sections of the main Verbs section of this book. Here are a few examples of Cheyenne hortatives:

Némeneha! Let him sing!

Vé'hoohtoha! Let him look at it!

Némenévoha!
Vé'hoohtomávoha!

Let them sing!
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 -něšasema!	Let's just leave!

The preverb hé- is often included also. It adds a meaning something like 'for the purpose of':**\$\$RECHECK THAT LAST CLAIM??**

Né- ta - hé -méséhémáne!	Let's eat!
Né- ta - 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 Táhéověšéstse! 'Go to bed!' We must note, however, that, unlike in some other languages, including English, more direct commands are not impolite or rude to use in Cheyenne. It is culturally appropriate to use a direct command with an elderly parent, for instance. Instead of degree of politeness determining the degree of mitigation of a command, it appears that degree of mitigation of Cheyenne commands is determined by degree of social closeness, how familiar a speaker is to the person being addressed by a command.

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

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

Verbs

An understanding of its verbs is essential to a proper understanding of Cheyenne. In a real sense the verb is the heart of the Cheyenne language. A Cheyenne verb is often like a complete sentence, all wrapped up in a single word. For instance, Éhoo'kōho means 'It's raining.' Énéméne means 'He's singing.' Návóómo means 'I saw him,' and Éohkésaa'áahtomónéhe 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:

intransitive	meaning	transitive	meaning
Émésehe.	He's eating.	Émese.	He's eating it.
Návóósáne.	I see.	Návóóhta ame.	I see pemmican.

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 pattern⁶⁸. That is, animacy is marked for absolutes, i.e., subjects of intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs.

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

AI

II

⁶⁸ This does not mean that Algonquian languages are ergative, per se, only that they mark animacy on verbs according to an ergative pattern.

Épèhévahe. 'He's good.'	Épèhéva'e. 'It's good.'
Étàhpéta. 'He's big.'	Étàhpé'o. 'It's big.'
Nénémenehe? 'Did you sing?'	Éhoo'kōho. 'It's raining.'
Éma'ovése. 'He has red hair.'	Éma'ohe? 'Is it red?'
Náováxe. 'I dreamed.'	Ésétovoésta. 'It's noon.'
Éhenésone. 'She had a child.'	Éháohō'ta. 'It's hot.'
Émésehe. 'He's eating.'	Éméséhéstove. 'There is eating.'

TA

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

TI

Nápèhévána. 'I fixed it.'
Névóohtahe? 'Did you see it?'
Násáahestanóhe. 'I didn't take it.'
Éhó'tse. 'He has it.'
Náááhta. 'I'm listening to it.'
Násáa'oohtóhe. 'I didn't hit it.'
Émese. 'He ate it.'

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

Polarity

Cheyenne verbs are either positive⁶⁹ or negative. This is called polarity. Negative verbs are marked with the negative preverb *sáa-* and a negative suffix. Positive verbs are unmarked for polarity. The negative suffix is *-hane* for Inanimate Intransitive verbs and */-hé/* for all other verbs.

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

Interrogatives

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

statement	meaning	interrogative	meaning
Énéméne.	He's singing.	Énémenehe?	Did he sing?
Étàhpé'o.	It's big.	Étàhpé'o?	Is it big?
Náhestāna.	I took it.	Néhestanahe?	Did you take it?
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.

statement	meaning	imperative	meaning
Émésehe.	He is eating.	Méseestse!	Eat!
Náhestāna.	I took it.	Hestānóhtse!	Take it!

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.

⁶⁹ Also called affirmative.

Independent verbs

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

Énaóotse.	He's sleeping.
Námese.	I'm eating it.
Éoseepéhéveéno'e.	It tastes really good.
Nátséhésenéstsése.	We speak Cheyenne.
Nésáatšéhe'ševóomatséhe.	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'énésétovoésta	when it's afternoon

Orders

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

Independent order verbs

Some examples of independent order verbs are:

Náho'soo'e.	I danced.
Némésèhehe?	Did you eat?
Móxháeanáhevóhe.	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
tsénémenese	those who are singing
éóháóénávóhtse	whether they were hungry
máxho'ěhnéstse	when he comes

Imperative order verbs

Some examples of imperative order verbs are:

Háméstoo'ěstse!	Sit down!
Táhéověšěstse!	Go to bed!
Né'éváhósého'ěhneo'o!	Come again (later)!

Modes

Each order has two or more subtypes. These subtypes are called modes. A mode tells us something about how a speaker views the action or state of a verb. For instance, if a speaker does not

know if something happened, he can ask whether it happened. As we noted earlier, an asking verb is in the interrogative mode.

Evidentials

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

Indicative mode (*should we change this to eye witness mode?*)

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

Énaóotse.	He's sleeping.
Néhósema.	He told about you.
Ého'ééto.	It's snowing.
Épéhévééno'e.	It tastes good.

Reportatives

If Cheyenne speakers have been told that something has happened (but have not seen it for themselves), they would use a reportative evidential. Such verbs can be translated with English words like "It is said that ____" or "____, they say".

Némanémáse.	It is said that you drank.
Éhněševátamósesto.	It is said that he took pity on him.

Inferentials

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

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

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

\$\$INCLUDE A TEXT WITH INFERENTIALS

Preterit mode

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

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?"

Use in legends

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

\$\$INCLUDE A TEXT WITH PRETERITS

Mirative usage

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

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

Interrogative mode

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

Nénémene-he?
Éméséhevo-he?

Did you sing?
Did they eat?

INTRODUCTION TO VERBS (cont'd)

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

INDEPENDENT VERBS

náho'soo'e	I danced.
némêsêhehe	Did you eat?
móhnôhonêhevôhe (hetaneo'o)	There must have been five (men).
ésâavé'hoohtôhe	He didn't look at it.

CONJUNCT (DEPENDENT) VERBS

tséhnéménêse	when he sang
tsénéménêse	those who are singing
éóháóónâtse	whether he prayed
máxho'ehnéstse	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, émêsêhe '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: émaneséstse 'It is said that he drank,' and éoomósesto 'It is said that he hit him.'

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

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

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

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

Here are some examples using the verb prefixes:

námésehe	I ate.
némésehe	you (singular) ate.
émésehe	He (or She) ate.

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

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

In the discussion preceding the lists of possessed nouns, earlier, it was mentioned that an animate noun becomes "obviated" (moved out of the spotlight) when it is possessed by a third-person. We will call the

obviated person a "fourth-person". For all of the other persons there can be a singular or a plural. But, the fourth-person can be either singular or plural. It was pointed out, earlier, for instance, that hee'haho means either 'his son' or 'his sons'. We will abbreviate the fourth-person with "4". If a fourth-person does some action, the verb describing that action must be a little different from a verb with a regular third-person. For instance,

énéméne	3	he sang
hee'haho énémenóho	4	his son sang

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

Obviation will also occur when two third-persons are referred to by the same verb, such as 'see'. The proximate forms of 'man' and 'woman' are hetane and he'e, respectively. Their obviative 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 Návóómo hetane.	I saw a man.
1-3 Návóómo he'e.	I saw a woman.
2-3 Névéómo hetane.	You saw a man.
3-4 Hetane évóómoho he'óho.	The man saw a woman.
3-4 He'e évóómoho 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 évóómoho, above, with the "3-4" person combination. For instance,

4-3 Heške évóómaa'e hetané-ka'èškóne.	His (the boy's) mother saw the boy.
4-3 Hemeho évestahémáá'e.	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 névéómo	(direct)	You saw him.
3-1 návóoma	(inverse)	He saw me.
3-2 névéoma	(inverse)	He saw you.

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

névôome	You saw me.
névômâtse	I saw you.
névômatsēme	I saw you (plural).
névômeme	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:

1-I náho'êhóhta	I came to it.
1-II náho'êhóhtanótse	I came to them (inanimate).
I-1 náho'êhó'taa'e	It came to me.

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

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

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

The basic structure of a Cheyenne verb is as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

étâhpé'o	It is big.
éhoo'koho	It is raining.
étonéto	It is cold.
éheóvo	It is yellow.
émá'o	It is red.

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

émésehe	He ate.
émane	He drank.
ého'soo'e	He danced.
évovéstomósáne	He taught.
épèhèvahe	He is good.

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

see	1-3: návóómo (m-ó)	1-I: návóóhta (ht-á)
carry	1-3: náameotsēho (h-ó)	1-I: náameotsēstse (t-é)
love	1-3: náméhó'to ('t-ó)	1-I: náméhóhta (ht-á)
be good to	1-3: nápèhève'tōvo ('tov-ó)	1-I: nápèhèvé'ta ('t-á)
make	1-3: námanēho (h-ó)	1-I: námanēstse (ht-é)
break	1-3: náe'e'ò'ho ('h-ó)	1-I: náe'e'ò'tse ('t-é)
dampen	1-3: náhe'kóovō'to ('t-ó)	1-I: náhe'kóovōhtse (ht-é)
find	1-3: námé'óvo (ov-ó)	1-I: námé'a (ø-á)
have	1-3: náhó'ho ('h-ó)	1-I: náhó'tse ('t-é)

INTRODUCTION TO VERBS(cont'd)

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

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

INDEPENDENT VERBS OTHERS?

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

KEEP OUTLINE, OR ONLY USE PROSE?

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

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

- G. Optative mode
- H. Inferential Negative mode
- I. Participles
- III. Imperative order
 - A. Direct
 - 1. Immediate
 - 2. Delayed
 - B. Hortative

Examples of verb types

Cheyenne verbs in this chart are given with an English translation. ... POS abbreviates Positive and NEG abbreviates Negative. **\$\$KEEP CHART??**

Cheyenne	translation	outline category
Épéhévahe.	He's good.	I.A.POS.AI
Ésáapéhévahéhe.	He's not good.	I.A.NEG.AI
Épéhévahehe.	Is he good?	I.B.POS.AI
Ésáapéhévahehe?	Isn't he good?	I.B.NEG.AI
Mópéhévahēhe.	He seems to be good.	I.C.POS.AI
(Mó)ho'nópēhevaestse.	He seems to be not good.	II.I.NEG.AI

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

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

when he was good
 when he is good (unrealized)
 whenever he is good
 when he is good (in general)
 the one who is good
 whether he is good
 he ought to be good

I wish he would be good.
no doubt he is not good

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

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

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

Independent Order morphology summary

Cheyenne affixes in this section are spelled before pitch rules apply to words.

Independent order formula:

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

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

\$\$REVISE the following

PERSON:

ná- 1
né- 2
é- 3

Tense

h- PST (remote past)
htse- FUT

VOICE:

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

NUMBER:

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

NEG (negative):

Requires *sáa*- preverb plus following suffixes:

-hé (non-II)
 -hanéh (II)

OBVIATIVE:

-(h)ó ~ -(h)o

MODE:

Interrogative

Yes/No Question with suffix

-he INTERROG (occurs after NUMBER)

Yes/No Question with prefix

mó=

Imperative

Immediate:

-t IMPV.SG.ADDRESSEE

Delayed

-o IMPV.SG.ADDRESSEE

-hené IMPV.PL.ADDRESSEE

Hortative

Reportative:

-s

[-má LOCAL.REPORT.FINAL]

[-est RPT.PL.FINAL (follows the /-s/ reportative suffix)]

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

Inferential:
mó- ... NEG-hé

Animate Intransitive Independent Indicative verbs

-mésehe 'eat'

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

Námésehe	You ate
Émésehe	He ate
Éméséhóho	He (obv) ate
Náméséhéme	We (excl) ate
Néméséhema	We (incl) ate
Néméséhéme	You (pl) ate
Éméséheo'o	They ate

-mane 'drink'

Námane	I drank / I am drinking
Némane	You drank
Émane	He drank
Émanóho	He (obv) drank
Námanēme ⁷²	We (excl) drank
Némanema	We (incl) drank
Némanēme	You (pl) drank
Émaneo'o	They drank

/-nomené/ 'sip'

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

Nánomēne	I drank (heated liquid)
Nénomēne	You drank (heated liquid)
Énomēne	He drank (heated liquid)
Énomenóho	He (obviative) drank (heated liquid)
Nénomenēme	We (exclusive) drank (heated liquid)
Nénomenema	We (inclusive) drank (heated liquid)
Nénomenēme	You (plural) drank (heated liquid)
Énomeneo'o	They drank (heated liquid)

/-hotse'óhe/ 'work'

Náhotse'óhe	I worked
Néhotse'óhe	You worked
Éhotse'óhe	He worked
Éhotse'óhóho	He (obv) worked
Náhotse'óhéme	We (excl) worked
Néhotse'óhema	We (incl) worked
Néhotse'óhéme	You (pl) worked
Éhotse'óheo'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:

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/

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.

Éhoeo'o	They are (here)	/é-hoe-o/
---------	-----------------	-----------

/-ho'sóe/ 'dance'

Náho'soo'e	I danced
Ného'soo'e	You danced
Ého'soo'e	He danced
Ého'sóóho	He (obv) danced
Náho'sóéme	We (excl) danced
Ného'sóema	We (incl) danced
Ného'sóéme	You (pl) danced
Ého'sóeo'o	They danced

/-háéaná/ 'hungry'

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

/-háóéaná/ 'pray'

Náháóéána	I prayed
Néháóéána	You prayed
Éháóéána	He prayed
Éháóéanáho	He (obv) prayed
Náháóéanáme	We (excl) prayed
Néháóenama	We (incl) prayed
Néháóéanáme	You (pl) prayed
Éháóenao'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:

Náověše	I went to bed	Náováxe	I dreamed
Néověše	You went to bed	Néováxe	You dreamed
Éověše	He went to bed	Éováxe	He dreamed
Éověšenáho	He (obv) went to bed	Éováxenáho	He (obv) dreamed
Náověšenáme	We (excl) went to bed	Náováxenáme	We (excl) dreamed
Néověšenáme	We (incl) went to bed	Néováxenama	We (incl) dreamed
Néověšenáme	You (pl) went to bed	Néováxenáme	You (pl) dreamed
Éověšenao'o ⁷³	They went to bed	Éováxenao'o	They dreamed

-véstahe 'help'

Návěstahe	I helped
Névěstahe	You helped
Évěstahe	He helped
Évěstáhóho	He (obv) helped
Névěstáhéme	We (excl) helped
Névěstáhema	We (incl) helped
Névěstáhéme	You (pl) helped
Évěstaheo'o	They helped

/-méó'é/ 'fight'

Náméó'e	I fought
Néméó'e	You fought
Éméó'e	He fought

⁷³ Common alternative pronunciations are éověšēne and éověšēna.

Éméo'óho	He (obv) fought
Náméó'éme	We (excl) fought
Néméó'ema	We (incl) fought
Néméó'éme	You (pl) fought
Éméo'eo'o	They fought

/-naa'é/ 'doctor'

Nánaā'e	I doctored
Nénaā'e	You doctored
Énaā'e ⁷⁴	He doctored
Énaa'óho	He (obv) doctored
Nánaa'ēme	We (excl) doctored
Nénaa'ema	We (incl) doctored
Nénaa'ēme	You (pl) doctored
Énaa'eo'o ⁷⁵	They doctored

-naóotse 'sleep'

Nánaóotse	I slept
Nénaóotse	You slept
Énaóotse	He slept
Énaóotóho	He (obv) slept
Nánaóotsēme	We (excl) slept
Nénaóotsema	We (incl) slept
Nénaóotsēme	You (pl) slept
Énaóotseo'o	They slept

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

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

Nánéméne	I sang	Nánéméne	I have a crooked face
Nénéméne	You sang	Nénéméne	you have a crooked face
Énéméne	He sang	Énéméne	He has a crooked face
Énéménóho	He (obv) sang	Énéménóho ⁷⁶	He (obv) has a crooked face
Nánéménēme	We (excl) sang	Nánéménēme	We (excl) have crooked faces
Nénéménema	We (incl) sang	Nénéménema	We (incl) have crooked faces
Nénéménēme	You (pl) sang	Nénéménēme	You (pl) have crooked faces
Énémeneo'o	They sang	Énémeneo'o	They have crooked faces

-tséhéstahe 'be Cheyenne'

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

official spelling	meaning	simpler spelling
Nátséhéstahe	I'm Cheyenne	Natsistah
Nétséhéstahe	You're Cheyenne	Nitsistah
Étséhéstahe	He's Cheyenne	Itsistah
Étséhéstáhóho	He (obv) is Cheyenne	Itsistaho
Nátséhéstáhéme	We (excl) are Cheyenne	Natsistam
Nétséhéstáhema	We (incl) are Cheyenne	Nitsistama
Nétséhéstáhéme	You (pl) are Cheyenne	Nitsistam

⁷⁴ Cf. *énaa'e* 'he died'.

⁷⁵ Cf. *énaeo'o* 'they died'.

⁷⁶ An alternative pronunciation for some speakers is *énéméno*. **\$\$RECHECK**

Étséhéstáheo'o

They are Cheyenne

Itsistayo

/-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.
Énééhóvóho??	He (obviative) is the one.
Nánééhóvéme	We (exclusive) are the ones.
Nénééhóvéma	We (inclusive) are the ones.
Nénééhóvéme	You (plural) are the ones.
Énééhóveo'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. They are different from the transitive verbs -ho'tse 'have (something)', -ho'h 'have (someone)', or -á'en 'own (something or someone)'. Here is the paradigm for the intransitive verb that means 'have a child':

-he-nésone 'have a child'

Náhenésone	I have a child(ren)
Néhenésone	You have a child(ren)
Éhenésone	He has a child(ren)
Éhenésónéhóho	He (obv) has a child(ren)
Náhenésónéhéme	We (excl) have a child(ren)
Néhenésónéhema	We (incl) have a child(ren)
Néhenésónéhéme	You (pl) have a child(ren)
Éhenésónéheo'o	They have a child(ren)

-he-voestove 'have a dress'

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

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

Náhemótšeske	I have a knife
Éheamáho'héstove	He has a car
Náhevéxahe	I have a grandchild(ren)
Éhestónahe	He has a daughter(s)

Éhee'hahe	He has a son
Náhestotsehe	I have a pet

Animate Intransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs

-mane 'drink'

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

-mésehe 'eat'

Násáaméséhéhe	I did not eat
Nésáaméséhéhe	You did not eat
Ésáaméséhéhe	He did not eat
Ésáaméséhéheho	He (obv) did not eat
Násáaméséhéhéme	We (excl) did not eat
Nésáaméséhéhema	We (incl) did not eat
Nésáaméséhéhéme	You (pl) did not eat
Ésáaméséhéheo'o	They did not eat

-hotse'ohe 'work'

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

/-ho'sóe/ 'dance'

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

Násáaho'sóéhe	I did not dance
Nésáaho'sóéhe	You did not dance
Ésáaho'sóéhe	He did not dance
Ésáaho'sóeheho	He (obv) did not dance
Násáaho'sóéhéme	We (excl) did not dance
Nésáaho'sóehema	We (incl) did not dance
Nésáaho'sóéhéme	You (pl) did not dance
Ésáaho'sóeheo'o	They did not dance

-oveše 'go to bed'

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

Násáa'ověšenáhe	I did not go to bed
Nésáa'ověšenáhe	You did not go to bed
Ésáa'ověšenáhe	He did not go to bed
Ésáa'ověšenáheho	He (obv) did not go to bed
Násáa'ověšenáhéme	We (excl) did not go to bed
Nésáa'ověšenáhema	We (incl) did not go to bed
Nésáa'ověšenáhéme	You (pl) did not go to bed
Ésáa'ověšenáheo'o	They did not go to bed

-ováxe 'dream'

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

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

/-hé/ 'say'

Násáahéhe	I did not say
Nésáahéhe	You did not say
Ěsáahéhe	He did not say
Ěsáahéheho	He (obv) did not say
Násáahéhéme	We (excl) did not say
Nésáahéhema	We (incl) did not say
Nésáahéhéme	You (pl) did not say
Ěsáahéheo'o	They did not say

-he-nésone 'have a child'

Násáahenésónéhéhe	I do not have a child
Nésáahenésónéhéhe	You do not have a child
Ěsáahenésónéhéhe	He does not have a child
Ěsáahenésónéhéheho	He (obv) does not have a child
Násáahenésónéhéhéme	We (excl) do not have a child
Nésáahenésónéhéhema	We (incl) do not have a child
Nésáahenésónéhéhéme	You (pl) do not have a child
Ěsáahenésónéhéheo'o	They do not have a child

Animate Intransitive equative verbs

The formula (or frame) for equative verbs consists of the personal prefix é-, an incorporated noun, and an equative suffix /-vé/ which means 'be'. For example, the animate Cheyenne noun hoohtséstse means 'tree'. If this noun stem is incorporated into the equative verb frame, the result is éhoóhtsetseve 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:

Éhováheve	It is an animal.	Éhováheveo'o	They are animals.
Émé'ěševotseve	He is a baby.	Émé'ěševotséveo'o	They are babies.
Énáhkóheve	It is a bear.	Énáhkóhéveo'o	They are bears.
Éhoma'eve	It is a beaver.	Éhoma'éveo'o	They are beavers.
Évé'késéheve	It is a bird.	Évé'késéheveo'o	They are birds.
Éhotóave	It is a buffalo.	Éhotóaveo'o	They are buffaloes.
Épóesonéheve	It is a cat.	Épóesonéheveo'o	They are cats.
Évéhoneve	He is a chief.	Évéhoneveo'o	They are chiefs.
Éka'ěškónéheve	He is a child.	Éka'ěškónéheo'o	They are children.
Éó'kóhoméheve	It is a coyote.	Éó'kóhméheveo'o	They are coyotes.
Éváotseváheve	It is a deer.	Éváotseváheveo'o	They are deer.
Éhoestove	It is a dress.	Éhoestóveo'o	They are dresses.
Éšé'seve	It is a duck.	Éšé'seveo'o	They are ducks.
Énetseve	It is an eagle.	Énetséveo'o	They are eagles.

Évóaxaa'eve	It is a bald eagle.	Évóaxaa'éveo'o	They are bald eagles.
Émo'éheve	It is an elk.	Émo'éheveo'o	They are elks.
Émo'ěškoneve	It is a finger.	Émo'ěškonéveo'o	They are fingers.
Énomá'heve	It is a fish.	Énomá'heveo'o	They are fishes.
Éhéseve	It is a fly.	Éhéseveo'o	They are flies.
Éma'heóneve	It is a sacred power.	Éma'heóneveo'o	They are sacred powers.
Émo'ěhno'haméheve	It is a horse.	Émo'ěhno'haméheveo'o	They are horses.
Éhetaneve	He is a man.	Éhetanéveo'o	They are men.
Émo'e'háheve	It is a magpie.	Émo'e'háheveo'o	They are magpies.
Ép'éve	It is a nighthawk.	Ép'éveo'o	They are nighthawks.
Éma'háhkéséheve	He is an old man.	Éma'háhkéséheveo'o	They are old men.
Éšéstotó'eve	It is a pine.	Éšéstotó'eveo'o	They are pines.
Évóhkooheve	It is a rabbit.	Évóhkoohéveo'o	They are rabbits.
Éxaóneve	It is a skunk.	Éxaóneveo'o	They are skunks.
Éhotóhkeve	It is a star.	Éhotóhkeveo'o	They are stars.
Éhoóhtsetseve	It is a tree.	Éhoóhtsetséveo'o	They are trees.
Énótáxeve	He is a warrior.	Énótáxeveo'o	They are warriors.
Évé'ho'eve	He is a whiteman.	Évé'ho'éveo'o	They are whitemen.
Éhe'eve	She is a woman.	Éhe'éveo'o	They are women.

Animate Intransitive Independent Interrogative verbs

There are two ways to create yes/no questions⁷⁷ 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'

Námanehe?	Did I drink?
Némanehe?	Did you drink?
Émanehe?	Did he drink?
Émanevohe?	Did he (obv) drink?
Námanemehe?	Did we (excl) drink?
Némanémanehe?	Did we (incl) drink?
Némanemehe?	Did you (pl) drink?
Émanevóhe?	Did they drink?

-mésehe 'eat'

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

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?
Ěověšenahe?	Did he go to bed?
Ěověšenaovohe?	Did he (obv) go to bed?
Náověšenamehe?	Did we (excl) go to bed?
Néověšenámanehe?	Did we (incl) go to bed?
Néověšenámehe?	Did you (pl) go to bed?
Ěověšenaovohe?	Did they go to bed?

-he-nésone 'have a child' interrogatives

Náhenésonehehe?	Do I have a child(ren)?
Néhenésonehehe?	Do you have a child(ren)?
Ěhenésonehehe?	Does he have a child(ren)?
Ěhenésonehevohe?	Does he (obv) have a child(ren)?
Náhenésonehevohe?	Do we (excl) have a child(ren)?
Néhenésonehémamehe?	Do we (incl) have a child(ren)?
Néhenésonehemehe?	Do you (pl) have a child(ren)?
Ěhenésonehevohe?	Do they have a child(ren)?

-he 'say' interrogatives

Náhehe?	Did I say?
Néhehe?	Did you say?
Ěhehe?	Did he say?
Ěhevohe?	Did he (obv) say?
Náhemamehe?	Did we (excl) say?
Néhemamehe?	Did we (incl) say?
Néhemehe?	Did you (pl) say?
Ěhevohe?	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:

Mónéěšemésehe?	Did you already eat?
Mónéháéána?	Are you hungry?
Móněstsenomēne?	Will you drink (something heated, especially coffee)?
Mónémóneévaho'eohē?	Did you just get back?
Mó'éháomóhtahe?	Is he sick?
Mó'énéméne?	Did he sing?
Mó-tsé'tóhe? ⁷⁸	This one?
Mó-néhe?	You mean that one?

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

Nésáamésěhehehe?	Didn't you eat?
Nésáa'ověšenahehe?	Didn't you go to bed?

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

Nésáahotse'óhehehe?	Didn't you work?
Nésánaóotséhemehe?	Didn't you (pl) sleep?
Ésáatáhpetáhehe?	Isn't he big?

mó- prefix negative questions

Mónésáa'ěšemésehe?	Didn't you eat yet?
Mó'ésáa'ověšenáheo'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'

Mónámanéhēhe ⁷⁹	I must have drunk.
Mónémanéhēhe	You must have drunk.
Mómanéhēhe	He must have drunk.
Mómanéhevōhe	He (obv) must have drunk.
Mónámanéhemānēhe	We (excl) must have drunk.
Mónémanéhemānēhe	We (incl) must have drunk.
Mónémanéhemēhe	You (pl) must have drunk.
Mómanéhevōhe	They must have drunk.

/-háéaná/ 'be hungry'

Mónáháéanáhēhe	I must be hungry.
Mónéháéanáhēhe	You must be hungry.
Móháéanáhēhe	He must be hungry.
Móháéanáhevōhe	He (obv) must be hungry.
Mónáháéanáhemānēhe	We (excl) must be hungry.
Mónéháéanáhemānēhe	We (incl) must be hungry.
Mónéháéanáhemēhe	You (pl) must be hungry.
Móháéanáhevōhe	They must be hungry.

/-háóená/ 'pray'

Mónáháóénahēhe	I must have prayed.
Mónéháóénahēhe	You must have prayed.
Móháóénahēhe	He must have prayed.
Móháóenáhevōhe	He (obv) must have prayed.
Mónáháóénahemānēhe	We (eéxcl) must have prayed.
Mónéháóénahemānēhe	We (incl) must have prayed.
Mónéháóénahemēhe	You (pl) must have prayed.
Móháóenáhevōhe	They must have prayed.

/-táhoe/ 'ride'

Mónátáhoehēhe	I must have ridden.
Mónétáhoehēhe	You must have ridden.
Mótáhoehēhe	He must have ridden.
Mótáhoehevōhe	He (obv) must have ridden.
Mónátáhoehemānēhe	We (excl) must have ridden.
Mónétáhoehemānēhe	We (incl) must have ridden.
Mónétáhoehemēhe	You (pl) must have ridden.
Mótáhoehevōhe	They must have ridden.

/-he/ 'say'

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

Mónánéhehēhe. ⁸⁰	I must have said that.
Mónénéhehēhe.	You must have said that.
Móhehēhe.	He must have said.
Móhehevōhe.	He (obv) must have said.
Mónáhehemānēhe??	We (excl) must have said.
Mónéhehemānēhe??	We (incl) must have said.
Mónéhehemēhe??	You (pl) must have said.
Móhehevōhe.	They must have said.

⁷⁹ It is uncertain whether this penultimate pitch on inferential verbs is mid or high.

⁸⁰ Mónánéhehēhe, with the anaphoric preverb *né-*, sounds more natural than Mónáhehēhe. Móhehēhe, with a third person subject and without that preverb, does sound natural.

Inferential pitch template

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

Animate Intransitive Negative Inferential verbs

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

-mésehe 'eat'

(Mó)ho'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'nóméséhétse	We ⁸² must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nóméséhése	You (pl) must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nóméséhévóhtse	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'nómanétse	We must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nómanése	You (pl) must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nómanévóhtse	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 call this a hearsay mode.

-mésehe 'eat'

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

-mane 'drink'

Námanémase	I are said to have drunk.
Némanémase	You are said to have drunk.
Émaneséstse	He is said to have drunk.
Émanésesto	He (obv) is said to have drunk.
Námanémánése	We (excl) are said to have drunk.
Némanémánése	We (incl) are said to have drunk.

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

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

Némanémèse
Émanésesto

You (pl) are said to have drunk.
They are said to have drunk.

/-he/ 'say'

Náhémāse
Néhémāse
Éheséstse
Éhésesto
Náhémánèse
Néhémánèse
Néhémèse
Éhésesto

I am said to have said. **\$\$RECHECK PARADIGM**
You are said to have said.
He is said to have said.
He (obv) is said to have said.
We (excl) are said to have said.
We (incl) are said to have said.
You (pl) are said to have said.
They are said to have said.

Animate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs

Násáamésèhéhemāse
Nésáamésèhéhemāse
Ésáamésèhéheséstse
Ésáamésèhéhesesto
Násáamésèhéhemánèse
Nésáamésèhéhemánèse
Nésáamésèhéhemèse
Ésáamésèhéhesesto

I am said to have not eaten.
You are said to have not eaten.
He is said to have not eaten.
He (obv) is said to have not eaten.
We (excl) are said to have not eaten.
We (incl) are said to have not eaten.
You (pl) are said to have not eaten.
They are said to have not eaten.

Animate Intransitive Preterit verbs

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

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

Animate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs

Éssáanémenéhehoo'o	He did not sing	éssáanémenéhehoono	They did not sing.
Éssáahonónéhehoo'o	He did not bake	éssáahonónéhehoono	They did not bake.
Éssáaháoenáhehoo'o	He did not pray.	éssáaháoenáhehoono	They did not pray.
Éssáaháeanáhehoo'o	He was not hungry.	éssáaháeanáhehoono	They were not hungry.
Éssáahováneehéhoo'o	He was not gone	éssáahováneehéhoono	They were not gone.
Éssáanaehéhoo'o	He did not die.	Éssáanaehéhoono	They did not die.
Éssáanaa'éhehoo'o	He did not doctor.	Éssáanaa'éhehoono	They did not doctor.
Éssáamésèhéhehoo'o	He did not eat.	Éssáamésèhéhehoono	They did not eat.
Éssáahéhehoo'o	He did not say.	Éssáahéhehoono	They did not say.

Animate Intransitive Imperative verbs

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

Animate Intransitive Immediate Imperative

An immediate imperative addressed to a single person takes suffixes spelled -htse or -stse, both phonemically /-ht/⁸³. An immediate imperative addressed to more than one person takes no suffix.

meaning	command one person	command persons
Eat!	Méseestse!	Mésehe!
Sit down!	Háméstoo'èstse!	Háméstoo'e!
Dance!	Ho'soo'èstse!	Ho'soo'e!
Go to bed!	Tàhéověšèstse!	Tàhéověše!
Pray!	Háoénàhtse!	Háoéna!
Sing!	Néménèstse!	Néméne!
Work!	Hotse'óestse!	Hotse'ohe!
Get up!	Tō'èstse!	Tō'e!
Be happy!	Pèhévetānòhtse!	Pèhévetāno!
Look!	Tsèhetóó'òhtse!	Tsèhetóó'o!

Animate Intransitive Delayed Imperative

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

meaning	command one person	command persons
Eat (later)!	Mésèheo'o!	Mésèhéhéne!
Sit down (later)!	Háméstoeo'o!	Háméstoehéne!\$\$\$RECHECK
Dance (later)!	Ho'sóeo'o!	Ho'sóéhéne!
Go to bed (later)	Tàhéověšenao'o!	Tàhéověšenáhéne!
Pray (later)!	Háoenaoo'o!	Háoénáhéne!
Sing (later)!	Némeneo'o!	Néménéhéne!
Work (later)!	Hotse'óheo'o!	Hotse'óhéne!
Get up (later)!	To'eo'o!	To'éhéne!
Be happy (later)!	Pèhévetanoo'o!	Pèhévetanóhéne!
Look (later)!	Tsèhetóó'oo'o!	Tsèhetóó'óhéne!

⁸³ We consider the word-final "e" of this command suffix to be epenthetic.

Animate Intransitive Hortative verbs

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

hortatives said about one person

Ho'sóeha!
Mésèheha!
Tàhéověšenaha!
Háoenaha!
Némeneha!
Hotse'óheha!

meaning

Let him dance!
Let him eat!
Let him go to bed!
Let him pray!
Let him sing!
Let him work!

hortatives said about more than one person

Ho'sóevoha!
Méséhévoha!
Tàhéovénávoha!
Némenévoha!
Hotse'óhevoha!

meaning

Let them dance!
Let them eat!
Let them go to bed!
Let them sing!
Let them work!

Animate Intransitive Negative Hortative verbs

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

hortatives said about one person

Sáaho'sóehaha!
Sáaméséhéheha!
Tàsáa'ověšenáheha!
Sáanémenéheha!
Sáahotse'óheheha!

meaning

Don't let him dance!
Don't let him eat!
Don't let him go to bed!
Don't let him sing!
Don't let him work!

hortatives said about more than one person

Sáaho'sóehévoha!
Sáaméséhéhevoha!
Tàsáahéověšenáhevoha!
Sáanémenéhevoha!
Sáahotse'óhehevoha!

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:

Éhó'ta.	It's (there).	Ého'tánéstse.	They are (there)
Épéhéva'e.	It's good.	Épéhéva'énéstse.	They are good.
Éhávéséva'e.	It's bad.	Éhávéséva'énéstse.	They are bad.
Étáhpé'o.	It's big.	Étáhpé'ónéstse.	They are big.
Étšéšké'o.	It's small.	Étšéške'ónéstse.	They are small.
Ésééso.	It's the same.	Éséésónéstse.	They are the same.
Ého'ééto.	It's snowing.	-----	
Éhoo'kōho.	It's raining.	-----	
Évó'kómo.	It's white.	Évó'komónéstse.	They are white.
Éheóvo.	It's yellow.	Éheóvónéstse.	They are yellow.
Émá'o.	It's red.	Éma'ónéstse.	They are red.
Éó'o.	It's dry.	Éó'ónéstse.	They are dry.
Éhe'kóova.	It's wet.	Éhe'kóovánéstse.	They are wet.
Éháenāno.	It's heavy.	Éháenanónéstse.	They are heavy.
Ééstóvo.	It's sharp.	Ééstovónéstse.	They are sharp.
Épéhévééno'e.	It tastes good.	Épéhévééno'énéstse.	They taste good. \$\$RECK
Épéhévémeá'ha.	It smells good.	Épéhévémeá'hánéstse.	They smell good. \$\$RECK

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 mähēō'o means 'house'. If this noun stem is incorporated into the equative verb frame, the result is émaheóneve which means 'it is a house'. Equative verbs can be pluralized like other II verbs. So émaheónévénéstse 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:

Émótsšéškeve.	It is a knife.	Émótsšéškévénéstse.	They are knives.
Éhe'eve. ⁸⁴	It is liver.	Éhe'événéstse.	They are livers.
Éhesééotseve.	It is medicine.	Éhesééotsévénéstse.	They are medicines.
Émo'ěškoneve. ⁸⁵	It is a ring.	Émo'ěškonévénéstse.	They are rings.
Éméoneve.	It is a trail/road.	Éméonévénéstse.	They are trails/roads.
Éméta'xe.	It is a scalp.	Éméta'xévénéstse.	They are scalps.
Émo'kēhaneve.	It is a shoe.	Émo'kēhanévénéstse.	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.

Émanéstove.	There is drinking.	Émanéstóvénéstse.	There are drinkings.
Éméséhéstove.	There is eating.	Éméséhéstóvénéstse.	There are eatings.

⁸⁴ This sounds the same as Éhe'eve 'she is a woman'.

⁸⁵ This sounds the same as Émo'ěškoneve 'it (animate) is a finger'.

Éháeanáhtove.	There is hungering.	Éháeanáhtóvénestse.	There are hungerings.
Éháoenáhtove.	There is praying.	Éháoenáhtóvénestse.	There are prayings.
Énémenéstove.	There is singing.	Énémenéstóvénestse.	There are singings.
Esévanóhtove.	There is sliding.	Esévanóhtóvénestse.	There are slidings.
Éhenove.	It is said.??	Éhenóvénestse.??	??
Éhestohe.??	??	Éhestóhénéstse.??	??

Impersonals with reflexive/reciprocal stems

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

Éméhotáhtseo'o.	They love themselves/each other.
Éméhohtáhtséstove.	There is love for themselves/one another.
Éoó'evotáhtseo'o.	They argued with each other.
Éoó'evotáhtséstove.	There is arguing with each other.

Inanimate Intransitive Independent Indicative relational verbs

Unlike animate nouns, inanimate nouns with third person possessors are not marked for obviation. However, II verbs which have subjects possessed by third persons act like they are marked for obviation. But there are some important differences between animate obviation and what could be called inanimate obviation. Because of these differences, those who study Algonquian languages differ on whether to use the label inanimate obviation⁸⁷. Some prefer, instead, to call the "obviated" II verbs relational verbs⁸⁸. I use the label relational verbs in this book. The Cheyenne relational suffix is -tse. In the following sentence pairs the second sentence has a relational verb:

Namáhēō'o étáhpé'o	'My house is big';	Hemáhēō'o étáhpé'otse	'His house is big (rel).'
Neamáho'hestótse émá'o	'Your car is red';	Heamáho'hestótse éma'otse	'His car is red (rel).'
Namòx'éstoo'o éhó'ta	'My book is here';	Hemòxe'éstoo'o ého'tatse	'His book is here (rel).'

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

Namaahe évóhko	'My arrow is bent.'
Hemaahé évóhkotse	'His arrow is bent (rel).'
Namaahótse évóhkónéstse	'My arrows are bent.'
Hemaahótse évóhkonetótse	'His arrows are bent (rel).'

Inanimate Intransitive Indicative Negative verbs

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

Ésáaho'táháne.	It is not (here).	Ésáaho'táhanehótse.	They are not (here).
Ésáapéhéva'éháne.	It's not good.	Épéhéva'éhanehótse.	They are not good.

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

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

⁸⁸ E.g. Drapeau (2013), Junker (2003).

Ésáahavéséva'éháne.	It's not bad.	Ésáahavéséva'éhanehötse.	They are not bad.
Ésáatähpe'óháne.	It's not big.	Ésáatähpe'óhanehötse.	They are not big.
Ésáatšěške'óháne.	It's not small.	Ésáatšěške'óhanehötse.	They are not small.
Ésáaséesóháne.	It's not the same.	Ésáaséesóhanehötse.	They are not the same.
Ésáaho'éétáháne.	It's not snowing.	-----	
Ésáahoo'kóhóhane.	It's not raining.	-----	
Ésáavó'komóháne.	It's not white.	Ésáavó'komóhanehötse.	They are not white.
Ésáaheóvóháne.	It's not yellow.	Ésáaheóvóhanehötse.	They are not yellow.
Ésáama'óháne.	It's not red.	Ésáama'óhanehötse.	They are not red.
Ésáa'ó'óháne.	It's not dry.	Ésáa'ó'óhanehötse.	They are not dry.
Ésáahe'kóováháne.	It's not wet.	Ésáahe'kóováhanehötse.	They are not wet.
Ésáaháenanóháne.	It's not heavy.	Ésáaháenanóhanehötse.	They are not heavy.
Esáa'éstovóháne.	It's not sharp.	Ésáa'éstovóhanehötse.	They are not sharp.
Ésáapéhéveéno'éháne.	It tastes good.	Ésáapéhéveéno'éněstse.\$\$	They do not taste good.

Impersonal Negative verbs

Impersonals may be negated:

Ésáaméséhéstovéhane. There is not eating.
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanehötse. There are not eatings.

Ésáaháeanáhtovéhane. There is not hungering.
Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanehötse. 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:

Ésáaho'táhanéhetse. It is not (here) (rel).
Ésáaho'táhanéhenetötse. They are not (here) (rel).

Ésáaheóvóhanéhetse. It is not yellow (rel).
Ésáaheóvóhanéhenetötse. They are not yellow (rel).

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

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

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

Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetse. There is not eating (rel).

Ésáaméséhéstovèhanéhenetötse.	There are not eatings (rel).
Ésáaháeanáhtovèhanéhetse.	There is not hungering (rel).
Ésáaháeanóhtovèhanéhenetötse.	There are not hungerings (rel).
Ésáaháoenáhtovèhanéhetse.	There is not praying (rel).
Ésáaháoenáhtovèhanéhenetötse.	There are not prayings (rel).

Inanimate Intransitive Interrogative verbs

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

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

-he suffix II Interrogative verbs

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

Épèhéva'e.	It's good.
Épèhéva'énèstse.	They are good.

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

Épèhéva'ehe?	Is it good?
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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 –pèhéva'e, plural suffixation, plus the interrogative suffix –he. Here is the phonemic spelling of all these parts:

/é-pehéva'e-nevot-he/	Are they good?
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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 assibilate to "ts". After the phonological rules apply, we get this pronunciation spelling of the word:

Épèhéva'enevotse?	Are they good?
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Some other II interrogatives are:

Ého'tahe?	Is it (there)?	Ého'tanevotse?	Are they (there)?
Étáhpe'ohe?	Is it big?	Étáhpe'onevotse?	Are they big?
Ého'éetohe?	Did it snow?	-----	
Éhoo'kòhohe?	Did it rain?	-----	
Évó'komohe?	Is it white?	Évó'komonevotse?	Are they white?
Éheóvohe?	Is it yellow?	Éheóvonevotse?	Are they yellow?
Éhávèséva'ehe?	Is it bad?	Éhávèséva'enevotse?	Are they bad?
Éó'ohe?	Is it dry?	Éó'onevotse?	Are they dry?
Éma'ohe?	Is it red?	Ema'onevotse?	Are they red?
Ééstovohe?	Is it sharp?	Eéstovonevotse?	Are they sharp?
Émanéstovehe?	Is there drinking?	Émanéstovenevotse?	Are there drinkings?
Éméséhéstovehe?	Is there eating?	Éméséhéstovenevotse?	Are there eatings?
Éháeanáhtovehe?	Is there hungering?	Éháeanáhtovenevotse?	Are there hungerings?

Éháoenáhtovehe? Is there praying? Éháoenáhtovenevotse? Are there prayings?

Inanimate Intransitive Interrogative relational verbs

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

Nemóxe'éstoo'o ého'tahe?	Is your book there?
Hemóxe'éstoo'o ého'tatsehe?	Is his book there (rel)?
Hemóxe'éstóonótse ého'tanetsevotse?	Are his books there (rel)?
Éháeanáhtovetsehe?	Is there hungering (rel)? \$\$GIVE CONTEXT
Éháeanáhtovenetsevotse?	Are there hungerings (rel)? \$\$CONTEXT

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative verbs

Ésáaho'táhanehe?	Isn't it (there)?
Ésáaho'táhanevotse?	Aren't they (there)?
Ésáapèhéva'éhanehe?	Isn't it good?
Ésáapèhéva'éhanevotse?	Aren't they good?
Ésáatáhpe'óhanehe?	Isn't it big?
Ésáatáhpe'óhanevotse?	Aren't they big?
Ésáaho'éetóhanehe?	Isn't it snowing?
Ésáahoo'kóhóhanehe?	Isn't it raining?
Ésáaháeanáhtovèhanehe?	Isn't there hunger?
Ésáaháeanáhtovèhanevotse?	Aren't there hungerings?

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative relational verbs

Ésáaho'táhanéhetsehe?	Isn't his ___ (there) (rel)?
Ésáaho'táhanéhetotsehe?	Aren't his ___ (there) (rel)?
Ésáapèhéva'éhanéhetsehe?	Isn't his ___ good (rel)?
Ésáapèhéva'éhanéhetotsehe?	Aren't his ___ good (rel)?
Ésáaheóvóhanéhetsehe?	Isn't his ___ yellow (rel)?
Ésáaheóvóhanéhetotsehe?	Aren't his ___ yellow (rel)?
Ésáaháeanáhtovèhanéhetsehe?	Isn't there hungering (rel)? \$\$CONTEXT
Ésáaháeanáhtovèhanéhetotsehe?	Aren't there hungerings (rel)?

mó- prefix Inanimate Intransitive yes/no questions

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

Mó'épèhéva'e?	Is it good?
Mó'épèhéva'énéstse?	Are they good?
Mó'ésáapèhéva'éhane?	Isn't it good?
Mó'ésáapèhéva'éhanehótse?	Aren't they good?

Mó'éhó'ta?	Is it (here/there)?
Mó'ého'tánéstse?	Are they (here/there)?
Mó'éhoo'kōho?	Is it raining?
Mó'ésáahoo'kōhóhane?	Isn't it raining?
Mó'ého'ééto?	Is it snowing?
Mó'éméséhéstove?	Is there eating?

Inanimate Intransitive Inferential verbs

Mópèhéva'éhanēhe.	It must be good.
Mópèhéva'éhanevōtse.	They must be good.
Móma'óhanēhe.	It must be red.
Móma'óhanevōtse.	They must be red.
Móheóvōhanēhe.	It must be yellow.
Móheóvōhanevōtse.	They must be yellow.
Móhoo'kōhóhanēhe.	It must have rained.
Móméséhéstovēhanēhe.	There must have been eating.
Móméséhéstovēhanevōtse.	There must have been eatings.

Inanimate Intransitive Inferential relational verbs

Heamáho'hestótse móma'óhanetsēhe.	His car must be red (rel).
Heamáho'héstótótse móma'óhanetsevōtse.	His cars must be red (rel).
Hemòxe'èstoo'o mópèhéva'éhanetsēhe.	His book must be good (rel).
Hemòxe'èstóonótse mópèhéva'éhanetsevōtse.	His books must be good (rel).
Hemáhēō'o móheóvōhanetsēhe.	His house must be yellow (rel).
Hemáheonótse móheóvōhanetsevōtse.	His houses must be yellow (rel).

Inanimate Intransitive Reportative verbs

Ého'tánèse.	It's said to be (here/there).
Ého'tánèsestótse.	They are said to be (here/there).
Éhoo'kōhónèse.	It's said to be raining.
Évóhkónèse.	It's said to be bent.
Évóhkonèsestótse.	They are said to be bent.
Éma'ónèse.	It's said to be red.
Éma'ónèsestótse.	They are said to be red.
Éheóvónèse.	It's said to be yellow.
Éheóvonèsestótse.	They are said to be yellow.
Épèhéva'énèse.	It's said to be good.

Épèhéva'énèsestòtse.

They are said to be good.

Émésèhéstovenése.

It's said there is eating.

Émésèhéstovenèsestòtse.

It's said there are eatings.

Inanimate Intransitive Reportative relational verbs

Ého'tátsénése.

It's said his ___ is (here/there) (rel).

Ého'tátsenèsestòtse.

It's said his ___ are (here/there) (rel).

Évóhkótsénése.

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

Évóhkotsenèsestòtse.

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

Éma'ótsénése.

It's said his ___ is red (rel).

Éma'ótsenèsestòtse.

It's said his ___ are red (rel).

Éheóvótsénése.

It's said his ___ is yellow (rel).

Éheóvotsenèsestòtse.

It's said his ___ are yellow (rel).

Épèhéva'étsénése.

It's said his ___ is good (rel).

Épèhéva'étsenèsestòtse.

It's said his ___ are good (rel).

Émésèhéstóvetsénése.

It's said there is eating (rel).

Émésèhéstovetsenèsestòtse.

It's said there are eatings (rel). \$\$GIVE CONTEXT

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs

Ésáaho'táhanéhénése.

It's said it is not (here/there).

Ésáaho'táhanéhenèsestòtse.

It's said they are not (here/there).

Ésáahoo'kóhóhanéhénése.

It's said it's not raining.

Ésáapèhéva'éhanéhénése.

It's said it's not good.

Ésáapèhéva'éhanéhenèsestòtse.

It's said they are not good.

Ésáamésèhéstovéhanéhénése.

It's said there is not eating.

Ésáamésèhéstovéhanéhenèsestòtse. It's said there are not eatings.

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative relational verbs

Ésáaho'táhanéhetotsenése.

It's said his ___ isn't (here/there) (rel).

Ésáaho'táhanéhetotsenèsestòtse.

It's said his ___ aren't (here/there) (rel).

Ésáahoo'kóhóhanéhetotsenése.

It's said it's not raining (rel).

Ésáapèhéva'éhanéhetotsenése.

It's said his ___ is not good (rel).

Ésáapèhéva'éhanéhetotsenèsestòtse. It's said his ___ are not good (rel).

Ésáamésèhéstovéhanéhetotsenése.

It's said there isn't eating (rel).

Ésáamésèhéstovéhanéhetotsenèsestòtse. It's said there aren't eatings (rel).

Inanimate Intransitive Preterit verbs

Ého'tánehoh!	Surprisingly, it's (here/there)! ⁸⁹
Ého'tánéhoonótse!	Surprisingly, they are (here/there)!
Éhoo'kóhónehoh!	Surprisingly, it's raining!
Épèhéva'énehoh!	Surprisingly, it's good!
Épèhéva'énéhoonótse!	Surprisingly, they are good!
Éméséhéstovenehoh!	Surprisingly, there is eating!
Éméséhéstovenéhoonótse!	Surprisingly, there are eatings!

Inanimate Intransitive Preterit relational verbs

Ého'tátsenehoh!	Surprisingly, his ___ is (here/there) (rel)!
Ého'tátsenéhoonótse!	Surprisingly, his ___ are (here/there) (rel)!
Éhoo'kóhótsenehoh!	Surprisingly, it's raining (rel)!
Épèhéva'étsenehoh!	Surprisingly, his ___ is good (rel)!
Épèhéva'étsénóhoonótse!	Surprisingly, his ___ are good (rel)!
Éméséhéstovetsénehoh!	Surprisingly, there is eating (rel)!
Éméséhéstovetsénóonótse!	Surprisingly, there are eatings (rel)!

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs

Ésáaho'táhanéhenehoh!	Surprisingly, it's not (here/there)!
Ésáaho'táhanéhenéhoonótse!	Surprisingly, they are not (here/there)!
Ésáahoo'kóhóhanéhenehoh!	Surprisingly, it's not raining!
Ésáapèhéva'éhanéhenehoh!	Surprisingly, it's not good!
Ésáapèhéva'éhanéhenóhoonótse!	Surprisingly, they are not good!
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhenehoh!	Surprisingly, there is not eating!
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhenóhoonótse!	Surprisingly, there are not eatings!

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit relative verbs

Ésáaho'táhanéhetotsénehoh!	Surprisingly, his ___ is not (here/there) (rel)!
Ésáaho'táhanéhetotsénéhoonótse!	Surprisingly, his ___ are not (here/there) (rel)!
Ésáahoo'kóhóhanéhetotsénehoh!	Surprisingly, it isn't raining (rel)!
Ésáapèhéva'éhanéhetotsénehoh!	Surprisingly, his ___ isn't good (rel)!
Ésáapèhéva'éhanéhetotsénóhoonótse!	Surprisingly, his ___ aren't good (rel)!
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetotsénehoh!	Surprisingly, there is not eating (rel)!
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetotsénéhoonótse!	Surprisingly, there are not eatings (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'tánehoh '(Once upon a time) a tepee was there.'

Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs

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

/-vóom/ 'see (someone)'

návóomahtse	I saw myself	évóomovo	they saw him (obv)
névóomatse	I saw you	návóomaeneo'o	they saw us (excl)
návóómo	I saw him	névóomaeneo'o	they saw us (incl)
návóomamóho	I saw him (obv)	névóomaevo'o	they saw you (pl)
névóomatsēme	I saw you (pl)	évóomáhtseo'o	they saw themselves ⁹⁰
návóomoo'o	I saw them		

névóome	you saw me	návóomāne	I was seen
névóomahtse	you saw yourself	névóomāne	you were seen
návóómo	you saw him	évóome	he was seen
návóomamóho	you saw him (obv)	návóomanēme	we (excl) were seen
névóomemenoyou	saw us (excl)	névóomanema	we (incl) were seen
návóomoo'o	you saw them	névóomanēme	you (pl) were seen
		évóomeo'o	they were seen

návóoma	he saw me
névóoma	he saw you
évóomahtse	he saw himself
évóomóho	he saw him (obv)
návóomaēne	he saw us (excl)
névóomaene	he saw us (incl)
névóomaēvo	he saw you (pl)

návóomaetsenoto	he (obv) saw me
névóomaetsenoto	he (obv) saw you
évóomāā'e	he (obv) saw him
évóomáhtóho	he (obv) saw himself
návóomaetsenone	he (obv) saw us (excl)
névóomaetsenone	he (obv) saw us (incl)
névóomaetsenōvo	he (obv) saw you (pl)
évóomaevóho	he (obv) saw them

névóomatsemeno	we (excl) saw you
návóomóne	we (excl) saw him
návóomamone	we (excl) saw him (obv)
návóomáhtsēme	we (excl) saw ourselves
névóomatsemeno	we (excl) saw you (pl)
návóomóneo'o	we (excl) saw them

névóomone	we (incl) saw him
névóomamonewe	(incl) saw him (obv)
névóomáhtsema	we (incl) saw ourselves
névóomóneo'o	we (incl) saw them

névóomēme	you (pl) saw me
névóomóvo	you (pl) saw him
névóomamovoyou	(pl) saw him (obv)
névóomemenoyou	(pl) saw us (excl)
névóomáhtsēme	you (pl) saw yourselves
névóomóvoo'o	you (pl) saw them

návóomāā'e	they saw me
névóomāā'e	they saw you

⁹⁰ Cheyenne reflexives and reciprocals have identical morphology. So, outside some speech context, this Cheyenne verb can mean either 'they saw themselves' or 'they saw each other'. A reciprocal particle, nonámé'tó'e, can precede this verb so that it will only mean 'they saw each other'.

/-méót/ 'fight (someone)'

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

náméotahtse	I fought myself	néméotáá'e	they fought you
némeotátse	I fought you	éméotovo	they fought him (obv)
náméoto ⁹¹	I fought him	náméotaeneo'o	they fought us (excl)
náméotamóho	I fought him (obv)	néméotaeneo'o	they fought us (incl)
néméotatsēme	I fought you (pl)	néméotaevoo'o	they fought you (pl)
náméotoo'o	I fought them	éméotáhtseo'o	they fought themselves ⁹³
néméoxe	you fought me	náméotáne	I was fought
néméotahtse	you fought yourself	néméotáne	you were fought
néméoto	you fought him	éméohe	he was fought
néméotamóho	you fought him (obv)	náméotanēme	we (excl) were fought
néméoxemeno	you fought us (excl)	néméotanema	we (incl) were fought
néméotoo'o	you fought them	néméotanēme	you (pl) were fought
		éméoheo'o	they were fought
náméota	he fought me		
néméota	he fought you		
éméotahtse	he fought himself		
éméotóho ⁹²	he fought him (obv)		
náméotáéne	he fought us (excl)		
néméotaene	he fought us (incl)		
néméotáévo	he fought you (pl)		
náméotaetsenoto	he (obv) fought me		
néméotaetsenoto	he (obv) fought you		
éméotáá'e	he (obv) fought him		
éméotáhtóho	he (obv) fought himself		
náméotaetsenone	he (obv) fought us (excl)		
néméotaetsenone	he (obv) fought us (incl)		
néméotaetsenōvo	he (obv) fought you (pl)		
éméotaevóho	he (obv) fought them		
néméotatsemeno	we (ex) fought you		
náméotóne	we (ex) fought him		
náméotamone	we (ex) fought him (obv)		
náméotáhtsēme	we (ex) fought ourselves		
néméotatsemeno	we (ex) fought you (pl)		
náméotoneo'o	we (ex) fought them		
néméotone	we (incl) fought him		
néméotamone	we (incl) fought him (obv)		
néméotáhtsema	we (incl) fought ourselves		
néméotoneo'o	we (incl) fought them		
néméóxéme	you (pl) fought me		
néméotóvo	you (pl) fought him		
néméotamovo	you (pl) fought him (obv)		
néméoxemeno	you (pl) fought us (excl)		
néméotáhtsēme	you (pl) fought yourselves		
néméotovoo'o	you (pl) fought them		
náméotáá'e	they fought me		

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

⁹² Some speakers pronounce this as éméoto because the stem-final vowel is high pitched.

⁹³ Or 'they fought each other'

/-het/ 'tell (someone)'

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

náhetah̄tse	I told myself	éhetah̄tseo'o	they told themselves ⁹⁴
néhetātse	I told you		
náhéto	I told him	náhetāne	I was told
náhetamóho	I told him (obv)	néhetāne	you were told
néhetatsēme	I told you (pl)	éhestohe	he was told
náhetoo'o	I told them	náhetanēme	we (excl) were told
		néhetanema	we (incl) were told
néheše	you told me	néhetanēme	you (pl) were told
néhetah̄tse	you told yourself	éhestóheo'o	they were told
néhéto	you told him		
néhetamóho	you told him (obv)		
néhešemenó	you told us (excl)		
néhetoo'o	you told them		
náheta	he told me		
néheta	he told you		
éhetah̄tse	he told himself		
éhetóho	he told him (obv)		
náhetaēne	he told us (excl)		
néhetaene	he told us (incl)		
néhetaēvo	he told you (pl)		
náhetaetsenoto	he (obv) told me		
néhetatsenoto	he (obv) told you		
éhetāā'e	he (obv) told him		
éhetah̄tóho	he (obv) told himself		
náhetaetsenone	he (obv) told us (excl)		
néhetatsenone	he (obv) told us (incl)		
néhetaetsenōvo	he (obv) told you (pl)		
éhetaevoóho	he (obv) told them		
néhetatsemenó	we (excl) told you		
náhetoéne	we (excl) told him		
náhetamone	we (ex) told him (obv)		
náhetah̄tsēme	we (ex) told ourselves		
néhetatsemenó	we (ex) told you (pl)		
náhetoéneo'o	we (excl) told them		
néhetone	we (incl) told him		
néhetamone	we (in) told him (obv)		
néhetah̄tsema	we (in) told ourselves		
náhetoéneo'o	we (incl) told them		
néhešēme	you (pl) told me		
néhetoóvo	you (pl) told him		
néhetamovo	you (pl) told him (obv)		
néhešemenó	you (pl) told us (excl)		
néhetah̄tsēme	you (pl) told yourselves		
néhetoóvoo'o	you (pl) told them		
náhetaāā'e	they told me		
néhetaāā'e	they told you		
éhetovo	they told him (obv)		
náhetaeneo'o	they told us (excl)		
néhetaeneo'o	they told us (incl)		
néhetaevoóo'o	they told you (pl)		

⁹⁴ Or 'they told each other'

/-a'tas/ 'accidentally cut (someone)'

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

náa'táxestse	I acc. cut myself	néa'táxemenó	you (pl) acc. cut us (ex)
néa'xéstse	I acc. cut you	néa'táxéstsēme	you (pl) acc. cut yourselves
náa'tāso ⁹⁵	I acc. cut him	néa'tásóvoo'o	you (pl) acc. cut them
náa'táxamóho	I acc. cut him (obv)		
néa'táxetsēme	I acc. cut you (pl)	náa'táxēē'e	they acc. cut me
náa'tásoo'o	I acc. cut them	néa'táxēē'e	they acc. cut you
		éa'tásovo	they acc. cut him (obv)
néa'taxe	you acc. cut me	náa'táxeeneo'o	they acc. cut us (excl)
néa'táxestse	you acc. cut yourself	néa'táxeeneo'o	they acc. cut us (incl)
néa'tāso	you acc. cut him	néa'táxeevoo'o	they acc. cut you (pl)
néa'táxamóho	you acc. cut him (obv)	éa'táxéstseo'o	they acc. cut themselves
néa'táxemenó	you acc. cut us (excl)		
néa'tásoo'o	you acc. cut them	náa'táxēne	I was acc. cut
		néa'táxēne	you were acc. cut
náa'taxe	he acc. cut me	éa'taxe	he was acc. cut
néa'taxe ⁹⁶	he acc. cut you	náa'táxenēme	we (ex) were acc. cut
éa'táxestse	he acc. cut himself	néa'táxenema	we (in) were acc. cut
éa'tásóho	he acc. cut him (obv)	néa'táxenēme	you (pl) were acc. cut
náa'táxēne	he acc. cut us (excl)	éa'táxeo'o	they were acc. cut
néa'táxeene	he acc. cut us (incl)		
néa'táxēvo	he acc. cut you (pl)		
náa'táxeetsenoto	he (obv) acc. cut me		
néa'táxeetsenoto	he (obv) acc. cut you		
éa'táxēē'e	he (obv) acc. cut him		
éa'táxéstóho	he (obv) acc. cut himself		
náa'táxeetsenone	he (obv) acc. cut us (ex)		
néa'táxeetsenone	he (obv) acc. cut us (in)		
néa'táxeetsenōvo	he (obv) acc. cut you (pl)		
éa'táxeevóho	he (obv) acc. cut them		
néa'táxetsemeno	we (ex) acc. cut you		
náa'tásóne	we (ex) acc. cut him		
náa'táxamone	we (ex) acc. cut him (obv)		
náa'táxéstsēme	we (ex) acc. cut ourselves		
néa'táxetsemeno	we (ex) acc. cut you (pl)		
náa'tásóneo'o	we (ex) acc. cut them		
néa'tásone	we (in) acc. cut him		
néa'táxamone	we (in) acc. cut him (obv)		
néa'táxéstsema	we (in) acc. cut ourselves		
néa'tásóneo'o	we (in) acc. cut them		
néa'táxēme	you (pl) acc. cut me		
néa'tásóvo	you (pl) acc. cut him		
néa'táxamovo	you (pl) acc. cut him (obv)		

⁹⁵ This is phonemically /náa'tasó/. It reflects PA

*nepeʔtešwa:wa.

⁹⁶ This is pronounced the same as the verb meaning 'you accidentally cut me'.

-vovéstomev 'teach (someone)'

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

návovéstomévah̄tse I taught myself
 névovéstomev̄atse I taught you
 návovéstomēvo I taught him
 návovéstomévamóho I taught him (obv)
 névovéstomévatsēme I taught you (pl)
 návovéstomevoo'o I taught them

névovéstomeve you taught me
 návovéstomévah̄tse you taught yourself
 névovéstomēvo you taught him
 návovéstomévamóho you taught him (obv)
 névovéstomevemeno you taught us (excl)
 návovéstomevoo'o you taught them

návovéstomeva he taught me
 névovéstomeva he taught you
 évovéstomévah̄tse he taught himself
 évovéstomevóho he taught him (obv)
 návovéstomóéne he taught us (excl)
 névovéstomóene he taught us (incl)
 návovéstomóévo he taught you (pl)

návovéstomóetsenoto he (obv) taught me
 návovéstomóetsenoto he (obv) taught you
 évovéstomóó'e he (obv) taught him
 évovéstomévah̄tóho he (obv) taught himself
 návovéstomóetsenone he (obv) taught us (excl)
 návovéstomóetsenone he (obv) taught us (incl)
 návovéstomóetsenōvo he (obv) taught you (pl)
 évovéstomóevóho he (obv) taught them

névovéstomévatsemenō we (excl) taught you
 návovéstomevóne we (excl) taught him
 návovéstomévamone we (ex) taught him (obv)
 návovéstomévah̄tsēme we (ex) taught ourselves
 návovéstomévatsemenō we (ex) taught you (pl)

návovéstomevóneo'o we (excl) taught them

névovéstomevone we (incl) taught him
 névovéstomévamone we (in) taught him (obv)
 névovéstomévah̄tsemawe (in) taught ourselves
 návovéstomevóneo'o we (incl) taught them

névovéstomevēmē you (pl) taught me
 návovéstomevóvo you (pl) taught him
 návovéstomévamovo you (pl) taught him (obv)
 návovéstomevemeno you (pl) taught us (excl)
 návovéstomévah̄tsēme you (pl) taught yourselves
 návovéstomevóvoo'o you (pl) taught them

návovéstomóó'e they taught me
 návovéstomóó'e they taught you
 évovéstomovo they taught him (obv)
 návovéstomóeneo'o they taught us (excl)
 návovéstomóeneo'o they taught us (incl)
 návovéstomóevoo'o they taught you (pl)
 éhetah̄tseo'o they taught themselves

návovéstomóne I was taught
 návovéstomóne you were taught
 évovéstomohe he was taught
 návovéstomónēme we (excl) were taught
 návovéstomónēma we (incl) were taught
 návovéstomónēme you (pl) were taught
 évovéstomóheo'o they were taught

other verbs ending with -ev

námé'èstomēvo I explained (it) to him.
 námé'èstomóó'e They explained to me.
 émé'èstomóevóho He (obv) explained to them.
 éhoéstomevóho He read to him (obv).

-héne'enov 'know (someone)'

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

náhéne'enóvahtse	I know myself	néhéne'enóvatsemeno	we (excl) know you (pl)
néhéne'enóvatse	I know you	náhéne'enóvóneo'o	we (excl) know them
náhéne'enōvo	I know him	néhéne'enovone	we (incl) know him
náhéne'enóvamóho	I know him (obv)	néhéne'enóvamone	we (in) know him (obv)
néhéne'enóvatséme	I know you (pl)	néhéne'enóvahtsema	we (in) know ourselves
náhéne'enovoo'o	I know them	néhéne'enóvóneo'o	we (incl) know them
néhéne'enove	you know me	néhéne'enovēme	you (pl) know me
néhéne'enóvahtse	you know yourself	néhéne'enóvóvo	you (pl) know him
néhéne'enōvo	you know him	néhéne'enóvamovo	you (pl) know him (obv)
néhéne'enóvamóho	you know him (obv)	néhéne'enovemenó	you (pl) know us (excl)
néhéne'enovemenó	you know us (excl)	néhéne'enóvahtséme	you (pl) know yourselves
néhéne'enovoo'o	you know them	néhéne'enóvóneo'o	you (pl) know them
náhéne'enova	he knows me	náhéne'enóó'e	they know me
néhéne'enova	he knows you	néhéne'enóó'e	they know you
éhéne'enóvahtse	he knows himself	éhéne'enovovothey	they know him (obv)
éhéne'enóvóho	he knows him (obv)	náhéne'enóeneo'o	they know us (excl)
náhéne'enóéne	he knows us (excl)	néhéne'enóeneo'o	they know us (incl)
néhéne'enóéne	he knows us (incl)	néhéne'enóevoo'o	they know you (pl)
néhéne'enóévo	he knows you (pl)	éhéne'enóvahtseo'o	they know themselves
náhéne'enóetsenoto	he (obv) knows me	náhéne'enóne	I am known
néhéne'enóetsenoto	he (obv) knows you	néhéne'enóne	you are known
éhéne'enóó'e	he (obv) knows him	éhéne'enohe	he is known
éhéne'enóvahttóho	he (obv) knows himself	náhéne'enónéme	we (excl) are known
náhéne'enóetsenone	he (obv) knows us (excl)	néhéne'enónema	we (incl) are known
néhéne'enóetsenone	he (obv) knows us (incl)	néhéne'enónéme	you (pl) are known
néhéne'enóetsenōvo	he (obv) knows you (pl)	éhéne'enóheo'o	they are known
éhéne'enóevóho	he (obv) knows them		
néhéne'enóvatsemeno	we (excl) know you	other verbs ending with -ov	
náhéne'enóvóne	we (excl) know him	éáahtovóho	he listened to him (obv)
náhéne'enóvamone	we (ex) know him (obv)	éáahtóó'e	he (obv) listened to him
náhéne'enóvahtséme	we (ex) know ourselves		

/-taeváhn/ 'measure (someone)'

Stem-final "n" of consonant clusters in verb stems such as /-taváhn/ deletes word-medially in the inverse voice and certain other person combinations **\$\$RECHECK ANALYSIS OF DELETION ENVIRONMENT.**

nátaeváhestse	I measured myself	nátaeváheeneo'o	they measured us (excl)
nétaevaestse	I measured you	nétaeváheeneo'o	they measured us (incl)
nátaeváhnno	I measured him	nétaevéheevoo'o	they measured you (pl)
nátaeváhamóho	I measured him (obv)	étaeváhestseo'o	they m. themselves
nétaeváhetsēme	I measured you (pl)		
nátaeváhnnoo'o	I measured them	nátaeváhéne	I was measured
		nétaeváhéne	you were measured
nétaevahe	you measured me	étaevahe	he was measured
nétaeváhestse	you measured yourself	nátaeváhenēme	we (ex) were measured
nétaeváhnno	you measured him	nétaeváhenema	we (in) were measured
nétaeváhamóho	you m. him (obv)	nétaeváhenēme	you (pl) were measured
nétaeváhemeno	you measured us (ex)	étaeváheo'o	they were measured
nétaeváhnnoo'o	you measured them		
nátaevahe	he measured me		
nétaevahe	he measured you		
étaeváhestse	he measured himself		
étaeváhnóho ⁹⁷	he measured him (obv)		
nátaeváhééne	he measured us (excl)		
nétaeváheene	he measured us (incl)		
nétaeváhéévo	he measured you (pl)		
nátaeváheetsenoto	he (obv) measured me		
nétaeváheetsenoto	he (obv) measured you		
étaeváhéé'e	he (obv) measured him		
étaeváhestóho	he (obv) measured himself		
nátaeváheetsenone	he (obv) measured us (ex)		
nétaeváheetsenone	he (obv) measured us (in)		
nétaeváheetsenóvo	he (obv) measured you (pl)		
étaeváheevóhohe (obv)	measured them		
nétaeváhetsemeno	we (excl) measured you		
nátaeváhnóne	we (excl) measured him		
nátaeváhamone	we (ex) m. him (obv)		
nátaeváhetséme	we (ex) m. ourselves		
nétaeváhetsemeno	we (ex) m. you (pl)		
nátaeváhnnoneo'o	we (excl) m. them		
nétaeváhnnone	we (in) measured him		
nétaeváhamone	we (in) m. him (obv)		
nétaeváhestsema	we (in) m. ourselves		
nétaeváhnnoneo'o	we (incl) m. them		
nétaeváhéme	you (pl) measured me		
nétaeváhnóvo	you (pl) measured him		
nétaeváhamovo	you (pl) m. him (obv)		
nétaeváhemeno	you (pl) m. us (excl)		
nétaeváhetséme	you (pl) m. yourselves		
nétaeváhnvoo'o	you (pl) measured them		
nátaeváhéé'e	they measured me		
nétaeváhéé'e	they measured you		
étaeváhnovo	they m. him (obv)		

⁹⁷ Some speakers say étaevahno because the penultimate syllable is phonemically high-pitched.

/-moné'tov/ 'choose (someone)'

The transitivizing final -'tov changes to /-no(t)/ in the direct voice when the vowel preceding this suffix is phonemically high-pitched. The "ov" of the transitivizing suffix contracts in the inverse voice like other TA verb stems ending in "ov". **\$\$\$RECHECK PARADIGM**

námoné'tovahtse	I chose myself
némoné'továtse	I chose you
námonenótse	I chose him
námonévonoto	I chose him (obv)
némoné'tovatsēme	I chose you (pl)
námonénoto	I chose them
némoné'tove	you chose me
némoné'tovahtse	you chose yourself
némonenótse	you chose him
námonévonoto	you chose him (obv)
némoné'tovemenó	you chose us (ex)
námonénoto	you chose them
námoné'tova	he chose me
némoné'tova	he chose you
émoné'tovahtse	he chose himself
émonénoto	he chose him (obv)
námoné'tóéne	he chose us (excl)
némoné'toene	he chose us (incl)
némoné'tóévo	he chose you (pl)
námoné'toetsenoto	he (obv) chose me
némoné'toetsenoto	he (obv) chose you
émoné'tóó'e	he (obv) chose him
émoné'továhtóho?	he (obv) chose himself
námoné'toetsenone	he (obv) chose us (ex)
némoné'toetsenone	he (obv) chose us (in)
némoné'toetsenōvo	he (obv) chose you (pl)
émoné'toevóho	he (obv) chose them
némoné'toetsemeno	we (excl) chose you
námonénóne	we (excl) chose him
námonévonone??	we (ex) chose him (obv)
námoné'továhtsēme?	we (ex) chose ourselves
némoné'tovemenó	we (ex) chose you (pl)
námonénoneo'o	we (excl) chose them
némonénone	we (incl) chose him
námonévonone	we (incl) chose him (obv)
némoné'továhtsema	we (incl) chose ourselves
námonénoneo'o	we (incl) chose them
némoné'tovēme	you (pl) chose me
námonénóvo	you (pl) chose him
námonévonovo	you (pl) chose him (obv)
némoné'tovemenó	you (pl) chose us (ex)
némoné'továhtsēme	you (pl) chose yourselves
námonénovoo'o	you (pl) chose them
námoné'tóó'e	they chose me
némoné'tóó'e	they chose you
émonénovo	they chose him (obv)
námoné'toeneo'o	they chose us (ex)
némoné'toeneo'o	they chose us (in)

némoné'toevoo'o	they chose you (pl)
émoné'továhtseo'o	they chose themselves
námoné'tóne	I was chosen
némoné'tóne	You were chosen
émoné'tohe⁹⁸	He was chosen
námoné'tónéme	We (excl) were chosen
némoné'tonéma	We (incl) were chosen
némoné'tónéme	You (pl) were chosen
émoné'tóheo'o	They were chosen
émonévonoto	He chose him (obv')
émonévonovo	They chose him (obv')

other verbs with the -'tov final:

náne'étamé'tova	He depends on me
náne'étamenótse	I depend on him
náho'áhenótse	I want him
nápéhéve'tova	He was good to me
nápéhévé'tóvo ⁹⁹	I was good to him
náméanótse	I gave him away
náméánóne	We (excl) gave him
éméá'tóó'e	He (obv) gave him
náno'evéhe'tova	He is named after me
náno'evéhenótse	I am named after him
náamo'xé'tova	He carried me on his back
náamo'xenótse	I carried him on my back
nánomáhtsenótse	I stole him
nánomáhtsé'tóó'e	They stole me
náhestónáhé'tova ¹⁰⁰	I am his/her daughter
náhestónáhenótse	She is my daughter
náhee'hahé'tova	I am his/her son
náhee'hahenótse	He is my son
náhee'hahénoto	They are my sons

⁹⁸ Also émoné'tovóho

⁹⁹ This direct form does not change to /-not/ because the vowel preceding -'tov is not phonemically high-pitched. The stem is /-pehéve'tov/ 'do good to'.

¹⁰⁰ Literally, 'she has me as daughter'

Transitive Animate Independent Indicative negative verbs

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

'not see (someone)'

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

<i>nésáavóoméheyou</i>	did not see me
<i>nésáavóomáhtséhe</i>	you did not see yourself
<i>nésáavóomóhe</i>	you did not see him
<i>nésáavóomamóheho</i>	you did not see him (obv)
<i>nésáavóoméhemeno</i>	you did not see us (ex)
<i>nésáavóomóheo'o</i>	you did not see them

<i>násáavóomaēhe</i>	he did not see me
<i>nésáavóomaēhe</i>	he did not see you
<i>ésáavóomáhtséhe</i>	he did not see himself
<i>ésáavóomóheho</i>	he did not see him (obv)
<i>násáavóomaehéne</i>	he did not see us (excl)
<i>nésáavóomaehene</i>	he did not see us (incl)
<i>nésáavóomaehévo</i>	he did not see you (pl)

<i>násáavóomaehétsenoto</i>	he (obv) did not see me
<i>nésáavóomaehétsenoto</i>	he (obv) did not see you
<i>ésáavóomaehého</i>	he (obv) did not see him
<i>násáavóomaehétsenone</i>	he (obv) did not see us (ex)
<i>nésáavóomaehétsenone</i>	he (obv) did not see us (in)
<i>nésáavóomaehétsenovo</i>	he (obv) did not see you (pl)
<i>ésáavóomaehévo</i>	he (obv) did not see them

<i>nésáavóomatséhemenno</i>	we (ex) did not see you
<i>násáavóomóhéne</i>	we (ex) did not see him
<i>násáavóomamóhene</i>	we (ex) did not see him (obv)
<i>násáavóomáhtséhéme</i>	we (excl) did not see ourselves
<i>nésáavóomatséhemenno</i>	we (ex) did not see you (pl)
<i>násáavóomóheneo'o</i>	we (ex) did not see them

<i>nésáavóomóhene</i>	we (incl) did not see him
<i>nésáavóomamóhene</i>	we (in) did not see him (obv)
<i>nésáavóomáhtséhema</i>	we (in) did not see ourselves
<i>nésáavóomóheneo'o</i>	we (incl) did not see them

<i>nésáavóoméhéme</i>	you (pl) did not see me
<i>nésáavóomóhévo</i>	you (pl) did not see him
<i>nésáavóomamóhevo</i>	you (pl) did not see him (obv)
<i>nésáavóoméhemeno</i>	you (pl) did not see us (ex)
<i>nésáavóomáhtséhéme</i>	you (pl) did not see yourselves
<i>nésáavóomóhevo'o</i>	you (pl) did not see them
<i>nésáavóomaehé'o</i>	they did not see me
<i>nésáavóomaehé'o</i>	they did not see you
<i>ésáavóomóhevo</i>	they did not see him (obv)
<i>násáavóomaehéneo'o</i>	they did not see us (excl)
<i>nésáavóomaehéneo'o</i>	they did not see us (incl)

<i>nésáavóomaehévo'o</i>	they did not see you (pl)
<i>ésáavóomáhtséheo'o</i>	they did not see themselves

<i>násáavóomanéhe</i>	I was not seen
<i>nésáavóomanéhe</i>	you were not seen
<i>ésáavóoméhe</i>	he was not seen
<i>násáavóomanéhéme</i>	we (excl) were not seen
<i>nésáavóomanéhema</i>	we (incl) were not seen
<i>nésáavóomanéhéme</i>	you (pl) were not seen
<i>ésáavóoméheo'o</i>	they were not seen

'not know (someone)'

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

\$\$RECHECK PARADIGM

násáahéne'enóvãhtsése I do not know myself
 násáahéne'enóvatsése I do not know you
 násáahéne'enovóhe I do not know him
 násáahéne'enóvamóheho I do not know him (obv)
 násáahéne'enóvatséhéme I do not know you (pl)
 násáahéne'enovóheo'o I do not know them

nésáahéne'enovéhe you do not know me
 nésáahéne'enóvãhtsése you do not know yourself
 nésáahéne'enovóhe you do not know him
 nésáahéne'enóvamóheho you do not know him (obv)
 nésáahéne'enovéhemenó you do not know us (ex)
 nésáahéne'enovóheo'o you do not know them

násáahéne'enóéhe he does not know me
 násáahéne'enóéhe he does not know you
 ésáahéne'enóvãhtsése he does not know himself
 ésáahéne'enovóheho he does not know him (obv)
 násáahéne'óéhéne he does not know us (excl)
 nésáahéne'enóehene he does not know us (incl)
 nésáahéne'enóéhévo he does not know you (pl)

násáahéne'enóehétsenotohe (obv) does not know me
 násáahéne'enóehétsenotohe (obv) does not know you
 ésáahéne'enóehého he (obv) does not know him
 násáahéne'enóehétsenonehe (obv) does not know us (ex)
 násáahéne'enóehétsenonehe (obv) does not know us (in)
 násáahéne'enóehétsenovo he (obv) does not know you (pl)
 ésáahéne'enóehévo he (obv) does not know them

nésáahéne'enóvatséhemenó we (ex) do not know you
 násáahéne'enovóhéne we (ex) do not know him
 násáahéne'enóvamóhe we (ex) do not know him (obv)

násáahéne'enóvãhtséhéme we (ex) do not know ourselves
 násáahéne'enóvatséhemenó we (ex) do not know you (pl)
 násáahéne'enovóheneo'o we (ex) do not know them

nésáahéne'enovóhene we (incl) do not know him
 násáahéne'enóvamóhe we (in) do not know him (obv)
 násáahéne'enóvãhtséhéma we (in) do not know ourselves
 násáahéne'enovóheneo'o we (incl) do not know them

nésáahéne'enovéhéme you (pl) do not know me
 násáahéne'enovóhévo you (pl) do not know him
 násáahéne'enovamóhevo you (pl) do not know him (obv)
 násáahéne'enovéhemenó you (pl) do not know us (ex)
 násáahéne'enóvãhtséhéme you (pl) do not know yourselves
 násáahéne'enovóhevo'o you (pl) do not know them

nésáahéne'enóehé'o they do not know me
 násáahéne'enóehé'o they do not know you
 ésáahéne'enovóhevo they do not know him (obv)
 násáahéne'enóehéneo'o they do not know us (excl)
 násáahéne'enóehéneo'o they do not know us (incl)
 násáahéne'enóehévo'o they do not know you (pl)
 ésáahéne'enóvãhtséhé'o they do not know themselves

násáahéne'enónéhe?? I am not known
 násáahéne'enónéhe?? you are not known
 ésáahéne'enóhéhe he is not known
 násáahéne'enónéhéme we (excl) are not known
 násáahéne'enónéhéma we (incl) are not known
 násáahéne'enónéhéme you (pl) are not known
 ésáahéne'enóheheo'o they are not known

'not choose (someone)'

\$\$RECHECK PARADIGM

násáamoné'továhtséhe	I did not choose myself
nésáamoné'tovatséhe	I did not choose you
násáamonéhenötse	I did not choose him
násáamonévòhénoto??	I do not know him (obv)
nésáamoné'tovatséhéme	I did not choose you (pl)
násáamonéhenoto	I did not choose them
nésáamoné'tovéhe	you did not choose me
nésáamoné'továhtséhe	you did not choose yourself
nésáamonéhenötse	you did not choose him
nésáamonévòhénoto??	you did not choose him (obv)
nésáamoné'tovèhemeno	you did not choose us (ex)
nésáamonéhenoto	you did not choose them
násáamoné'tóéhe	he did not choose me
nésáamoné'tóéhe	he did not choose you
ésáamoné'továhtséhe	he did not choose himself
ésáamonéhenoto??	he did not choose him (obv)
násáamoné'tóéhéne	he did not choose us (excl)
nésáamoné'tóehene	he did not choose us (incl)
nésáamoné'tóéhévo	he did not choose you (pl)
násáamoné'toehétsenotohe (obv)	did not choose me
nésáamoné'toehétsenotohe (obv)	did not choose you
ésáamoné'toehéhe??	he (obv) did not choose him
násáamoné'toehétsenonehe (obv)	did not choose us (ex)
nésáamoné'toehétsenonehe (obv)	did not choose us (in)
nésáamoné'toehétsenovohe (obv)	did not choose you (pl)
ésáamoné'toehévo??	he (obv) did not choose them
nésáamoné'tovatséhémene	we (excl) did not choose you
násáamonéhénóné??	we (excl) did not choose him
násáamonéhenone??	we (ex) did not choose him (obv)
násáamoné'továhtséhéme	we (ex) did not choose ourselves
nésáamoné'tovatséhémene	we (ex) did not choose you (pl)
nésáamonéhenoneo'o??	we (ex) did not choose them
nésáamonéhenone	we (in) did not choose him
nésáamonévòhónone??	we (in) did not choose him (obv)
nésáamoné'továhtséhema	we (in) did not choose ourselves
nésáamonéhenoneo'o	we (in) did not choose them
nésáamoné'tovéhéme	you (pl) did not choose me

nésáamonéhénóvo??	you (pl) did not choose him
nésáamonévòhénovo??	you (pl) did not choose him (obv)
nésáamoné'tovèhemeno	you (pl) did not choose us (ex)
nésáamoné'továhtséhéme	you (pl) did not choose yourselves
nésáamonéhenovoo'o	you (pl) did not choose them

nésáamoné'toeheo'o	they did not choose me
nésáamoné'toeheo'o	they did not choose you
ésáamonéhenovo??	they did not choose him (obv)
násáamoné'toehéneo'o	they did not choose us (excl)
nésáamoné'toehéneo'o	they did not choose us (incl)
nésáamoné'toehévoo'o	they did not choose you (pl)
ésáamoné'továhtséhéneo'o	they did not choose themselves

násáamoné'tónéhe??	I was not chosen
nésáamoné'tónéhe??	you were not chosen
ésáamonéstóvéhe??	he were not chosen
násáamoné'tòhénéme	we (excl) were not chosen
nésáamoné'tòhenema	we (incl) were not chosen
nésáamoné'tòhénéme	you (pl) were not chosen
ésáamonéstovèheo'o??	they were not chosen

Other negative verbs with the –'tov final:

násáapèhéve'tovóhe	I was not good to him
násáapèhévé'tóéhe	he was not good to me
násáaméahenötse	I did not give him (away)
násáaméahénoto	I did not give them (away)
násáane'étaméhenötse	I do not depend on him
násáane'étamé'tóéhe	He does not depend on me
násáaho'àhéhenötse	I do not want him
násáaho'àhé'tóéhe	he does not want me
ésáaho'héhenoto	he does not want him (obv)
násáanomáhtséhénötse	I did not steal him
násáanomáhtséhénoto??	I did not steal them
násáahestónáhé'tóéhe	I am not her daughter
násáahestónáhéhenötse	she is not my daughter
násáahee'hahé'tóéhe	I am not his son
násáahee'hahénötse	he is not my son
násáahee'hahéhenoto	they are not my sons
násáahešké'tóéhe	I am not her mother
násáaheškéhenötse	she is not my mother
násáahéhé'tóéhe	I am not his father
násáahéhenötse	he is not my father

Transitive Animate Interrogative verbs

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

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

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

-vóom 'see (someone)'

Návóomáhtsehe?	Did I see myself?
Névóomatsehe?	Did I see you?
Návóomohe?	Did I see him?
Návóomamovohe?	Did I see him (obv)?
Névóomatsemehe?	Did I see you (pl)?
Návóomovohe?	Did I see them?

Névóomehe?	Did you see me?
Névóomáhtsehe?	Did you see yourself?
Návóomohe?	Did you see him?
Návóomamovohe?	Did you see him (obv)?
Névóomemenhe?	Did you see us (excl)?
Návóomovohe?	Did you see them?

Návóomaehhe?	Did he see me?
Névóomaehhe?	Did he see you?
Évóomáhtsehe?	Did he see himself?
Évóomovohe?	Did he see him (obv)?
Návóomaenehe??	Did he see us (excl)?
Névóomaenehe??	Did he see us (incl)?
Névóomaevhe?	Did he see you (pl)?

Návóomaetsenotohe?	Did he (obv) see me?
Névóomaetsenotohe?	Did he (obv) see you?
Évóomaevhe?	Did he (obv) see him?
Évóomáhtsehe?	Did he (obv) see himself?
Návóomaetsenonehe?	Did he (obv) see us (excl)?
Névóomaetsenonehe?	Did he (obv) see us (incl)?
Návóomaetsenovohe?	Did he (obv) see you (pl)?
Évóomaevovohe?	Did he (obv) see them?

Névóomatsemenohe?	Did we (excl) see you?
Návóomonehe?	Did we (excl) see him?
Návóomamonehe?	Did we (ex) see him (obv)?
Návóomáhtsemehe? ¹⁰¹	Did we (excl) see ourselves?
Névóomatsemenohe?	Did we (excl) see you (pl)?
Návóomonevohe?	Did we (excl) see them?

Névóomonehe?	Did we (incl) see him?
Névóomamonehe?	Did we (in) see him (obv)?
Návóomáhtsémanehe?	Did we (in) see ourselves?
Névóomonevohe?	Did we (incl) see them?

Névóomemehe?	Did you (pl) see me?
Návóomovohe?	Did you (pl) see him?
Návóomamovohe?	Did you (pl) see him (obv)?
névóomemenhe?	Did you (pl) see us (excl)?

névóomáhtsemehe?	Did you (pl) see yourselves?
Névóomovovohe?	Did you (pl) see them?

Návóomaevhe?	Did they see me?
Névóomaevhe?	Did they see you?
Évóomovovohe?	Did they see him (obv)?
Návóomaenevohe?	Did they see us (excl)?
Névóomaenevohe?	Did they see us (incl)?
Névóomaevovohe?	Did they see you (pl)?
Évóomáhtsevohe?	Did they see themselves?

Návóomanehe?	Was I was seen?
Névóomanehe?	Were you seen?
Évóomehe?	Was he was seen?
Návóomanémanehe?	Were we (excl) seen?
Névóomanémanehe?	Were we (incl) seen?
Névóomanemehe?	Were you (pl) seen?
Évóomevohe?	Were they seen?

Some mó- prefix yes/no questions:

Mónévóómo?	Did you see him?
Mónévóomoo'o?	Did you see them?
Mónévóómovo?	Did you (pl) see him?
Mónévóómovoo'o?	Did you (pl) see them?

Mónéméhóto?	Do you love him?
Mónéhoxōmo?	Did you feed him?

¹⁰¹ This can also be said as návóomáhtsémanehe.

-héne'enov 'see (someone)'

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

náhéne'enóvåhtsehe? Do I do know myself?
 néhéne'enóvatsehe? Do I know you?
 náhéne'enovohe? Do I know him?
náhéne'enóvamovohe? **Do I know him (obv)?**
 néhéne'enóvatsemehe? Do I know you (pl)?
 náhéne'enovovohe? Do I know them?

néhéne'enovehe? Do you know me?
 néhéne'enóvåhtsehe? Do you know yourself?
 néhéne'enovohe? Do you know him?
néhéne'enóvamovohe? **Do you know him (obv)?**
 néhéne'enovemenohé? Do you know us (excl)?
 néhéne'enovovohe? Do you know them?

náhéne'enóehe? Does he know me?
 néhéne'enóehe? Does he know you?
 éhéne'enóvåhtsehe? Does know himself?
 éhéne'enovovohe? Does he know him (obv)?
 náhéne'enóenehe? Does he know us (excl)?
 néhéne'enóenehe? Does he know us (incl)?
 néhéne'enóevohe? Does he know you (pl)?

náhéne'enóetsenotohe? **Does he (obv) know me?**
néhéne'enóetsenotohe? **Does he (obv) know you?**
 éhéne'enóevohe? Does he (obv) know him?
náhéne'enóetsenonehe? **Does he (obv) know us (excl)?**
néhéne'enóetsenonehe? **Does he (obv) know us (incl)?**
néhéne'enóetsenovohe? **Does he (obv) know you (pl)?**
 éhéne'enóevohe? Does he (obv) know them?

néhéne'enóvatsemenohe? Do we (excl) know you?
 náhéne'enovonehe? Do we (excl) know him?
náhéne'enóvamónehe? **Do we (excl) know him (obv)?**
 náhéne'enóvåhtsemehe? Do we (excl) know ourselves?
 néhéne'enóvatsemenohe? Do we (excl) know you (pl)?
 néhéne'enovonevohe? Do we (excl) know them?

néhéne'enovonehe? Do we (incl) know him?
néhéne'enóvamónehe? **Do we (incl) know him (obv)?**
 néhéne'enóvåhtsemanehe? Do we (incl) know ourselves?
 néhéne'enovonevohe? Do we (incl) know them?

néhéne'enovemehe? Do you (pl) know me?
 néhéne'enovovohe? Do you (pl) know him?
néhéne'enóvamovohe? **Do you (pl) know him (obv)?**
 néhéne'enovemenohé? Do you (pl) know us (excl)?
 néhéne'enóvåhtsemehe? Do you (pl) know yourselves?
 néhéne'enovovovohe? Do you (pl) know them?

náhéne'enóevohe? Do they know me?
 néhéne'enóevohe? Do they know you?
 éhéne'enovovohe? Do they know him (obv)?
 náhéne'enóenevohe? Do they know us (excl)?
 néhéne'enóenevohe? Do they know us (incl)?
 néhéne'enóevohe? Do they know you (pl)?
 éhéne'enóvåhtsevohe? Do they know themselves?

náhéne'enónehe?? **Am I known?**
néhéne'enónéhe?? **Are you known?**
 éhéne'enóhehe? Is he known?
náhéne'enónemehe? **Are we (excl) known?**
néhéne'enónemahe? **Are we (incl) known?**
 néhéne'enónemehe? Are you (pl) known?
 éhéne'enóhevohe? Are they known?

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

Mónéhéne'enōvo? You know him?
 Mónéhéne'enovoo'o? You know them?
 Mónéhéne'enovóneo'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 transitivity finals. When this happens, a verb which ends with –nótse 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?
 Námonenotse? Did I choose him?
 Námonévonotohe? Did I choose him (obv)?
 Némoné'tovatsemehe? Did I choose you (pl)?
 Námonénotohe? Did I choose them?

Némoné'tovehe? Did you choose me?
 Némoné'továhtsehe? Did you choose yourself?
 Némonenotse? Did you choose him?
 Námonévonotohe? Did you choose him (obv)?
 Némoné'tovemenohé? Did you choose us (ex)?
 Némonénotohe? Did you choose them?

Námoné'toehe? Did he choose me?
 Némoné'toehe? Did he choose you?
 Émoné'továhtsehe? Did he choose himself?
 Émonénotohe? Did he choose him (obv)?
 Námoné'toehehe? Did he choose us (excl)?
 Némoné'toehehe? Did he choose us (incl)?
 Némoné'toevohe? Did he choose you (pl)?

Námoné'toetsenotohe? Did he (obv) choose me?
 Némoné'toetsenotohe? Did he (obv) choose you?
 Émoné'toevohe? Did he (obv) choose him?
 Émoné'továhtsevohe? Did he (obv) choose himself?
 Námoné'toetsenonehe? Did he (obv) choose us (ex)?
 Némoné'toetsenonehe? Did he (obv) choose us (in)?
 Némoné'toetsenovohe? Did he (obv) choose you (pl)?
 Émoné'toevovohe? Did he (obv) choose them?

Némoné'toetsemehé? Did we (excl) choose you?
 Námonénonehe? Did we (excl) choose him?
 Námonévononehe? Did we (ex) choose him (obv)?
 Námoné'továhtsemehe? Did we (ex) choose ourselves?
 Némoné'tovemenohé? Did we (ex) choose you (pl)?
 Námonénonevohe? Did we (ex) choose them?

Némonénonehe? Did we (incl) choose him?
 Némonévononehe? Did we (in) choose him (obv)?
 Némoné'továhtsémanahe? Did we (in) choose ourselves?
 Némonénonevohe? Did we (in) choose them?

Némoné'tovemehe? Did you (pl) choose me?
 Némonénovohe? Did you (pl) choose him?
 Némonévonovohe? Did you (pl) choose him (obv)?
 Némoné'tovemenohé? Did you (pl) choose us (ex)?
 Némoné'továhtsemehe? Did you (pl) choose yourselves?
 Némonénovovohe? Did you (pl) choose them?

Námoné'toevohe? Did they choose me?
 Némoné'toevohe? Did they choose you?
 Émonénovohe? Did they choose him (obv)?
 Námoné'toevohe? Did they choose us (excl)?

Némoné'toevohe? Did they choose us (incl)?
 Némoné'toevohe? Did they choose you (pl)?
 Émoné'továhtsevohe? Did they choose themselves?

Námoné'tonehe? Was I chosen?
 Némoné'tonehe? Were you chosen?
 Émonéstovehe? Was he chosen?
 Námoné'tonemanehe? Were we (excl) chosen?
 Némoné'tonemanehe? Were we (incl) chosen?
 Némoné'tonemehe? Were you (pl) chosen?
 Émonéstovevohe? Were they chosen?

Other verbs with the –'tov final:

Náho'ahé'toehe? Does he want me?
 Ného'ahenotse? Do you want him?
 Náne'etámé'toehe? Does he depends on me?
 Némonenotse? Do you depend on him?
 Népéhéve'toehe? Was he good to you?
 Népéhéve'tovohe? Were you good to him?
 Néméanotse? Did you give him?
 Néméanovohe? Did you (pl) give him?
 Éméa'toevohe? Did he (obv) give him?
 Néno'evéhe'toehe? Is he named after you?
 Néno'evéhenotse? Are you named after him?
 Nénomáhtsenotse? Did you stole him?
 Néhestónahé'toehe? Are you his/her daughter?
 Néhestónahenotse? Is she your daughter?
 Néhee'hahé'toehe? Are you his/her son?
 Néhee'hahenotse? Is he your son?
 Néhee'hahénotohe? Are they your sons?
 Néhešké'toehe? Are you his/her mother?
 Néheškenotse? Is she your mother?

'not see (someone)'

\$\$RECHECK QUESTIONED FORMS

Násáavóomáhtsésehe? Didn't I see myself?

Násáavóomatsésehe? Didn't I see you?

Násáavóomöhehe? Didn't I see him?

Násáavóomamöhevohe? Didn't I see him (obv)?

Násáavóomatséhemehe? Didn't I see you (pl)?

Násáavóomöhevohe? Didn't I see them?

Nésáavóomésehe? Didn't you see me?

Nésáavóomáhtsésehe? Didn't you see yourself?

Nésáavóomöhehe? Didn't you see him?

Nésáavóomamöhevohe? Didn't you see him (obv)?

Nésáavóoméhemenonehe?? Didn't you see us (excl)?

Nésáavóomöhevohe? Didn't you see them?

Násáavóomaehehe? Didn't he see me?

Nésáavóomaehehe? Didn't he see you?

Ésáavóomáhtsésehe? Didn't he see himself?

Ésáavóomöhevohe? Didn't he see him (obv)?

Násáavóomahenevohe? Didn't he see us (excl)?

Nésáavóomahenevohe? Didn't he see us (incl)?

Nésáavóomaehevovohe? Didn't he see you (pl)?

Násáavóomahétsenotohe? Didn't he (obv) see me?

Nésáavóomahétsenotohe? Didn't he (obv) see you?

Ésáavóomaehevohe? Didn't he (obv) see him?

Ésáavóomáhtsésehevohe? Didn't he (obv) see himself?

Násáavóomahétsenonehe? Didn't he (obv) see us (excl)?

Nésáavóomahétsenonehe? Didn't he (obv) see us (incl)?

Nésáavóomahétsenovohe? Didn't he (obv) see you (pl)?

Ésáavóomaehevovohe? Didn't he (obv) see them?

Nésáavóomatséhemenonehe? Didn't we (excl) see you?

Násáavóomöhenehe? Didn't we (excl) see him?

Násáavóomamöhenehe? Didn't we (ex) see him (obv)?

Násáavóomáhtséhemehe? Didn't we (ex) see ourselves?

Nésáavóomatséhemenonehe? Didn't we (ex) see you (pl)?

Násáavóomöhenevohe? Didn't we (ex) see them?

Nésáavóomöhenehe? Didn't we (incl) see him?

Nésáavóomamöhenehe? Didn't we (in) see him (obv)?

Nésáavóomáhtséhemehe? Didn't we (in) see ourselves?

Nésáavóomöhenevohe? Didn't we (incl) see them?

Nésáavóoméhemehe? Didn't you (pl) see me?

Nésáavóomöhevohe? Didn't you (pl) see him?

Nésáavóomamöhevohe? Didn't you (pl) see him (obv)?

Nésáavóoméhemenonehe? Didn't you (pl) see us (excl)?

Nésáavóomáhtséhemehe?? Didn't you (pl) see yourselves?

Nésáavóomöhevovohe? Didn't you (pl) see them?

Násáavóomaehevohe? Didn't they see me?

Nésáavóomaehevohe? Didn't they see you?

Ésáavóomöhevovohe? Didn't they see him (obv)?

Násáavóomahenevonehe? Didn't they see us (excl)?

Nésáavóomahenevonehe? Didn't they see us (incl)?

Nésáavóomaehevovohe? Didn't they see you (pl)?

Ésáavóomáhtsésehevohe? Didn't they see themselves?

Násáavóomanésehe? Wasn't I seen?

Nésáavóomanésehe? Weren't you seen?

Ésáavóomésehe? Wasn't he seen?

Násáavóomanéhemanhe? Weren't we (excl) seen?

Nésáavóomanéhemanhe? Weren't we (incl) seen?

Nésáavóomanéhemehe? Weren't you (pl) seen?

Ésáavóomöhevohe? Weren't they seen?

Some mó- prefix negative yes/no questions:

\$\$RECHECK

Mónésáavóomóhe? Didn't you see him?

Mónésáavóomóheo'o? Didn't you see them?

Mónésáavóomóhévo? Didn't you (pl) see him?

Mónésáahéne'enovóhe? Don't you know him?

Mónésáahéne'enóéhe? Doesn't he know you?

Mónésáaméhótóhe? Don't you love him?

Mónásáaméhótáéhe? Doesn't he love me?

Mónésáahoxomóhe? Didn't you feed him?

Mónésáamonéhenótse? Didn't you choose him?

Mónésáamonéhénóvo? Didn't you (pl) choose him?

Mó'ésáaho'áhéhenoto? Doesn't he want him (obv)?

Mó'ésáanéhovóheho? Didn't he chase him (obv)?

Transitive Animate Inferential verbs

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

- (1) The *sáa-* negative preverb does not occur in inferentials (instead, the conjunct is used).
- (2) Inferentials have a high-pitched ending instead of a low-pitched ending.

-vóom 'see (someone)'

Mónávóomáhtséhēhe	I must have seen myself
Mónévóomatséhēhe	I must have seen you
Mónávóomohēhe	I must have seen him
Mónávóomamohēvōhe	I must have seen him (obv)
Mónévóomatséhēmēhe	I must have seen you (pl)
Mónávóomohēvōhe	I must have seen them
Mónévóoméhēhe	You must have seen me
Mónévóomáhtséhēhe	You must have seen yourself
Mónévóomohēhe	You must have seen him
Mónévóomamohēvōhe	You must have seen him (obv)
Mónévóoméhemenonēhe	You must have seen us (excl)
Mónévóomohēvōhe	You must have seen them
Mónávóomaehēhe	He must have seen me
Mónévóomaehēhe	He must have seen you
Mónávóomáhtséhēhe	He must have seen himself
Mónávóomohēvōhe	He must have seen him (obv)
Mónávóomaehenēhe	He must have seen us (excl)
Mónévóomaehenēhe	He must have seen us (incl)
Mónévóomaehēvōhe	He must have seen you (pl)
Mónávóomaehétsenotōhe	He (obv) must have seen me
Mónévóomaehétsenotōhe	He (obv) must have seen you
Mónávóomaehēvōhe	He (obv) must have seen him
Mónávóomáhtséhēvōhe	He (obv) must have seen himself
Mónávóomaehétsenonēhe	He (obv) must have seen us (ex)
Mónévóomaehétsenonēhe	He (obv) must have seen us (in)
Mónévóomaehétsenovōhe	He (obv) must have seen you (pl)
Mónávóomaehēvovōhe	He (obv) must have seen them
Mónévóomatséhemenonēhe	We (ex) must have seen you
Mónávóomohēnēhe	We (ex) must have seen him
Mónávóomamohēnēhe	We (ex) must have seen him (obv)
Mónávóomáhtséhēmanēhe	We (ex) must have seen ourselves
Mónévóomatséhemenonēhe	We (ex) must have seen you (pl)
Mónávóomohēnevōhe	We (ex) must have seen them
Mónévóomohēnēhe	We (in) must have seen him
Mónévóomamohēnēhe	We (in) must have seen him (obv)
Mónévóomáhtséhēmanēhe	We (in) must have seen ourselves
Mónévóomohēnevōhe	We (in) must have seen them
Mónévóoméhēmēhe	You (pl) must have seen me

Mónévóomohēvōhe	You (pl) must have seen him
Mónévóomamohēvōhe	You (pl) must have seen him (obv)
Mónévóoméhemenonēhe	You (pl) must have seen us (ex)
Mónévóomáhtséhēmēhe	You (pl) must have seen yourselves
Mónévóomohēvovōhe	You (pl) must have seen them
Mónávóomaehēvōhe	They must have seen me
Mónévóomaehēvōhe	They must have seen you
Mónávóomohēvovōhe	They must have seen him (obv)
Mónávóomaehēnevōhe	They must have seen us (ex)
Mónévóomaehēnevōhe	They must have seen us (in)
Mónévóomaehēvovōhe	They must have seen you (pl)
Mónávóomáhtséhēvōhe	They must have seen themselves
Mónávóomanéhēhe	I must have been seen
Mónévóomanéhēhe	You must have been seen
Mónávóoméhēhe	He must have been seen
Mónávóomanéhēmanēhe	We (ex) must have been seen
Mónévóomanéhēmanēhe	We (in) must have been seen
Mónévóomanéhēmēhe	You (pl) must have been seen
Mónávóoméhēvōhe	They must have been seen

Some other TA inferential verbs:

Móméhotōhevōhe	He must love him (obv)
Mónéméhotāehēhe	He must love you
Mónámoné'toehēhe	He must have chosen me
Mónémonéhenōtse	You must have chosen him
Móného'áhēhenōtse	You must want him
Móho'áhēhenotōhe	He must want him (obv)
Móhméahénōtōhe	He must have given him (obv)
Mónápéotāehēhe	He must hate me
Mó'oomāehēvōhe	He (obv) must have hit him
Mó'áahtovōhevōhe	He must have heard him (obv)
Mónéstāhémohēvōhe	He must have helped him (obv)
Móhestanōhevōhe	They must have taken him (obv)
Móhoxomōhevōhe	They must have fed him (obv)
Móšéxanōhevōhe	He must have freed him (obv)
Móna'hohevōhe	He must have killed him (obv)
Mótoo'etōhevōhe	He must have tied him (obv)
Móhéne'enovōhevōhe	He must know him (obv).
Móhéne'enóhevōhe	He (obv) must know him.
Mónéhovōhevōhe	He must have chased him (obv)

Transitive Animate Reportative verb 'see' /-vóom/

Návóomáhtsēmāse	It's said I saw myself	Névóomóvoséstse	It's said you (pl) saw him
Névóomatsēmāse	It's said I saw you	Névóomamónvósesto	It's said you (pl) saw him (obv)
Návóomoséstse	It's said I saw him	Névóomemenóse	It's said you (pl) saw us (ex)
Návóomamósesto	It's said I saw him (obv)	Névóomáhtsēmése	It's said you (pl) saw yourselves
Névóomatsēmése	It's said I saw you (pl)	Névóomónvósesto	It's said you (pl) saw them
Návóomósesto	It's said I saw them		
Névóomēmāse	It's said you saw me	Návóomaesesto	It's said they saw me
Névóomáhtsēmāse	It's said you saw yourself	Névóomaesesto	It's said they saw you
Névóomoséstse	It's said you saw him	Évóomónvósesto	It's said they saw him (obv)
Névóomamósesto	It's said you saw him (obv)	Návóomaenésesto	It's said they saw us (ex)
Névóomemenóse	It's said you saw us (excl)	Névóomaenésesto	It's said they saw us (in)
Névóomósesto	It's said you saw them	Névóomaevósesto	It's said they saw you (pl)
		Évóomáhtsésesto	It's said they saw themselves
Návóomaeséstse	It's said he saw me	Návóomanémāse	It's said I was seen
Névóomaeséstse	It's said he saw you	Névóomanémāse	It's said you were seen
Évóomáhtseséstse	It's said he saw himself	Évóomeséstse	It's said he was seen
Évóomósesto	It's said he saw him (obv)	Návóomanémánése	It's said we (ex) were seen
Návóomaeneséstse	It's said he saw us (excl)	Névóomanémánése	It's said we (in) were seen
Névóomaeneséstse	It's said he saw us (incl)	Névóomanémése	It's said you (pl) were seen
Névóomaevoséstse	It's said he saw you (pl)	Évóomésesto	It's said they were seen
Návóomaetsenósesto	It's said he (obv) saw me	Some other TA reportative verbs:	
Névóomaetsenósesto	It's said he (obv) saw you		
Évóomaesesto	It's said he (obv) saw him	Eméhotósesto	It's said he loves him (obv)
Évóomáhtsésesto	It's said he (obv) saw himself	Néméhotaeséstse	It's said he loves you
Návóomaetsenónésesto	It's said he (obv) saw us (ex)	Éhetósesto	It's said he told him (obv)
Névóomaetsenónésesto	It's said he (obv) saw us (in)	Éhetónvósesto	It's said they told him (obv)
Névóomaetsenónvósesto	It's said he (obv) saw you (pl)	Éhetaesesto	It's said he (obv) told him
Évóomaevósesto	It's said he (obv) saw them	Námoné'toeséstse	It's said he chose me
		Némonénoséstse	It's said you chose him
Névóomatsemenóse	It's said we (ex) saw you	Ného'ahénoséstse	It's said you want him
Návóomóneséstse	It's said we (ex) saw him	Ého'ahénosesto	It's said he wants him (obv)
Návóomamónésesto	It's said we (ex) saw him (obv)	Néméanoséstse	It's said you gave him (away)
Návóomáhtsémánése	It's said we (ex) saw ourselves	Éméánosesto	It's said he gave him (obv) (away)
Névóomatsemenóse	It's said we (ex) saw you (pl)	Nápéotaeséstse	It's said he hates me
Návóomónésesto	It's said we (ex) saw them	Éoomaesesto	It's said he (obv) hit him
		Éáahtvósesto	It's said he heard him (obv)
Névóomóneséstse	It's said we (in) saw him	Évéstáhémósesto	It's said he helped him (obv)
Névóomamónésesto	It's said we (in) saw him (obv)	Éhestanónvósesto	It's said they took him (obv)
Névóomáhtsémánése	It's said we (in) saw ourselves	Éhoxomónvósesto	It's said they fed him (obv)
Névóomónésesto	It's said we (in) saw them	Éšéxanósesto	It's said he freed him (obv)
Névóomēmése	It's said you (pl) saw me		

Transitive Animate Negative Reportative verb 'see' /-vóom/

Násáavóomáhtséhémase	It's said I did not see myself
Nésáavóomatséhémase	It's said I did not see you
Násáavóomóheséstse	It's said I did not see him
Násáavóomamóhesesto	It's said I did not see him (obv)
Nésáavóomatséhémése	It's said I did not see you (pl)
Násáavóomóhesesto	It's said I did not see them
Nésáavóoméhémase	It's said you did not see me
Nésáavóomáhtséhémase	It's said you did not see yourself
Nésáavóomóheséstse	It's said you did not see him
Nésáavóomamóhesesto	It's said you did not see him (obv)
Nésáavóoméhemenöse	It's said you did not see us (excl)
Nésáavóomóhesesto	It's said you did not see them
Násáavóomaeheséstse	It's said he did not see me
Nésáavóomaeheséstse	It's said he did not see you
Ésáavóomáhtséhéséstse	It's said he did not see himself
Ésáavóomóhesesto	It's said he did not see him (obv)
Násáavóomaehénéséstse	It's said he did not see us (excl)
Nésáavóomaehénéséstse	It's said he did not see us (incl)
Nésáavóomaehévóséstse	It's said he did not see you (pl)
Násáavóomaehétsenósesto	It's said he (obv) did not see me
Nésáavóomaehétsenósesto	It's said he (obv) did not see you
Ésáavóomaehésesto	It's said he (obv) did not see him
Ésáavóomáhtséhésesto	It's said he (obv) did not see himself
Násáavóomaehétsenónésesto	It's said he (obv) did not see us (ex)
Nésáavóomaehétsenónésesto	It's said he (obv) did not see us (in)
Nésáavóomaehétsenóvósesto	It's said he (obv) did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóomaehévósesto	It's said he (obv) did not see them
Nésáavóomatséhéménöse	It's said we (ex) did not see you
Násáavóomóheneséstse	It's said we (ex) did not see him
Násáavóomamóhenésesto	It's said we (ex) did not see him (obv)
Násáavóomáhtséhémánése	It's said we (ex) did not see ourselves
Nésáavóomatséhéménöse	It's said we (ex) did not see you (pl)
Násáavóomóhenésesto	It's said we (ex) did not see them
Nésáavóomóheneséstse	It's said we (in) did not see him
Nésáavóomamóhenésesto	It's said we (in) did not see him (obv)
Nésáavóomáhtséhémánése	It's said we (in) did not see ourselves
Nésáavóomóhenésesto	It's said we (in) did not see them
Nésáavóoméhémése	It's said you (pl) did not see me
Nésáavóomóhevoséstse	It's said you (pl) did not see him
Nésáavóomamóhevósesto	It's said you (pl) did not see him (obv)
Nésáavóoméhemenöse	It's said you (pl) did not see us (ex)
Nésáavóomáhtséhémése	It's said you (pl) did not see yourselves
Nésáavóomóhevósesto	It's said you (pl) did not see them
Násáavóomaehésesto	It's said they did not see me
Nésáavóomaehésesto	It's said they did not see you
Ésáavóomóhevósesto	It's said they did not see him (obv)
Násáavóomaehénésesto	It's said they did not see us (ex)
Nésáavóomaehénésesto	It's said they did not see us (in)
Nésáavóomaehévósesto	It's said they did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóomáhtséhésesto	It's said they did not see themselves

Násáavóomanéhémáse
 Nésáavóomanéhémáse
 Ésáavóoméheséstse
 Násáavóomanéhémánèse
 Nésáavóomanéhémánèse
 Nésáavóomanéhémése
 Ésáavóoméhesesto

It's said I was seen
 It's said you were seen
 It's said he was seen
 It's said we (ex) were seen
 It's said we (in) were seen
 It's said you (pl) were seen
 It's said they were seen

Some other TA negative reportative verbs:

Esáaméhotóhesesto??
 Nésáaméhotáeheséstse
 Ésáahetóhesesto
 Ésáahetóhevósesto
 Ésáahetaehésesto
 Násáamoné'toeheséstse
 Nésáamonénóheséstse??
 Nésáaho'áhénóheséstse??
 Ésáaho'áhénóhésesto??
 Nésáaméanóheséstse??
 Ésáméanóhesesto??
 Násáapéotaeheséstse
 Ésáa'oomaehésesto
 Ésáa'áhtovóhesesto
 Ésáavéstáhéhemósesto??
 Ésáahestanóhevósesto
 Ésáahoxomóhevósesto
 Ésáášéxanóhesesto

It's said he does not love him (obv)
 It's said he does not love you
 It's said he did not tell him (obv)
 It's said they did not tell him (obv)
 It's said he (obv) did not tell him
 It's said he did not chose me
 It's said you did not chose him
 It's said you do not want him
 It's said he does not want him (obv)
 It's said you did not give him (away)
 It's said he did not give him (obv) (away)
 It's said he does not hate me
 It's said he (obv) did not hit him
 It's said he did not hear him (obv)
 It's said he did not help him (obv)
 It's said they did not take him (obv)
 It's said they did not feed him (obv)
 It's said he did not free him (obv)

Transitive Animate Preterit verbs

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

The preterit mode usually occurs with third person subjects and objects, but the verbs in the following examples from texts are mirative usages of the preterit occurring with local (first and second person) arguments:

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

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

Óméso néstanáha'enatsémoho!
Soon I will catch you (plural)! (Bear Teepee.115)

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

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

Some example verbs are included which indicate surprise.

Éhvóomóhoono	Once upon a time he saw him (obv)
Éhvóomaehoono	Once upon a time he (obv) saw him
Éhvóomaevóhoono	Once upon a time he (obv) saw them
Éhvóomóvóhoono	Once upon a time they told him (obv)
Évóomóhoono!	Surprisingly, he saw him!
Éxhetóhoono	Once upon a time he told him (obv)
Éxhetaehoono	Once upon a time he (obv) told him
Éxhetaevóhoono	Once upon a time he (obv) told them
Éxhetóvóhoono	Once upon a time they told him (obv)
Éhetóhoono!	Surprisingly, he told him!
Éhmévóhoono	Once upon a time he ate him (obv)
Éhmévaehoono	Once upon a time he (obv) ate him
Éhmévaevóhoono	Once upon a time he (obv) ate them
Éhmévovóhoono	Once upon a time they ate him (obv)
Émévóhoono!	Surprisingly, he ate him!
Éhvónáho'nóhoono	Once upon a time he burned him (obv) up
Éhvónáho'heehoono	Once upon a time he (obv) burned him up
Éhvónáho'heevóhoono	Once upon a time he (obv) burned them up
Éhvónáho'nóvóhoono	Once upon a time they burned him (obv) up
Évónáho'nóhoono!	Surprisingly, he burned him (obv) up!

É'a'tásóhoono	Once upon a time he accidentally cut him (obv)
É'a'táxeéhoono	Once upon a time he (obv) accidentally cut him
É'a'táxeévóhoono	Once upon a time he (obv) accidentally cut them
É'a'tásóvóhoono	Once upon a time they accidentally cut him (obv)
Éa'tásóhoono!	Surprisingly, he accidentally cut him (obv)!
Éxho'áhénóhoono	Once upon a time he wanted him (obv)
Éxho'áhé'toéhoono	Once upon a time he (obv) wanted him
Éxho'áhé'toévóhoono	Once upon a time he (obv) wanted them
Éxho'áhénóvóhoono	Once upon a time they wanted him (obv)
Ého'áhénóhoono!	Surprisingly, he wanted him (obv)!
Éššéxanóhoono	Once upon a time he freed him (obv)
Éššéxanaéhoono	Once upon a time he (obv) freed him
Éššéxanaevóhoono	Once upon a time he (obv) freed them
Éššéxanóvóhoono	Once upon a time they freed him (obv)
Éšéxanóhoono!	Surprisingly, he freed him (obv)!

Transitive Animate Negative Preterit verbs

Éssáavóomóhehoono	Once upon a time he did not see him (obv)
Éssáavóomaehéhoono	Once upon a time he (obv) did not see him
Éssáavóomaehévóhoono	Once upon a time he (obv) did not see them
Éssáavóomóhevóhoono	Once upon a time they did not see him (obv)
Ésáavóomóhehoono!	Surprisingly, he did not see him (obv)!
Éssáahetóhehoono	Once upon a time he did not tell him (obv)
Éssáahetaehéhoono	Once upon a time he (obv) did not tell him
Éssáahetaehévóhoono	Once upon a time he (obv) did not tell them
Éssáahetóhevóhoono	Once upon a time they did not tell him (obv)
Éssáahetóhehoono!	Surprisingly, he did not tell him!
Éssáa'a'tásóhehoono	Once upon a time he did not accidentally cut him (obv)
Éssáa'a'táxeehéhoono	Once upon a time he (obv) did not accidentally cut him
Éssáa'a'táxeehévóhoono	Once upon a time he (obv) did not accidentally cut them
Éssáa'a'tásóhevóhoono	Once upon a time they did not accidentally cut him (obv)

Transitive Animate Imperative

Immediate and delayed commands occur with TA verbs, just as they do with AI and TI verbs.

Transitive Animate Immediate Imperative

meaning	said to one person	said to more than one person
Look at me!	Vé'hooméstse!	Vé'hoome!
Look at yourself! ¹⁰²	Vé'hoomahtséstse!	Vé'hoomahtse!
Look at him!	Vé'hoomeha!	Vé'hooma!
Look at him (obv)!	Vé'hoomameha!	Vé'hoomama!
Look at us!	Vé'hoomemeno!	Vé'hoomemeno!
Look at them!	Vé'hoomenáno!	Vé'hooma!
Love me!	Méhoxéstse!	Méhoxe!
Love yourself!	Méhotahstséstse!	Méhotahkse!
Love him!	Méhoxeha!	Méhota!
Love him (obv)!	Méhotameha!	Méhotama!
Love us!	Méhoxemeno!	Méhoxemeno!
Love them!	Méhoxenáno!	Méhota!
Be good to me!	Péhéve'tovéstse!	Péhéve'tove!
Be good to yourself!	Péheve'tovahtséstse!	Péheve'tovahtse!
Be good to him!	Péhéve'toveha!	Péhéve'tova!
Be good to him (obv)!	Péhéve'tovameha!	Péhéve'tovama!
Be good to us!	Péhéve'tovemeno!	Péhéve'tovemeno!
Be good to them!	Péhéve'tovenáno!	Péhéve'tova!
Measure me!	Taevaestse!	Taevahe!
Measure yourself!	Taeváhestséstse!	Taeváhestse!
Measure him!	Taeváheha!	Taevaha!
Measure him (obv)!	Taeváameha!	Taeváhama!
Measure us!	Taeváhemenó!	Taeváhemenó!
Measure them!	Taeváhenáno!	Taevaha!
Take pity on me!	Ševátaméstse! ¹⁰³	Ševátame!
Take pity on yourself!	Ševátamahtséstse!	Ševátamahtse!
Take pity on him!	Ševátameha!	Ševátama!
Take pity on him (obv)!	Ševátamameha!	Ševátamama!
Take pity on us!	Ševátamemeno!	Ševátamemeno!
Take pity on them!	Ševátamenáno!	Ševátama!

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

¹⁰³ An older pronunciation is Nėševátaméstse! The whispered syllable at the beginning of this pronunciation is difficult to hear, but it can be heard clearly when something else precedes it as in Nánėševátámo 'I pity him'.

Transitive Animate Delayed Imperative

meaning

said to one person

said to more than one person

Look at me later!	Vé'hoomeo'o!	Vé'hooméhéne!
Look at yourself later!	Vé'hoomahtseo'o!	Vé'hoomähtséhéne!
Look at him later!	Vé'hoomoo'o!	Vé'hoomóhéne!
Look at him (obv) later!	Vé'hoomamoo'o!	Vé'hoomamóhéne!
Look at us later!	Vé'hoomemenoo'o!	Vé'hoomemenoo'o!
Look at them later!	Vé'hoomóóno!	Vé'hoomóhéne!
Love me later!	Méhoxeo'o!	Méhóxéhéne!
Love yourself later!	Méhotahseo'o!	Méhotähtséhéne!
Love him later!	Méhotoo'o!	Méhotóhéne!
Love him (obv) later!	Méhotamoo'o!	Méhotamóhéne!
Love us later!	Méhoxemenoo'o!	Méhoxemenoo'o!
Love them later!	Méhótóóno!	Méhótóhéne!
Be good to me later!	Péhéve'toveo'o!	Péhéve'tovéhéne!
Be good to yourself later!	Péhéve'továhtseo'o!	Péhéve'továhtséhéne!
Be good to him later!	Péhéve'tovoo'o!	Péhéve'tovóhéne!
Be good to him (obv) later!	Péhéve'tovamoo'o!	Péhéve'tovamóhéne!
Be good to us later!	Péhéve'tovemenoo'o!	Péhéve'tovemenoo'o!
Be good to them later!	Péhéve'tovóóno!	Péhéve'tovóhéne!
Measure me later!	Taevaheo'o!	Taeváhéne!
Measure yourself later!	Taeváhestseo'o!	Taeváhestséhéne!
Measure him later!	Taeváhnnoo'o!	Taevahnóhéne!
Measure him (obv) later!	Taeváhamoo'o!	Taeváhamóhéne!
Measure us later!	Taeváhememenoo'o!	Taeváhememenoo'o!
Measure them later!	Taeváhnóóno!	Taeváhnóhéne!
Take pity on me later!	Ševátameo'o!	Ševátaméhéne!
Take pity on yourself later!	Ševátamähtseo'o!	Ševátamähtséhéne!
Take pity on him later!	Ševátamoo'o!	Ševátamóhéne!
Take pity on him (obv)!	Ševátamamoo'o!	Ševátamama!
Take pity on us!	Ševátamemeno!	Ševátamemeno!
Take pity on them!	Ševátamenáno!	Ševátama!

Transitive Animate Hortative verbs

Notice that hortative suffixes –áta'e, -ata'öse, and –aétse 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'hoomata'öse!	Let them look at you!
Vé'hoomähtseha!	Let him look at himself!	Vé'hoomähtsévoha!	Let them look at themselves!
Vé'hoomóha!	Let him look at him (obv)!	Vé'hoomaétse!	Let them look at us!
Vé'hoomata'öse!	Let him look at you (pl)!	Vé'hoomata'öse!	Let them look at you (pl)!

Transitive Inanimate Independent Indicative verbs

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

/-vóóhtá/ 'see (something)'

Návóóhta	I see it	Návóohtanótse	I see them
Névóóhta	You see it	Névóohtanótse	You see them
Évóohtanótse	He sees it	Névóohtanótse	He see's them
Évóohtotse	He (obv) sees it	Évóohtotsenótse	He (obv) sees them
Návóóhtánóne	We (excl) see it	Návóohtanonéstse	We (excl) see them
Névóohtanone	We (incl) see it	Névóohtanonéstse	We (incl) see them
Névóóhtánóvo	You (pl) see it	Névóohtanovótse	You (pl) see them
Évóóhtánóvo	They see it	Évóohtanovótse	They see them
Évóome ¹⁰⁴	It is seen	Évóomēnéstse	They are seen

/-mése/ 'eat (something)'

Námese	I ate it	Námésenótse	I ate them
Némese	You ate it	Némésenótse	You ate them
Émese	He ate it	Émésenótse	He ate them
Émésetse	He (obv) ate it	Émésetsenótse	He (obv) ate them
Námésénóne	We (excl) ate it	Námésenonéstse	We (excl) ate them
Némésenone	We (incl) ate it	Némésenonéstse	We (incl) ate them
Émésénóvo	They ate it	Émésenovótse	They ate them
Éméséstove ¹⁰⁵	It was eaten	Éméséstóvénnéstse	They were eaten.

-ho'tsé 'have (something)'

Náhó'tse	I have it	Náho'tsenótse	I have them
Néhó'tse	You have it	Ného'tsenótse	You have them
Éhó'tse	He has it	Ého'tsenótse	He has them
Ého'tsetse	He (obv) has it	Ého'tsétsenótse	He (obv) has them
Náho'tsénóne	We (excl) have it	Náho'tsénonéstse	We (excl) have them
Ného'tsénone	We (incl) have it	Ného'tsénonéstse	We (incl) have them
Ného'tsénóvo	You (pl) have it	Ného'tsénovótse	You (pl) have them
Ého'he	It is had	Ého'hēnnéstse	They are had

-ho'ahe 'have (something)'

Náho'ahe	I want it	Náho'áhenótse	I want them
Ného'ahe	You want it	Ného'áhenótse	You want them
Ého'ahe	He wants it	Ého'áhenótse	He wants them
Ého'ahetse	He (obv) wants it	Ého'áhétsenótse	He (obv) wants them
Náho'áhénóne	We (excl) want it	Náho'áhénonéstse	We (excl) want them
Ného'áhénone	We (incl) want it	Ného'áhénonéstse	We (incl) want them
Ného'áhénóvo	You (pl) want it	Ného'áhénovótse	You (pl) want them
Ého'áhénóvo	They want it	Ého'áhénovótse	They want them
Ého'ahéstove	It is wanted	Ého'ahéstóvénnéstse	They are wanted

-hóxe'ená 'clean (something)'

Náhóxe'ána	I cleaned it	Náhóxe'ananótse	I cleaned them
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¹⁰⁴ The /-vóóhtá/ and -ho'tsé passives take TA stems and II plural suffixes.

¹⁰⁵ The /-mése/ and -ho'ahe stems take the AI /-htove/ impersonal suffix for their passive forms.

Néhóxe'āna	You cleaned it	Néhóxe'ananötse	You cleaned them
Éhóxe'āna	He cleaned it	Ehóxe'ananötse	He cleaned them
Éhóxe'anutse	He (obv) cleaned it	Éhóxe'anótsenötse	He (obv) cleaned them
Náhóxe'anánóne	We (excl) cleaned it	Náhóxe'anánonéstse	We (excl) cleaned them
Néhóxe'anánone	We (in) cleaned it	Néhóxe'anánonéstse	We (in) cleaned them
Néhóxe'anánóvo	You (pl) cleaned it	Néhóxe'anánovötse	You (pl) cleaned them
Éhóxe'anánóvo	They cleaned it	Éhóxe'anánovötse	They cleaned them
Éhóxe'ane	It was cleaned	Éhóxe'anēnéstse	They were cleaned

-hestá 'say (something)'

Náhesta	I said it	Náhestanötse	I said them
Néhéstá	You said it	Néhestanötse	You said them
Éhestá	He said it	Éhestanötse	He said them
Éhestotse	He (obv) said it	Éhestótsenötse	He (obv) said them
Náhestánóne	We (excl) said it	Náhestanánonéstse	We (excl) said them
Nénestánone	We (incl) said it	Néhestánonéstse	We (incl) said them
Néhestánóvo	You (pl) said it	Néhestanánovötse	You (pl) said them
Éhestánóvo	They said it	Éhestánovötse	They said them
Éhestohe	It was said	Éhestóhénéstse	They were said

-mane 'drink (something)'

Námane ¹⁰⁶	I drank it	Námanenötse	I drank them
Némane	You drank it	Némanenötse	You drank them
Émane	He drank it	Émanenötse	He drank them
Émanetse	He (obv) drank it	Émanétsenötse	He (obv) drank them
Námanénóne	We (excl) drank it	Námanénonéstse	We (excl) drank them
Némanénóvo	We (incl) drank it	Némanénonéstse	We (incl) drank them
Émanénóvo	They drank it	Émanénovötse	They drank them
Émanéstove ¹⁰⁷	It was drunk	Émanéstóvéenéstse	They were drunk ¹⁰⁸

-é'e'ó'tsé 'break (something)'

Náé'e'ó'tse	I broke it	Náé'e'ó'tsenötse	I broke them
Néé'e'ó'tse	You broke it	Néé'e'ó'tsenötse	You broke them
Éé'e'ó'tse	He broke it	Éé'e'ó'tse	He broke them
Éé'e'ó'tsetse	He (obv) broke it	Éé'e'ó'tsetsenötse	He (obv) broke them
Náé'e'ó'tsénóne	We (excl) broke it	Náé'e'ó'tsenonéstse	We (excl) broke them
Néé'e'ó'tsenone	We (incl) broke it	Néé'e'ó'tsenonéstse	We (incl) broke them
Néé'e'ó'tsénóvo	You (pl) broke it	Néé'e'ó'tsenovötse	You (pl) broke them
Éé'e'ó'tsénóvo	They broke it	Éé'e'ó'tsenovötse	They broke them
Éé'e'ó'he	It was broken	Éé'e'ó'hénéstse	They were broken

Some other TI Independent Indicative verbs

Náa'tāxa.	I accidentally cut it.
Éhestāna.	He took it.
Náhó'xátsésa.	I'm used to it.
Émé'a.	He found it.

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

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

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

Nápéhévátsésta.
Návona'ó'tse.
Návonetanó'ta.

I like it.
I lost it.
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'tanótse na'éxánéstse.	My eyes hurt. (lit., I hurt to my eyes)

We already noted the same grammatical relationships in the corresponding TA verbs at the end of the section on Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs:

Náháamá'tóvo namo'ěško.	My finger hurts. (lit., I hurt to my finger)
Náháamá'tovoo'o namo'ěškono.	My fingers hurt. (lit., I hurt to my fingers)

-táa'á 'fit (something)'

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

Nátáa'a hóhkéha'e.	The cap fits me. (lit., I fit to the cap)
Nátáa'anótse hóhkéhá'éstse.	The caps fit me. (lit., I fit to the caps)

Compare corresponding TA verbs:

Nátáa'ōvo éstse'he.	The shirt fits me. (lit., I fit to the shirt)
Nátáa'ovoo'o éstse'heno.	The shirts fit me. (lit., I fit to the shirts)

'(something) taste good'

In Cheyenne food which gives the sensation of good taste is grammatically the object of the TI verb -péhévé'áhta:

Nápéhévé'áhta ho'évohkótse.	The meat tastes good to me. (lit. I good taste to it)
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Transitive Inanimate Independent Indicative relational verbs

A TI relational verb refers to action done to something owned by a third person.

-vóohtomóv 'see his ___'

Návóohtomóvo	I see his ___	Návóohtomóvonótse	I see his ___ (plural)
Névóohtomóvo	You see his ___	Névóohtomóvonótse	You see his ___ (plural)
Évóohtomóvo	He sees his (obv) ___	Évóohtomóvonótse	He sees his (obv) ___ (pl)
Návóohtomóvónóne	We (ex) see his ___	Návóohtomóvononéstse	We (ex) see his ___ (pl)
Névóohtomóvonone	We (in) see his ___	Névóohtomóvononéstse	We (in) see his ___ (pl)
Névóohtomóvónóvo	You (pl) see his ___	Névóohtomóvonovótse	You (pl) see his ___ (pl)
Évóohtomóvónóvo	They see his ___	Évóohtomóvonovótse	They see his ___ (pl)
Évóometse	His ___ is seen	Évóomenetótse	His ___ (pl) are seen

-hestanomóv 'take his ___'

Náhestanomóvo	I took his ___	Náhestanomóvonótse	I took his ___ (pl)
Néhestanomóvo	You took his ___	Néhestanomóvonótse	You took his ___ (pl)
Éhestanomóvo	He took his (obv) ___	Éhestanomóvonótse	He took his (obv) ___ (pl)
Náhestanomóvónóne	We (ex) took his ___	Náhestanomóvononéstse	We (ex) took his ___ (pl)
Néhestanomóvonone	We (in) took his ___	Néhestanomóvononéstse	We (in) took his ___ (pl)
Néhestanomóvónóvo	You (pl) took his ___	Néhestanomóvonovótse	You (pl) took his ___ (pl)
Éhestanomóvónóvo	They took his ___	Éhestanomóvonovótse	They took his ___ (pl)
Éhestanetse	His ___ was taken	Éhestanenetótse	His ___ (pl) were taken

-é'e'ó'tov 'break his ___'

Náé'e'ó'tóvo	I broke his ___	Náé'e'ó'tovonótse	I broke his ___ (pl)
Néé'e'ó'tóvo	You broke his ___	Néé'e'ó'tovonótse	You broke his ___ (pl)
Éé'e'ó'tóvo	He broke his (obv) ___	Éé'e'ó'tovonótse	He broke his (obv) ___ (pl)
Náé'e'ó'tóvónóne	We (ex) broke his ___	Náé'e'ó'tovononéstse	We (ex) broke his ___ (pl)
Néé'e'ó'tovonone	We (in) broke his ___	Néé'e'ó'tovononéstse	We (in) broke his ___ (pl)
Néé'e'ó'tóvónóvo	You (pl) broke his ___	Néé'e'ó'tovonovótse	You (pl) broke his ___ (pl)
Éé'e'ó'tóvónóvo	They broke his ___	Éé'e'ó'tovonovótse	They broke his ___ (pl)
Éé'e'ó'hetse	His ___ was broken	Éé'e'ó'henetótse	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	Násáavóóhtóhenótse	I did not see them
Nésáavóóhtóhe	You did not see it	Nésáavóóhtóhenótse	You did not see them
Ésáavóóhtóhe	He did not see it	Ésáavóóhtóhenótse	He did not see them
Ésáavóóhtóhetse	He (obv) did not see it	Ésáavóóhtóhétsenótse	He (obv) did not see them
Násáavóóhtóhénóne	We (ex) did not see it	Násáavóóhtóhénónéstse	We (ex) did not see them
Nésáavóóhtóhénone	We (in) did not see it	Nésáavóóhtóhénónéstse	We (in) did not see them
Nésáavóóhtóhénóvo	You (pl) did not see it	Nésáavóóhtóhénovótse	You (pl) did not see them
Ésáavóóhtóhénóvo	They did not see it	Ésáavóóhtóhénovótse	They did not see them
Ésáavóóméhane	It was not seen	Ésáavóóméhanehótse	They were not seen

'not eat (something)'

Násáaméséhe	I did not eat it	Násáaméséhenótse	I did not eat them
Nésáaméséhe	You did not eat it	Nésáaméséhenótse	You did not eat them
Ésáaméséhe	He did not eat it	Ésáaméséhenótse	He did not eat them
Ésáaméséhetse	He (obv) did not eat it	Ésáaméséhetsenótse	He (obv) did not eat them
Násáaméséhénóne	We (ex) did not eat it	Násáaméséhénónéstse	We (ex) did not eat them
Nésáaméséhénone	We (in) did not eat it	Nésáaméséhénónéstse	We (in) did not eat them
Nésáaméséhénóvo	You (pl) did not eat it	Nésáaméséhénovótse	You (pl) did not eat them
Ésáaméséhénóvo	They did not eat it	Ésáaméséhénovótse	They did not eat them
Ésáaméséstovéhane	It was not eaten	Ésáaméséstovéhanehótse	They were not eaten

'not have (something)'

Násáaho'tséhe	I do not have it	Násáaho'tséhenótse	I do not have them
Nésáaho'tséhe	You do not have it	Nésáaho'tséhenótse	You do not have them
Ésáaho'tséhe	He does not have it	Ésáaho'tséhenótse	He does not have them
Ésáaho'tséhetse	He (obv) does not have it	Ésáaho'tséhetsenótse	He (obv) does not have them
Násáaho'tséhénóne	We (ex) do not have it	Násáaho'tséhenónéstse	We (ex) do not have them
Nésáaho'tséhenone	We (in) do not have it	Nésáaho'tséhenónéstse	We (in) do not have them
Nésáaho'tséhénóvo	You (pl) do not have it	Nésáaho'tséhenovótse	You (pl) do not have them
Nésáaho'tséhénóvo	They do not have it	Ésáaho'tséhenovótse	They do not have them
Ésáaho'héhane	It is not had	Ésáaho'héhanehótse	They are not had

'not want (something)'

Násáaho'áhéhe	I don't want it	Násáaho'áhéhenótse	I don't want them
Nésáaho'áhéhe	You don't want it	Nésáaho'áhéhenótse	You don't want them
Ésáaho'áhéhe	He doesn't want it	Ésáaho'áhéhenótse	He doesn't want them
Ésáaho'áhéhetse	He (obv) doesn't want it	Ésáaho'áhéhetsenótse	He (obv) doesn't want them
Násáaho'áhéhénóne	We (ex) don't want it	Násáaho'áhéhenónéstse	We (ex) don't want them
Nésáaho'áhéhenone	We (in) don't want it	Nésáaho'áhéhenónéstse	We (in) don't want them
Nésáaho'áhéhénóvo	You (pl) don't want it	Nésáaho'áhéhenovótse	You (pl) don't want it
Ésáaho'áhéhénóvo	They don't want it	Ésáaho'áhéhenovótse	They don't want them
Ésáaho'áhéstovéhane	It is not wanted	Ésáaho'áhéstovéhanehótse	They are not wanted

'not clean (something)'

Násáahóxe'anóhe	I didn't clean it	Násáahóxe'anóhenótse	I didn't clean them
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Nésááhóxe'anóhe	You didn't clean it	Nésááhóxe'anóhenótse	You didn't clean them
Ésááhóxe'anóhe	He didn't clean it	Ésááhóxe'anóhenótse	He didn't clean them
Ésááhóxe'anóhetse	He (obv) didn't clean it	Ésááhóxe'anóhetsenótse	He (obv) didn't clean them
Násááhóxe'anóhénóne	We (ex) didn't clean it	Násááhóxe'anóhenonéstse	We (ex) didn't clean them
Nésááhóxe'anóhenone	We (in) didn't clean it	Nésááhóxe'anóhenonéstse	We (in) didn't clean them
Nésááhóxe'anóhénóvo	You (pl) didn't clean it	Nésááhóxe'anóhenovótse	You (pl) didn't clean them
Esááhóxe'anóhénóvo	They didn't clean it	Ésááhóxe'anóhenovótse	They didn't clean them
Ésááhóxe'anéhane	It was not cleaned	Ésááhóxe'anéhanéhótse	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)
Ésáavóotomóvóhe	He didn't see his (obv) ____	Ésáavóohtomóvóhenótse	He didn't see his (obv) ____ (pl)
Násáavóohtomóvóhénóne	We (ex) didn't see his ____	Násáavóohtomóvóhénonéstse	We (ex) didn't see his ____ (pl)
Nésáavóohtomóvóhénone	We (in) didn't see his ____	Nésáavóohtomóvóhénonéstse	We (in) didn't see his ____ (pl)
Nésáavóohtomóvóhénóvo	You (pl) didn't see his ____	Nésáavóohtomóvóhénovótse	You (pl) didn't see his ____ (pl)
Ésáavóohtomóvóhénóvo	They didn't see his ____	Ésáavóohtomóvóhénovótse	They didn't see his ____ (pl)
Ésáavóoméhanéhetse	His ____ was not seen	Ésáavóoméhanéhenetótse	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)
Násáahestanomóvóhénóne	We (ex) didn't take his ____	Násáahestanomóvóhénonéstse	We (ex) took his ____ (pl)
Nésáahestanomóvóhénone	We (in) didn't take his ____	Nésáahestanomóvóhénonéstse	We (in) took his ____ (pl)
Nésáahestanomóvóhénóvo	You (pl) didn't take his ____	Nésáahestanomóvóhénovótse	You (pl) took his ____ (pl)
Ésáahestanomóvóhénóvo	They didn't take his ____	Ésáahestanomóvóhénovótse	They took his ____ (pl)
Éhestanéhanéhetse	His ____ was not taken	Ésáahestanéhenetótse	His ____ (pl) were not taken

'not break his (something)'

Násáa'é'e'ó'tóvóhe	I didn't break his ____	Násáa'é'e'ó'tovóhenótse	I didn't break his ____ (pl)
Nésáa'é'e'ó'tóvóhe	You didn't break his ____	Nésáa'é'e'ó'tovóhenótse	You didn't break his ____ (pl)
Ésáa'é'e'ó'tóvóhe	He didn't break his (obv) ____	Ésáa'é'e'ó'tovóhenótse	He didn't break his (obv) ____ (pl)
Násáa'é'e'ó'tóvóhénóne	We (ex) didn't break his ____	Násáa'é'e'ó'tovóhénonéstse	We (ex) didn't break his ____ (pl)
Nésáa'é'e'ó'tovóhénone	We (in) didn't break his ____	Nésáa'é'e'ó'tovóhénonéstse	We (in) didn't break his ____ (pl)
Nésáa'é'e'ó'tóvóhénóvo	You (pl) didn't break his ____	Nésáa'é'e'ó'tovóhénovótse	You (pl) didn't break his ____ (pl)
Ésáa'é'e'ó'tóvóhénóvo	They didn't break his ____	Ésáa'é'e'ó'tovóhénovótse	They didn't break his ____ (pl)
Ésáa'é'e'ó'hehanéhetse	His ____ wasn't broken	Ésáa'é'e'ó'hehanéhenetótse	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 -otse, the interrogative suffix -he combines with it so the "o" of the ending is voiced, not whispered. Then the ending is pronounced -otse.

'see (something)'

Návóohtahe?	Did I see it?	Návóohtanotse?	Did I see them?
Névóohtahe?	Did you see it?	Névóohtanotse?	Did you see them?
Évóohtahe?	Did he see it?	Évóohtanotse?	Did he see them?
Évóohtotsehe?	Did he (obv) see it?	Évóohtotsenotse?	Did he (obv) see them?
Návóohtanonehe?	Did we (excl) see it?	Návóohtanonevotse?	Did we (excl) see them?
Névóohtanonehe?	Did we (incl) see it?	Névóohtanonevotse?	Did we (incl) see them?
Névóohtanovohe?	Did you (pl) see it?	Névóohtanovotse?	Did you (pl) see them?
Évóohtanovohe?	Did they see it?	Évóohtanovotse?	Did they see them?
Évóomehe?	Was it seen?	Évóomenevotse?	Were they seen?

'want (something)'

Náho'áhehe?	Do I want it?	Náho'áhenotse?	Do I want them?
Ného'áhehe?	Do you want it?	Ného'áhenotse?	Do you want them?
Ého'áhehe?	Does he want it?	Ého'áhenotse?	Does he want them?
Ého'áhetshehe?	Does he (obv) want it?	Ého'áhetsenotse?	Does he (obv) want them?
Náho'áhenonehe?	Do we (excl) want it?	Náho'áhenonevotse?	Do we (excl) want them?
Ného'áhenonehe?	Do we (incl) want it?	Ného'áhenonevotse?	Do we (incl) want them?
Ného'áhenovohe?	Do you (pl) want it?	Ného'áhenovotse?	Do you (pl) want them?
Ého'áhenovohe?	Do they want it?	Ého'áhenovotse?	Do they want them?
Ého'áhéstovehe?	Is it wanted?	Ého'áhéstovenevotse?	Are they wanted?

'take (something)'

Náhestanahe?	Did I take it?	Náhestananotse?	Did I take them?
Néhestanahe?	Did you take it?	Néhestananotse?	Did you take them?
Éhestanahe?	Did he take it?	Éhestananotse?	Did he take them?
Éhestanotsehe?	Did he (obv) take it?	Éhestananotse?	Did he (obv) take them?
Náhestananonehe?	Did we (excl) take it?	Náhestananonevotse?	Did we (excl) take them?
Néhestananonehe?	Did we (incl) take it?	Néhestananonevotse?	Did we (incl) take them?
Néhestananovohe?	Did you (pl) take it?	Néhestananovotse?	Did they take them?
Éhestanehe?	Was it taken?	Éhestanenevotse?	Were they taken?

Some mó- prefix TI questions

Mónévóóhta?	Did you see it?
Mó'éhestāna?	Did he take it?
Mónéhestanovótse?	Did you (plural) take them?
Mónémésenótse?	Did you eat them?
Mó'éméséstóvénestse?	Were they eaten?

Transitive Inanimate Interrogative relational verbs

'see his (something)'

Návóohtomóvohe?	Did I see his ___?	Návóohtomóvonotse?	Did I see his ___ (plural)?
Névóohtomóvohe?	Did you see his ___?	Névóohtomóvonotse?	Did you see his ___ (pl)?
Évóohtomóvohe?	Did he see his (obv) ___?	Évóohtomóvonotse?	Did he see his (obv) ___ (pl)?
Návóohtomóvononehe?	Did we (ex) see his ___?	Návóohtomóvononevotse?	Did we (ex) see his ___ (pl)?
Névóohtomóvononehe?	Did we (in) see his ___?	Névóohtomóvononevotse?	Did we (in) see his ___ (pl)?
Névóohtomóvonovohe?	Did you (pl) see his ___?	Névóohtomóvonovotse?	Did you (pl) see his ___ (pl)?
Évóohtomóvonovohe?	Did they see his ___?	Évóohtomóvonovotse?	Did they see his ___ (pl)?
Évóometsehe?	Was his ___ seen?	Évóomenetsevotse?	Were his ___ (pl) seen?

'take his (something)'

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

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 Nésáavóohtáhehe?

Násáavóohtóhehe?	Didn't I see it?	Násáavóohtóhenotse?	Didn't I see them?
Nésáavóohtóhehe?	Didn't you see it?	Nésáavóohtóhenotse?	Didn't you see them?
Ésáavóohtóhehe?	Didn't he see it?	Ésáavóohtóhenotse?	Didn't he see them?
Ésáavóohtóhetsehe?	Didn't he (obv) see it?	Ésáavóohtóhetsenotse?	Didn't he (obv) see them?
Násáavóohtóhenonehe?	Didn't we (ex) see it?	Násáavóohtóhenonevotse?	Didn't we (ex) see them?
Nésáavóohtóhenonehe?	Didn't we (in) see it?	Nésáavóohtóhenonevotse?	Didn't we (in) see them?
Nésáavóohtóhenovohe?	Didn't you (pl) see it?	Nésáavóohtóhenovotse?	Didn't you (pl) see them?
Ésáavóohtóhenovohe?	Didn't they see it?	Ésáavóohtóhenovotse?	Didn't they see them?
Ésáavóoméhanehe?	Wasn't it seen?	Ésáavóoméhanevotse?	Weren't they seen?

Some other Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative verbs

Nésáahestanóhehe?	Didn't you take it?
Nésáméséhenovotse?	Didn't you (plural) eat them?
Ésáméséstovéhanevotse?	Weren't they (inanimate) eaten?
Ésáaho'áhéstovéhanehe?	Wasn't it wanted?

Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative relational verbs

Násáavóohtomóvohehe?	Didn't I see his ___?	Násáavóohtomóvóhenotse?	Didn't I see his ___ (pl)?
Nésáavóohtomóvohehe?	Didn't you see his ___?	Nésáavóohtomóvóhenotse?	Didn't you see his ___ (pl)?
Ésáavóohtomóvohehe?	Didn't he see his (obv) ___?	Ésáavóohtomóvóhenotse?	Didn't he see his (obv) ___ (pl)?
Násáavóohtomóvóhenonehe?	Didn't we (ex) see his ___?	Násáavóohtomóvóhenonevotse?	Didn't we (ex) see his ___ (pl)?
Nésáavóohtomóvóhenonehe?	Didn't we (in) see his ___?	Nésáavóohtomóvóhenonevotse?	Didn't we (in) see his ___ (pl)?
Nésáavóohtomóvóhenovohe?	Didn't you (pl) see his ___?	Nésáavóohtomóvóhenovotse?	Didn't you (pl) see his ___ (pl)?
Ésáavóohtomóvóhenovohe?	Didn't they see his ___?	Ésáavóohtomóvóhenovotse?	Didn't they see his ___ (pl)?
Ésáavóoméhanéhetsehe?	Wasn't his ___ seen?	Ésáavóoméhanéhetotsehe?	Weren't his ___ (pl) seen?

Transitive Inanimate Inferential verbs

\$\$CHECK YOUNGER SPEAKER dialect: e.g. Mónávóohtáhēhe??

'see (something)'

Mónávóohtòhēhe	I must have seen it	Mónávóohtòhenōtse	I must have seen them
Mónévóohtòhēhe	You must have seen it	Mónévóohtòhenōtse	You must have see them
Móvóohtòhēhe	He must have seen it	Móvóohtòhenōtse	He must have seen them
Móvóohtòhetsēhe	He (obv) must have seen it	Móvóohtòhetsenōtse	He (obv) must have seen them
Mónávóohtòhenonēhe	We (ex) must have seen it	Mónávóohtòhenonevōtse	We (ex) must have seen them
Mónévóohtòhenonēhe	We (in) must have seen it	Mónévóohtòhenonevōtse	We (in) must have seen them
Mónévóohtòhenovōhe	You (pl) must have seen it	Mónévóohtòhenovōtse	You (pl) must have seen them
Móvóohtòhenovōhe	They must have seen it	Móvóohtòhenovōtse	They must have seen them

'take (something)'

Mónáhestanòhēhe	I must have taken it	Mónáhestanòhenōtse	I must have taken them
Mónéhestanòhēhe	You must have taken it	Mónéhestanòhenōtse	You must have taken them
Móhestanòhēhe	He must have taken it	Móhestanòhenōtse	He must have taken them
Móhestanòhetsēhe	He (obv) must have taken it	Móhestanòhetsenōtse	He (obv) must have taken them
Mónáhestanòhenonēhe	We (ex) must have taken it	Mónáhestanòhenonevōtse	We (ex) must have taken them
Mónéhestanòhenonēhe	We (in) must have taken it	Mónéhestanòhenonevōtse	We (in) must have taken them
Mónéhestanòhenovōhe	You (pl) must have taken it	Mónéhestanòhenovōtse	You (pl) must have taken them
Móhestanòhenovōhe	They must have taken it	Móhestanòhenovōtse	They must have taken them

'have (something)'

Mónáho'tséhēhe	I must have it	Mónáho'tsēhenōtse	I must have seen them
Móného'tséhēhe	You must have it	Móného'tsēhenōtse	You must have them
Móho'tséhēhe	He must have it	Móho'tsēhenōtse	He must have it
Móho'tséhetséhēhe	He (obv) must have it	Móho'tséhetsenōtse	He (obv) must have it
Mónáho'tsēhenonēhe	We (ex) must have it	Mónáho'tsēhenonevōtse	We (ex) must have it
Móného'tsēhenonēhe	We (in) must have it	Móného'tsēhenonevōtse	We (in) must have it
Móného'tsēhenovōhe	You (pl) must have it	Móného'tsēhenovōtse	You (pl) must have it
Móho'tsēhenovōhe	They must have it	Móho'tsēhenovōtse	They must have them

Recheck inferential paradigm for -héne'ená

'have (something)'

Mónáhéne'enòhēhe	I must know it	Mónáhéne'enòhenōtse	I must know them
Mónéhéne'enòhēhe	You must know it	Mónéhéne'enòhenōtse	You must know them
Móhéne'enòhēhe	He must know it	Móhéne'enòhenōtse	He must know it
Móhéne'enòhetséhēhe	He (obv) must know it	Móhéne'enòhetsenōtse	He (obv) must know it
Mónáhéne'enòhenonēhe	We (ex) must know it	Mónáhéne'enòhenonevōtse	We (ex) must know it
Mónéhéne'enòhēnonēhe	We (in) must know it	Mónéhéne'enòhenonevōtse	We (in) must know it
Mónéhéne'enòhenovōhe	You (pl) must know it	Mónéhéne'enòhenovōtse	You (pl) must know it

Transitive Inanimate Reportative verbs

'see (something)'

Návóóhtánóse	I am said to see it	Návóohtanósestótse	I am said to see them
Névóóhtánóse	You are said to see it	Névóohtanósestótse	You are said to see them
Évóóhtánóse	He is said to see it	Évóohtanósestótse	He is said to see them
Évóóhtótсэнóse	He (obv) is said to see it	Évóohtotsenósestótse	He (obv) is said to see them
Návóóhtánónése	We (ex) are said to see it	Návóohtanónésestótse	We (ex) are said to see them
Névóóhtánónése	We (in) are said to see it	Névóohtanónésestótse	We (in) are said to see them
Névóóhtánóvóse	You (pl) are said to see it	Névóohtanóvósestótse	You (pl) are said to see them
Évóóhtánóvóse	They are said to see it	Évóohtanóvósestótse	They are said to see them

'take (something)'

Náhestanánóse	I am said to have taken it	Náhestanánósestótse	I am said to have taken them
Néhestanánóse	You are said to have taken it	Néhestanánósestótse	You are said to have taken them
Éhestanánóse	He is said to have taken it	Éhestanánósestótse	He is said to have taken them
Éhestanótсэнóse	He (obv) is said to have taken it	Éhestanótsenósestótse	He (obv) is said to have taken them
Náhestanánónése	We (ex) are said to have taken it	Náhestanánónésestótse	We (ex) are said to have taken them
Néhestanánónése	We (in) are said to have taken it	Néhestanánónésestótse	We (in) are said to have taken them
Néhestanánóvóse	You (pl) are said to have taken it	Néhestanánóvósestótse	You (pl) are said to have taken them
Éhestanónóvóse	They are said to have taken it	Éhestanánóvósestótse	They are said to have taken them

'have (something)'

Náho'tsénóse	I am said to have it	Náho'tsénósestótse	I am said to have them
Ného'tsénóse	You are said to have it	Ného'tsénósestótse	You are said to have them
Ého'tsénóse	He is said to have it	Ého'tsénósestótse	He is said to have them
Ého'tsétсэнóse	He (obv) is said to have it	Ého'tsétsenósestótse	He (obv) is said to have them
Náho'tsénónése	We (ex) are said to have it	Náho'tsénónésestótse	We (ex) are said to have them
Ného'tsénónése	We (in) are said to have it	Ného'tsénónésestótse	We (in) are said to have them
Ného'tsénóvóse	You (pl) are said to have it	Ného'tsénóvósestótse	You (pl) are said to have them
Ého'tsénóvóse	They are said to have it	Ého'tsénóvósestótse	They are said to have them

Some Transitive Inanimate Reportative relational verbs\$\$RECHECK

Návóohtomóvónóse	I am said to have seen his __ (rel).
Évóohtomóvónóse	He is said to have seen his (obv) __
Évóohtomóvonósestótse	He is said to have seen his __ (plural)
Náhestanomóvónóse	I am said to have taken his __
Éhestanomóvónóse	He is said to have taken his (obv) __
Éhestanomóvonósestótse	He is said to have taken his (obv) __ (plural)
Náé'e'ó'tóvónóse	I am said to have broken his __
Éé'e'ó'tóvónóse	He is said to have broken his (obv) __
Éé'e'ó'tovonósestótse	He is said to have broken his (obv) __ (plural)
Náho'tomóvónóse	I am said to have his __
Ého'tomóvónóse	He is said to have his (obv) his __
Ého'tomóvonósestótse	He is said to have his (obv) his __ (plural)

Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative verbs

'not see (something)'

Násáavóóhtóhénóse	I am said not to see it
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Nésáavóóhtóhénöse
Ésáavóóhtóhénöse
Ésáavóóhtóhétsénöse
Násáavóóhtóhénónèse
Nésáavóóhtóhénónèse
Nésáavóóhtóhénóvöse
Ésáavóóhtóhénóvöse

You are said not to see it
He is said not to see it
He (obviative) is said not to see it
We (exclusive) are said not to see it
We (inclusive) are said not to see it
You (plural) are said not to see it
They are said not to see it

Násáavóóhtóhenösestótse
Nésáavóóhtóhenösestótse
Ésáavóóhtóhenösestótse
Ésáavóóhtóhetsenösestótse
Násáavóóhtóhenónésestótse
Nésáavóóhtóhenónésestótse
Nésáavóóhtóhenóvösestótse
Ésáavóóhtóhenóvösestótse

I am said not to see them
You are said not to see them
He is said not to see them
He (obviative) is said not to see them
We (exclusive) are said not to see them
We (inclusive) are said not to see them
You (plural) are said not to see them
They are said not to see them

'not take (something)'

Násáahestanóhénöse
Nésáahestanóhénöse
Ésáahestanóhénöse
Ésáahestanóhétsénöse
Násáahestanóhénónèse
Nésáahestanóhénónèse
Nésáahestanóhénóvöse
Ésáahestanóhénóvöse

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

Násáahestanóhenösestótse
Nésáahestanóhenösestótse
Ésáahestanóhenösestótse
Ésáahestanóhetsenösestótse
Násáahestanóhenónésestótse
Nésáahestanóhenónéstótse
Nésáahestanóhenóvösestótse
Ésáahestanóhenóvösestótse

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

'not have (something)'

Násáaho'tséhénöse
Nésáaho'tséhénöse
Ésáaho'tséhénöse
Ésáaho'tséhétsénöse
Násáaho'tséhénónèse
Nésáaho'tséhénónèse
Nésáaho'tséhénóvöse
Ésáaho'tséhénóvöse

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

Násáaho'tséhenösestótse
Nésáaho'tséhenösestótse
Ésáaho'tséhenösestótse
Ésáaho'tséhetsenösestótse
Násáaho'tséhenónésestótse
Nésáaho'tséhenónésestótse
Nésáaho'tséhenóvösestótse

I am said not to have them
You are said not to have them
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

Ésáaho'tséhénóvösestötse	They are said not to have them
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'not eat (something)'\$\$RECHECK

Násáaméséhénöse	I am said not to have eaten it
Nésáaméséhénöse	You are said not to have eaten it
Ésáaméséhénöse	He is said not to have eaten it
Ésáaméséhétsénöse	He (obviative) is said not to have eaten it
Násáaméséhénónöse	We (exclusive) are said not to have eaten it
Nésáaméséhénónöse	We (inclusive) are said not to have eaten it
Nésáaméséhénóvöse	You (plural) are said not to have eaten it
Ésáaméséhénóvöse	They are said not to have eaten it

Násáaméséhénósestötse	I am said not to have eaten them
Nésáaméséhénósestötse	You are said not to have eaten them
Ésáaméséhénósestötse	He is said not to have eaten them
Ésáaméséhétsénósestötse	He (obviative) is said not to have eaten them
Násáaméséhénónósestötse	We (exclusive) are said not to have eaten them
Nésáaméséhénónósestötse	We (inclusive) are said not to have eaten them
Nésáaméséhénóvósestötse	You (plural) are said not to have eaten them
Ésáaméséhénóvósestötse	They are said not to have eaten them

Some Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative relational verbs\$\$RECHECK

Ésáavóohtomóvöhénöse.	He is said not to have seen his __ (rel).
Ésáavóohtomóvöhénósestötse.	They are said not to have seen his __ (pl) (rel).
Ésáahestanomóvöhénöse.	He is said not to have taken his __ (rel).
Ésáahestanomóvöhénósestötse.	They are said not to have taken his __ (pl) (rel).

Transitive Inanimate Preterit verbs

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

'see (something)'

Éhvóohtanoho	Once upon a time he saw it
Éhvóohtanóhoonótse	Once upon a time he saw them (inanimate)
Éhvóohtanovoho	Once upon a time they saw it
Éhvóohtanovóhoonótse	Once upon a time they saw them (inanimate)
Éxhestanánoho	Once upon a time he took it
Éxhestanánóhoonótse	Once upon a time he took them (inanimate)
Éxhestanánovoho	Once upon a time they took it
Éxhestanánovóhoonótse	Once upon a time they took them (inanimate)
Éxho'tsénoho	Once upon a time he had it
Éxho'tsénóhoonótse	Once upon a time he had them (inanimate)
Éxho'tsénovoho	Once upon a time they had it
Éxho'tsénovoho	Once upon a time they had them (inanimate)
Éhmésénoho	Once upon a time he ate it
Éhmésénóhoonótse	Once upon a time he ate them (inanimate)

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

Transitive Inanimate Negative Preterit verbs

Éssávóohtóheho	Once upon a time he did not see it
Éssávóohtóhénóhoonótse	Once upon a time he did not see them (inanimate)
Éssávóohtóhénovoho	Once upon a time they did not see it
Éssávóohtóhénovóhoonótse	Once upon a time they did not see them (inanimate)
Éssáahestanóhenoho	Once upon a time he did not take it
Éssáahestanóhénóhoonótse	Once upon a time he did not take them (inanimate)
Éssáahestanóhenovoho	Once upon a time they did not take it
Éssáahestanóhenovóhoonótse	Once upon a time they did not see them (inanimate)

Transitive Inanimate Imperatives

As with the AI and TA verbs, Cheyenne commands are for either immediate or delayed action. The same word is used to command someone to do something to one thing or more than one thing. For instance, Vé'hóóhtóhtse! can mean either 'Look at it!' or 'Look at them (inanimate)!'

Transitive Inanimate Immediate Imperative

meaning	said to one person	said to more than one person
Look at it/them!	Vé'hóóhtóhtse!	Vé'hoohtome!
Take it!	Hestānohtse!	Hestanome!
Eat it/them!	Meséstse!	Mese!
Bring it/them here!	Néxho'eotsesstse!	Néxho'eotsestse!
Burn it/them up!	Vonāho'hóhtse!	Vonāho'home!
Drink it/them!	Manéstse!	Mane!
Cut it/them!	Tsèhetāxóhtse!	Tsèhetāxome!
Clean it/them!	Hóxe'ānohtse!	Hóxe'anome!
Make it/them!	Manēstse!	Manēstse!

Transitive Inanimate Delayed Imperative

meaning	said to one person	said to more than one person
Look at it/them later!	Vé'hoohtomeo'o!!	Vé'hoohtomáhéne!
Take it later!	Hestanomeo'o!	Hestanomáhéne!
Eat it/them later!	Méseo'o!	Méséhéne!
Bring it/them here later!	Néxho'eotséstseo'o!	Néxho'eotséstséhéne!
Burn it/them up later!	Vonāho'homeo'o!	Vonāho'homáhéne!
Drink it/them later!	Maneo'o!	Manéhéne!
Cut it/them later!	Tsèhetāxomeo'o!	Tsèhetāxomáhéne!
Clean it/them later!	Hóxe'anomeo'o!	Hóxe'anomáhéne!
Make it/them later!	Manéstseo'o!	Manéstséhéne!

Transitive Inanimate Hortative verbs

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

Vé'hoohtoha!	Let him look at it/them!	Vé'hoomévoha!	Let them look at it/them!
Hestanoha!!	Let him take it/them!	Hestanomévoha!	Let them take it/them!
Néxho'eotséstseha!	Let him bring it/them!	Néxho'eotséstsévoha!	Let them bring it/them!
Manéstseha!	Let him make it/them!	Manéstsévoha!	Let them make it/them!
Ho'tseha!	Let him have it/them!	Ho'tsévoha!	Let them have it/them!
Méseha!	Let him eat it/them!	Mésevoha!	Let them eat it/them!
Maneha!	Let him drink it/them!	Manévoha!	Let them drink it/them!

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs

Inanimate referents can occur as subjects of TA verbs, acting on animate referents. We abbreviate these as ITA verbs (TA verbs with Inanimate subjects):

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

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

-ho'èhót 'come to (someone)'

Náho'èhótaa'e	It came to me	Náho'èhótaenótse	They came to me
Ného'èhótaa'e	It came to you	Ného'èhótaenótse	They came to you
Ého'èhótaa'e	It came to him	Ého'èhótaenótse	They came to him
Ého'èhótaetse	It came to him (obv)	Ého'èhótaetsenótse	They came to him (obv)
Náho'èhótaenóne	It came to us (ex)	Náho'èhótaenonéstse	They came to us (ex)
Ného'èhótaenone	It came to us (in)	Ného'èhótaenonéstse	They came to us (in)
Ného'èhótaenóvo	It came to you (pl)	Ného'èhótaenovótse	They came to you (pl)
Ého'èhótaenóvo	It came to them	Ého'èhótaenovótse	They came to them

Examples in sentences

Káhámáxe éa'ta'oo'e hetane	The stick accidentally hit the man
Náa'ta'óenonéstse he'konótse	The bones accidentally hit us
Háomóhtáhestótse ého'èhótaetse 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:

-hóonósé'ot 'miss (something)'

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

Náhóonósé'otaa'e naamáho'hestótse. I miss my car. (lit., 'My car causes loneliness to me.')

Náhóonósé'otaenótse sémonótse. I miss the boats. (lit., 'The boats cause loneliness to me.')

-pèhéveahtám 'like to listen to'

In Cheyenne the thing that someone likes to listen to is grammatically the subject of the TA verb –pèhéveahtám. 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.

Épèhéveahtámaa'e. He likes to listen to it. (lit., 'It causes good listening to him.')

Épèhéveahtámaenóvo. They like to listen to it. (lit., 'It causes good listening to them.')

-taa'ov 'fit (someone)' ADD TO TOC

É-táa'ovóho heéstse'heno. His shirt fits him. (lit., 'He fits to his shirt.')

Nátáa'ovoo'o navóxóheono. My socks fit me. (lit., 'I fit to my socks.')

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Indicative relational verbs

An inanimate subject possessed by a third person can act upon an animate object. Throughout this book we are calling a verb that reflects an action by something possessed by a third person a relational verb.

Náa'ta'óetse	His ___ acc. hit me	Náa'ta'óetsenótse	His ___ (pl) acc. hit me
Néa'ta'óetse	His ___ acc. hit you	Néa'ta'óetsenótse	His ___ (pl) acc. hit me
Éa'ta'óetse	His ___ acc. hit him	Éa'ta'óetsenótse	His ___ (pl) acc. hit him
Náa'ta'óetsenone	His ___ acc. hit us (ex)	Náa'ta'óetsenonéstse	His ___ (pl) acc. hit us (ex)
Néa'ta'óetsenone	His ___ acc. hit us (in)	Néa'ta'óetsenonéstse	His ___ (pl) acc. hit us (in)
Né'a'ta'óétsénóvo	His ___ acc. hit you (pl)	Né'a'ta'óétsenovótse	His ___ (pl) acc. hit you (pl)
Éa'ta'óétsénóvo	His ___ acc. hit them	Éa'ta'óétsenovótse	His ___ (pl) acc. hit them

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

Examples in sentences

Náa'ta'óetse hemóxe'éstónestótse His pencil accidentally hit me

Hemóxe'éstóonevótse náho'ehótaetsenonéstse Their books came to us

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative verbs

'not accidentally hit (someone)'

Násáa'a'ta'óéhe	It did not acc. hit me	Násáa'a'ta'óhenótse	They did not acc. hit me
Nésáa'a'ta'óéhe	It did not acc. hit you	Nésáa'a'ta'óehenótse	They did not acc. hit you
Ésáa'a'ta'óéhe	It did not acc. hit him	Ésáa'a'ta'óehenótse	They did not acc. hit him
Ésáa'a'ta'óehetse	It did not acc. hit him (obv)	Ésáa'a'ta'óehétsenótse	They did not acc. hit him (obv)
Násáa'a'ta'óéhénóne	It did not acc. hit us (ex)	Násáa'a'ta'óéhénonéstse	They did not acc. hit us (ex)
Nésáa'a'ta'óéhénone	It did not acc. hit us (in)	Nésáa'a'ta'óéhénonéstse	They did not acc. hit us (in)
Nésáa'a'ta'óéhénóvo	It did not acc. hit you (pl)	Nésáa'a'ta'óéhénovótse	They did not acc. hit you (pl)
Ésáa'a'ta'óéhénóvo	It did not acc. hit them	Ésáa'a'ta'óéhénovótse	They did not acc. hit them

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative relational verbs

Násáa'a'ta'óehetse	His ___ did not acc. hit me	Násáa'a'ta'óehétsenótse	His ___ (pl) did not acc. hit me
Nésáa'a'ta'óehetse	His ___ did not acc. hit you	Nésáa'a'ta'óehétsenótse	His ___ (pl) did not acc. hit you
Ésáa'a'ta'óehetse	His (obv) ___ did not acc. hit him	Ésáa'a'ta'óehétsenótse	His (obv) ___ (pl) did not acc. hit him
Násáa'a'ta'óehétsénóne	His ___ did not acc. hit us (ex)	Násáa'a'ta'óehétsenonéstse	His ___ (pl) did not acc. hit us (ex)
Nésáa'a'ta'óehétsenone	His ___ did not acc. hit us (in)	Nésáa'a'ta'óehétsenonéstse	His ___ (pl) did not acc. hit us (in)
Nésáa'a'ta'óehétsénóvo	His ___ did not acc. hit you (pl)	Nésáa'a'ta'óehétsenovótse	His ___ (pl) did not acc. hit you (pl)
Ésáa'a'ta'óhétsénóvo	His (obv) ___ did not acc. hit them	Ésáa'a'ta'óehétsenovótse	His (obv) ___ (pl) did not acc. hit them

Násáaho'ehótaehetse	His ___ did not come to me	Násáaho'ehótaehétsenótse	His ___ (pl) did not come to me
Nésáaho'ehótaehetse	His ___ did not come to you	Nésáaho'ehótaehétsenótse	His ___ (pl) did not come to me
Ésáaho'ehótaehetse	His (obv) ___ did not come to him	Ésáaho'ehótaehétsenótse	His (obv) ___ (pl) did not come to him
Násáaho'ehótaehétsénóne	His ___ did not come to us (ex)	Násáaho'ehótaehétsenonéstse	His ___ (pl) did not come to us (ex)
Nésáaho'ehótaehétsenone	His ___ did not come to us (in)	Nésáaho'ehótaehétsenonéstse	His ___ (pl) did not come to us (in)
Nésáaho'ehótaehétsénóvo	His ___ did not come to you (pl)	Nésáaho'ehótaehétsenovótse	His ___ (pl) did not come to you (pl)
Ésáaho'ehótaehétsénóvo	His (obv) ___ did not come to them	Ésáaho'ehótaehétsenovótse	His (obv) ___ (pl) did not come to them

Examples in sentences

Káhámáxe násáa'a'ta'óéhe

Ésáa'a'ta'óehétse **nótse** hemóxe'èstónèstotótse

Háomóhtáhestótse ésáaho'éhótaehetse hee'haho

The stick did not accidentally hit me

His (another's) pencils did not accidentally hit him

Sickness didn't come to his son.

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Interrogative verbs

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

Náa'ta'óehe?	Did it acc. hit me?	Ná'ta'óenotse?	Did they acc. hit me?
Néa'ta'óehe?	Did it acc. hit you?	Néa'ta'óenotse?	Did they acc. hit you?
Éa'ta'óehe?	Did it acc. hit him?	Éa'ta'óenotse?	Did they acc. hit him?
Éa'ta'óetssehe?	Did it acc. hit him (obv)?	Éa'ta'óetsenotse?	Did they acc. hit him (obv)?
Náa'ta'óenonehe?	Did it acc. hit us (excl)?	Néa'ta'óenonevotse?	Did they acc. hit us (excl)?
Néa'ta'óenonehe?	Did it acc. hit us (incl)?	Néa'ta'óenonevotse?	Did they acc. hit us (incl)?
Néa'ta'óenovohé?	Did it acc. hit you (pl)?	Néa'ta'óenovotse?	Did they acc. hit you (pl)?
Éa'ta'óenovohé?	Did it acc. hit them?	Éa'ta'óenovotse?	Did they acc. hit them?

-ho'èhót 'come to (someone)'

Náho'èhótáehe?	Did it come to me?	Náho'èhótáenotse?	Did they come to me?
Ného'èhótáehe?	Did it come to you?	Ného'èhótáenotse?	Did they come to you?
Ého'èhótáehe?	Did it come to him?	Ého'èhótáenotse?	Did they come to him?
Ého'èhótáetssehe?	Did it come to him (obv)?	Ého'èhótáetsenotse?	Did they come to him (obv)?
Náho'èhótáenonehe?	Did it come to us (ex)?	Náho'èhótáenonevotse?	Did they come to us (ex)?
Ného'èhótáenonehe?	Did it come to us (in)?	Ného'èhótáenonevotse?	Did they come to us (in)?
Ného'èhótáenovohé?	Did it come to you (pl)?	Ného'èhótáenovotse?	Did they come to you (pl)?
Ého'èhótáenovohé?	Did it come to them?	Ého'èhótáenovotse?	Did they come to them?

Examples in sentences

Káhámáxe né'ta'óehe?	Did a stick accidentally hit you?
Pèhévtanohtótse ého'áhótáetssehe hestónaho?	Did happiness come to his daughter (obviative)?
Néa'ta'óenovotse he'konótse?	Did bones accidentally hit you (plural)?

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Interrogative relational verbs

Náa'ta'óetssehe?	Did his ___ acc. hit me?	Náa'ta'óetsenotse?	Did his ___ (pl) acc. hit me?
Néa'ta'óetssehe?	Did his ___ acc. hit you?	Néa'ta'óetsenotse?	Did his ___ (pl) acc. hit me?
Éa'ta'óetssehe?	Did his ___ acc. hit him?	Éa'ta'óetsenotse?	Did his ___ (pl) acc. hit him?
Náa'ta'óetsenonehe?	Did his ___ acc. hit us (ex)?	Náa'ta'óetsenonevotse?	Did his ___ (pl) acc. hit us (ex)?
Néa'ta'óetsenonehe?	Did his ___ acc. hit us (in)?	Néa'ta'óetsenonevotse?	Did his ___ (pl) acc. hit us (in)?
Néa'ta'óetsenovohé?	Did his ___ acc. hit you (pl)?	Néa'ta'óetsenonevotse?	Did his ___ (pl) acc. hit you (pl)?
Éa'ta'óetsenovohé?	Did his ___ acc. hit them?	Éa'ta'óetsenovotse?	Did his ___ (pl) acc. hit them?

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Negative Interrogative verbs

Násáa'a'ta'óehehe?	Didn't it acc. hit me?	Násáa'a'ta'óehenotse?	Didn't they acc. hit me?
Nésáa'a'ta'óehehehe?	Didn't it acc. hit you?	Nésáa'a'ta'óehenotse?	Didn't they acc. hit you?
Ésáa'a'ta'óehehe?	Didn't it acc. hit him?	Ésáa'a'ta'óehenotse?	Didn't they acc. hit him?
Ésáa'a'ta'óehetsehe?	Didn't it acc. hit him (obv)?	Ésáa'a'ta'óehetsenotse?	Didn't they acc. hit him (obv)?
Násáa'a'ta'óehenonehe?	Didn't it acc. hit us (ex)?	Násáa'a'ta'óehenonevotse?	Didn't they acc. hit us (ex)?
Nésáa'a'ta'óehenonehe?	Didn't it acc. hit you (pl)?	Nésáa'a'ta'óehenovotse?	Didn't they acc. hit you (pl)?
Ésáa'a'ta'óehenovohé?	Didn't it acc. hit them?	Ésáa'a'ta'óehenovotse?	Didn't they acc. hit them?

Examples in sentences

Hemóxe'éstónestótse néa'ta'óetssehe?	Did his pencil (relational) acc. hit you?
Káhámáxe nésáa'a'ta'óehenovohé?	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.

/-mét/ 'give (something to someone)'

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

Námétahtse	I gave it to myself	Námétamone ¹¹²	We (ex) gave it to him (obv)
Németátse	I gave it to you	Námétahtsénóne	We (ex) gave it to ourselves
Náméto	I gave it to him	Námétatsemeno	We (ex) gave it to you (pl)
Námétamóho	I gave it to him (obv)	Námétoneo'o ¹¹³	We (ex) gave it to them
Némétatsénóvo	I gave it to you (pl)		
Námétónóvo	I gave it to them	Némétone ¹¹⁴	We (in) gave it to him
		Némétamonone	We (in) gave it to him (obv)
Németse	You gave it to me	Némétahtsénóne	We (in) gave it to ourselves
Námétahtse	You gave it to yourself	Némétoneo'o ¹¹⁵	We (in) gave it to them
Náméto	You gave it to him		
Námétamóho	You gave it to him (obv)	Némétsénóvo	You (pl) gave it to me
Némétsemeno ¹⁰⁹	You gave it to us (ex)	Námétónóvo	You (pl) gave it to him
Námétónóvo	You gave it to them	Némétamonovo	You (pl) gave it to him (obv)
		Némétsemeno	You (pl) gave it to us (in)
Námétaa'e	He gave it to me	Némétahtsénóvo	You (pl) gave it to yourselves
Némétaa'e	He gave it to you	Námétónóvo	You (pl) gave it to them
Émétahtse	He gave it to himself		
Émeto ¹¹⁰	He gave it to him (obv)	Námétaenōvo	They gave it to me
Námétaenóne	He gave it to us (excl)	Némétaenōvo	They gave it to you
Némétaenone	He gave it to us (incl)		
Némétaenóvo	He gave it to you (pl)		
Námétaetse	He (obv) gave it to me		
Némétaetse	He (obv) gave it to you		
Émétaá'e	He (obv) gave it to him		
Émétahtsetse	He (obv) gave it to himself		
Námétaetsenone	He (obv) gave it to us (ex)		
Némétaetsenone	He (obv) gave it to us (in)		
Némétaetsenōvo	He (obv) gave it to you (pl)		
Émétaenóvo	He (obv) gave it to them		
Némétatsemeno	We (ex) gave it to you		
Námétóne ¹¹¹	We (ex) gave it to him		

¹⁰⁹ Also Némétsemeno

¹¹⁰ Younger speakers say Émétóho.

¹¹¹ Also Námétónóne

¹¹² Also Námétamonone

¹¹³ Also Námétónóne

¹¹⁴ Also Némétone

¹¹⁵ Also Némétone

Émétónóvo	They gave it to him (obv)
Námétaenone	They gave it to us (ex)
Némétaenone	They gave it to us (in)
Némétaenóvo	They gave it to you (pl)
Émэтаһsénóvo	They gave it to themselves

Námétáne	I was given it
Némétáne	You were given it
Émetse	He was given it
Námétanénóne	We (ex) were given it
Némétanénone	We (in) were given it
Némétanénóvo	You (pl) were given it
Émétsénóvo	They were given it

'give (some things to someone)'

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

Námэтаһtsenótse	I gave them to myself
Némétatsenótse	I gave them to you
Némétonótse	I gave them to him
Námétamonótse	I gave them to him (obv)
Némétatsénovótse	I gave them to you (pl)
Námétonovótse	I gave them to them

Némétsenótse	You gave them to me
Némэтаһtsenótse	You gave them to yourself
Némétonótse	You gave them to him
Námétamonótse	You gave them to him (obv)
Némétsemenótse	You gave them to us (ex)
Némétonovótse	You gave them to them

Námétaenótse	He gave them to me
Némétaenótse	He gave them to you
Émэтаһtsenótse	He gave them to himself
Námétaenonéstse	He gave them to him (obv)
Námétaenonéstse	He gave them to us (ex)
Némétaenonéstse	He gave them to us (in)
Némétaenovótse	He gave them to you (pl)

Námétaetsenótse	He (obv) gave them to me
Némétaetsenótse	He (obv) gave them to me
Émétaenótse	He (obv) gave them to him
Émэтаһtsétsenótse	He (obv) gave them to himself
Námétaetsenonéstse	He (obv) gave them to us (ex)
Némétaetsenonéstse	He (obv) gave them to us (in)
Némétaetsénovótse	He (obv) gave them to you (pl)
Émétaenovótse	He (obv) gave them to them

Némétatsemenótse	We (ex) gave them to you
Námétanonéstse	We (ex) gave them to him
Námétamónonéstse	We (ex) gave them to him (obv)
Námэтаһtsénonéstse	We (ex) gave them to ourselves
Némétatsemenótse	We (ex) gave them to you (pl)
Némétononéstse	We (ex) gave them to them

Némétononéstse	We (in) gave them to him
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Némétamónonéstse	We (in) gave them to him (obv)
Némétahtsénonéstse	We (in) gave them to ourselves
Némétononéstse	We (in) gave them to them
Némétsenovótse	You (pl) gave them to me
Némétonovótse	You (pl) gave them to him
Némétamónovótse	You (pl) gave them to him (obv)
Némétsemenótse	You (pl) gave them to us (ex)
Némétahtsénovótse	You (pl) gave them to yourselves
Némétonovótse	You (pl) gave them to them
Émétonovótse	They gave them to him (obv)
Námétaenonéstse	They gave them to us (ex)
Némétaenonéstse	They gave them to us (in)
Némétaenovótse	They gave them to you (pl)
Émétahtsénovótse	They gave them to themselves
Námétanenótse	I was given them
Némétanenótse	You were given them
Émétsenótse	He was given them
Námétanénonéstse	We (ex) were given them
Némétanénonéstse	We (in) were given them
Némétanénonovótse	You (pl) were given them
Émétsenovótse	They were given them

/-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).

Námétahtsenötse	I gave him to myself	Námétanenötse	I was given him
Némétatsenötse	I gave him to you	Némétanenötse	You were given him
Námétonoto	I gave him (obv) to him	Émétsenoto	He was given him (obv)
Námétamónoto	I gave him (obv') to him (obv)	Námétanénóne	We (ex) were given him
Némétatsénóvo	I gave him to you (pl)	Némétanénone	We (in) were given him
Námétonovo	I gave him (obv) to them	Némétanénóvo	You (pl) were given him
		Émétsenovo	They were given him (obv)
Némétsenötse	You gave him to me		
Námétahtsenötse	You gave him to yourself		
Námétonoto	You gave him (obv) to him		
Námétamónoto	You gave him (obv') to him (obv)		
Némétsemeno	You gave him to us (ex)		
Námétonovo	You gave him (obv') to them		
Námétaenoto	He gave him (obv) to me		
Némétaenoto	He gave him (obv) to you		
Émétahtsénoto	He gave him (obv) to himself		
Émétonoto	He gave him (obv') to him (obv)		
Námétaenone	He gave him (obv) to us (ex)		
Némétaenone	He gave him (obv) to us (in)		
Némétaenovo	He gave him (obv) to you (pl)		
\$\$RECHECK PROX/OBV of secondary object??:			
Námétaetsenoto	He (obv) gave him (obv') to me		
Némétaetsenoto	He (obv) gave him (obv') to you		
Émétaenoto	He (obv) gave him (obv') to him		
Émétahtsénoto	He (obv) gave him (obv') to himself		
Námétaetsenone	He (obv) gave him (obv') to us (ex)		
Némétaetsenone	He (obv) gave him (obv') to us (in)		
Némétaetsenovo	He (obv) gave him (obv') to you (pl)		
Émétaenovo	He (obv) gave him (obv') to them		
Némétatsemeno	We (ex) gave him to you		
Námétonone	We (ex) gave him (obv) to him		
Námétamónone ¹¹⁶	We (ex) gave him (obv') to him (obv)		
Námétahtsénóne	We (ex) gave him to ourselves		
Némétatsemeno	We (ex) gave him to you (pl)		
Námétonone	We (ex) gave him (obv) to them		
Némétonone	We (in) gave him (obv) to him		
Námétamónone ¹¹⁷	We (in) gave him (obv') to him (obv)		
Námétahtsénóne	We (in) gave him to ourselves		
Némétonone	We (in) gave him (obv') to them		
Némétsénóvo	You (pl) gave him to me		
Námétonovo	You (pl) gave him (obv) to him		
Námétamovo	You (pl) gave him (obv') to him (obv)		
Némétsemeno	You (pl) gave him to us (ex)		
Námétahtsénóvo	You (pl) gave him to yourselves		
Námétonovo	You (pl) gave him (obv) to them		
Námétaenovo	They gave him (obv) to me		
Némétaenovo	They gave him (obv) to you		
Émétonovo	They gave him (obv') to him (obv)		
Námétaenóneo'o	They gave him (obv) to us (ex)		
Némétaenóneo'o	They gave him (obv) to us (in)		
Némétaenóvo'o	They gave him (obv) to you (pl)		
Émétahtsenovo	They gave him (obv) to themselves		

¹¹⁶ Also Námétamónone

¹¹⁷ Also Némétamónone

/-mét/ 'give (plural animate objects to someone)'

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

Námétahtsénoto	I gave them to myself	Némétaenóvoo'o	They gave them (obv) to you (pl)
Némétatsénoto	I gave them to you	Émétahtsenovo	They gave them (obv) to themselves
Námétonoto	I gave them ¹¹⁸ (obv') to him (obv)	Námétanénoto	I was given them
Námétamónoto	I gave them (obv') to him (obv)	Némétanénoto	You were given them
Némétatsénovoo'o	I gave them to you (pl)	Émétsenoto	He was given them (obv)
Námétonovo	I gave them (obv') to them	Námétanénoneo'o	We (ex) were given them
Némétsenoto	You gave them to me	Némétanénoneo'o	We (in) were given them
Némétahtsénoto	You gave them to yourself	Némétanénovoo'o	You (pl) were given them
Némétonoto	You gave them (obv) to him	Émétsenovo	They were given them (obv)
Námétamónoto	You gave them (obv') to him (obv)		
Némétsemenoo'o	You gave them to us (ex)		
Námétonovo	You gave them (obv') to them		
Námétaenoto	He gave them (obv) to me		
Némétaenoto	He gave them (obv) to you		
Émétahtsénoto	He gave them (obv) to himself		
Émétonoto	He gave them (obv') to him (obv)		
Námétaenone	He gave them (obv) to us (ex)		
Némétaenone	He gave them (obv) to us (in)		
Némétaenovo	He gave them (obv) to you (pl)		
\$\$RECHECK PROX/OBV status of secondary object??:			
Námétaetsenoto	He (obv) gave them to me		
Némétaetsenoto	He (obv) gave them to you		
Émétaenoto	He (obv) gave them (obv') to him		
Émétahtsénoto	He (obv) gave them (obv') to himself		
Námétaetsenone	He (obv) gave them (obv') to us (ex)		
Némétaetsenone	He (obv) gave them (obv') to us (in)		
Némétaetsenovo	He (obv) gave them (obv') to you (pl)		
Émétaenovo	He (obv) gave them (obv') to them		
Némétatsemenoo'o	We (ex) gave them to you		
Námétonone	We (ex) gave them (obv) to him		
Námétamónone ¹¹⁹	We (ex) gave them (obv') to him (obv)		
Námétahtsénoneo'o	We (ex) gave them to ourselves		
Némétatsemenoo'o	We (ex) gave them to you (pl)		
Námétonone	We (ex) gave them (obv) to them		
Némétonone	We (in) gave them (obv) to him		
Námétamónone ¹²⁰	We (in) gave them (obv') to him (obv)		
Némétahtsénoneo'o	We (in) gave them to ourselves		
Námétonone	We (in) gave them (obv') to them		
Némétsénóvoo'o	You (pl) gave them to me		
Námétonovo	You (pl) gave them (obv) to him		
Námétamovo	You (pl) gave them (obv') to him (obv)		
Némétsemenoo'o	You (pl) gave them to us (ex)		
Némétahtsénovoo'o	You (pl) gave them to yourselves		
Námétonovo	You (pl) gave them (obv) to them		
Námétaenovo	They gave them (obv) to me		
Némétaenovo	They gave them (obv) to you		
Émétonovo	They gave them (obv') to him (obv)		
Námétaenóneo'o	They gave them (obv) to us (ex)		
Némétaenóneo'o	They gave them (obv) to us (in)		

¹¹⁸ This can also be translated as 'him (obv)' since obviatives can be either singular or plural.

¹¹⁹ Also Námétamónone

¹²⁰ Also Námétamónone

Ditransitive primary and secondary objects (insert in TOC)

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

Discuss and show examples:

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

Ná-ho'eotséstomótáhónoto oeškéséhesono. 'I brought a puppy (obv) to him (obv).'

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

Some other Ditransitive Independent Indicative verbs

Návoo'sèhonótse	I showed them (inan) to him
Évoo'sèhónoto	He showed them (obv') to him (obv)
Návoo'sèhaenóno	He showed it to us (exclusive)
Návoo'sèhaenoto	He showed them (obv) to me
Nánomáhtsèhaenótse	He stole them (inanimate) from me
Nánomáhtsèhaenoto	He stole him (obv) from me

Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs

\$\$RECHECK

Násáamétóhe	I didn't give it to him
Násáamétaēhe	He didn't give it to me
Násáavóo'sèhaēhe	He didn't show it to me
Násáamétóhenótse	I didn't give them (inanimate) to them
Ésáamétaehénóvo	He (obviative) didn't give it to them
Násáamétóhénonéstse	We (exclusive) didn't give them (inanimate) to him
Nésáamétóhénone	We (inclusive) didn't give it to him
Nésáamétaehénovótse	They didn't give them (inanimate) to you
Násáamétaehénovoto	They didn't give him/them (obv) to me
Násáanomáhtséhóhenótse	I did not steal them (inanimate) from him

Some Ditransitive Independent Interrogative verbs

Némétóhe?	Did you give it to him?
Émétovohe?	Did he give it to him (obviative)?
Némétonovohe?	Did you (plural) give it to him?
Émétonovohe?	Did they give it to him (obv)?
Némétaenótse?	Did he give them (inanimate) to you?
Némétaenotohe?	Did he give him (obviative) to you?
Névoo'sèhónovotse???	Did you (plural) show them (inanimate) to them?

Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Interrogative verbs

Nésáamétóhénovohe??	Didn't you (plural) give it to them?
Nésáamétaehenótse??	Didn't he give them (inanimate) to you?
Ésáamétaehénotohe?	Didn't he (obv) give him (obv') to him?

Some Ditransitive Independent Inferential verbs

Mómétóhenótse	He must have given them (inanimate) to him (obv)
Mónávoo'sèhaehenotóhe??	He must have shown him (obviative) to me
Mónánomáhtsèhaehéhe	He must have stolen it from me

Some Ditransitive Imperative verbs

Métseha!	Give it to him!
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Néhmetséstse!¹²¹

Give it to me!

Some Ditransitive Hortative verbs

Métoha!

Vóo'sèhóvoha!??

Let him give it/them to him (obv)!

Let them show it/them to him (obv)!

Overview of Conjunct Order modes

The conjunct order is used for dependent verbs and a few verb types¹²² which function as independent verbs. Conjunct modes express a variety of modal relationships that the action or state of a conjunct verb has to an independent verb to which it has a syntactic relationship. Conjunct modes are differentiated by mode prefixes. In the conjunct order, animacy, person, number, and obviation of subjects and objects are marked only by suffixes. Here is an overview of conjunct modes:

Indicative

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

tséhnéménèse¹²³

tséhmanéto

tséhvóonā'o

when/where/since he sang

when/where/since I drank

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

máhméovóonā'o

máhnéxho'èhnéstse

when it is morning

when he arrives

Conditional

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

máhvé'néménéstse

máhvé'háomóhtáhévóhtse

if he sings

if they are sick

Irrealis

The irrealis mode uses just the vé'- preverb and refers to action or a state which is contrary to

¹²¹ This includes the cislocative preverb néh-, which is the most common way of saying this command. This preverb is high-pitched in commands, but low-pitched elsewhere.

¹²² A few Cheyenne verbs have conjunct morphology but function as independent verbs. Among them are negative inferentials, optatives, and the obligative mode. There are some conjunction indicatives which function as independent verbs, if they include an oh- preverb following the tsé- conjunct indicative prefix. This oh- preverb is obsolescing and is not well understood. **§\$RECHECK AND NOTE DIC'Y AND TEXT EXAMPLES??**. The few Cheyenne conjunct forms that can function as independent verbs may reflect earlier wider usage of pre-Cheyenne conjuncts functioning as independents, since some conjunct verbs still function as independent verbs in some other Algonquian languages.

¹²³ Some speakers also say tséhnéménéstse. It is unclear what, if any, difference there is between tséhnéménèse and tséhnéménéstse.

reality. This preverb is used in independent verbs to refer to an action which is prohibited, which is semantically related to its meaning in conjunct order verbs.

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

Iterative

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

hó'néménèse	whenever he sang
hó'tonéto	whenever it was cold

Habitual

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

Épèhévoéstomo'he. 'She is kind.' Response: òhnaóotseséstse! 'when she's asleep'	
(humorous response about a sister-in-law)	
òhméovóona'oo'èstse	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 – nèše and sometimes also the preverb kánome-.

hó'nèšenéménéstse	even if he sings, even though he sang
hó'nèšè-hoháetonéto	even if it is really cold

Contraindicative

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

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

Optative

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

Momóxenéménéstse	I wish he would sing.
Momóxéhéne'enómo.	I wish I understood it.

Interrogative

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

éónéménéstse	whether/if he sang (e.g. I wonder if he sang)
Násáahéne'enóhe éóhoo'kōho	I don't know whether/if it rained

Obligative

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

Áhnémeneséstse

He should sing (cf. 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:

\$\$INCLUDE SONG

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

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

Infinitive

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

éme'heše-néménéstse	how he should sing ??
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Negative Inferential

A negative inferential functions as an independent order verb, but has the form of a conjunct order verb. A negative inferential takes an old negative prefix ho'nó-. It optionally takes the inferential prefix mó-.

(Mó)ho'nó-néménéstse	He must not have sung
Ho'nó-hoo'kòhóhane??	It must not have rained

Participles

Participles require conjunct suffixes but act as nouns rather than verbs. They can be translated as relative clauses in English. The two most common participle prefixes are tsé- and néh-. **SEPARATE THE FOLLOWING EXAMPLES INTO AI, II, TI, and TA and indicate the underlying morphology. Show the differences between 3rd person participles and regular conjunct forms (-ht vs. -s, -se vs. -vós)**

tsénéménéstse	the singer (i.e. the one who sings)
tsénémenese	the singers (those who sing)
tséheškese	the one who is his mother
Tsétséhéstáhese (Tsitsistas)	Cheyennes (i.e. those who are Cheyennes)
tséháóénáhtse	the one who prays
tsépéhéva'ee'éstse	those things (inanimate) which are good
tséa'kásétoo'éstse	those things (inanimate) which are round
tsévéstoemo	my spouse (lit. the one I sit with)
tséameohtséhaesee'e	those who are leading you
tséohkééháhané'oevose	those (obv) who are close to them
tséméhotaese	those (obv) who love him
tséhóo'xevomotáhóvose Ma'heóneva	those who announce for God
tsénéheséháta'óse	those who depend on you
tséméhótóno	those who I love
néhnéšése	the two of you

néhno'káheto
néstòxétse

I alone
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**

Névááhe tsénéménèstse?	Who is singing?
Névááhe tséméseestse? ??	Who is eating?
Néváaseo'o tsénaóotsese? ??	Who (plural) are sleeping?
Névááhe tséhestānóhtse? ??	Who took it?
Névááhe tsého'aese? ??	Who wants it?
Névááhe tsého'tséstse? ??	Who has it?
Névááhe tsévèstoemóhtse?	Who are you married to?
Névááhe(?) tsévèstoemose?	Who is he married to?
Néváaseo'o tsépéhévatsésto__ ??	Who (plural) likes them?
Hénáá'e tsévóohtomo? ??	What do you see?
Hénáá'e tsého'aheto? ??	What do you want?
Hénová'ehòtse tsémésése? ??	What (plural) did you (plural) eat?

Conjunct Order morphology summary

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

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

AI

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

AI participles

-tó 1
-to 2
-ht´ 3
-tse-se /-te-se/ 3'
-tsé 1PL
-sé 2PL
-se 3PL

AI iterative

-tó 1
-to 2
-ht´
-tse-ht 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'
-tsé 3(PL)():1PL
-sé 3(PL)():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'

tséhnémenéto ¹²⁴	when I sang
tsénémeneto	when you sang
tséhnéménèse	when he sang
tséhnémenetsése	when he (obviative) sang
tséhnéménétse	when we sang ¹²⁵
tséhnéménése	when you (plural) sang
tséhnéménévöse	when they sang

-mane 'drink'

tséhmanéto	when I drank
tséhmaneto	when you drank
tséhmanèse	when he drank
tséhmanetsése	when he (obviative) drank
tséhmanétse	when we drank
tséhmanése	when you (plural) drank
tséhmanévöse	when they drank

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

tséxháóénáto	when I prayed
tséxháoenato	when you prayed
tséxháóénàse	when he prayed
tséxháoenatsése	when he (obviative) prayed
tséxháóénátse	when we prayed
tséxháóénàse	when you (plural) prayed
tséxháóénávöse	when they prayed

-mésehe 'eat'

tséhméséhéto	when I ate
tséhméséheto	when you ate
tséhméseese	when he ate
tséhméséhetsése	when he (obviative) ate
tséhméséhétse	when we ate
tséhméséhése	when you (plural) ate
tséhméséhévöse	when they ate

/-sévanó/ 'ski, skate'

tséssévanóto	when I skated
tséssévanoto	when you skated
tséssévanòse	when he skated
tséssévanotsése	when he (obviative) skated
tséssévanótse	when we skated
tséssévanóse	when you (plural) skated
tséssévanóvöse	when they skated

/-oveše(ná)/ 'go to bed'

tsé'ověšenáto	when I went to bed
tsé'ověšenato	when you went to bed
tsé'ověšése	when he went to bed
tsé'ověšenatsése	when he (obviative) went to bed
tsé'ověšenátse	when we went to bed
tsé'ověšenàse	when you (plural) went to bed
tsé'ověšenávöse	when they went to bed

¹²⁴ It is uncertain whether a penultimate pitch is mid or high when it is preceded by one or more low pitches.

¹²⁵ There is no difference between exclusive and inclusive 'we' subjects of Cheyenne AI conjunct verbs.

/-néé/ 'be standing'

tséhnéeto	when I was standing
tséhnéeto	when you were standing
tséhnéé'ése	when he was standing
tséhnéetsése	when he (obviative) was standing
tséhnéétse	when we were standing
tséhnéése	when you (plural) were standing
tséhnéévose	when they were standing

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

tséxhoēto ¹²⁶	when I was (here/there)
tséxhoeto	when you were (here/there)
tséxhoo'ése	when he was (here/there)
tséxhoetsése	when he (obviative) was (here/there)
tséxhoétse	when we were (here/there)
tséxhoése	when you (plural) were (here/there)
tséxhoévose	when they were (here/there)

-éestse 'speak'

tsé'éestséto	when I spoke
tsé'éestseto	when you spoke
tsé'éestsése	when he spoke
tsé'éestsetsése	when he (obviative) spoke
tsé'éestsétse	when we spoke
tsé'éestsése	when you (plural) spoke
tsé'éestsévose	when they spoke

/-émá/ 'take a sweat'

tsé'émáto	when I took a sweat
tsé'émato	when you took a sweat
tsé'émáse	when he took a sweat
tsé'ématsése	when he (obviative) took a sweat
tsé'émátse	when we took a sweat
tsé'émáse	when you (plural) took a sweat
tsé'émávose	when they took a sweat

-néehove 'be the one'

Conjunct forms of the verb –néehove take the conjunct indicative third person suffixes and /h-/ marker following the tsé- prefix, but have meanings more like participles:

tséhnééhóvéto	as for myself \$\$RECHECK GLOSSES
tséhnééhóveto	as for you
tséhnééhovése	as for him/her
tséhnééhóvetsése??	as for him/her (obviative)
tséhnééhóvétse	as for us
tséhnééhóvése	as for you (plural)
tséhnééhóvévose	as for them

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'

néhno'káhéto	I alone
néhno'káheto	you alone
néhno'kaese	he/she alone

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

néhno'kähetsése??	he/she (obviative) alone
néhno'kähétse??	we alone
néhno'kähése??	you (plural) alone
néhno'kähévöse	they alone

'both of

néhnésétse	both of us
néhnésése	both of you
néhnésévöse	both of them
néhnésétse??	both of them (obviative)

'all of

néstóxétse	all of us
néstóxése	all of you (plural)
néstóxévöse	all of them

Animate Intransitive Conjoint Potential verbs

The conjoint potential requires a phonemic /ht/ in third person suffixes which the conjoint indicative does not. This /ht/ is pronounced as [st] following the vowel /e/. Here is a full sentence illustrating how the conjoint potential can be used: Máhnémeneto náhtapéhévetanóotse 'When you sing I'll be happy'.

/-némené/ 'sing'

máhnémenéto	when I sing
máhnémeneto	when you sing
máhnéménéstse	when he sings
máhnémenetséstse	when he (obviative) sings
máhnémenétse	when we sing
máhnémenése	when you (plural) sing
máhnémenévóhtse	when they sing

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

máxháóénáto	when I pray
máxháóenato	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'

másévanóto	when I skate
másévanoto	when you skate
másévánóhtse	when he skates

másévanotséstse	when he (obviative) skates
másévanótse	when we skate
másévanóse	when you (plural) skate
másévanóvöhtse	when they skate

/-oveše(ná)/ 'go to bed'

ma'ovēšenáto	when I go to bed
ma'ovēšenato	when you go to bed
ma'ovēšéstse	when he goes to bed
ma'ovēšenatséstse	when he (obviative) goes to bed
ma'ovēšenátse	when we go to bed
ma'ovēšenáse	when you (plural) go to bed
ma'ovēšenávöse	when they go to bed

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

/-némené/ 'sing'

tséssáanémenéhéto	when I did not sing
tséssáanémenéheto	when you did not sing
tséssáanémenéése	when he did not sing
tséssáanémenéhetsése	when he (obviative) did not sing
tséssáanémenéhétse	when we did not sing
tséssáanémenéhése	when you (plural) did not sing
tséssáanémenéhévöse	when they did not sing

-mésehe 'eat'

tséssáaméséhéhéto	when I did not eat
tséssáaméséhéheto	when you did not eat
tséssáamésééése??	when he did not eat
tséssáaméséhéhetsése	when he (obviative) did not eat
tséssáaméséhéhétse	when we did not eat
tséssáaméséhéhése	when you (pl) did not eat
tséssáaméséhéhévöse	when they did not eat

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

tséssáaháóénáhéto	when I did not pray
tséssáaháóenáheto	when you did not pray
tséssáaháóénáése	when he did not pray
tséssáaháóenáhetsése	when he (obviative) did not pray
tséssáaháóénáhétse	when we did not pray
tséssáaháóénáhése	when you (plural) did not pray
tséssáaháóénáhévöse	when they did not pray

/-néé/ 'be standing'

tséssáanééhéto	when I was not standing
tséssáahnéeheto	when you were not standing
tséssáanééése	when he was not standing
tséssáanééhetsése	when he (obviative) was not standing
tséssáanééhétse	when we were not standing
tséssáanééhése	when you (plural) were not standing
tséssáanééhévöse	when they were not standing

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

tséssáahoehēto ¹²⁷	when I was not (here/there)
tséssáahoeheto	when you were not (here/there)

¹²⁷ It is uncertain if the penultimate pitch is mid or high when there are one or more low pitches preceding it.

tséssáahoéése
tséssáahoehetsése
tséssáahoehétse
tséssáahoehése
tséssáahoehévóse

when he was not (here/there)
when he (obviative) was not (here/there)
when we were not (here/there)
when you (plural) were not (here/there)
when they were not (here/there)

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Potential verbs

/-némené/ 'sing'

másáanémenéhéto	when I do not sing
másáanémenéheto	when you do not sing
másáanémenééstse	when he does not sing
másáanémenéhetséstse	when he (obviative) does not sing
másáanémenéhétse	when we do not sing
másáanémenéhése	when you (plural) do not sing
másáanémenéhévóhtse	when they do not sing

-mésehe 'eat'

másáaméséhéhéto	when I do not eat
másáaméséhéheto	when you do not eat
másáaméséééstse??	when he does not eat
másáaméséhéhetséstse	when he (obviative) does not eat
másáaméséhéhétse	when we do not eat
másáaméséhéhése	when you (pl) do not eat
másáaméséhéhévóhtse	when they do not eat

/-háóená/ 'pray'

másáaháóénáhéto	when I do not pray
másáaháóenáheto	when you do not pray
másáaháóenáéstse	when he does not pray
másáaháóenáhetséstse	when he (obviative) does not pray
másáaháóénáhétse	when we do not pray
másáaháóénáhése	when you (plural) do not pray
másáaháóénáhévóhtse	when they do not pray

/-néé/ 'be standing'

másáanééhéto	when I am not standing
másáahnéeheto	when you are not standing
másáanéééstse	when he is not standing
másáanééhetséstse	when he (obviative) is not standing
másáanééhétse	when we are not standing
másáanééhése	when you (plural) are not standing
másáanééhévóhtse	when they are not standing

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

másáahoehēto ¹²⁸	when I am not (here/there)
másáahoeheto	when you are not (here/there)
másáahoeeéstse	when he is not (here/there)
másáahoehetséstse	when he (obviative) is not (here/there)
másáahoehétse	when we are not (here/there)
másáahoehése	when you (plural) are not (here/there)
másáahoehévóhtse	when they are not (here/there)

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Habitual verbs

This mode refers to action which habitually occurs. The oh- prefix is difficult to hear and is often omitted. Conjunct habitual verbs require suffixes in addition to the normal AI person and

¹²⁸ It is uncertain if the penultimate pitch is mid or high when there are one or more low pitches preceding it.

number suffixes.

-naóotse 'sleep'

(òh)naóotsétonòhtse	when I sleep
(òh)naóotsétoesèstse	when you sleep
(òh)naóotsesèstse	when he sleeps
(òh)naóotsétseesèstse	when he (obviative) sleeps
(òh)naóotsétsee'èstse	when we sleep
(òh)naóotséseesèstse	when you (plural) sleep
(òh)naóotsévosèstse	when they sleep

/-ho'sóe/ 'dance'

xho'sóetonòhtse	when I dance
xho'sóetosèstse	when you dance
xho'sóesèstse	when he dances
xho'sóetsesèstse	when he (obviative) dances
xho'sóetsee'èstse	when we dance
xho'sóosee'èstse	when you (plural) dance
xho'sóevosèstse	when them dance

-mésehe 'eat'

to'seméséhétonòhtse	when I'm going to eat
to'seméséhétosèstse	when you are going to eat
to'seméséhésèstse	when he is going to eat
to'seméséhétseesèstse	when he (obviative) is going to eat
to'seméséhétsee'èstse	when we are going to eat
to'seméséhéseesèstse	when you (plural) are going to eat
to'seméséhévosèstse	when they are going to eat

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Generic

sáanaóotséhetonòhtse	when I do not sleep
sáanaóotséhtosèstse	when you do not sleep
sáanaóotséhesèstse	when he does not sleep
sáanaóotséhetsèstse	when he (obviative) does not sleep
sáanaóotséheseesèstse	when you (plural) do not sleep
sáanaóotséhevosèstse	when they do not sleep

Examples in sentences

Òhnaóotsétosèstse néohkenésó'enome. ¹²⁹	When(ever) you sleep you snore.
Xho'sóetonòhtse náohkéhohátsé'tóó'e he'eo'o. ¹³⁰	When I dance the women laugh at me.
Tsévéstoemo éohkéhéne'ēna to'seméséhétonòhtse.	My wife knows when I'm going to eat.
Ma'heo'o éohkepéhávátséssta óhméhosanétsee'èstse.	God likes it when we love.

¹²⁹ Some speakers consider the iterative mode more natural: Ho'naóotseto néohkenésó'enome 'Whenever you sleep you snore.'

¹³⁰ Some speakers consider the iterative mode more natural: Ho'ho'sóeto náhkéhohátsé'tóó'e he'eo'o 'Whenever I dance the women laugh at me.'

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Iterative verbs

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

/-némené/ 'sing'

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

-a'xaame 'cry'

hó'ea'xaamēto ¹³¹	whenever I cried/cry
hó'ea'xaameto	whenever you cried/cry
hó'ea'xaāméstse	whenever he cried/cries
hó'ea'xaametséstse	whenever he (obviative) cried/cries
hó'ea'xaamétse	whenever we cried/cry
hó'ea'xaamése	whenever you (plural) cried/cry
hó'ea'xaaemévóhtse	whenever they cried/cry

Examples in sentences

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

¹³¹ It is uncertain whether the penultimate pitch is mid or high.

Animate Intransitive Conjoint Negative Inferential verbs

Negative inferentials take the forms of the conjoint 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'

<i>Móho'nónemenéto</i>	I must not have sung
<i>Móho'nónemeneto</i>	You must not have sung
<i>Móho'nónéménéstse</i>	He must not have sung
<i>Móho'nónemenetséstse</i>	He (obviative) must not have sung
<i>Móho'nónemenétse</i>	We must not have sung
<i>Móho'nónemenése</i>	You (plural) must not have sung

-mésehe 'eat'

<i>Móho'nómèséhéto</i>	I must not have eaten
<i>Móho'nómèséheto</i>	You must not have eaten
<i>Móho'nóméseestse</i>	He must not have eaten
<i>Móho'nómèséhetséstse</i>	He (obviative) must not have eaten
<i>Móho'nómèséhétse</i>	We must not have eaten
<i>Móho'nómèséhévóhtse</i>	They must not have eaten

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

<i>Ho'nóháóénáto</i>	I must not have prayed
<i>Ho'nóhaoenato</i>	You must not have prayed
<i>Ho'nóháóénáhtse</i>	He must not have prayed
<i>Ho'nóhaoenatséstse</i>	He (obviative) must not have prayed
<i>Ho'nóháóénátse</i>	We must not have prayed
<i>Ho'nóháóénáse</i>	You (plural) must not have prayed
<i>Ho'nóháóénávóhtse</i>	They must not have prayed

Animate Intransitive Conjoint Participles

/-némené/ 'sing'

<i>tsénémenéto</i>	I who sing
<i>tsénémeneto</i>	you who sing
<i>tsénéménéstse</i>	he who sings
<i>tsénémenétsese</i>	he (obviative) who sings
<i>tsénémenétse</i>	we who sing
<i>tsénémenése</i>	you (plural) who sing
<i>tsénémenese</i>	they who sing

/-hetanéve/ 'be a man'

<i>tséhetanévéto</i>	I who am a man
<i>tséhetanéveto</i>	you who are a man
<i>tséhetanévéstse</i>	he who is a man
<i>tséhetanévétsese</i>	he (obviative) who is a man
<i>tséhetanévétse</i>	we who are men
<i>tséhetanévése</i>	you (plural) who are men
<i>tséhetanévése</i>	they who are men

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

<i>tséháóénáto</i>	I who pray
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tséháoenato
tséháóénáhtse
tséháoenatsese
tséháóénátse
tséháóénáse
tséháoenase

you who pray
he who prays
he (obviative) who prays
we who pray
you (plural) who pray
they who pray

-tséhéstahe 'be Cheyenne'

Tsétséhéstáhétó
Tsétséhéstáheto
Tsétséhéstaestse
Tsétséhéstáhétsese
Tsétséhéstáhétse
Tsétséhéstáhése
Tsétséhéstáhese

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

-hotse'ohe 'work'

tséhotse'óhéto
tséhotse'óheto
tséhotse'óestse
tséhotse'óhetsese
tséhotse'óhétse
tséhotse'óhése
tséhotse'óhese

I who work
you who work
he who works
he (obviative) who works
we who work
you (plural) who work
they who work

Examples in sentences

Tsénémenese étséhéstáheo'o

The singers are Cheyennes

Hóhtsème tséheóvaestse étáhpéta

The ball that is yellow is big

Hetane **tséhotse'óestse??** ékáhaneotse

The man who is working is tired

Animate Intransitive Conjoint Negative Participles

/-némené/ 'sing'

tsésáanémenéhétó
tsésáanémenéheto
tsésáanémenééstse
tsésáanémenéhétsese
tsésáanémenéhétse
tsésáanémenéhése
tsésáanémenéhese

I who do not sing
you who do not sing
he who does not sing
he (obviative) who does not sing
we who do not sing
you (plural) who do not sing
they who do not sing

/-hetanéve/ 'be a man'

tsésáahetanévéhétó
tsésáahetanévéheto
tsésáahetanévééstse??
tsésáahetanéhevetsese
tsésáahetanévéhétse
tsésáahetanévéhése
tséhetanévéhese

I who am not a man
you who are not a man
he who is not a man
she (obviative) who is not a man
we who are not men
you (plural) who are not men
they who are not men

/-háóená/ 'pray'

tsésáaháóénáhétó
tsésáaháóénáheto
tsésáaháóénáéstse??
tsésáaháóénáhétsese??
tsésáaháóénáhétse
tsésáaháóénáhése
tsésáaháóénáhese

I who do not pray
you who do not pray
he who does not pray
he (obviative) who does not pray
we who does not pray
you (plural) who does not pray
they who does not pray

-hotse'ohe 'work'

tsésáahotse'óhéhéto
tsésáahotse'óhéheho
tsésáahotse'óééstse??
tsésáahotse'óhehetsese
tsésáahotse'óhéhétsé
tsésáahotse'óhéhése
tsésáahotse'óhehese

I who do not work
you who do not work
he who does not work
he (obviative) who does not work
we who do not work
you (plural) who does not work
they who does not work

Examples in sentences

Nánòhtsevátámo **tsésáahoééstse??**¹³²

Náněševátámo tsésáaháoénáéstse

Mómáta'eehohevóhe hetanóho tsésáahotse'óhehetsese
who isn't working

I miss the one who isn't here

I pity the one who doesn't pray

He must be angry at the man (obviative)

¹³² A participle does not need to have a noun that it modifies.

Inanimate Intransitive Conjoint Indicative verbs

tséhvóonā'o	when it was morning
tséxhoo'kōho	when it rained
tséxhó'ta	when it was (here/there)
tséxho'taa'éstse ¹³³	when they (inanimate) were (here/there)
tsé'ó'o	when it was dry
tsé'ó'oo'éstse	when they (inanimate) were (here/there)

Examples in sentences:

Tséhvóonā'o nátatséhe'ōhtse É'èxováhtóva	This morning I went to Billings
Nátavóohota mòxe'éstoo'o tséxhó'ta máheóne	I saw the book when/where it was in the house

Inanimate Intransitive Conjoint Indicative Relational verbs

tséhvóona'otse	when it was morning (relational)
tséxhoo'kōhotse	when it rained (relational)
tséxho'tatse	when it was (here/there)
tséxho'tatsee'éstse(éstse??)	when they (inanimate) were (here/there)

Examples in sentences

In the following sentences the conjoint 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'kěšenāhēhe tséhvóona'otse	He must have gotten stuck this morning (relational)
Éaseōhtse tséxhoo'kōhotse	He left when it was raining (relational)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjoint Negative Indicative verbs

tséssáahoo'kōhóhane	when it did not rain
tséssáaho'táhane	when it was not (here/there)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjoint Generic verbs

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

òhvóona'oo'éstse	in the mornings
òhtonétoo'éstse	when it's cold
xhoo'kōhoo'éstse	when it rains
xho'éetoo'éstse	when it snows
to'séháoho'taa'éstse	when it's going to be hot
òhméséhéstovee'éstse	when there is eating

Examples in sentences

Hátšěškeho éohkéhéne'enánóvo to'séhoo'kōhoo'éstse	Ants know when it's going to rain
(Òx)háoho'taa'éstse náohkeametó'hóna	When it's hot I swim

Inanimate Intransitive Conjoint Generic relational verbs

(ò)xho'éetotsee'éstse	when it snows (relational)
to'seméséhéstovetsee'éstse	when there's going to be eating (relational)

Examples in sentences

(Ò)xho'éetotsee'éstse éohkevá'nenaóotse ma'háhkése When it snows (rel) the old man just sleeps.

¹³³ Some speakers use the singular subject forms to refer to both singular and plural inanimate subjects.

Épèhévetanoo'o òhmésèhéstovetsee'èstse

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'kōho	It must not have rained
(Mó)ho'nópèhéva'e	It must not be good
(Mó)ho'nópèhéva'ee'èstse	They (inanimate) must not be good
(Mó)ho'nómésèhéstove	There must not have been eating

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential relational verbs

(Mó)ho'nópèhéva'e	It (relational) must not be good
(Mó)ho'nómésèhéstove	There must not have been eating (relational)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Participles

tséheóvo	that which is yellow
tséheóvoo'èstse	those which are yellow
tséheóvéstséavo'o'e	yellow flower (lit., that which is yellow-headed plant)
tséheóvéstséavo'o'ee'èstse	yellow flowers
tséhéesevó'ta	that which boils
tséhéesevó'taa'èstse	those (inanimate) which are boiling
tsépèhéva'e	that which is good
tsépèhéva'ee'èstse	those (inanimate) which are good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Participles

tsésáaho'táhane	that which is not (here/there)
tsésáaho'táhanéhee'èstse	those which are not (here/there)
tsésáaheóvòhane	that which is not yellow
tsésáaheóvòhanéhee'èstse	those which are not yellow
tsésáapèhéva'éhane	that which is not good
tsésáapèhéva'éhanéhee'èstse	those which are not good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Relational Participles

tséheóvotse	that (relational) which is yellow
tséheóvotsee'èstse	those (relational) which are yellow
tséhéesevó'tatse	that (relational) which is boiling
tséhéesevó'tatsee'èstse	those (relational) which are boiling
tsépèhéva'etse	that (relational) which is good
tsépèhéva'ètsee'èstse(??)	those (relational) which are good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Relational Participles

tsésáaho'táhanéhetse	that (relational) which is not (here/there)
tsésáaho'táhanéhetsee'èstse	those (relational) which are not (here/there)
tsésáaheóvòhanéhetse	that (relational) which is not yellow
tsésáaheóvòhanéhetsee'èstse	those (relational) which are not yellow
tsésáapèhéva'éhanéhetse	that (relational) which is not good
tsésáapèhéva'éhanéhetsee'èstse	those (relational) which are not good

Examples in sentences

Éhestāna ho'évohkõtse tsésáapéhéva'éhanéhetse

He must have taken the meat that (rel) isn't good.

Nátavóóhta hemáhēō'o tsésáaheóvōhanéhetse

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)'

tséhvóomāhtsēto	when I saw myself
tséhvóomātse	when I saw you
tséhvóomo	when I saw him
tséhvóomamo	when I saw him (obv)
tséhvóomatsése	when I saw you (pl)
tséhvóomōno	when I saw them
tséhvóometo	when you saw me
tséhvóomāhtseto	when you saw yourself
tséhvóomōse	when you saw him
tséhvóomamōse	when you saw him (obv)
tséhvóomemenoto	when you saw us (ex)
tséhvóomōse	when you saw them
tséhvóomā'ése	when he saw me
tséhvóomāta'e	when he saw you
tséhvóomahtsése	when he saw himself
tséhvóomōse	when he saw him (obv)
tséhvóomaétse	when he saw us
tséhvóomaése	when he saw you (pl)
tséhvóoma'etsése	when he (obv) saw me
tséhvóomata'ōse	when he (obv) saw you
tséhvóomaa'ése	when he (obv) saw him
tséhvóomāhtsetsése	when he (obv) saw himself
tséhvóomaétse	when he (obv) saw us
tséhvóomaése	when he (obv) saw you (pl)
tséhvóomaévo	when he (obv) saw them
tséhvóomatsemenoto	when we (ex) saw you
tséhvóomōtse	when we saw him
tséhvóomamōtse	when we saw him (obv)
tséhvóomāhtsētse	when we saw ourselves
tséhvóomatsemenoto	when we (ex) saw you (pl)
tséhvóomōtse	when we saw them
tséhvóomése	when you (pl) saw me
tséhvóomōse	when you (pl) saw him
tséhvóomamōse	when you (pl) saw him (obv)
tséhvóomemenoto	when you (pl) saw us (ex)
tséhvóomāhtsése	when you (pl) saw yourselves
tséhvóomōse	when you (pl) saw them
tséhvóoma'évo	when they saw me
tséhvóomata'ōse	when they saw you
tséhvóomovōse	when they saw him (obv)
tséhvóomaétse	when they saw us
tséhvóomaése	when they saw you (pl)
tséhvóomāhtsévo	when they saw themselves

tséhvóomanēto	when I was seen
tséhvóomaneto	when you were seen
tséhvóomēse	when he was seen
tséhvóometsése??	when he (obv) was seen
tséhvóomanētse	when we were seen
tséhvóomanése	when you (pl) were seen
tséhvóom'évo	when they were seen

Alternate pronunciations

tséhvóomatséto	when I saw you
tséhvóomatsēso	when I saw you (pl)
tséhvóomōto	when I saw him
tséhvóomoto	when you saw him

Other examples

tséhvéstahémaa'ése	when he (obv) helped him
tséhméotaa'ése	when he (obv) fought him
tséxhéne'enóétse	when he knew us
tséhvovéstomóétse ¹³⁴	when he taught us
tséhmaneho	when I made him
tséhmaneose	when you made him
tséhmaneóse	when he made him (obv)
tséxho'eotseho	when I brought him
tséxho'eotseose	when you brought him
tséxho'eotseóse	when he brought him (obv)
tséxho'eotséhótse	when we brought him
tséhnénéné'seho	when I made him sing
tséhnénéné'seose	when you made him sing
tséhnénéné'séóse	when he made him (obv) sing
tsé'ovéstomóó'ése	when he taught me
tsé'ovéstomoo'ése	when he (obv) taught him
tsé'ovéstomóévōse	when he (obv) taught them

¹³⁴ Also pronounced as tsé'ovéstomóétse

–héne'enov 'know (someone)'

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

tséxhéne'enováhtséto	when I knew myself	tséxhéne'enovatse	when we (ex) knew you
tséxhéne'enovātse	when I knew you	tséxhéne'enovōtse	when we knew him
tséxhéne'enovo	when I knew him	tséxhéne'enovāmōtse	when we knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enovamo	when I knew him (obv)	tséxhéne'enováhtsētse	when we knew ourselves
tséxhéne'enovatsése?	when I knew you (pl)	tséxhéne'enovatsemenoto	when we (ex) knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enovōno	when I knew them	tséxhéne'enovōtse	when we knew them
tséxhéne'enoveto	when you knew me	tséxhéne'enovése	when you (pl) knew me
tséxhéne'enováhtseto	when you knew yourself	tséxhéne'enovōse	when you (pl) knew him
tséxhéne'enovōse	when you knew him	tséxhéne'enovāmōse??	when you (pl) knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enovāmōse	when you knew him (obv)	tséxhéne'enovemenoto	when you (pl) knew us (ex)
tséxhéne'enovemenoto	when you knew us (ex)	tséxhéne'enováhtsése	when you (pl) knew yourselves
tséxhéne'enovōse	when you knew them	tséxhéne'enovōse	when you (pl) knew them
tséxhéne'enóó'èse	when he knew me	tséxhéne'enóva'évōse?	when they knew me
tséxhéne'enováta'e??	when he knew you	tséxhéne'enóvata'ōse?	when they knew you
tséxhéne'enováhtsése	when he knew himself	tséxhéne'enovovōse	when they knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enovómōse	when he knew him (obv)	tséxhéne'enóétse	when they knew us
tséxhéne'enóétse	when he knew us	tséxhéne'enóése	when they knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enóése	when he knew you (pl)	tséxhéne'enováhtsévvōse	when they knew themselves
tséxhéne'enova'etsése?	when he (obv) knew me	tséxhéne'enonēto	when I was known
tséxhéne'enata'ōse??	when he (obv) knew you	tséxhéne'enoneto	when you were known
tséxhéne'enoo'èse	when he (obv) knew him	tséxhéne'enoesse	when he was known
tséxhéne'enováhtsetsése	when he (obv) knew himself	tséxhéne'enóhetsése??	when he (obv) was known
tséxhéne'enóétse	when he (obv) knew us	tséxhéne'enonētse	when we were known
tséxhéne'enóése	when he (obv) knew you (pl)	tséxhéne'enonése	when you (pl) were known
tséxhéne'enóévōse	when he (obv) knew them	tséxhéne'enonóhévōse	when they were known

Transitive Animate Conjunct Potential verbs

–vóom 'see (someone)'

māhvóomāhtsēto	when I see myself
māhvóomātse	when I see you
māhvóomo	when I see him
māhvóomamo	when I see him (obv)
māhvóomatsése	when I see you (pl)
māhvóomōno	when I see them
māhvóometo	when you see me
māhvóomāhtseto	when you see yourself
māhvóomōhtse	when you see him
māhvóomamōhtse	when you see him (obv)
māhvóomemenoto	when you see us (ex)
māhvóomōse	when you see them
māhvóomā'ěstse	when he sees me
māhvóomāta'e	when he sees you
māhvóomahtsēstse	when he sees himself
māhvóomōhtse	when he sees him (obv)
māhvóomaētse	when he sees us
māhvóomaése	when he sees you (pl)
māhvóoma'etsése	when he (obv) sees me
māhvóomata'ōse	when he (obv) sees you
māhvóomaa'ěstse	when he (obv) sees him
māhvóomāhtsetsése	when he (obv) sees himself
māhvóomaētse	when he (obv) sees us
māhvóomaése	when he (obv) sees you (pl)
māhvóomaévōse	when he (obv) sees them
māhvóomatsemenoto	when we (ex) see you
māhvóomōtse	when we see him
māhvóomamōtse	when we see him (obv)
māhvóomāhtsētse	when we see ourselves
māhvóomatsemenoto	when we (ex) see you (pl)
māhvóomōtse	when we see them
māhvóomése	when you (pl) see me
māhvóomōse	when you (pl) see him
māhvóomamōse	when you (pl) see him (obv)
māhvóomemenoto	when you (pl) see us (ex)
māhvóomāhtsése	when you (pl) see yourselves
māhvóomōse	when you (pl) see them
māhvóoma'évōhtse	when they see me
māhvóomata'ōse	when they see you
māhvóomovōhtse	when they see him (obv)
māhvóomaētse	when they see us
māhvóomaése	when they see you (pl)
māhvóomāhtsévōhtse	when they see themselves

māhvóomanēto	when I am seen
māhvóomaneto	when you are seen
māhvóomēstse	when he is seen
māhvóometsése??	when he (obv) is seen
māhvóomanētse	when we are seen
māhvóomanése	when you (pl) are seen
māhvóomévōhtse	when they are seen

Other examples

māhvéstāhēmaa'ěstse	when he (obv) helps him
māhméotaa'ěstse	when he (obv) fights him
māxhéne'enóétse	when he knows us
māhvovéstomóétse ¹³⁵	when he teaches us
māxho'eotseho	when I bring him
māxho'eotseose	when you bring him
māxho'eotseóse	when he brings him (obv)
māxho'eotséhótse	when we bring him
māxhéne'enóó'ěstse	when he knows me
māxhéne'enoo'ěstse	when he (obv) knows him
ma'ovéstomóó'ěstse	when he teaches me
ma'ovéstomoo'ěstse	when he (obv) teaches him
māxhéne'enóévōhtse	when he (obv) knows them
ma'ovéstomóévōhtse	when he (obv) teaches them
ma'éestséstovo	when I speak to him
māxheto	when I tell him
māxháoenatovo	when I pray to him
māsé'a'hamo	when I throw him in

Examples in sentences

Māhnōhtséstovōhtse nēstsevéstāhema.
When you ask him, he'll help you.

Māhméótōhtse nāhtseaseōhtse.
When he fights him (obv), I'll leave.

Māhvéstāhēmaa'ěstse nāhtsepehēvetāno.
When he (obv) helps him, I'll be happy.

¹³⁵ Also pronounced as ma'ovéstomóétse

Transitive Animate Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

-vóom 'see (someone)'

tséssáavóomáhtséhéto when I did not see myself
 tséssáavóomáhetse when I did not see you
 tséssáavóomóhevo when I did not see him
 tséssáavóomamóhevo when I did not see him (obv)
 tséssáavóomatséhése when I did not see you (pl)
 tséssáavóomóhevóno when I did not see them

tséssáavóoméheto when you did not see me
 tséssáavóomáhtséheto when you did not see yourself
 tséssáavóomóhevóse when you did not see him
 tséssáavóomamóhevóse when you did not see him (obv)
 tséssáavóomémehemenoto when you did not see us (ex)
 tséssáavóomóhevóse when you did not see them

tséssáavóoma'éése when he did not see me
 tséssáavóomáheta'e when he did not see you
 tséssáavóomáhtséhése when he did not see himself
 tséssáavóomóése when he did not see him (obv)
 tséssáavóomaehétse when he did not see us
 tséssáavóomaehése when he did not see you (pl)

tséssáavóoma'éhetsése when he (obv) did not see me
 tséssáavóomata'ohése when he (obv) did not see you
 tséssáavóomaeése when he (obv) did not see him
 tséssáavóomáhtséhetsése when he (obv) did not see himself
 tséssáavóomaehétse when he (obv) did not see us
 tséssáavóomaehése when he (obv) did not see you (pl)
 tséssáavóomaehevóse when he (obv) did not see them

tséssáavóomatséhemenoto when we (ex) saw you
 tséssáavóomóhétse when we saw him
 tséssáavóomamóhétse when we saw him (obv)
 tséssáavóomáhtséhétse when we saw ourselves
 tséssáavóomatséhemenoto when we (ex) saw you (pl)
 tséssáavóomóhétse when we saw them

tséssáavóoméhése when you (pl) did not see me
 tséssáavóomóhése when you (pl) did not see him
 tséssáavóomamóhése when you (pl) did not see him (obv)
 tséssáavóomémehemenoto when you (pl) did not see us (ex)
 tséssáavóomáhtséhése when you (pl) did not see yourselves
 tséssáavóomóhése when you (pl) did not see them

tséssáavóoma'éhévése when they did not see me
 tséssáavóomata'ohése when they did not see you
 tséssáavóomóhévése when they did not see him (obv)
 tséssáavóomaehétse when they did not see us
 tséssáavóomaehése when they did not see you (pl)
 tséssáavóomáhtséhévése when they did not see themselves

tséssáavóomanéhéto when I was not seen
 tséssáavóomanéheto when you were not seen
 tséssáavóomeése when he was not seen
 tséssáavóoméhetsése?? when he was not seen
 tséssáavóomanéhétse when we were not seen
 tséssáavóomanéhése when you (pl) were not seen
 tséssáavóoméhévése when they were not seen

tséssáahéne'enóéhétse when he did not know us
 tséssáavóvéstomóéhétse¹³⁶ when he did not teach us
 tséssáaho'eotséhevo when I did not bring him
 tséssáaho'eotséhevóse when you did not bring him
 tséssáaho'eotséhóhétse when he did not bring him (obv)
 tséssáahéne'enóéése when he did not know me
 tséxhéne'enoeeese when he (obv) did not know him
 tséssáa'ovéstomóéése when he did not teach me
 tséssáa'ovéstomoeese when he (obv) did not teach him
 tséssáahéne'enóéhévése when he (obv) did not know them
 tséssáa'ovéstomóéhévése when he (obv) did not teach them

Other examples\$REC\$CHECK

tséssáavéstáhémaeése when he (obv) did not help him
 tséssáaméotaése?? when he (obv) did not fight him

¹³⁶ Also pronounced as tsésáa'ovéstomóétse

Transitive Animate Conjunct Iterative verbs

\$\$RECHECK

-vóom 'see (someone)'

hó'vóomáhtsēto	whenever I saw myself
hó'vóomātse	whenever I helped you
hó'vóomo	whenever I saw him
hó'vóomamo	whenever I saw him (obv)
hó'vóomatsése	whenever I saw you (pl)
hó'vóomōno	whenever I saw them
hó'vóometo	whenever you saw me
hó'vóomáhtseto	whenever you saw yourself
hó'vóomōhtse	whenever you saw him
hó'vóomamōhtse	whenever you saw him (obv)
hó'vóomemenoto	whenever you saw us (ex)
hó'vóomōse	whenever you saw them
hó'vóomā'ēstse	whenever he saw me
hó'vóomáta'e	whenever he saw you
hó'vóomahtsēstse	whenever he saw himself
hó'vóomōhtse	whenever he saw him (obv)
hó'vóomaētse	whenever he saw us
hó'vóomaése	whenever he saw you (pl)
hó'vóoma'etsēstse	whenever he (obv) saw me
hó'vóomata'ōse	whenever he (obv) saw you
hó'vóomaa'ēstse	whenever he (obv) saw him
hó'vóomáhtsetsēstse	whenever he (obv) saw himself
hó'vóomaētse	whenever he (obv) saw us
hó'vóomaése	whenever he (obv) saw you (pl)
hó'vóomaévōhtse	whenever he (obv) saw them
hó'vóomatsemenoto	whenever we (ex) saw you
hó'vóomōtse	whenever we saw him
hó'vóomamōtse	whenever we saw him (obv)
hó'vóomáhtsētse	whenever we saw ourselves
hó'vóomatsemenoto	whenever we (ex) saw you (pl)
hó'vóomōtse	whenever we saw them

hó'vóomése	whenever you (pl) saw me
hó'vóomōse	whenever you (pl) saw him
hó'vóomamōse	whenever you (pl) saw him (obv)
hó'vóomemenoto	whenever you (pl) saw us (ex)
hó'vóomáhtsése	whenever you (pl) saw yourselves
hó'vóomōse	whenever you (pl) saw them

hó'vóoma'évōse	whenever they saw me
hó'vóomata'ōse	whenever they saw you
hó'vóomovōhtse	whenever they saw him (obv)
hó'vóomaētse	whenever they saw us
hó'vóomaése	whenever they saw you (pl)
hó'vóomáhtsévōhtse	whenever they saw themselves

hó'vóomanēto	whenever I was seen
hó'vóomaneto	whenever you were seen
hó'vóomēse	whenever he was seen
hó'vóometsēstse??	whenever he (obv) was seen
hó'vóomanētse	whenever we were seen
hó'vóomanése	whenever you (pl) were seen
hó'vóomévohtse	whenever they were seen

Other examples

hó'vé'hóomōhtse	whenever he looked at him (obv)
hó'méótótse??	whenever we fought him
hó'méótá'ēstse	whenever he fought me
hó'totóxemáta'e	whenever he discussed you
hó'hoxomaētse	whenever he fed us
hó'mé'ovo	whenever I found him
hó'mé'óó'ēstse	whenever he found me
hó'oomā'ēstse	whenever he hit me

Transitive Animate Conjunct Generic verbs

Conjunct generic mode verbs state a kind of generalization. These verbs have a broad time idea of 'when', similar to the meaning of English 'whenever', but without the idea of repeated action which is communicated by the conjunct iterative mode. The generic mode is similar to what has been called a generic aspect for some languages, although the Cheyenne generic need not state an action that is continuously occurring. The *oh-* prefix is often omitted.

-vóom 'see (someone)'

òhvóomáhtsétonóhtse	when I see myself
òhvóomatsétoséstse	when I see you
òhvóomoo'éstse	when I see him
òhvóomamoo'éstse	when I see him (obv)
òhvóomatsésee'éstse	when I you (pl)
òhvóomótonóhtse	when I see them
òhvóométoéstse	when you see me
òhvóomáhtsétoéstse	when you see yourself
òhvóomoséstse	when you see him
òhvóomamoséstse	when you see him (obv)
òhvóomemenoséstse	when you see us (ex)
òhvóomósee'éstse	when you see them
òhvóoma'eséstse	when he sees me
òhvóomata'oséstse	when he sees you
òhvóomáhtseséstse	when he sees himself
òhvóomoséstse	when he sees him (obv)
òhvóomaetsee'éstse	when he sees us
òhvóomaesee'éstse	when he sees you (pl)
òhvóoma'étseséstse	when he (obv) sees me
òhvóomata'ótseséstse	when he (obv) sees you
òhvóomaeséstse	when he (obv) sees him
òhvóomáhtsétseéstse	when he (obv) sees himself
òhvóomaetsee'éstse	when he (obv) sees us
òhvóomaesee'éstse	when he (obv) sees you (pl)
òhvóomaevoséstse	when he (obv) sees them
òhvóomatsemenoséstse	when we (ex) see you
òhvóomótsee'éstse	when we see him
òhvóomamótsee'éstse	when we see him (obv)
òhvóomáhtsétsee'éstse	when we see ourselves
òhvóomatsemenoséstse	when we (ex) see you (pl)
òhvóomótsee'éstse	when we see them
òhvóomesee'éstse	when you (pl) see me
òhvóomósee'éstse	when you (pl) see him
òhvóomamósee'éstse	when you (pl) see him (obv)
òhvóomemenoséstse	when you (pl) see us (ex)
òhvóomáhtsésee'éstse	when you (pl) see yourselves
òhvóomósee'éstse	when you (pl) see them
òhvóoma'évoséstse	when they see me
òhvóomata'ósee'éstse	when they see you
òhvóomóvoséstse	when they see him (obv)

òhvóomaetsee'éstse	when they see us
òhvóomaesee'éstse	when they see you (pl)
òhvóomáhtsévoséstse	when they see themselves
òhvóomanétonóhtse	when I am seen
òhvóomanétoéstse	when you are seen
òhvóomeséstse	when he is seen
òhvóometséstse??	when he (obv) is seen
òhvóomanétsee'éstse	when we are seen
òhvóomanésee'éstse	when you (pl) are seen
òhvóomévoséstse??	when they are seen

Other examples

òhméhotatsétoséstse	when I love you
òhméhotoo'éstse	when I love him
òhméhotatsésee'éstse	when I love you (pl)
òhméhotovonóhtse	when I love them
òhméhoxetoséstse	when you love me
òhméhotoséstse	when you love him
òhméhotosee'éstse	when you love them
òhméhota'eséstse	when he loves me
òhméhótata'oséstse	when he loves you
òhméhotoséstse	when he loves him (obv)
òhméhotaetsee'éstse	when he loves us
òhméhotaesee'éstse	when he loves you (pl)
òhméhotosee'éstse	when we (ex) love them
òhméhoxesee'éstse	when you (pl) love me
òhméhotosee'éstse	when you (pl) love him
òhméhoxemenoséstse	when you (pl) love us (ex)
òhméhota'évoséstse	when they love me
òhméhótata'ósee'éstse	when they love you
òhméhotovoséstse	when they love him (obv)
òhméhotaetsee'éstse	when they love us

\$\$RECHECK:

òhvé'hoomoo'éstse	when I look at him
òxho'eotséhoo'éstse??	when I bring him
o'ovéstomóó'éstse??	when he teaches me
òhvóvéstomóetsee'éstse??	when he teaches us
òxhéne'enóó'éstse??	when he knows me
òxhéne'enoo'éstse??	when he (obv) knows him
òhvéstahémaestse	when he (obv) helps him
o'ovéstomoo'éstse??	when he (obv) teaches him
òxhéne'enóevoséstse??	when he (obv) knows them
o'ovéstomóevoséstse??	when he (obv) teaches them

Transitive Animate Conjunct Participles

/-méhót/ 'love (someone)'

\$\$RECHECK

tséméhotáhtsēto	I who love myself
tséméhótátse	I who love you
tséméhoto	the one I love
tséméhotamo	I who love him (obv)
tséméhotatsése	I who love you (pl)
tséméhótóno	those I love
tséméhoxeto	you who love me
tséméhotáhtseto	you who love yourself
tséméhotohtse	the one you love
tséméhotamóhtse	you who love him (obv)
tséméhoxemenoto	you who love us (ex)
tséméhótóse	the ones you love
tséméhótá'éstse	the one who loves me
tséméhótata'e	the one who loves you
tséméhotáhtséstse	the one who loves himself
tséméhotose	the one who loves him (obv)
tséméhotaétse	the one who who loves us
tséméhotaése	the one who loves you (pl)
tséméhota'etsese	he (obv) who loves me
tséméhotata'ótsese	he (obv) who loves you
tséméhotaese	he (obv) who loves him
tséméhotáhtséstse	he (obv) who loves himself
tséméhotaétse	he (obv) who loves us
tséméhotaése	he (obv) who loves you (pl)
tséméhotaevose	he (obv) who loves them
tséméhotatsemenoto	we (ex) who love you
tséméhótótse	we who love him
tséméhotamótse	we who love him (obv)
tsémého'táhtsétsee'e	we who love ourselves
tséméhototsee'e	we who love them
tséméhóxése	you (pl) who love me
tséméhótóse	you (pl) who love him
tséméhotamōse	you (pl) who love him (obv)
tséméhoxemenoto	you (pl) who love us (ex)
tséméhotáhtsésesee'e	you (pl) who love yourselves
tséméhotōsee'e	you (pl) who love them
tséméhota'ese	those who love me
tséméhotata'ōse	those who love you
tséméhotovose	the one(s) (obv) they love
tséméhotaetsee'e	those who love us
tséméhotaesee'e	those who love you (pl)
tséméhotáhtsese	those who love themselves
tséméhototsese	the one (obv) who loves him (obv')
tséméhotanēto	I who am loved
tséméhotaneto	you who are loved
tséméhoestse	the one who is loved
tséméhohetsese??	the one (obv) who is loved
tséméhotanétse	we who are loved
tséméhotanése	you (pl) who are loved
tséméhohese	those who are loved

tsévóomata'ótsese
tsévóomótsese
tsévóométsese
tséméoto
tséméótóno??
tséméótōsee'e??
tsévostoemo
tsévostoemóhtse
tsévostoemose
tsévostoemōno
tsévostoemósee'e??
tsévovéstomevo??
tsévovéstomevōno??
tsévovéstomó'éstse??
tsévovéstomóétse
tsévovéstomóetsee'e??
tsévovéstomóesee'e??
tséhéne'enóó'éstse??
tséhéne'enóétse??
tsévéstāhemo
tsévéstāhémóno??
tsévéstāhémóse
tséhoxomaétse

he (obv) who sees me
he (obv) who sees him (obv')
he (obv) who is seen
the one I fight
those I fight
those who fight me??
my spouse¹³⁷
your spouse
his/her spouse (obv)
those I sit with
those who sit with me??
the one I teach
the ones I teach
the one who teaches me
the one who teaches us
those who teach us??
those who teach you (plural)??
the one who knows me
the one who knows us
the one I help ??
those I help
the one (obv) he helps ??
the one who feeds us ??

Other examples

tsévóomo	the one I see
tsévóomōno	those I see

¹³⁷ Literally, 'the one who I sit with', i.e. 'the one I am married to'

Transitive Animate Conjunct Participle kinship terms

\$\$SOME OF THESE SHOULD BE MOVED TO THE AI Participle section, e.g. my father, etc.?

To save space and make meanings easier to understand, these participles are translated (glossed) as if they were possessed nouns. But they are actually not possessed nouns. For instance, in the earlier section of this book on possessed nouns, we saw that the possessed noun meaning 'my father' is ného'éehe. Its participle equivalent is tséhéhéto, which is glossed here as 'my father'. But a more accurate translation of the participle is 'the one who I have as father'. Tséhestónáhétose is glossed as 'your daughters', but a more accurate translation is 'those who you have as daughters'.

father

tséhéhéto	my father	tséhéhetono	my fathers
tshéheto	your father	tséhéhétose	your fathers
tséhéhese	his father(s)	tséhéhese	his father(s)
tséhéhétse	our father	tséhéhétsee'e	our fathers
tséhéhése	your (plural) father	tséhéhese'e	your (plural) fathers
tséhéhevose	their father(s)	tséhéhevose	their father(s)

mother

tséheškéto	my mother	tséheškétono	my mothers
tséhešketo	your mother	tséheškétose	your mothers
tséheškese	his/her mother(s)	tséheškese	his/her mother(s)
tséheškétse	our mother	tséheškétsee'e	our mothers
tséheškése	your (plural) mother	tséheškése'e	your (plural) mothers
tséškévose	their mother(s)	tséhešévose	their mother(s)

daughter

tséhestónáhéto	my daughter	tséhestónáhetonono	my daughters
tséhestónáheto	your daughter	tséhestónáhétose	your daughters
tséhestónáhese	his/her daughter(s)	tséhestónáhese	his/her daughter(s)
tséhestónáhétse	our daughter	tséhestónáhétsee'e	our daughters
tséhestónáhése	your (plural) daughter	tséhestónáhése'e	your (plural) daughters
tséhestónáhevose	their daughter(s)	tséhestónáhevose	their daughter(s)

Other participle kinship term person combinations

Kinship terms exist in full TA participle paradigms, with person combinations besides those just listed. Following are some other person combinations for kinship term participles.

tséhešké'toveto	you who have me for a mother
tséhešké'tovése	you (plural) who have me for a mother
tséhešké'tóó'éstse	the one who has me for a mother
tséhešké'toese	those who have me for a mother
tséhešké'tovätse	I who have you for a mother

Transitive Animate Conjunct Absentative Participles

Conjunct participles take an absentative suffix¹³⁸ when the person referred to is absent or deceased.

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

\$\$RECHECK ?? the following "tentative" forms from earlier editions of book:

tséhéhevöse	the one who is your absent father
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¹³⁸ It is possible that the -vo of this absentative suffix is related to the -vo suffix of the conjunct oratio oblique mode.

tséhéhévótse
tséhéhévóse
tséhéhevoomoo'o
tséheškévoomoo'o

the one who is our absent father
the one who is your (plural) absent father
those who are my absent fathers
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, tséhvóóhtō means either 'when he saw it' or 'when he saw them (inanimate)'.
Unlike with TI independent order verbs, there is no difference in pronunciation between the conjunct order TI verbs which refer to exclusive 'we' and inclusive 'we'.

Speakers differ on whether the last vowel is "e" or "o" on first and second person singular subject verbs which have a TI theme of –om. So, for instance, 'when I saw it' is pronounced both as tséhvóóhtómo and tséhvóóhtóme.

'see (something)'

tséhvóóhtómo / tséhvóóhtóme
tséhvóóhtomo / tséhvóóhtome
tséhvóóhtō
tséhvóóhtotsése
tséhvóóhtomátse
tséhvóóhtomáse
tséhvóóhtomévoše
tséhvóóme??
tséhvóóme'e'ístse

when I saw it / them
when you saw it / them
when he saw it / them
when he (obviative) saw it / them
when we saw it / them
when you (plural) saw it / them
when they saw it / them
when it was seen??
when they (inanimate) were seen??

'listen to (something)'

tsé'áahtómo / tsé'áahtóme
tsé'áahtomo / tsé'áahtome
tsé'áahtō
tsé'áahtotsése
tsé'áahtomátse
tsé'áahtomáse
tsé'áahtomévoše
tsé'áahtōhe ??
tsé'áahtōhe'e'ístse ??

when I listened to it / them
when you listened to it / them
when he/she listened to it / them
when he (obviative) listened to it / them
when we listened to it / them
when you (plural) listened to it / them
when they listened to it / them
when it was listened to
when they (inanimate) were listened to

'eat (something)'

tséhméséto
tséhméseto
tséhmesése
tséhmésetsése
tséhmésétse
tséhmésése
tséhmésévóše
tséhméséstove
tséhméséstove'e'ístse??

when I ate it / them
when you ate it / them
when he/she ate it / them
when he (obviative) ate it / them
when we ate it / them
when you (plural) ate it / them
when they ate it / them
when it was eaten
when they (inanimate) were eaten

'have (something)'

tséxho'tsēto
tséxho'tseto
tséxhó'tsése
tséxho'tsetsése
tséxho'tsétse
tséxho'tsése
tséxho'tsévoše

when I had it / them
when you had it / them
when he/she had it / them
he he/she (obviative) had it / them
when we had it / them
when you (plural) had it / them
when they had it / them

'take (something)'

tséxhestanōmo / tséxhestanōme
tséxhestanomo / tséxhestanome

when I took it / them
when you took it / them

tséxhestāno
tséxhestanotsése
tséxhestanomátse
tséxhestanomáse
tséxhestanomévose

when he took it / them
when he/she (obviative) took it / them
when we took it / them
when you (plural) took it / them
when they took it / them

'want (something)'

tséxho'ahéto
tséxho'aheto
tséxho'aese
tséxho'ahetsése
tséxho'ahétse
tséxho'ahése
tséxho'ahévose

when I wanted it / them
when you wanted it / them
when he/she wanted it / them
when he/she (obviative) wanted it / them
when we wanted it / them
when you (plural) wanted it / them
when they wanted it / them

Examples in sentences

Tséhvóóhtóme ho'évohkótse námese.

'When I saw the meat I ate it.'

Tsé'éšéááhto némenestótse náéestséstōvo.

'After he listened to the radio I talked to him.'

Transitive Inanimate Conjoint Negative verbs

'see (something)'

tséssáavóóhtóhémo / tséssáavóóhtóheme
tséssáavóóhtóhémo / tséssáavóóhtóheme
tséssáavóóhtóése
tséssáavóóhtóhetsése
tséssáavóóhtomáhétse
tséssáavóóhtomáhése
tséssáavóóhtoméhévose

when I did not see it / them
when you did not see it / them
when he did not see it / them
when he/she (obviative) did not see it / them
when we did not see it / them
when you (plural) did not see it / them
when they did not see it / them

'take (something)'

tséssáahestanóhéme
tséssáahestanóheme
tséssáahestanóése??
tséssáahestanóhetsése
tséssáahestanomáhétse
tséssáahestanomáhése
tséssáahestanoméhévose

when I did not take it / them
when you did not take it / them
when he did not take it / them
when he/she (obviative) did not take it / them
when we did not take it / them
when you (plural) did not take it / them
when they did not take it / them

Transitive Inanimate Conjoint Generic verbs

TI conjoint generic verbs take suffixes like those of TA conjoint generic verbs. As with other conjoint generic verbs the oh- prefix is often omitted by Cheyenne speakers.

'see (something)'

ohvóóhtomonótse
ohvóóhtomoséstse
ohvóóhtoséstse
ohvóóhtotseséstse
ohvóóhtomátsee'éstse
ohvóóhtomásee'éstse
ohvóóhtomévoséstse

when I see it / them
when you see it / them
when he/she sees it / them
when he/she (obviative) sees it / them
when we see it / them
when you (plural) see it / them
when they see it / them

'take (something)'

xhestanomonòhtse	when I take it / them
xhestanomosèstse	when you take it / them
xhestanosèstse	when he/she takes it / them
xhestanótsesèstse	when he/she (obviative) takes it / them
xhestanomátsee'èstse	when we take it / them
xhestanomásee'èstse	when you (plural) take it / them
xhestanomomévosèstse	when they take it / them

'cook (something)'

xho'oestsétonòhtse	when I cook it / them
xho'oestsétosèstse	when you cook it / them
xho'oestsesèstse	when he/she cooks it / them
xho'oestsétsesèstse	when he/she (obviative) cooks it / them
xho'oestsétsee'èstse	when we cook it / them
xho'oestsésee'èstse	when you (plural) cook it / them
xho'oestsévosèstse	when they cook it / them

Examples in sentences

Òhvóhtomonòhtse vétséškévāhonoo'o náohkev'éšepèhévetāno. 'When I see frybread I get happy.'

Xho'oestsesèstse váotsevāheho'évohkòtse náohkema'xemésehe. 'When she cooks deer meat I eat a lot.'

Transitive Inanimate Conjoint Participles

Unlike with other conjoint verb modes, conjoint 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)'

tsévóóhtómo ¹³⁹	what I saw	tsévóohtomonóhtse	those that I saw
tsévóohtomo	what you saw	tsévóohtomoséstse	those that you saw
tsévóóhto	what he saw	tsévóohtoséstse	those that he saw
tsévóohtótse	what he (obv) saw	tsévóohtótseéstse	those that he (obv) saw
tsévóohtomátse	what we saw	tsévóohtomátsee'éstse	those that we saw
tsévóohtomáse	what you (pl) saw	tsévóohtomásee'éstse	those that you (pl) saw
tsévóohtomévo	what they saw	tsévóohtomévoséstse	those that they saw

'eat (something)'

tséméséto	what I ate	tsémésétonóhtse	those which I ate
tséméséto	what you ate	tsémésétooséstse	those which you ate
tséméséstse	what he ate	tséméséséstse	those which he ate
tséméséstse	what he (obv) ate	tséméséstseséstse	those which he (obv) ate
tséméséstse	what we ate	tséméséstseséstse	those which we ate
tsémésése	what you (pl) ate	tsémésésees'éstse	those which you (pl) ate
tsémésévóse	what they ate	tsémésévoséstse	those which they ate

'take (something)'

tséhestanómo	what I took	tséhestanomonóhtse	those which I took
tséhestanomo	what you took	tséhestanomoséstse	those which you took
tséhestanóhtse	what he took	tséhestanoséstse	those which he took
tséhestanótse	what he (obv) took	tséhestanótseéstse	those which he (obv) took
tséhestanomátse	what we took	tséhestanomátsee'éstse	those which we took
tséhestanomáse	what you (pl) took	tséhestanomásee'éstse	those which you (pl) took
tséhestanomévóse	what they took	tséhestanomévoséstse	those which they took

'want (something)'

tsého'áhéto	what I want	tsého'áhétonóhtse	those that I want
tsého'áheto	what you want	tsého'áhétooséstse	those that you want
tsého'aéstse	what he wants	tsého'áhéséstse??	those that he wants
tsého'áhétse	what he (obv) wants	tsého'áhétseéstse	those that he (obv) wants
tsého'áhétse	what we want	tsého'áhétsee'éstse	those that we want
tsého'áhése	what you (pl) want	tsého'áhésees'éstse	those that you (pl) want
tsého'áhévóse	what they want	tsého'áhévoséstse	those that they want

'make (something)'

tsémanéstseto	what I made	tsémanéstsetonóhtse	those which I made
tsémanéstseto	what you made	tsémanéstsetoséstse	those which you made
tsémanéstséstse	what he made	tsémanéstseséstse	those which he made
tsémanéstséstse	what he (obv) made	tsémanéstséstseséstse	those which he (obv) made
tsémanéstséstse	what we made	tsémanéstséstsee'éstse	those which we made
tsémanéstsése	what you (pl) made	tsémanéstsésees'éstse	those which you (pl) made
tsémanéstévóse	what they made	tsémanéstsévoséstse	those which they made

Examples in sentences

Hénová'e tsévóohtomo?

Hénová'e tséméséto?

Hénová'ehótse tsémanéstsetonóhtse?

Nápéhévátsesta tsého'tséstse.

Tsémanéstseto épéhéva'e.

What did you see

What did you eat?

What (plural) did you make?

I like what he had.

What you made is good.

¹³⁹ Another pronunciation is tsévóóhtóme. Similarly, other first and second person singular subject participle forms with the TI theme -om have an alternate pronunciation with a word-final "e".

Transitive Inanimate Conjoint Negative Participles

'see (singular object)'

tsésáavóóhtóhémo	what I didn't see
tsésáavóóhtóhemo	what you didn't see
tsésáavóóhtóéstse	what he/she didn't see
tsésáavóóhtóhetsese	what he/she (obviative) didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhétse	what we didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhése	what you (plural) didn't see
tsésáavóóhtoméhévöse	what they didn't see

'see (plural object)'

tsésáavóóhtóhemonóhtse	those that I didn't see
tsésáavóóhtóhemoséstse	those that you didn't see
tsésáavóóhtóheséstse	those that he/she didn't see
tsésáavóóhtóhetseséstse	those that he/she (obviative) didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhétsee'éstse	those that we didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhese'eéstse	those that you (plural) didn't see
tsésáavóóhtoméhévoséstse	those that they didn't see

'make (singular object)'

tsésáamanéstshéto	what I didn't make
tsésáamanéstsheto	what you didn't make
tsésáamanéstsééstse	what he/she didn't make
tsésáamanéstshétsetse	what he/she (obviative) didn't make
tsésáamanéstshétse	what we didn't make
tsésáamanéstshése	what you (plural) didn't make
tsésáamanéstshévöse	what they didn't make

'make (plural object)'

tsésáamanéstshetonóhtse	what I didn't make
tsésáamanéstshetoséstse	what you didn't make
tsésáamanéstshéséstse	what he/she didn't make
tsésáamanéstshétsetsetse	what he/she (obviative) didn't make
tsésáamanéstshétsee'eéstse	what we didn't make
tsésáamanéstshése'eéstse	what you (plural) didn't make
tsésáamanéstshévoséstse	what they didn't make

Other examples

tsésáahestanóhémo	what I didn't take
tsésáahestanóhemeséstse	those which he/she didn't take
tsésáaméséhéto	what I didn't eat
tsésáaméséheto	what you didn't eat
tsésáamésééstse	what he/she didn't eat
tsésáaho'tshéto	what you didn't take
tsésáaho'tshévoséstse	those which they didn't take

Examples in sentences \$\$CHECK/#3 "I'm looking for those who don't have them"??)

Tsésáaméséheto éoseepéhéveéno'e.	What you didn't eat tastes very good.
Tsésáahestanóéstse ésó'hó'ta.??	What he didn't take is still here. ??
Nánóhtsevóóhtanótse tsésáaho'tshévoséstse.	I'm looking for those (in) that they don't have. ??

Ditransitive Conjoint Indicative verbs

Ditransitive conjoint indicative verbs look like Transitive Animate Conjoint Indicative verbs. (\$\$CHECK THAT). Ditransitive conjoint 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??

tséhmétahtséto	when I gave it to myself	tséhmétatsemenoto	when we (ex) gave it to you
tséhmétatse	when I gave it to you	tséméhótótse	when we gave it to him
tséhméto	when I gave it to him	tséhmétamõtse	when we gave it to him (obv)
tséhmétamo	when I gave it to him (obv)	tséhmétahtsétse	when we gave it to ourselves
tséhmétatsése	when I gave it to you (pl)	tséhmétotse??	when we gave it to them
tséhmétóno	when I gave it to them		
tséhmétseto	when you gave it to me	tséméhótsése	when you (pl) gave it to me
tséhmétahtseto	when you gave it to yourself	tséméhótótse	when you (pl) gave it to him
tséhmetöse	when you gave it to him	tséhmétamōse	when you (pl) gave it to him (obv)
tséhmétamōse	when you gave it to him (obv)	tséhmétsemenoto	when you (pl) gave it to us (ex)
tséhmétsemenoto	when you gave it to us (ex)	tséhmétahtsése	when you (pl) gave it to yourselves
tséméhótöse	when you gave it to them	tséhmétöse??	when you (pl) gave it to them
tséhmétá'ése	when you gave it to me	tséhméta'ese	when they gave it to me
tséhmétata'e	when he gave it to you	tséhmétata'ōse	when they gave it to you
tséhmétahtsése	when he gave it to himself	tséhmétovöse	when they gave it to him (obv)
tséhmétöse	when he gave it to him (obv)	tséhmétaetse??	when they gave it to us
tséhmétaétse	when he gave it to us	tséhmétaese??	when they gave it to you (pl)
tséhmétaése	when he gave it to you (pl)	tséhmétahtsévöse	when they gave it to themselves
tséhméta'etsése	when he (obv) gave it to me	tséhmétotsese	when he (obv) gave it to him (obv')
tséhmétata'ōtsése	when he (obv) gave it to you		
tséhméta'etsése	when he (obv) gave it to him	tséhmétanēto	when it was given to me
tséhmétahtsétse	when he (obv) gave it to himself	tséhmétaneto	when it was given to you
tséhmétaétse	when he (obv) gave it to us	tséhmétseese	when it was given to him
tséhmétaése	when he (obv) gave it to you (pl)	tséhmétsetsése??	when it was given to him (obv)
tséhmétaevöse	when he (obv) gave it to them	tséhmétanétse	when it was given to us
		tséhmétanése	when it was given to you (pl)
		tséhmétsevöse	when it was given to them

Examples in sentences

tséhméto oeškéseho	when I gave him a dog/dogs (obviative)	\$\$ADD MAIN VERBS
tséhméto motšěške	when I gave him a knife	
tséhméto mótšěškehótse	when I gave him knives	
tséhmétóno še'xo	when I gave them a duck/ducks (obviative)	
tséhmétóno sémonótse	when I gave them boats (inanimate)	
tséhmetöse póesonono	when you gave him a cat/cats (obviative)	
tséhmetöse sémonótse	when you gave him boats	
tséhmétsemenoto oeškéseho	when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) a dog	
tséhmétsemenoto oeškéseho	when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) dogs	
tséhmétsemenoto sémonótse	when you (sg/pl) gave us boats	
tséhmétá'ése oeškéseho	when he gave me a dog/dogs (obviative)	
tséhmétá'ése motšěške	when he gave me a knife	
tséhmétá'ése mótšěškehótse	when he gave me knives	
tséhmétöse oeškéseho	when he gave him (obviative) a dog/dogs (obviative)	
tséhmétöse še'xo	when he gave him (obviative) a duck/ducks (obviative)	
tséhmétöse sémo	when he gave him (obviative) a boat	
tséhmétöse sémonótse	when he gave him (obviative) boats	
tséhméta'etsése sémo hee'haho	when his son (obv) gave me a duck/ducks (obv)	

tséhméta'etsése še'xo hee'haho when his son (obv) gave me a boat

Ditransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

tséssáamétahtséhéto sémo when I did not give myself a boat

tsésáamétóhevo še'xo when I did not give him (obv) a duck/ducks (obv)

Ditransitive Conjunct Indicative relational verbs

\$\$RECHECK (from Petter 1952:105 ??)

tséhmétsevo	when you gave his ____ to me
tséhmétsevoše	when you (pl) gave his ____ to me / us (ex)
tséhmétatsevo	when I gave his ____ to you
etc.	

Ditransitive Conjunct Participles\$\$RECHECK

??

tsémétahtsétó	what I gave myself	tsémétatsemenoto	what we (ex) gave you
tsémétátse	what I gave you	tséméhótótse	what we gave him
tsémétó	what I gave him	tsémétamōtse	what we gave him (obv)
tsémétamo	what I gave him (obv)	tsémétahtsétse	what we gave ourselves
tsémétatsése	what I gave you (pl)	tsémétotsee'e	what we gave them
tsémétóno	what I gave them		
tsémétseto	what you gave me	tséméhótsése	what you (pl) gave me
tsémétahtseto	what you gave yourself	tséméhótóse	what you (pl) gave him
tsémétóhtse	what you gave him	tsémétamōse	what you (pl) gave him (obv)
tsémétamōhtse	what you gave him (obv)	tsémétsemenoto	what you (pl) gave us (ex)
tsémétsemenoto	what you gave us (ex)	tsémétahtsése	what you (pl) gave yourselves
tsémétóse	what you gave them	tsémétósee'e	what you (pl) gave them
tsémétá'éstse	what you gave me	tséméta'ese	what they gave me
tsémétata'e	what he gave you	tsémétata'ōse	what they gave you
tsémétahtséstse	what he gave himself	tsémétovose	what they gave him (obv)
tsémétóhtse	what he gave him (obv)	tsémétaetse??	what they gave us
tsémétaétse	what he gave us	tsémétaese??	what they gave you (pl)
tsémétaése	what he gave you (pl)	tsémétahtsese	what they gave themselves
tséméta'etsese	what he (obv) gave me	tsémétotsese	what he (obv) gave him (obv')
tsémétata'otsese	what he (obv) gave you		
tsémétaese(tsémétaa'ése??)	what he (obv) gave him	tsémétanēto	what I was given
tsémétahtséstse	what he (obv) gave himself	tsémétaneto	what you were given
tsémétaétse	what he (obv) gave us	tsémétseestse	what he was given
tsémétaése	what he (obv) gave you (pl)	tsémétsetséstse??	what he (obv) was given
tsémétaevose	what he (obv) gave them	tsémétanétse	what we were given
		tsémétanése	what you (pl) were given
		tsémétse	what they were given

Examples of ditransitive participles in sentences

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

Complex sentences

Now that we have examined independent and dependent (conjunct) verbs, we can study complex sentences in Cheyenne. A complex sentence contains at least two verbs, one of which is

dependent upon the other, typically called the main (or matrix) verb.

Cheyennes often utter complex sentences in which there is a conjunct verb which has some kind of temporal or adverbial relationship to the main verb of a sentence:

\$\$EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS

Less frequently and probably much less frequently than in English, Cheyennes utter sentences in which the dependent verb is a complement of the main verb. A complement verb acts something like an object to the main verb. In English we might say, "I'm know that you've been sick." The clause "that you've been sick" is the complement to the main verb "know." This complement acts as an object to "know", tell us what it is that the speaker knows.

Here are some examples of sentences with complement verbs found in Cheyenne texts:

\$\$EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS, INCLUDING FROM THE BROTHERS-IN-LAW TEXT

If you are studying Cheyenne, trying to obtain complex sentences with complements, be cautious in your study. Try not to ask Cheyenne speakers to directly translate English sentences with complements to Cheyenne. It may be possible to get literal translations of such English sentences, but they may not be natural sentences. It is better to study enough Cheyenne so that you will learn which verbs can naturally take complements and what kinds of verbs can naturally be their complements. It is often better to record and study natural Cheyenne texts and look for examples of complement sentences in those texts than to try to directly elicit complex sentences in Cheyenne.

Complex verbs

Some complex sentence semantic relationships are expressed in Cheyenne by single verbs with a part of those verbs being in a complex subordinate relationship to another part of those verbs. One of the most common Cheyenne finals for such verbs is –tanó which means 'want to' when it acts as the matrix verb in a complex semantic relationship. I have referred to verbs which take this final as desiderative verbs.

Náméséhétáno.	I want to eat.
Nánaóotsétáno.	I want to sleep.
Éháóénátáno.	He wants to pray.
Éo'èhnétáno.	He wants to defecate.

Transitive complex verbs

Transitivizing suffixes can be added to the –tanó final creating a kind of transitive semantically dependent verb within the complex verb structure:

Návóomátáno'tóvo.	I want to see him.
Návóomátáno'tova.	He wants to see me.
Návóohtatanó'ta.	I want to see it.
Návóomáhtsétáno.	I want to be seen.
Évóomáhtsétánoo'o.	They want to be seen.
Návéstáhémáhtsétáno.	I want to be helped.
Návéstáhémáhtsétáno'tóvo.	I want to be helped by him.
Véstáhémáhtsétáno'toveha!	Want to be helped by him!
Návóo'séhátáno'tóvo.	I want to show it to him.
Náhestanátáno'ta.	I want to take it.
Námésetáno'ta.	I want to eat it.
Námésetáno'tanótse.	I want to eat them (inanimate).

Word order

It is important to know what order words should appear in in any language. In some languages, such as English, word order can tell us who is doing what to whom, as in the sentence "John kissed Mary." In this English sentence we can tell from the word order that John is the one who did the kissing and Mary is the who who was kissed. In a language like English we say that word order is syntactically determined, that is, the grammar (syntax) of the language determines the order of words such as subjects, objects, and verbs in a sentence.

Many languages, including Cheyenne, do not have word order that is determined by grammatical relationships such as subjects and direct objects. Instead, word order of subject and object nouns in Cheyenne sentences is determined by how speakers organize information in their speech context. For such languages we say that word order is pragmatically determined.

So two different systems determine word order in English and Cheyenne. This is why it is very important that sentences not be translated from English to Cheyenne using the same word order that the sentence had in English. Instead, it is important to follow the Cheyenne rules for word order, which have to do with matters such as what is in focus in a Cheyenne speaker's mind. If you are a Cheyenne speaker, try not to think about the words of an English sentence if you are translating something from English to Cheyenne. Instead, just try to think about the meaning of the Cheyenne sentence and what you have already said in Cheyenne that is related to that sentence. Then try to say the sentence "the Indian way", saying it as naturally as if you did not know any English and were just talking in Cheyenne.

Fixed word orders

There are some fixed word orders in Cheyenne. Quantifiers precede the nouns they modify, as do demonstrative pronouns:

háesto ka'ěškóneho 'many children'
nā'ěstse amáho'hestótse 'one car'
neše he'eo'o 'two women'

Question words (interrogative pronouns) occur as the first element in a sentence:

Hénová'e tséméseeto? 'What did you eat?'
Névááhe tsévéhonevístse? 'Who is the boss?'
Tóne'se nééváho'ěhóo'ōhtse? 'When did you get back home?'
Tósa'e néhoo'e? 'Where do you live?'

\$\$STUDY NATURAL TEXTS TO SEE IF THERE MIGHT BE A PREDOMINANT ORDER OF CONJUNCT VERBS PRECEDING INDEPENDENT VERBS

Word order and speech context

Cheyenne subject and object nouns occur in an order determined by the speech context. That is, their order is pragmatically determined. Elena Leman (1999) has researched the pragmatic factors that determine word order in Cheyenne. **\$\$ (GIVE EXAMPLES FROM HER BOOK)** She discovered that a word that is "newsworthy"¹⁴⁰ occurs as the first element¹⁴¹ 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:

¹⁴⁰ The "newsworthiness" concept has been described by Mithun (1987).

¹⁴¹ Or it can be the second position if the first position is a discourse connector such as naa 'and'.

Mé'ěstse néohkenèheto'eétahe! 'Always you're doing that!'

Naa móséškanetsénoonáhe mósto'sevéseéetsèhe'òhtséhèhe tséhmóheehohtséstovetse. 'And the bat (in contrast to the animals and birds mentioned in the preceding sentences in this story) was also going to go to where there was a meeting.' (The Bat story, in the Texts section of this book)

\$\$ (OTHER EXAMPLES?)

If you are a Cheyenne speaker and someone asks you how to translate an English sentence to Cheyenne, do not copy the order of words in the English sentence. Cheyenne word order is different from English word order in sentences. English sentences usually have a required word order based on English syntax (grammar), namely, subject nouns come before their verbs and object nouns follow their verbs. Cheyenne grammar does follow this syntactic order for words in a sentence. A Cheyenne sentence which follows the English word order may not sound wrong by itself, but it will not have the 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 other basic word order, such as SOV. To answer this question, we must return to the observations just made, that overall Cheyenne word order in sentences is not determined by syntax, but, instead, by speech context (pragmatics). So we really cannot say that Cheyenne has a basic word order such as SVO.

Next, it should be noted that it is rare in Cheyenne for both a subject and object noun to occur with a verb. If you study natural Cheyenne texts, such as those which appear in the Texts section of this book, you will find very few sentences with subject and object nouns along with a verb. So it's basically a moot question to ask what is the basic word order in Cheyenne, in terms of linguistic symbols such as S, V, and O.

It is important for Cheyenne sentences to be grammatically correct as well as natural. So, if you are a Cheyenne speaker and someone asks you to translate an English sentence with both a subject and object noun, hesitate before simply translating the English sentence word for word. For instance, hesitate before translating an English sentence such as "The man saw a deer" to Cheyenne. It is possible to translate this sentence directly to Cheyenne as: Hetane móhvóomóhevóhe váotseváhne. That is a grammatical sentence in Cheyenne. But this sentence would not occur naturally in Cheyenne as often as it might in English.

Instead, in natural Cheyenne, speakers would more likely express the same meaning in more than one sentence. Typically, a Cheyenne speaker would introduce the man in a sentence such as: Hetane mó'ameohtséhèhe 'A man was going along.' Then in the next sentence it can be said what the man saw, as in: Móhvóomóhevóhe váotseváhne 'He saw a deer.' (The Cheyenne word for 'man', hetane, would not usually be repeated in the second sentence.)

It's just not natural to try to get too much information into a single Cheyenne sentence. For that matter, it probably isn't natural in English either, at least not for a sentence uttered by itself without any preceding context.

An important principle for translation of anything into any language, including Cheyenne, is to avoid asking (and answering) the question "Can you say this in your language?" Instead, it is better to ask the question, "Is this said in your language?" or "How do you naturally express this meaning in your language?" It is not only important to say things grammatically correct in a language, but also to say them naturally.

Study of natural texts, including conversations, speeches, and stories, in Cheyenne can help us understand natural ways of speaking Cheyenne. We must always be cautious about directly translating anything from English, or any other language, to Cheyenne. Instead, we must try to say things in Cheyenne as they would be said if they were part of a natural conversation between fluent Cheyenne speakers.

Default pragmatic word order

Even though we cannot speak of a basic word order in Cheyenne, there is a strong tendency for certain word orders to occur. These word orders are pragmatically determined, but so prevalent that some people might like to refer to them as basic word orders.

Subject nouns which are non-contrastive and definite (already established in a discourse) occur following the verb they are associated with much more often than they do preceding that verb. Notice that in the following text there 72 "sentences," including the title and ending (which is not a full sentence). Of the 72 sentences, only 6 have SV order, while there are 20 sentences with VS order. 36 sentences have no subject noun at all. In most of (count them??) the VS occurrences of the subject noun are definite and non-contrastive. Subject nouns that precede verbs are boldfaced in this text. Subject nouns that follow verbs are boldfaced and italicized.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.001

vého	tséxhénóhtsevoómóse					
vého	tsé-	h-	hé-	nóhtsevoóm	-ó	-s
chief	CNJ-	OBL-	PURP-	look.for	-DIR	-3
na	pfx-	tns-	pv-	vta	-voice	-pro

kásováaheho		
kásováahéh		-o
young man		-OBV
na		-num

tséto'séhevéxahese				
tsé-	to'se-	he-	véxahe	-se
CNJ-	PROS-	have-	have.child-in-law	-OBV
pfx-	pv-	r-	vai	-pro

hestónaho		
he-	htónah	-o
3PS-	daughter	-OBV
pro-	na	-num

tséto'sevéstoemótsese					
tsé-	to'se-	véstoem	-ó	-tse	-se
CNJ-	PROS-	married.to	-DIR	-OBV	-OBV
pfx-	pv-	vta	-voice	-pro	-pro

A chief when he went to look for a young man to be his son-in-law, who would marry his daughter.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.002

éxxaemáhé'tánése

é- h- xae- mähé'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

naa	hó'óxe	táháóhe	tséstaénoneo'tséstove				māhtamāhááhe
naa	ho'oxé	táháóhe	tsé- h- ta- énoneo'tsé	-htóve			māhtamāhááhéh
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

he-	véxah	-o	é- h- néše'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

éxhoháeanáhtóvéneš

é- h- ho- háeaná	-htóve	-né	-s
3- PST- very- hungry	-IMPERS	-FII	-RPT
pro- tns- REDUP- vai	-fii	-sfx	-mode

There was great hunger.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.006

tsé'tóhe	kásovááhe	néšéé'ěše	naa
tsé'tóhé	kásovááhéh	néšéé'ěše	naa
this	young man	2.days	and
pro	na	p	p

na'hēē'ěše
 na'hēē'ěše
 3.days
 p

éstaohkevoneotseséstse

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	móstaohkéhéněse'néváhéhe				
hévá=móhe	mó- h- ta- ohke- hé- nése'névá	-hé	-hé		
apparently	INF- PST- TRL- HABIT- PURP- hunt	-NEG.SFX	-INF.SFX		
p	mode- tns- dir- pv- pv- vai	-sfx	-sfx		

Apparently he would go to hunt.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.008

é'òhkého'o'xeséstse

é- h- ohke- ho'o'xe	-sest
3- PST- HABIT- arrive.carrying.game	-RPT
pro- tns- pv- vai	-mode

taa'eva

taa'e -vá
 night -OBL
 ni -sfx

He would bring home game at night.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.009

é'òhkeó'èsóvaséstse **màhtamàhááhe**
 é- h- ohke- ó'èsóvá -sest màhtamàhááhéh
 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

éxhoháeesenèhésesto
 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

nèhē'se ame
 nèhe'sé ame
 then pemmican
 p ni

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

Then she would make pemmican.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.012

mó'òhkmésèhenovōhe **nèhnèšévōse**
 mó- h- ohke- mése -hé -nó -vo -hé nèh- nèše -vó -s
 INF- PST- HABIT- eat -NEG.SFX -FTI -3PL -INF.SFX CJT.PPL- two -3PL -3
 mode- tns- pv- vti -sfx -sfx -num -sfx pfx- vai -num -pro

hevéxaho
 he- véxah -o
 3PS- grandchild -OBV
 pro- na -num

They would eat it, the two of them, her grandson (and her).

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.013

naa nèhē'se é'amèhóo'xeváhneséstse **hetane**
 naa nèhe'sé é- h- ame- hóo'xeváhné -sest hetane
 and then 3- PST- along- announce.walk -RPT man
 p p pro- tns- i- vai -mode na

And then a man was announcing.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.014

tséheto'honée'tatse é'amèhneséstse
 tsé- heto'honée'tá -tse é- h- amehné -sest
 CNJ- be.at.camp.edge -OBV 3- PST- walk -RPT
 pfx- vii -pro pro- tns- vai -mode

Along the edge of camp he walked.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.015

vo'èstane
vo'èstane
person
na

némó'otaēvo				vého
né-	mó'ot	-ae	-vó	vého
2-	invite.to.meal	-INV	-2PL	chief
pro-	vta	-voice	-num	na

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

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

éto'senòhtsevóome				tséto'sevéstoēmòhtse				
é-	to'se-	nòhtsevóom	-e	tsé-	to'se-	véstoem	-ó	-ht
3-	PROS-	look.for	-PSV	CNJ-	PROS-	married.to	-DIR	-3
pro-	pv-	vta	-voice	pfx-	pv-	vta	-voice	-pro

éxheséstse			
é-	h-	he	-sest
3-	PST-	say	-RPT
pro-	tns-	vai	-mode

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

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.017

éxhetóo'xevaséstse			
é-	h-	hetóo'xevá	-sest
3-	PST-	so.announce	-RPT
pro-	tns-	vai	-mode

He announced that way.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.018

vee'e éxho'tánèse				
é-	h-	ho'tá	-né	-s
3-	PST-	be.at	-FII	-RPT
pro-	tns-	vii	-sfx	-mode

vá'òhtámo'héé'e
vá'òhtámo'héé'e
place-of-honor
p
A tepee was there in the place-of-honor.

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

nèhē'se
nèhe'sé
then
p

éstamásómoheeohtsésesto						
é-	h-	ta-	másó-	móheeohtsé	-sest	-o
3-	PST-	TRL-	suddenly-	meet	-RPT	-3PL
pro-	tns-	dir-	pv-	vai	-mode	-num

kàsováaheho		hetaneo'o	
kàsováahéh	-o	hetane	-o
young man	-3PL	man	-3PL
na	-num	na	-num

Then they gathered, young men, men.

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

éhmo'onátamaaheséstse
 é- h- mo'onátamaahe -sest
 3- PST- beautiful.appearance -RPT
 pro- tns- vai -mode
 She was beautiful.

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

éxhoeséstse **kàse'ééhe** vá'òhtáma
 é- h- hoe -sest kàse'éehéh vá'òhtáma
 3- PST- be.at -RPT young.woman place-of-honor
 pro- tns- vai -mode na p
 The young lady was in the place-of-honor.

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

éhněšema'xemóhee'éstsehněsesto **hetaneo'o**
 é- h- něše- ma'xe- móhee- ' - éstsehně -sest -o hetane -o
 3- PST- continue- much- gather- EP- enter -RPT -3PL man -3PL
 pro- tns- pv- pv- pv- vai -mode -num na -num
 Many men gathered-came inside.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.023

něhě'se **tsé'tóhe** **kàsovááhe**
 něhe'sé tsé'tóhé kàsovááhéh
 then this young man
 p pro na

éstsehetósesto
 é- h- tsé- het -ó -sest -o
 3- PST- CAT- tell -DIR -RPT -OBV
 pro- tns- pv- vta -voice -mode -num

hevěškemo
 he- věškem -o
 3PS- grandmother -OBV
 pro- na -num
 Then this young man said to his grandmother.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.024

něške'e
 něške'e
 Grandmother!
 voc

tavésětsěhe'òhtsěstse
 ta- vése- tsěhe'òhtsé -sest
 TRL- with- go.to -RPT
 dir- pv- vai -mode

éxhetósesto
 é- h- het -ó -sest -o
 3- PST- tell -DIR -RPT -OBV
 pro- tns- vta -voice -mode -num
 "Grandmother, you, too, go there!" he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.025

tàhéaahptomóněstse
 ta- hé- áahptomóné -ht
 TRL- PURP- listen -IMPV
 dir- pv- vai -mode
 "Go to listen!"

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.026

táhéene'enoveha

ta-	hé-	héne'en	-ov	-eha
TRL-	PURP-	know	-FTA	-2:3.IMPV
dir-	pv-	vta	-sfx	-sfx

tséto'séhevэхahéstovéstse

tsé-	to'se-	he-	vэхahé	-htóve	-ht
CNJ-	PROS-	have-	have.grandchild	-IMPERS	-3
pfx-	pv-	r-	vta	-fii	-pro

éxhetósesto

é-	h-	het	-ó	-sest	-o
3-	PST-	tell	-DIR	-RPT	-OBV
pro-	tns-	vta	-voice	-mode	-num

Go to find out who is going to be son-in-law!" he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.027

hé'tóhe	ame	tano'eohtseo'o		
hé'tóhe	ame	ta-	no'eohtsé	-o
this	pemmican	TRL-	walk.carry	-IMPV.DEL
pro	ni	dir-	vai	-mode

éxhetósesto

é-	h-	het	-ó	-sest	-o
3-	PST-	tell	-DIR	-RPT	-OBV
pro-	tns-	vta	-voice	-mode	-num

"This pemmican, take it along!" he told her.

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

vá'netšéške'e	něšea'kóestseo'o			
vá'ne-	tšéške'e	něše-	a'kóestsé	-o
just-	a little	continue-	bundle	-IMPV.DEL
pv-	p	pv-	vti	-mode

"Just a little one, make a package!

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

máhto'seéšeéneéestséstove

máh-	to'se-	éše-	éne-	éestse	-htóve
IRREAL-	PROS-	already-	stop-	speak	-IMPERS
pfx-	pv-	pv-	pv-	vai	-fii

manésto'séhóehneto

máh-	neh-	to'se-	hóehné	-to	o'ha'enomeo'o			
IRREAL-	CIS-	PROS-	emerge	-CNJ.SFX	o'ha'en	-om	-e	-o
pfx-	dir-	pv-	vai	-sfx	drop	-FTI	-IMPV.SFX	-IMPV.DEL
					vti	-sfx	-sfx	-mode

éxhetósesto

é-	h-	het	-ó	-sest	-o
3-	PST-	tell	-DIR	-RPT	-OBV
pro-	tns-	vta	-voice	-mode	-num

When the talking is about over, when you're going out, drop it!" he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.030

naa éxhoháeanáhtóvéneš

naa	é-	h-	hoháeaná	-htóve	-né	-s
and	3-	PST-	very hungry	-IMPERS	-FII	-RPT
p	pro-	tns-	vai	-fii	-sfx	-mode

And there was great hunger.

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

nèhě'se

néhe'sé
then
p

móstavésètséhe'ohtséhēhe						
mó-	h-	ta-	vése-	tséhe'ohtsé	-hé	-hé
INF-	PST-	TRL-	with-	go.to	-NEG.SFX	-INF.SFX
mode-	tns-	dir-	pv-	vai	-sfx	-sfx

néhe mǎhtamǎhááhe

néhe mǎhtamǎhááhéh
that old.woman
pro na
Then that old lady also went there.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.032

néhē'se
néhe'sé
then
p

tsétó'méhestóese					
tsé-	tó'me-	het	-óh	-e	-s
CNJ-	right.away-	tell	-PSV	-PSV	-3
pfx-	pv-	vta	-voice	-voice	-pro

móhnéhešévéhéhe				
INF-	PST-	do that	-NEG.SFX	-INF.SFX
mó-	h-	néhešévé	-hé	-hé
mode-	tns-	vai	-sfx	-sfx

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

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.033

tséstó'seéšééneéestséstove						
tsé-	h-	to'se-	éše-	éne-	éestse	-htóve
CNJ-	OBL-	PROS-	already-	stop-	speak	-IMPERS
pfx-	tns-	pv-	pv-	pv-	vai	-fii

éhnéxhóehneséstse				
é-	h-	neh-	hóehné	-sest
3-	PST-	CIS-	emerge	-RPT
pro-	tns-	dir-	vai	-mode

When the talking was about over, she came out.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.034

néxahe
néxahe
my.grandchild
na

náto'séhéhomòhtōvo					
ná-	to'se-	hé-	homòht	-ov	-ó
1-	PROS-	PURP-	cook.for	-FTA	-DIR
pro-	pv-	pv-	vta	-sfx	-voice

éxheséstse				
é-	h-	he	-sest	
3-	PST-	say	-RPT	
pro-	tns-	vai	-mode	

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

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.035

mó'ohaehēhe				
mó-	h-	ohaé	-hé	-hé

INF- PST- arise -NEG.SFX -INF.SFX
mode- tns- vai -sfx -sfx
She got up.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.036

móhnéxhóehnéhēhe
mó- h- neh- hóehné -hé -hé
INF- PST- CIS- emerge -NEG.SFX -INF.SFX
mode- tns- dir- vai -sfx -sfx
She came out.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.037

héne
héné
that
pro

móstatšěseo'ha'enohēhe
mó- h- ta- tšěse- o'ha'en -ó -hé -hé
INF- PST- TRL- now- drop -FTI -NEG.SFX -INF.SFX
mode- tns- dir- pv- vti -theme -sfx -sfx
She dropped that (thing).

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.038

tséstao'seéšéhóva'xése
tsé- h- ta- to'se- éše- hóva'xe -s
CNJ- OBL- TRL- PROS- already- go out -3
pfx- tns- dir- pv- pv- vai -pro

he éxheséstse
hé é- h- he -sest
hey 3- PST- say -RPT
p pro- tns- vai -mode
When she was about to go outside, "Hey!" she said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.039

nóoo néxahe hexo'éhaénenáhtsestótse
nóoo néxahe he- xo'éhaénén -ahtse -htot
wow! my.grandchild 3PS- salve.tears -REFL -NOM
p na pro- vta -sfx -sfx

náxamae'o'ha'enomóvo
ná- xamae- '- o'ha'en -om -ó -vó
1- ordinary- EP- drop -FTI -FTI -RELAT
pro- pv- pv- vti -sfx -theme -pro

éxheséstse
é- h- he -sest
3- PST- say -RPT
pro- tns- vai -mode
"Oh! My grandson's ointment, I dropped it," she said.

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

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

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

éhne'évähóséheseváénánóse
é- h- neh- éva- hóse- heseváén -á -nó -s

3-	PST-	CIS-	back-	again-	pick.up.quickly	-FTI	-FTI	-RPT
pro-	tns-	dir-	pv-	pv-	vti	-theme	-sfx	-mode

héne ame
 héné ame
 that pemmican
 pro ni
 She quickly picked back up that pemmican.

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

nóxa'e
 nóxa'e
 Wait!
 p

éstahetaesesto							
é-	h-	ta-	het	-ae	-sest	-o	
3-	PST-	TRL-	tell	-INV	-RPT	-OBV	
pro-	tns-	dir-	vta	-voice	-mode	-num	

tsé'tóhe	vého
tsé'tóhé	vého
this	chief
pro	na

"Wait!" this chief told her.

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

táaxa'e	héne
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	-sest	néhe	vého
3-	PST-	say	-RPT	that	chief
pro-	tns-	vai	-mode	pro	na

"Let's see, pass that around!" that chief said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.044

éstatóxanesése					
é-{pro}	h-{tns}	ta-{dir}	tóxan{vti}	-é	-s -e -s -é
3-	PST-	TRL-	pass.around		

éstatóxánése??

hótáhtse	ame
hótáhtse	ame
unexpectedly	pemmican
p	ni

It was passed around, behold, (it was) pemmican!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.045

nóoo	éhpéhévééno'énése			
nóoo	é- h- péhéve-	éno'e	-né	-s
wow!	3- PST- good-	taste	-FII	-RPT
p	pro- tns- pv-	fii	-sfx	-mode

Oh! It tasted good.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.046

néhe hetane
 néhe hetane
 that man
 pro na

é'onéha'enānōse
 é- h- onéha'en -an -ó -s
 3- PST- loose -by.hand -FTI -RPT
 pro- tns- vti -fti -theme -mode
 That man unwrapped it.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.047

éhmésénōse
 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

néhē'se
 néhe'sé
 then
 p

éstsèhetósesto
 é- h- tsé- het -ó -sest -o
 3- PST- CAT- tell -DIR -RPT -OBV
 pro- tns- pv- vta -voice -mode -num

néhe māhtamāháaheho táaxa'e
 néhe māhtamāháahéh -o táaxa'e
 that old.woman -OBV let's.see
 pro na -num p
 Then he told that old lady,

éxahe náto'seéestsèstōvo
 éxahe ná- to'se- éestsèst -ov -ó
 your.grandchild 1- PROS- speak.to -FTA -DIR
 na pro- pv- vta -sfx -voice
 "Let's see, your grandson, I'm going to talk to him.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.049

náto'sevé'hóomo
 ná- to'se- vé'hóom -ó
 1- PROS- look.at.s.o. -DIR
 pro- pv- vta -voice

éxhetósesto
 é- h- het -ó -sest -o
 3- PST- tell -DIR -RPT -OBV
 pro- tns- vta -voice -mode -num
 I'm going to see him," he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.050

néstsehe'óhtsee'ése éxhetaesesto
 néh- tséhe'óhtsé -es é- h- het -ae -sest -o
 CIS- go.to -HORT 3- PST- tell -INV -RPT -OBV
 dir- vai -sfx pro- tns- vta -voice -mode -num
 "Let him come over!" he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.051

tséstaévāho'ēhnēse

māhtamāhááhe

tsé-	h-	ta-	éva-	ho'ehné	-s	máhtamáháahéh
CNJ-	OBL-	TRL-	back-	come	-3	old.woman
pfx-	tns-	dir-	pv-	vai	-pro	na

éxhóhta'	haovósesto							hevéxaho		
é-	h-	hóhta'	ha		-ov	-ó	-sest	-o	he- véxah	-o
3-	PST-	tell	story	to s.o.	-FTA	-DIR	-RPT	-OBV	3PS- grandchild	-OBV
pro-	tns-	vta			-sfx	-voice	-mode	-num	pro- na	-num

When the old lady returned, she told her grandson. (Does máhtamáhááhe go with the preceding or following verb??)

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.052

náéšenešéve				tséhešéheto			
ná-	éše-	nè-	hešévé	tsé-	heše-	he	-to
1-	already-	ANA-	do that	CNJ-	how-	say	-CNJ.SFX
pro-	pv-	pv-	vai	pfx-	pv-	vai	-sfx

"I have done what you told me.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.053

néne'onóomāne			
né-	néh-	onóom	-ané
2-	CIS-	call.s.o.	-PSV
pro-	dir-	vta	-voice

éxhetaesesto					
é-	h-	het	-ae	-sest	-o
3-	PST-	tell	-INV	-RPT	-OBV
pro-	tns-	vta	-voice	-mode	-num

You are invited," she told him.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.054

éstaosáanenèhe'ohtsesèstse					
é-	h-	ta-	osáane-	nèhe'ohtsé	-sest
3-	PST-	TRL-	so-	go there	-RPT
pro-	tns-	dir-	pv-	vai	-mode

nèhe kàsovááhe

nèhe	kàsováahéh
that	young man
pro	na

That young man went there.

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

éstáho'èhnesèstse				
é-	h-	ta-	ho'ehné	-sest
3-	PST-	TRL-	come	-RPT
pro-	tns-	dir-	vai	-mode

He arrived.

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

éhnòhtsèstóesesto					vého	
é-	h-	nòhtsèst	-óe	-sest	-o	vého
3-	PST-	ask s.o.	-INV	-RPT	-OBV	chief
pro-	tns-	vta	-voice	-mode	-num	na

He was asked by the chief.

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

néhoháeesenèhémése				
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

néxhéeseheo'o
néh- hé- éseehe -o
CIS- PURP- move.in -IMPV.DEL
dir- pv- vai -mode

tséhéóhe
tséhéóhe
here
p
Move in here!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.060

nénéehove nétavóomátse
né- néehóve né- ta- vóom -atse
2- be the one 2- HORT- choose -1:2
pro- vai pro- pv- vta -voice

tséto'sevéstoēmóhtse
tsé- to'se- véstoem -ó -ht
CNJ- PROS- married.to -DIR -3
pfx- pv- vta -voice -pro

náhtona
na- htónah
1PS- daughter
pro- na

éxhetaesesto
é- h- het -ae -sest -o
3- PST- tell -INV -RPT -OBV
pro- tns- vta -voice -mode -num
You are the one, I select you to marry my daughter," he told him.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.061

é'oseepéhévetanóotseséstse
é- h- osee- péhévetanóotse -sest
3- PST- very- happy quickly - become -RPT
pro- tns- pv- vai -mode

néhe kásovááhe

néhe kásovááhéh
that young man
pro na
That young man became very happy.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.062

héehé'e éxheséstse
héehé'e é- h- he -sest
yes 3- PST- say -RPT
p pro- tns- vai -mode
"Yes," he said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.063

naa	néhe	káse'ééhe	éhmo'onátamaaheséstse		
naa	néhe	káse'éehéh	é-	h-	mo'onátamaahe
and	that	young.woman	3-	PST-	beautiful.appearance
p	pro	na	pro-	tns-	vai
					-sest
					-RPT
					-mode

And that young lady was beautiful.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.064

éstaévhóo'òhtseséstse					
é-	h-	ta-	éva-	hóo'òhtsé	-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

hevěškemo								
he-	věškem				-o			
3PS-	grandmother				-OBV			
pro-	na				-num			

móstaněhetòhevòhe								
mó-	h-	ta-	ně-	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've'òhtsémósesto								
é-	h-	ta-	no'-	vé'òhtsém	-ó	-sest	-o	
3-	PST-	TRL-	also-	accompany	-DIR	-RPT	-OBV	
pro-	tns-	dir-	pv-	vta	-voice	-mode	-num	

tséohkěhóo'xevátsese								
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

éhněxhóo'xevaséstse						néhe	hetane
é-	h-	neh-	hóo'xevá	-sest		néhe	hetane
3-	PST-	CIS-	announce	-RPT		that	man
pro-	tns-	dir-	vai	-mode		pro	na

That man announced.

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

néhnóhtó'énóhtse			
néh-	nóhtó'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'aměhnéstse		
néh-	amehné	-ht
CIS-	walk	-IMPV
dir-	vai	-mode

Walk toward (me)!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.070

néhnó'otsēstsēstse				néstáme
néh- n'ó'tsest	-é	-ht		ne- htámé
CIS- fetch	-FTI	-IMPV	2PS-	food
dir- vti	-theme	-mode	pro-	ni

éstáhestóhesēstse				vého
é- h- ta- hestóhe	-sest			vého
3- PST- TRL- called	-RPT			chief
pro- tns- dir- vii	-mode			na

Come after your food!" the chief was told.

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

naa	néhē'se	néhe	kásovááhe
naa	néhe'sé	néhe	kásováahéh
and	then	that	young.man
p	p	pro	na

éstanéhešeamáhénōsesto									
é- h- ta- nē-	heše-	amáhé-	-no	-sest	-o				
3- PST- TRL- ANA-	receive	s.o.		-FTA	-RPT				-OBV
pro- tns- dir- pv-	pv-	vta	-sfx	-mode	-num				

tsémo'onátamaahétsese			
tsé- mo'onátamaahe	-tse		-se
CNJ-beautiful.appearance	-OBV	-OBV	
pfx- vai	-pro	-pro	

néhe	káse'ééhe
néhe	káse'ééhéh
that	young.woman
pro	na

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

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

hena'háanéhe
hena'háanéhe
that's.it
pro
That's all.

Word formation

Cheyenne words are often made up of smaller parts (morphemes). These parts are like building blocks, so we informally call them blocks.

Noun formation

A noun may consist of a single morpheme. The following nouns cannot be divided into any smaller meaning parts:

ame 'pemmican'
hē'e 'woman'
hetane 'man'
hohpe 'soup'
šé'sé 'duck'
vé'ho'e 'non-Indian'
vo'e 'cloud'

Prenoun compounds

A noun may consist of a prenoun plus a noun that can exist as a single word by itself:

ma'aatae-meo'o 'railroad, train' (literally, iron-road)
mo'òhtáe-vé'ho'e 'Negro' (literally, black-non-Indian)

A noun may consist of a noun which acts as a prenoun plus another noun:

he'é-ka'ěškóne 'girl' (literally, woman-child)
hetané-ka'ěškóne 'boy' (literally, man-child)

A noun may consist of a noun which acts as a prenoun plus a noun final that cannot exist by itself:

vé'ho'é-otóá'e 'cow' (literally, whiteman-buffalo)

A noun may consist of a prenoun plus a noun final:

Óoe-tane 'Crow' (literally, crow-person)
món-é'e 'bride' (literally, new-woman)

Noun-verb compounds

A noun may consist of a verb plus a noun:

mòxe'ěstóne-máhēō'o 'school' (literally, writing-house)
ame'há-ve'ho'e 'pilot' (literally, flying-non-Indian)
homósé-ve'ho'e 'cook' (literally, cooking-non-Indian)

A noun may consist of an initial, an optional medial, plus a noun final:

ěškóse-esé-hotame¹⁴² 'pig' (literally, sharp-nose-domesticated.animal)
ka'-éně-hótame 'bulldog, cat'¹⁴³ (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal)
vóhp-ó'ha 'white horse' (literally, white-horse)¹⁴⁴
to-óom-ášé'se-stótse 'soda pop, cold drink' (lit., cool-liquid-drink-NOM)
Mo'òhtáv-áhahtá-tane 'Blackfeet Indian' (lit., black-foot-person)

Nominalization

A noun may be consist of verb stem plus a nominalizer (a suffix that turns a verb into a noun):

ame'ha-htótse 'airplane' (literally, flying-thing)¹⁴⁵
méséhe-stótse 'food' (literally, eating-thing)
ěškós-éně-hé 'greyhound' (literally, sharp-face-being)¹⁴⁶
tséhe'ése-esé-he 'elephant' (literally, long-nose-being)
vovéstomósané-he 'teacher' (literally, teaching-being)

¹⁴² Historically, hótame referred to a dog. Later, the word oeškése was used to mean 'dog'. When that happened, hótame narrowed in meaning to refer to a special kind of dog, such as a 'hound' (e.g. greyhounds and rottweilers). But it also broadened in meaning to refer, more generally, to a domesticated animal.

¹⁴³ Southern Cheyennes have used the word ka'éněhótame to refer to a cat. They also use the word póéso for a cat, perhaps borrowing it from Northern Cheyennes, who themselves may have borrowed it as a sound translation from the English word "pussy". Petter (1915:215) lists the word ka'eeséhotame (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal) for 'cat'. Petter began his work in Oklahoma, before moving to Montana perhaps Southern Cheyenne have used both ka'éněhótame and ka'eeséhotame for a cat.

¹⁴⁴ The Cheyenne noun final /-o'há/ descends from a PA final that originally meant 'dog'. Over time, the final came to mean 'horse' in Cheyenne.

¹⁴⁵ This is the most general of the Cheyenne nominalizers. It is phonemically /-htot/. It can create either animate or inanimate nouns from verbs.

¹⁴⁶ The suffix /-hé/ is another animate nominalizer. It seems to have a more specialized meaning than /-htot/ that is difficult to characterize semantically, perhaps something like 'being'. It often acts as a personifier, as in the common word vovéstomósanéhe 'teacher', literally 'teaching-being' or 'teaching-person'.

hoéstónéhe-he 'student' (literally, writing-being)

Verb formation

As we have already seen in discussion of verbs, Cheyenne verbs can be long, consisting of many morphemes. Independent order verbs typically are made up of a pronominal prefix, optional tense markers, preverbs that have aspectual and adverbial meanings, then a verb stem, then one or more suffixes which typically give information about person, number, and mode.

Pronominal prefixes

Pronominal prefixes are high pitched except when they precede the future tense marker:

ná-	first person (e.g. I, we)
né-	second person (you, you plural)
é-	third person (he, she, animate it)

Pronominal prefixes plus future tense –htse

náhtse-	first person + future tense
néhtse-	second person + future tense
tse ¹⁴⁷	third person + future tense

Tense

Cheyenne marks two tenses: h- 'remote past' and –htse 'future' on its verbs. Verbs which are unmarked for tense **refer to the present or recent past**. (check that further??) Preterit, which is a tense in some languages, is not a tense in Cheyenne. Instead, the Cheyenne preterit is a mode.

Unmarked tense

The following verbs are unmarked for tense. They may refer either to the present or recent past.

Návóómo.	'I see him', or 'I saw him'.
Énéméne.	'He's singing', or 'He sang'.
Ého'sóeo'o.	'They are dancing', or 'They danced'.

Past tense

Past tense is marked with phonemic /h-/, which has the following pronunciations:

1. [s] preceding [t] or [s] (with [ss] pronounced twice as long as a single [s])
2. [š] preceding [k]
3. ['] preceding a vowel
4. [x] preceding [h]
5. [h] before any other sounds

Past tense is farther past in time than recent past. But it need not be distant past. Whether or not a verb is marked with past tense depends on the relative time frame in the mind of the speaker. There is no simple rule that says, for instance, that a verb will be marked with the past tense if it refers to a time more than a month ago or more than a year ago.

Notice the past tense markers immediately following the person prefixes ná-, né-, and é- in the following verbs:

Ná- h -vóómo.	I saw him.
Né- s -tšêhe'kèstahe.	You were short.
É- h -néméne.	He sang.
É-' -a 'xaame.	He cried.
É- s -séváno.	He skied.

¹⁴⁷ The pronominal prefix é- is omitted with future tense.

É-x-ho'soo'e.	He danced.
É-s-tsêhetósesto.	He is said to have said this to him (reportative mode).
É-š-koká'a'xeséstse.	He is said to have danced (reportative mode).
É-x-hetóhoono.	He said that to him (preterit mode).

Far past tense

\$\$CHECK TO DETERMINE IF /neh-/ WAS IN ERROR AS FAR PAST IN THE EARLIER GRAMMAR??

Ná-nêh-vóómo.	I saw him a long time ago.
É-nêh-mésehe.	He ate a long time ago.
É-nêx-ho'soo'e.	He danced a long time ago.

Future tense

Future tense is marked by htse-. Instead of their usual high pitch, pronominal prefixes are pronounced with low-pitched vowels preceding future tense. Because the low-pitched vowel precedes /h/, the vowel is also whispered (devoiced). The third person prefix /é-/ is omitted before the future tense marker and then the future tense marker is shortened to tse-. Examples of verbs with the future tense follow:

Nà-htse-mésehe.	I shall eat.
Nè-stse-vé'nêhešéve!	Don't do that (in the future)!
Tse-néveóhta.	(The cow) will have four legs. (said by Sweet Medicine)

Future tense plus translocative

If the future tense marker precedes the ta- translocative directional, the two morphemes combine as /hta-/ which retains both the future tense and translocative meanings.

Nà-hta-vé'háhtse.	I will go along.
Nè-sta-éváhósevoómátse.	I will see you again.

Directionals

Directionals occur after the tense slot in the verb and before preverbs. Directionals indicate whether action is coming toward or away from a speaker.

Cislocative

The directional that indicates action toward a speaker is called a cislocative. It is phonemically spelled /neh-/. The /h/ has various alternates depending on the sound that follows it. The cislocative has high pitch in imperatives and low pitch in all other orders.

Non-imperative cislocatives

É-nêx-ho'êhne.	He's coming.
É-ne'-amoo'kôho.	Rain is approaching.
É-nês-tsêheta'hāhtse.	He threw it toward here (that is, toward the speaker).

Imperative cislocatives

Nêh-metséstse!	Give it to me!
Nêx-héstánóhtse!	Bring it to me!
Nês-tsêhe'ooestse!	Come here quickly!

Translocative

The directional that indicates action away from a speaker is called a translocative. It is spelled ta-.

É-tā-hémanohe.	He went for water.
É-tā-éšeta'êhne éše'he.	The sun has set.

Preverbs

Preverbs give aspectual 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

1. Nè-sta-**évà-hóse**-vóo-m-átse.
2-FUT-TRL-back-again-see-AOAM-INV:1
I will see you again.
2. Ná-**ohkè-sáa'**-**oné'seóme-pèhéve**-tsèhést-o'ané-he.
1-HAB-not-EP-truly-well-Cheyenne-pronounce-NEG
I truly do not pronounce Cheyenne well.
3. Mó'-**ohkè-hése-éve**-ahto-ešená-hé-he.
Q-HAB-why-about-bury-lie-NEG-INF¹⁴⁸
That must be why he lies around buried hiding. (The Bat)
4. Tse-nès-**sáa'**-**évà-ho'e**-anóhe-ohtsé-he.
FUT-CIS-not-EP-back-arrive-down-go-NEG
He won't come back down. (The Whiteman and the Indian)
5. É-sta-**něšè-hetóse-ame**-néhov-ó-sest-o.
3-FUT-TRL-continue-continually-chase-DIR-RPT-OBV
It's said he kept on following them.
6. Né-nès-**to'sè-hé**-héhpòheh-a.
2-CIS-going.to-PURP-scare-INV
He is going to come to scare you.
7. Né-**to'se-vá'ne-onésè**-héhpòheh-a.
2-going.to-only-try-scare-INV
He is only going to try to scare you.
8. É-h-ne'-**osáane-ée-něše**-to-táha'há-htsé-nò-se.
3-PST-CIS-commence-about-continue-REDUP-throw.on-FTI-IOAM-RPT
It's said he began to throw it on.
9. Nè-stá-**hóse-nè-heše**-mét-áne.
2-FUT-TRL-again-ANA-REL-give.s.t.-PSV
It will again be given to you this way.
10. É-s-ta-**éva-nè-heše-ho'**-hóo'-ohtsé-sest-o.
3-PST-TRL-back-ANA-manner-arrive-home-go-RPT-3PL
It's said they arrived back home that way.

¹⁴⁸ Glossing with Q for the inferential prefix and INF for the inferential suffix comes from Sarah Murray (p.c.).

11. Tse-**méo-hóe**-évo'soo'e.
FUT-morning-out-play
He will come out to play early in the morning.
12. tsé-s-tà-**hósè-hé**-manoe-se
CNJ-PST-TRL-again-PURP-fetch.water-3
when she went again to get water
13. Mó-nès-**tónèšè-hósè**-sòhp-o'e-ohé-tò-hané-he.
Q-CIS-how-again-through-roll-motion-FII-NEG.II-INF
Somehow it must have rolled through again.
14. Ná-to'se-**vá'ne-tšéške'**-mé'ést-á.
3-going.to-just-little-explain-IOAM
I'm just going to explain it a little.
15. tsé-**ohke-ée-méhae**-ne'étam-ése
CNJ-HAB-about-used.to-depend.on-2PL
what you (plural) used to depend on
16. É-s-ta-**éšè-hetóse-ma'xe**-mé'èstom-ósane-séstse.
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.
18. E-s-tà-**xamae-másó-ésè**-ho'óo't-ov-àhtsé-sest-o.
3-PST-TRL-simply-all.group-in-pile-FTA-RECIP-RPT-3PL
It's said they simply all piled in on each other.
19. É-x-**he'ké-hešè-hosó**-hnè-hoo'o.
3-PST-slowly-REL-backwards-walk-PRET
Once upon a time he slowly went backwards.
20. É-s-ta-**éšè-hó'ke**-éx-àho'h-á-no-ho.
3-PST-TRL-already-**necessarily(??)**-complete-by.heat-IOAM-IOAM-PRET
Once upon a time he had to finish cooking it.
21. É-s-ta-**ohké-hóe-hé**-evo'sóe-hoo'o.
3-PST-TRL-HAB-out-PURP-play-PRET
Once upon a time he used to go out to play.
22. É-'-**òhkè-sáa-sé'hove-évá**-ho'-èhnè-he-hoo'o.
3-PST-HAB-suddenly-back-arrive-walk-NEG-PRET
Once upon a time he would suddenly not come back.
23. Ná-ta-**móne-éva-asè**-hóo'-òhtsé-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.

áahtse'-	simultaneously	neh-	toward, cislocative
áhane-	extremely	nésta-	previously
a'ene-	forever	něše-	continue
ame-	along	něšená-	while
anóhe-	down	něševe-	fast
ase-	start	nétáhéve-	differently
e'(e)-	upward	nóhtove-	know how to
e'se-	afraid to	no'-	also, included
émoose-	secretly	no'hé-	aside
éne-	end, stop	nó'se-	over
ése-	in, into	nonáháxe-	might
ěše-	already	ohke-	regularly
éva-	back	o'ome-	bypass
háanae-	heavy, respected	ó'ose-	mistakenly
hée-	much	onáxe-	might
hávěseve-	badly	oné'seóme-	truly
he-	have	onése-	try to
hé-	for the purpose of	onó'e-	proper
hehpe-	more	osáane-	commence
he'ame-	up	osee-	intense
he'aná-	easily	páháve-	good, well
he'ke-	slowly, softly	pěhéve-	good, well
he'kone-	hard	sáa-	not
heóme-	too much	sé'e-	down into
hése-	for such reason	sé'hove-	suddenly
heše-	manner	sétove-	middle
hetóeve-	in evening	sóhpe-	through
hetóse-	continually	só'(e)-	still
hetaa'-	to such extent	taa'éve-	at night
hóe-	out from	tae-	exactly
ho'(e)-	arrive	ta'e-	disappear
hóose-	go home	taome-	by self
hoove-	mistakenly	táve-	slightly
hóse-	again	táxe-	on top
hóxe'e-	cleanly	to'se-	going to
kánome-	although	tóněše-	how?, somehow
mae-	all over	tóxe-	along the edge
máhe-	all	tse-	referring forward
máhove-	tiredly	tšéhe'se-	never
ma'heóne-	sacredly	tšěške'-	little
má'se-	complete	váhtome-	nevertheless
ma'xe-	big, much	vá'ne-	just
másó-	suddenly, in a group	vá'ose-	complete
méhae-	used to	vé'(e)-	prohibit
me'-	should	vése-	with
mé'(e)-	appear	xae-, xamae	simply, ordinarily
méo-	early morning	xanove-	straight
móne-	recently		
ne-	referring back		

Aspectual preverbs

\$\$ADD GLOSSES:

Some preverbs are primarily aspectual in nature, including:

ase-
éne-
éše-
méhae-
hetóse-
móne-
nése-
ohke-
osáane-
má'se-
nonáhaxe- / onáhaxe- / onáxe-
to'se-

Examples with aspectual preverbs

Máheameóestse nêhéno é-**méhae**-'éevo'èstanéheve. All Runner used to live there.
(1987:182)

Tse-**nonáhaxe**-pe'pe'eotse.

There might be trouble. (1987:27)

É'-**osáane**-asénoovósesto.

He began to sing to them. (1980:45:18)

\$\$ADD MORE EXAMPLES

Path preverbs

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

anòhe-
e'(e)-
ése-
he'ame-
hóe-
no'hé-
sé'e-
sé'hove-
sòhpe-
só'(e)-
táxe-
tóxe-

Examples with path preverbs

Quantity preverbs

Some preverbs communicate information about quantity and intensity:

áhane-
háe-
hehpe-
heóme-
máhe-
ma'xe-

osee-
táve-
tšěške'-

Examples with quantity preverbs

Quality preverbs

Other preverbs focus on quality:

hávěséve-
hóxe'e-
pěhéve-
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-

Tšěške'e né-**tao'se**-vá'něhóhta'haovatsénóvo naměšéme. '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:

ěšě-hó'ko-: of necessity

É-**ěšě-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).

ěšě-to'se-: on the verge of

Mó-**ěšě-to'sě**-hestsevévěšěhéhe. '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'ěstomeve. 'You should have told me.'

oh-to'se-: almost but failed

Ná-**oh-to'sě**-hovánee'e. 'I almost died.'

sáa-tóněše-: cannot, unable to

Ná-**sáa-tóněšě**-tsěhe'òhtséhe. 'I am not able to go (there).'

És-**sáa-tóněše**-éne-e'kóo'óhesěstse. 'It's said he just couldn't stop looking out.' (1987:298)

sáa-tšéhe'se-: never

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

tó'e-ase-: almost

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

tó'-tae-

tóněšě-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:

root	meaning
-a'xaame	cry
-ase	leave
/-émá/	take a sweat
-émohóne	hunt
-he'ke	be tender
/-hoe/	be at
-ho'ahe	want
/-ho'sóe/	dance
/-homosé/	cook
/-hotse'óhe/	work
/-mae/	bark (of a dog)
-mane	drink
-mésehe	eat
/-mó'é/	invite to a meal
/-naa'é/	doctor
/-nae/	die
/-néé/	be standing
/-némené/	sing
/-néne/	nurse (of a baby)
-nomáhtse	steal
/-ohaé/	arise
/-sévanó/	skate, slide
/-to'é/	get up (from bed)
/-véé/	camp

Examples of verbs with roots

Éa'xaame.	He's crying.
É-éma.	He's having a sweat.
Ná-ho'ahe.	I want (it).

Ná-hoo'e.
É-mane.
É-mésehe.
É-mó'e.
É-née'e.

I'm (here).
He's drinking.
He's eating.
He's inviting to a meal.
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:

initial	meaning
á'(k)av-	droop
áhan-	extreme
áv-	fall over
a'e'-	separate (be)
a'enó'n-	dark
a'k-	round
a'kón-	squat
a't-/a's-	accidentally
ae'ta'é-	face
aéstom-	false
ahko'-	roll
ahto('h)-	under
am-	along
ames(t)-	crosswise
an-	down
ane'k-	prick
ase(t)-	away/start
axe-	scratch
é'(k)om-	oily
é'-	break
ém(ooht)-	secretly
én-	end
ést-	into
éstov-	blow
éš-/éx-	already/finish
éškos-	pointed
év-	about
éxov-	warm
e'(k)os-	turn over
e'-	up
e's-	dress
e't-/e's-	fear
e'xov-	peel
há-	much
háa'es(t)-	long
háahk-	small (very)
háahp-	large
hánoht-/hános-	back (head posture)
hávèsév-	bad
hahé-	rub
hahp-	fasten
hé'hév-	suck
hé'he(šk)-	wrinkled
héesev-	boil
héhnov-	patient
héhpoh-	frighten
héne'h-	stiff
héstov-	both sides
héšk-	nick
hévoe-	wring
hé'am-	up/above
hé'aná-	easy

he'e(n)-	spare
he'hem-	sprinkled
he'k(e)-	soft
he'k-	pierce
he'kon-	hard
he'kot-	quiet
he'né-	separate
he'xóv-	degree
heamá-	side
hehp-	beyond
heóm-	excessive
heóv-	yellow
hesé-	ridge
hes(e)-	cramp
hesó'x-	slippery
hest-	take
hestóx-	last/behind
hesto'to(n)-	braid
hestom-	hinder
heškóv-	thorny
het-/heš-	thus
hetóm-	true/correct
hó'os-/hó'oht-	against (lean)
hó'tah-	defeat
hó'tová-	extinguish
hó'x-	accustomed to
hóe'tó-	back/behind
hóe-	out
hóhee-	swaddle/wrap
hóhp-	melt
hóm-	disembark
hómest-	escape
hóna'(ov)-	add
hóné(')-	pile
hóoht-/hóo'-	home
hóom-	shelter/protect
hótoaná-	difficult
hótoxá-	crisscross
hóvoht-/hóvos-	store
hóx-/hóht-	around (tie)
hóxe'-	clean
hóxov-	across
ho'-	arrive
ho'óx-	last
ho'sot-	dirty
ho'tov-	loose
ho'xés(t)-	belong
ho'xo'-	against (press)
hohát-	laugh
hoham-	prefer
hohkó's-	purple
hohpé-	sweat
hohpo'-	gather
homóhe-	noisy

honát-	subside
honó-	roast/bake
hoó'h-	overheard
hoó'sot-	unskilled
hoón-	shut
hoon-	restrain/forbid
hosó-	backwards
hosotóm-	rest
hotám-	turn around
hovéo'(k)-	shade
hovo'e-	envelope/surround
hox-	rotten
hoxo'ohtsé-	green
kás-	short
káhan-	tired
káhko(n)-	thin
ka'-	short
kó'kon-	peck/knock
kóe(n)-	hit (with s.t.)
koom-	still
má't-/má's-	complete/finish
máhe(t)-	all
máhov-	tired of
ma'(k)-	red
ma'(k)es(t)-	forward
ma'haa'-	big
ma'heón-	sacred
mamahk-	curly
mamée-	rub
mano'-	together
max-	touch
mé'-	appear
mé's-/mé'h-	hair
mén-	dig
me'to'-	exchange
móhe-	gather
món-	new
mo'(k)ohtá(v)-	black
mo'on-	beautiful
momáta'-	angry/mean
moméh-	lumpy/curdled
moméno'-	bunched
momése-	sort
mòx-	brush
ná'som-	wither/stale
náno't-/náo's-	supreme/best
náha'-	catch
náhah-	wild
náhahk-	energetic
náhest-	avoid/forbid
nae-	numb
nanévesé-	clear/transparent
né't-/né's-	extract/doff

néhov-	stand/arise
ném-	slanted
néma'-	circular/revolve
nés-/něš-	two
nétáhév-	different
név-	four
něh(e)-	wipe
nehp-	cover/obstruct
neó'k-	tight fit
nes-/něš-	heat/hot
něše'(h)-	wash
něšev-	rapid
něxahp-	dull
něxoóht-	cute
nó'es(t)-	over
nó'oes-	hide
nóht-	approach
nóon-	dried up/brown
nóv-	slow/late
no'-	include
no'hé-	aside
no'k-	one/alone
nohtóv-	know how
nomon-	drowsy
noné'k-	smear/streaked
nonótov-	hurry
nonom-	quiver
noón-	brown (faded)
nooht-	omit
ó'-	dry
ó'oht-/ó'os-	mistake
ó'x-	split/half
óněst-	open
óněš-	pain
o'a'-	sharp
o'ha'-	miss
o'hém-	scarce
o'om-	bypass
o'otóm-	full
oéhnov-	patient
oév-	scabby
oes-	discharge
ohas-	shine
omóm-	cry/tear
oné'xov-	peel (thin surface)
oné(st)-	test
onéha'-	untie
oném-	twisted
onéněš-	break/damage
onésova-	apart
onéstahk-	round/circular
one'seóm-	true/real
onó-	ashore
ono'-	proper

ononés(t)-	confused
ononov-	confused
oo'(k)-	bare
oo'há-	examine
otá'tav-	blue
ota-	pierce through
otó'xov-	skill
ov-	prostrate
ová'k-	round (formed)
ována'xa-	peace
ováne'-	stab
oxés(t)-	side/other way
páháv-	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)-	gray
pó'-	explode/pop
pó(n)-	hit/slap
póh-	swell
pónoma'-	uncovered
po'-	off of
popé'-	rough
sé'-	into/center
sé'h-/sé'š-	awake
sé'ho'-	stake in
sé'se(n)-	scrape
sé(hp)-	stretch
séet-	same
sét-/séš-	remain
sétov-	middle
sóhkom-	slender
sóhp-	through
sóv-	diminish
šé(š)-/šé(x)-	free
táh-/táx-	top
tátse-	antagonize
táv-	goofy
ta'-	disappear
ta'ov-	angry
ta'p-	weak
ta'ta'-	open/unlock
taeváh-	measure
táhpe'-	big
tam-	stubby
tó'ès(t)-	long
tó'h-	stop
tó'hov-	between

tó'kes(t)-	short
tó'om-	steady/firm
tó'ov-	for good
tó(n)ov-	thick
tóhp-	poke
tóhto(n)-	flat
tóhtom-	aimless
tónet-/tóněš-	how?
tóoxe'-	copy
tóv-	stubborn
tóva-	imitate/pattern
tóx-	edge/around
tóhovó-	gap (cf. slit)
to(n)-	cold
toést-	string (e.g. bead)
toe(n)-	hold
tóhkom-	few
tomóht-/tomós-	raise
toox-	low
tovó'k-	slit (cf. gap)
tséo'-	sprawl
tséva(n)-	dusty
tséhés(t)-	Cheyenne
tséhe'és(t)-	long
tséhe'kés(t)-	short
tšěške'-	small
vá'óht-/vá'ós-	complete
vé'h-	contain
vé'ke-	sweet
vé'óhk-	bitter/sting/pain
vé's-	rapid
véhon-	chiefly
véhp-	empty/hollow
vén-	disagreeable/cross
vés(t)-	with
ve'ev-	concave
vó'(k)om-	white
vó'ho'-	light/shine
vó'n-	light
vó(hp)-	light (color)
vóeše-	rejoice
vóhk-	bend
vóho'oes-	discard
vóhpon-	strict
vóon-	all night
vós-	hole/depression
vóvo'k-	naked
von-	remove
vonó-	lift
vovéh-	scarred
vovó'h-	spotted (white)
vovó-	first/ahead
xá'xán-	massage

xanov-	straight
xo'-	salve (put on)
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-něše'x-ahtse.	He gargled. (lit., he-wash-mouth)
É-pěhéve-'éxáne.	He has nice eyes. (lit., he-good-eye)

Initials and finals

We will also study finals more thoroughly shortly. A verb stem may consist of an initial plus a final:

É-ém-óéna.	He's praying secretly. (lit., he-secret-pray)
É-he'kon-ose.	He's frozen hard. (lit., he-hard-cold)
É-pěhéve-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-ā'a.	He moved the water with his foot. (lit., he-along-water-by.foot)
Ná-to-óom-ān-a.	I cooled the liquid by hand. (lit., I-cool-water-by.hand-IOAM)

Medials

Medials are noun-like meaning parts that are included in some verbs. Many body parts have medial forms in Cheyenne. Sometimes the spelling of a body part medial is unrelated to the spelling of the noun for that same body part. Some other things have medial forms, as well. Some medials have no noun counterpart.

Body part medials

meaning	medial	noun
ankle	-noná	honono
arm	-na'evá	ma'ahtse ¹⁴⁹
back	-'pa'oná	ma'pa'o
belly	-asé	matoněše
blood	-ma'emá	ma'e
breast, udder	-tanahá	matāna
calf	-sevá	hésevo
ear	-'está	máhtovóo'ótse
elbow	-htsé'ooná	máhtsé'oo'o
eye	-'éxané	ma'exa
face	-éné	----
finger	-(hk)osé	mo'ěško
foot / feet	-hahtá	----
hair	-ovésé, -a'é	me'ko
hand	-he'oná	----
head	-htséá, -a'é	me'ko
heart	-htáhá	hēsta

¹⁴⁹ Ma'ahtse includes the hand and forearm.

hip	-šéoná	hešeo'o
leg	-(hk)óhtá	máhtse'ko
mouth	-ahtse(ná)	mahtse
nape	-hane'é	??maháne'e ¹⁵⁰
navel, umbilical cord	-hta'né	hésta'he
neck	-notová	he'otse
penis	-ohosé	vétoo'otse
nose	-esé	ma'evo
stomach, abdomen, bowels	-ohtá	matonéše
testicle	-ta'xevá	ta'xevotse
thigh	-nómá	hénóme
throat	-éstooná	maéstoo'o
tongue	-tanevá	vétanove
tooth	-onené	vée'èse
vagina	-ahá	ma'kěsta

Examples of verbs with body part medials

Body part medials are boldfaced in the following verbs:

Nánémo- noná -otse.	I twisted my ankle.
Náé'è- škóhtá -xe.	I fell and broke my leg.
Énèxoós- éne .	He has a cute face.
Éma'e- esé -vose.	He has a red nose from the cold.
Něše'šé- 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.
Éoókóhkeve- notōva .	He has a black dirty neck. (lit., he-crowlike-neck)
Étséhe'se- na'éva .	He has long arms.
Étotšéške'e-' ěsta .	His ears stick out.
Évóhpe- taněva .	He has thrush. (lit., he-white-tongue)
Nápóe- stséá -hno.	I punched him in the head.
Étáhpe'- ase .	He has a big belly.
Éó'- óhta .	He is constipated. (lit., he-dry-bowels)
Éhévoe- tanáhá -no'hāme.	He's milking. (lit., he-squeeze-udder-livestock).
Náéxovè- 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).
Něstsevé'hetséhéno éše'he! Něstsematse- ōse .	'Don't point at the sun (or moon)! You'll get an infected finger.'
Taa'ēva něstsevé'novo'eohtséme! Méstaa'e něstseném- āhtsená -o'haēvo.	'Don't eat outside at night! A ghost will give you Bell's palsy (lit., crooked mouth).'

Other medials

meaning	medial	noun
ground, land	-óma'	ho'e
husband	-éhamá	naéhame ¹⁵¹
snow	-éen	hésta'se
strand	-ón(e)	-----

¹⁵⁰ Rarely used as a noun.

¹⁵¹ Naéhame 'my husband' is obsolescent. Today Cheyennes usually say tsévéstoemo 'the one who is my spouse' for either a husband or wife.

water, liquid	-óom	mahpe
wood	-ó'(e)	-----
wife	-'evá	náhtse'eme ¹⁵²

Examples of verbs with other medials

Ée'- óma '-o'e.	It's upward sloped ground.
Évóhp- een -oo'e.	The ground is covered with white snow.
Éanóh- óné -ána.	He lowered it with a rope.
Éto- óom -áše'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:

meaning	final
by foot	-a'
by hand	-an, -en
by cutting	-as (TA), -es (TA), -ax (TI), -ex (TI)
by mouth	-óm (TA), -óht (TI)
by tool	-oh(n)
by heat	-(a)ho'h(n)
by cold	-ose (AI), -ohta (II)
by liquid	-óová
by speaking	-em
by thinking, regard	-átam (TA), -átsest (TI)
by hearing	-aht

Examples of verbs with instrumental finals

Nápo'- óhn -o.	I broke him off with a tool. (lit., I-off-by.tool-him)
Nápo'- 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- átám -o.	I like him (lit., I-good-regard-him)
Étšéške'- óóva .	It shrunk from washing. (lit., it-small-by.water)
Éta'p- ose .	He gets cold easily. (lit., he-weak-by.cold)
Éhe'kon- óhta .	It's frozen. (lit., it-hard.by.cold)
Návon- áhō'h -a.	I burned it up. (lit., I-remove-by.heat)
Énomon- e'hāna .	He fell asleep eating (lit., he-drowsy-eat)
Nápéhév- ém -o.	I spoke well of him. (lit., I-well-by.speaking-him)
\$\$MORE	

¹⁵² Literally, 'my woman'. This word is obsolescent, replaced by tsévéstoemo. Today náhtse'eme sounds vulgar since the related verb stem -hestse'eme is so close in pronunciation and means 'to have sex' (lit., to have a woman).

Positional finals

Positional finals indicate a position or posture in which the action of a verb is performed:

meaning	final
hang	-oése(ná) (AI), -oéstá (II)
lie	-eše(ná) (AI), -eha (II)
sit	/-oe/
stand	/-óé/

Examples of verbs with positional finals

Éséto v-oésta .	It's noon. (lit., it-middle-hang)
Éov- ēše .	He went to bed. (lit., he-prostrate-lie)
Návéh p-ěšé -mo.	I emptied him. (e.g. a jug; lit., I-empty-lie-him)
Ěháóéná- óó'e .	He prayed standing up. (lit., he-pray-stand)
Ěnomon- 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:

meaning	final
carry on back	-o'xe
dance	-ohomó'he
drink	-asé'she
eat	-e'haná
fall	-a'ó
flow	-'sevó
fly	-e'há
go	-ohtsé
housework	-mosé
jerk	-a'xe
rapid movement	-ohe
ride horseback	-a'hasó'he
roll	-ó'(e)
run	-o'áhéotse
sew	-nó'é
sing	-noné
sleep	-énóme
sound	-évone
walk	-(e)hné

Examples of verbs with action finals

Ě-én- o'xe .	He unburdened. (lit., he-stop-carry.on.back)
Ěám- ó'-éna .	He hauled it by wagon. (lit., he-along-roll-FTI-it)
Ěhosó- hne .	He walked backwards. (lit., he-backwards-walk)
Ěnéhe- mōse .	She does housework quickly. (lit. he-quickly-do.housework)
Ěánohe- 'sēvo .	It's flowing down. (lit., it-down-flow)
Ěhahpe- nó'e .	She's sewing. (lit., she-fasten-sew)
Námá's- énome .	I got enough sleep. (lit., I-complete-sleep)
\$\$	

Abstract finals

Abstract finals convey less specific information than do concrete finals:

meaning	final
AI characteristic	-ahe
II characteristic	-a'e
II marker	-ó
AI action final	-sané
AI physical condition	-omóhtahe
detransitivizer	-ósané
impersonal	-stove / -htove / -nove
mental state	-tanó
resultative	-otse
slow process	-ohtsé
TA object agreement (TAOM)	-m
TI object agreement (TIOM)	-ht
TA object agreement (TAOM)	-t
TA final	-ov
transitivizer (TR)	-'tov
TA causative	-seh

Examples of verbs with abstract finals

The abstract finals in the following verbs are preceded by hyphens and boldfaced:

Épèhé v-ahe .	He is good.
Épèhé v-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.
Évovéstom- ósáne .	He's teaching
Éáaht- ósáne .	He listens (to people).
Émásetsést- ósáne .	He welcomes (people).
Éháoenà- htove .	There is praying.
Émésèhé- stove .	There is eating.
Émané- nove .	There is drinking (same as Émané-stove)
Nápèhé v-omóhtahe .	I feel good (physically).
Náhá- omohtahe .	I'm sick.
Nápèhéve- táno .	I'm happy. (lit., I-good-mental.state)
Návóó- m-o .	I saw him. (lit., I-see-TAOM-him)
Épèhévé- 'tov-óho .	He was good to him (obviative) (lit., he-good-TR-obv)

\$\$MORE

Relative roots

In Algonquian language relative roots, preverbs, and initials relate the verb they are in to something preceding or following in the speech context. Cheyenne *heše-* functions as a relative preverb and as a complementizer in dependent verbs of complex sentences, which is a kind of relative function. The initial *heš-/het-*¹⁵³ performs the same anaphoric discourse function as does the *heše-* relative preverb. The preverb *nè-* 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 *tsè-* can precede a relative root or initial to specify that it refers forward to something yet to be said. So, *tsè-* is a cataphoric marker. Relative roots, preverbs, and initials are boldfaced in the following

¹⁵³ The pronunciation *heš-* is used before the "e" vowel; *het-* is used before "a" and "o".

examples:

\$\$EXAMPLES

Examples with relative roots

Oóxésta ná-**hesta**. 'Same as always, that's how I am.'

Névé'-nè-**hešéve**! 'Don't do that!'

"Nápéhévomóhtahe," é-**hevoo'o**.¹⁵⁴ 'I'm feeling good,' that's what he said.

é-**héso** 'it's that way'

Examples with the relative preverb

Kovááhe ná-**heše**-véhe. 'Youngman, that's how I am called (named).'

Táháohe hákó'e tósa'e hoháá'ěše mósta-**heše**-hétoo'ěhehevóhe. 'Far away somewhere that's where they were taken to prison.' (1987:185)

Examples with the relative initial

Mónáoseeháeanáhéhe; nāhahpo ná-**heš**-e'hāna. 'I must have been very hungry; everything, that's what I ate.'

ná-**het**-āhtomóne 'I heard (it) that way'

é-**het**-óhta'hāne 'he told the story that way.'

'have' stems

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

Instrumentals

Instrumentals are language forms that indicate the tools or means used to do actions. Cheyenne has two ways of expressing that someone is doing something "with" or "by means of" something:

1. Instrumental preverb vé'se-
2. Instrumental suffix -vá

Ná-**vé'se**-mésehe ane'kóhomó'hestótse. I ate with a fork.

Námésehe ane'kóhomó'héstó-**va**. I ate with a fork.

\$\$ARE THE EXAMPLES FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF THE BOOK NATURAL ENOUGH TO INCLUDE?? TRY TO INCLUDE SOME NATURAL EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS BELOW.

Instrumental preverb vé'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'évohkótse ná-**vé'se**-háomóhtáhéotse.

The meat made me sick.

Kokóhéáxa ná-**vé'se**-háomóhtáhéotsenótse.

The chicken (animate) made me sick. \$\$IS

THIS A NATURAL EXAMPLE??

Instrumental suffix -vá

The suffix /-vá/¹⁵⁵ marks a noun which is used to perform some action.

¹⁵⁴ The verb of saying in quote margins functions as a relative root.

¹⁵⁵ Because of word-final devoicing, the high pitch on this suffix is not heard when a word on which it occurs is

Náooma káhamáxéhé-**va**.
Náa'táxestse mótsěšké-**va**.

He hit me with a stick.
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-**vě'se**-oó'xoemáhāne hóhkóxé-**va**. I chopped wood with an ax. **\$\$RECHECK**

Other examples

Náoó'xoemáhāne hóhkóxéva. I chopped wood with an ax.
Návě'seoó'xoemáhāne hóhkóxe. I chopped wood with an ax.

Hé'tóhe ná-vě'sě-hetótaetāno. ?? This makes me happy.

Ho'évohkótse nápenóha ho'honáéva. **I ground ??** meat with a rock.
Máhaemenótse nápenóhanótse ho'honáéva. I ground corn¹⁵⁶ with a rock.
Máhaemenótse návě'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:

Náháoéna	I prayed
Náháoenvomotāho	I prayed for him
Néháoenvomotahtse	I prayed for you
Néháoenvomotatsemeno	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'óhevomotāho 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'ota	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.
Nánémeōvo.	I sang for him (benefactive).
Nánémeova.	He sang for me (benefactive).
Náhonóhta.	I baked it.
Náhonóhtomēvo.	I baked it for him.

pronounced. But the high pitch does cause the preceding syllable to be pronounced higher than a low pitch.

¹⁵⁶ Corn is referred to as a grammatical plural in Cheyenne.

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:

Nánéméné'sého.	I made him sing. (without the final, Énéméne = He sang)
Nánéméné'se ha.	He made me sing.
Náméséhé'sého.	I made him eat.
Náovésená'sého.	I made him go to bed.
Nánaóotsé'sého.	I made him sleep.
Náhotse'óhé'sého.??	I made him work.
Náhomósé'sého.	I made him cook.
Náméséhé'séhatsenótse.??	I made you eat him (e.g. a duck).
Náméséhé'séhatsénoto.??	I made you eat them (animate).
Éméséhé'séhónoto.??	He made him (obv) eat him (obv).
Néméséhé'séseótse.??	You made me eat him.
Návóó'sého.	I showed it to him (lit. I caused him to see it).
Návóó'séhonótse	I showed them (inan) to him.

Other causative finals

Some other, more abstract finals, combine with some verb roots to have a causative kind of meaning:

-m abstract TA final

Some TA verbs with an abstract final sometimes communicate a causative meaning:

Éhohátsemóho.	He made him (obv) laugh. (Éhohatse = He laughed)
Éhetótaemóho.	He made him (obv) rejoice.
Éháestáhémóho.	He angered him (obv).

\$\$OTHER FINALS?

Reduplication

\$\$CREATE THIS SECTION, REFERRING TO ELENA'S PAPER ON reduplication

Particles

In this book we consider any part of speech other than nouns and verbs to be particles. We introduced particles at the beginning of this book. We mentioned that possible subtypes of particles are demonstratives, indefinite pronouns, interrogative particles, numbers, conjunctions (connectives), exclamations (??), epistemic particles (??), and location particles. \$\$REVISE AND COORDINATE THIS LIST WITH THE LIST IN THE PARTS OF SPEECH SECTION

\$\$DEVELOP THIS SECTION

Conjunctions

Conjunctions, also known as connectives, are words which connect other words or longer stretches of speech together:

naa and

máto	also
oha (óvahe??)	only
nèhe'she	then
nonohpa	so that

Some connectives occur in combinations:

naa māto	and also
naa oha	but

\$\$GIVE EXAMPLES. INCLUDE DESCRIPTION AND EXAMPLES OF DISCOURSE USE OF naa to mark discourse "episodes" (paragraphs?).

Demonstratives

Demonstratives are particles which point to things in the speech context. Demonstratives are marked for animacy and distance from a speaker. They are not marked for number (singular or plural):

tsé'tóhe	this (animate)
hé'tóhe	this (inanimate)
tá'tóhe	that (animate)
há'tohe	that (inanimate)

Demonstratives can modify a noun which they precede:

tsé'tóhe ka'èškóne	this child
hé'tóhe máheonótse	these houses
tá'tóhe mo'éhno'ha	that horse
há'tóhe máhēō'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'éhe	something, nothing
hovánee'e	no one
nevá'eséstse	someone
nevá'ésesto	include glosses for this and following forms??
néséhoo'o	
néséhoono	
nésévoohé	
hénáá'énése	
hénése	

hénésehe
Móhenéséhanehe
\$\$OTHERS

Interrogative particles

Interrogative particles ask questions: \$\$GLOSS THESE PARTICLES

névááhe
névááso
neváaseo'o
neváasóho
hénová'e
hénová'ehótse
hénová'éto
hénová'etotse
hénová'etse
hénová'étsénèse
hénová'etotsénèse
hénáá'e
hénáá'énèse
tóné'se
tósá'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
tóxehe	edge

tsèhéóhe
nèhéóhe
táháóhe
nàháóhe

hétsèhéóhe
hénèhéóhe
hátáháóhe
hánáháóhe

\$\$OTHERS??

Epistemic particles

\$\$REVISE TITLE AND CONTENT

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. \$\$INCLUDE EXAMPLES

óotāma	especially
hotáhtse	unexpectedly, lo and behold
aose	right?
ta'se	like
hámó'óhtse	for instance
mé'tó'e	on the other hand
ónétáhtse	instead
ótséhámóhe	oops
hé	Oh, I made a mistake
ta'sótse	I mistakenly thought (contracted from ta'se hotáhtse)
héva	maybe
hēā'e	maybe
héá'éháma	maybe
tá'séháma	maybe
nóháse	anything, whatever
nóháséháma	just any way
hévámóhe	I guess, apparently

Exclamatory particles

Exclamatory particles express strong feelings, typically of surprise or amazement. Cheyenne exclamatory particles traditionally have different pronunciations for females and males. Cheyenne exclamatory particles function like English interjections.

Šaa! / Éaa!	Wow! (traditionally said by males, but said today by some females also)
Náoo! / Nóoo!	Wow! (said only by females)
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 THAT CLAIM

ameto	as time goes on
anóheto	down
hehpeto	later
hóseto	again
oné'seómeto	truly
sóhpeto	through
táxeto	on top

Examples with emphatic particles

hehpeto tsé'ěšeméoeese Tséhe'ěsta'éhe 'after the battle with Long Hair (Custer)' (1987:59)

Naa nēhē'se hóseto, "Amēške nēstseó'komatsénoho vóohe." 'And then again (he would say),
"Fat, I'll take a small bite of you, stop.'" (Croft 1988:18)

Numbers

There are several different sets of Cheyenne numbers. One set of numbers is used for counting how many things there are. Another set of numbers is used for counting how many times some action is done. Another set of numbers is used for counting groups. Some numbers are particles (stand-alone words). Others are parts of verbs. Let's examine the various number systems. **\$\$REVISE** (include nǎ'kóve, number preverbs, how many overnights, numbers of days: néšéé'ěstse, etc.)

Cheyenne teachers often teach children Cheyenne numbers in bilingual school programs. They teach children to count in Cheyenne, since they were taught to count in English when they were in school. But it is likely that number counting was never a natural Cheyenne activity--and it probably is not a natural activity for learning to speak English, either. But it is an interesting activity. We do need to know our numbers.

If you are a Cheyenne language teacher, I would encourage you to teach children numbers in natural ways, rather than teaching them a list of numbers and asking them to recite them. For instance, you might show them three balls and ask them, in Cheyenne, of course, how many balls there are. Ask them how many times they have played hand games. Teach them to ask how many months old a baby is and teach them how to give right answers to such a question.

Try to avoid teaching any lists of words, whether they are lists of number, colors, or animals. Speakers of any language do not normally recite lists of words. Instead, people naturally use words as they experience life. Try to remember how you were taught to understand and speak Cheyenne, and then try to teach that same way to children in Cheyenne language programs. The main point is: *Make language teaching natural*. Just keep speaking in Cheyenne to children, just as parents speak any language to their children. Parents keep talking to their children even though their children don't understand every word right away. But by repeating words and sentences over and over when it is the right time to say them in natural speech contexts, children begin to understand the words, whether it is "Don't do that!" in English or its equivalent "Névé'néhešéve!" or thousands of other words in whatever language you speak.

Even though learning to recite a list of Cheyenne numbers may not help children very much to learn to understand and speak Cheyenne, it is important, eventually, to learn the various ways that Cheyennes organize numbers and use them in natural speaking. Always, however, Cheyenne language needs to take place in natural speech contexts. While children are walking, eating, or playing, talk with them in Cheyenne about what they are doing and what you are doing. No one can learn to understand and speak Cheyenne by learning lists of words, looking up words in a Cheyenne dictionary, or even reading this grammar book. Cheyenne dictionaries and grammar books can be helpful resources. They just should not be used as patterns for teaching Cheyenne to others. Let's now learn about Cheyenne numbers, even though we encourage you not to simply memorize the lists that are written in this section about numbers.

Number particles

Numbers which indicate how many things and how many times can be considered particles. Number particles are not marked for animacy of a noun that they modify.

Numbers of things

The first set of numbers tells how many things there are. Things counted can be anything, such as trees, cars, tepees, babies, men, women, dogs, cats, deer, books, or shoes. The pronunciation of a number does not change if the noun it goes with is animate or inanimate. This set of number is sometimes called cardinal numbers.

For numbers 11-19 we can include or leave out the word for 'ten,' *mähtohto*. Fluent speakers

have said these numbers both ways. For instance, we can say '12 (things)' as either máhtohto hóhta neše or just hóhta neše.

The word hóhta in a number indicates that we add the following number. For instance, the word for '11 (things)' is máhtohto hóhta na'ěstse, literally meaning something like '10 plus 1'.

We do not know if the words for added numbers, such as 11, are separate words or all one word. The added number words have pitches which indicate that they might be all one word. For instance, the word for 11 is pronounced máhtóhtóhóhtáhná'ěstse, with high pitches on each of the voiced vowels. You can write the added numbers as separate words or one complete word. It doesn't matter either way.

na'ěstse	1
neše	2
na'he	3
neve	4
noho	5
naesohto	6
nésohto	7
na'nohto	8
sóohto	9
máhtohto	10
(máhtohto) hóhta na'ěstse	11
(máhtohto) hóhta neše	12
(máhtohto) hóhta na'he	13
(máhtohto) hóhta neve	14
(máhtohto) hóhta noho	15
(máhtohto) hóhta naesohto	16
(máhtohto) hóhta nésohto	17
(máhtohto) hóhta na'nohto	18
(máhtohto) hóhta sóohto	19
nésó'e	20
nésó'e hóhta na'ěstse	21
nésó'e hóhta neše	22
nésó'e hóhta na'he	23
nésó'e hóhta neve	24
nésó'e hóhta noho	25
nésó'e hóhta naesohto	26
nésó'e hóhta nésohto	27
nésó'e hóhta na'nohto	28
nésó'e hóhta sóohto	29
na'nó'e	30
na'nó'e hóhta na'ěstse	31
na'nó'e hóhta neše	32
na'nó'e hóhta na'he	33
na'nó'e hóhta neve	34
na'nó'e hóhta noho	35
na'nó'e hóhta naesohto	36
na'nó'e hóhta nésohto	37
na'nó'e hóhta na'nohto	38
na'nó'e hóhta sóohto	39
névó'e	40

névó'e hóhta na'éstse	41
névó'e hóhta neše	42
névó'e hóhta na'he	43
névó'e hóhta neve	44
névó'e hóhta noho	45
névó'e hóhta naesohto	46
névó'e hóhta nésohto	47
névó'e hóhta na'nohto	48
névó'e hóhta sóohto	49
nóhónó'e	50
nóhónó'e hóhta na'éstse	51
nóhónó'e hóhta neše	52
nóhónó'e hóhta na'he	53
nóhónó'e hóhta neve	54
nóhónó'e hóhta noho	55
nóhónó'e hóhta naesohto	56
nóhónó'e hóhta nésohto	57
nóhónó'e hóhta na'nohto	58
nóhónó'e hóhta sóohto	59
naesóhtóhnó'e	60
naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'éstse	61
naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta neše	62
naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'he	63
naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta neve	64
naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta noho	65
naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta naesohto	66
naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta nésohto	67
naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'nohto	68
naesóhtóhnó'e hóhta sóohto	69
nésóhtóhnó'e	70
nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'éstse	71
nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta neše	72
nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'he	73
nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta neve	74
nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta noho	75
nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta naesohto	76
nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta nésohto	77
nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'nohto	78
nésóhtóhnó'e hóhta sóohto	79
na'nóhtóhnó'e	80
na'nó'e hóhta na'éstse	81
na'nó'e hóhta neše	82
na'nó'e hóhta na'he	83
na'nó'e hóhta neve	84
na'nó'e hóhta noho	85
na'nó'e hóhta naesohto	86
na'nó'e hóhta nésohto	87
na'nó'e hóhta na'nohto	88
na'nó'e hóhta sóohto	89
sóóhtóhnó'e	90

sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'éstse	91
sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta neše	92
sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'he	93
sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta neve	94
sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta noho	95
sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta naesohto	96
sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta nésohto	97
sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'nohto	98
sóóhtóhnó'e hóhta sóohto	99
no'ka máhtóhtóhnó'e ??	100
no'ka máhtóhtóhnó'e hóhta na'éstse??	101

Examples of numbers of things

na'éstse hetane	one man
na'éstse káhámáxe	one stick
neše máheonótse	two houses
neve he'eo'o	four women
noho ka'ěškóneho	five children
naesohto póesono	six cats
nésó'e mo'kéhanótse	twenty shoes

Numbers of times

This set of numbers tells how many times some action was done. This set of numbers end with -a for 1-5 and -ha for 6-10. These numbers are sometimes called multiplicative numbers:

no'ka	once
nexa	twice
na'ha	3 times
neva	4 times
nóhona	5 times
naesóhtoha	6 times
nésóhtoha	7 times
na'nóhtoha	8 times
sóohtoha	9 times
máhtóhtoha	10 times
(máhtóhto) hóhta no'ka	11 times
(máhtóhto) hóhta nexa	12 times
nésó'e	20 times (same pronunciation as for 20 things)
no'ka máhtóhtóhnó'e	100 times (same pronunciation as for 100 things)
no'ka vonoéstónéstóva	1000 times (lit., once lost-count)

Examples of numbers of times

1. Nó'ka nénaeotse. 'You fainted one time.'
2. no'ka ho'né'éstóva 'one step length' (lit., 'once by step'; this is approximately one yard)
3. nexa hámohtséhnéstóva tsénèhe'ěsévoénéstse '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'šéva.??** 'Four times I pledged to put on a Sun Dance.'

Numbers of groups

These numbers tell how many groups there are. A group can be a pair, a band, etc. A group number is composed of a number stem plus the group suffix /-óvé/.

nó'kóve	one group
nésóve	two groups
ná'nóve	three groups
névóve	four groups
nóhónóve	five groups
naesóhtóhnóve	six groups
nésóhtóhnóve	seven groups
na'nóhtóhnóve	eight groups
sóóhtóhnóve	nine groups
máhtóhtóhnóve	ten groups

Examples of numbers of groups

nésóve mo'kèhanótse	two pairs of shoes
névóve xamaevo'èstaneo'o	four tribes of Indians
nóhónóve nótaxeo'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'kēē'ěše	one day ¹⁵⁷
néšéé'ěše	two days
na'hēē'ěše	three days
névéé'ěše	four days
nóhonéé'ěše	five days

Examples in sentences:

Néšéé'ěše náévaho'eóhtse. 'I returned four days ago.'

Névéé'ěše móhnéma'eméohéhevóhe. 'For four days they ran around.' (The Great Race, W. Leman, 1987:245)

Days of a month (Calendar days)

Days of a month use the numbers for number of times plus a verb that literally means 'it has come to that amount.' For example, the first day of a month is no'ka ého'oeme, literally meaning 'once (the day) has come to that amount:

1. No'ka ého'oeme
2. Nexa ého'oeme
3. Na'ha ého'oeme
4. Neva ého'oeme
5. Nóhona ého'oeme
6. Naesóhtoha ého'oeme
7. Nésóhtoha ého'oeme
8. Na'nóhtoha ého'oeme
9. Sóóhtoha ého'oeme
10. Máhtóhtoha ého'oeme

¹⁵⁷ That is, one overnight.

11. Máhtóhtoha hóhta no'ka ého'oeme
12. Máhtóhtoha hóhta nexa ého'oeme
13. Máhtóhtoha hóhta na'ha ého'oeme
14. Máhtóhtoha hóhta neva ého'oeme
15. Máhtóhtoha hóhta nóhona ého'oeme
16. Máhtóhtoha hóhta naesóhtoha ého'oeme
17. Máhtóhtoha hóhta nésóhtoha ého'oeme
18. Máhtóhtoha hóht na'nóhtoha ého'oeme
19. Máhtóhtoha hóhta sóohtoha ého'oeme
20. Nésó'e ého'oeme
21. Nésó'e hóhta no'ka ého'oeme
22. Nésó'e hóhta nexa ého'oeme
23. Nésó'e hóhta na'ha ého'oeme
24. Nésó'e hóhta neva ého'oeme
25. Nésó'e hóhta nóhona ého'oeme
26. Nésó'e hóhta naesóhtoha ého'oeme
27. Nésó'e hóhta nésóhtoha ého'oeme
28. Nésó'e hóhta na'nóhtoha ého'oeme
29. Nésó'e hóhta sóohtoha ého'oeme
30. Na'nó'e ého'oeme
31. Na'nó'e hóhta no'ka ého'oeme

Numbers in verbs

Cheyenne numbers appear in several verb constructions. They can occur as preverbs, initials, and roots of verbs.

Number preverbs

Here are some number preverbs:

no'ke-	one
néše-	two
na'he-	three
néve-	four
nóhone-	five

Examples with number preverbs

Ná-no'ke-ene.	I stayed one night.
Ná-néše-ene.	I stayed two nights.
É-néše-éno'e.	It's the second day of the week.
Nána'he-enō'tse.	I camped three nights.
É-na'he-némeneo'o.	There are three of them singing.
É-néve-éno'e.	It was four overnights ago.
Vé'ho'éotóá'e tse-néve-óhta.	The cow will have four legs. (Sweet Medicine's prophecy)
É-nóhone-aénáma.	He is five years old.

Number initials

Here are some number initials:

no'k-	one
nés-	two
na'n-	three
név-	four
nóhon-	five

Examples with number initials

É-nésoeme.	He/It costs two (dollars).
É-na'noéséne.	Three hang. (e.g of three stars in a constellation)
É-névanēne.	He did it four times.
É-nóhon-oeme.	He/It costs five (dollars).

Number roots

Number roots occur with both animate and inanimate subjects. Animate subjects can be of any person, first, second, third, or obviated:

Animate subjects

É-no'kahe.	There is one of him/her.
É-néseo'o.	There are two of them (animate).
Ná-néšéme.	There are two of us (exclusive).
É-na'heo'o.	There are three of them (animate).
É-néveo'o.	There are four of them (animate).
É-nóhoneo'o.	There are five of them (animate).
É-naesóhtóxeo'o.	There are six of them (animate).
É-na'nóhtóxeo'o.	There are eight of them (animate).
É-sóhtóxeo'o.	There are nine of them (animate).
É-máhtóhtóxeo'o.	There are ten of them (animate).
É-néso'o'heo'o.	There are twenty of them (animate).
É-néso'o'ēnēstse.	There are twenty of them (inanimate).

Inanimate subjects

É-nó'ka'e.	There is one of it.
É-néxānēstse.	There are two of them (inanimate).
É-na'hānēstse.	There are three of them (inanimate).
É-névānēstse.	There are four of them (inanimate).
É-nóhonānēstse.	There are five of them (inanimate).
É-naesóhtohānēstse.	There are six of them (inanimate).
É-nésóhtohānēstse.	There are seven of them (inanimate).
É-na'nóhtohānēstse.	There are eight of them (inanimate).
É-sóhtohānēstse.	There are nine of them (inanimate).
É-máhtóhtohānēstse.	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 \$\$CONTRAST WITH THE NEXT ONE
néh-no'káhéto	I alone
néh-néšése	both of you (plural)
tsé-néšese	the two of them (animate)
tsé-na'hese	the three of them (animate)
tsé-névese	the four of them (animate)
tsé-nóhonese	the five of them (animate)
tsé-naesóhtóxese	the six of them (animate)
hotóhkeo'o tsé-nésóhtóxese	the seven stars (Cheyenne for the Pleiades constellation)
tsé-na'nóhtóxese	the eight of them (animate)

tsé-sóohtóxese	the nine of them (animate)
tsé-máhtóhtóxese	the ten of them (animate)

Inanimate Intransitive participles

tsé-nó'ka'e	that which is number one \$\$RECHECK GLOSSES
tsé-néxa'e	that which is number two
tsé-na'ha'e	that which is number three
tsé-néva'e	that which is number four
tsé-na'nóhtóhatse tséhoéstose	eighth graders

Sequence numbers (Ordinal numbers)

Sequential numbers tell what place something has in sequential order. These are also sometimes called ordinal numbers. The Cheyenne final /-a'ónétó/ indicates number sequence. Sequential numbers can be expressed in either the independent or conjunct orders, as shown in the following examples (the conjunct order examples begin with tsé-):

É-no'ka'ónétó.	It is the first one.
tsé-no'ka'ónétó	the first one
É-néxa'ónétó.	It is the second one
tsé-néxa'ónétó	the second one
tsé-na'ha'ónétó	the third one
É-néva'ónétó.	It is the fourth one.
tsé-nóhona'ónétó	the fifth one
tsé-naesóhtóhna'ónétó	the sixth one
tsé-nésóhtóhna'ónétó	the seventh one
tsé-na'nóhtóhna'ónétó	the eighth one
tsé-sóohtóhna'ónétó	the ninth one
\$\$CHECK FOR EXAMPLES WITH ANIMATE SUBJECTS, e.g. 'he is the second one'	

Group number verbs

Cheyenne verbs can take a number initial plus an AI /-óvahe/ or II /-óvátó/ final indicating a group. This final is related to the /-óvé/ suffix we saw on particles for numbers of groups.

É-nésóvaheo'o.	There are three groups (animate).
É-névóvaheo'o.	There are four groups (animate).
É-névóvátónéstse.	There are four groups (inanimate).

Numbers in days of the week

Numbers are used in names for some of the Cheyenne days of the week. Note that in Oklahoma the first day begins on Tuesday, while in Montana the first day begins on Monday. Here are some of the ways to say the Cheyenne days of the week. For other ways, see the later section of this book on Days of the week in the larger section on words for Time in Cheyenne. To make them easier to see, numbers in the names for days of the week are highlighted here:

Oklahoma days of the week

Here are days of the week for Oklahoma, as listed by Cheyenne language teacher Lenora Holliman:¹⁵⁸

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.')

¹⁵⁸ From Internet webpage: <http://www.swosu.edu/academics/catc/dictionary/c04.aspx>

Étšěške'ma'heóneéšeeve.	It's Saturday (lit., 'It's the little holy day.')
Éma'heóneéšeeve.	It's Sunday (lit., 'It's the holdy day.')
Éénema'heóneéšeeve.	It's Monday (lit., 'It's the end of the holy day.')

Montana days of the week

No'ka éšeeva	Monday (lit., 'on the first day')
Nexa éšeeva	Tuesday (lit., 'on the second day')
Na'ha éšeeva	Wednesday (lit., 'on the third day')
Neva éšeeva	Thursday (lit., 'on the fourth day')
Nóhona éšeeva	Friday (lit., 'on the fifth day')
Tšěške'ma'heóneéšeeva	Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day')
Ma'heóneéšeeva	Sunday (lit., 'on the holy day')

Language change

Changes occur over time in every language. Sounds and meanings of Cheyenne words have experienced such historical changes.

Cheyenne has descended from Proto-Algonquian (PA), the ancestor of all the Algonquian languages. Through careful study linguists are able to observe changes which have occurred in the sounds and grammar between Proto-Algonquian and each of its descendant languages, including Cheyenne.

We have also been able to observe further changes taking place in the Cheyenne language in the past few decades. Let's outline some of the main changes which have occurred in the long history that has led to the current sounds and grammar of Cheyenne.

Proto-Algonquian to Cheyenne changes

Following are some Cheyenne words with their Proto-Algonquian (PA) source words (etyma). Proto-words are marked with the asterisk (*), following standard practice.

ame (PA *pemyi, "grease")
 he'e (cf. PA *weθkweni, "his liver")
 hē'e (PA **eθkwe-wa, "woman")
 hetane (PA *er\$enyiwa, "man")
 matana (PA *meθenyi, "milk")
 šé'se
 sémo
 xāō'o
 pe'e
 netse
 hotóá'e
 neše
 na'he
 \$\$RECHECK PA AND ADD MORE EXAMPLES

PA:Cheyenne correspondences

Common Cheyenne reflexes of PA are:

PA	Cheyenne
*a	o
*e	a
*o	e
\$\$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":

meaning	Petter	modern Cheyenne
ant	azesc	hátseške
ball	oxzem	hóhtséme
Siouxs	Ohoomoheo	Ho'óhomo'eo'o
grass	oxooxzz	cf. hoxo'óhtsévo'éstse 'grass' \$\$\$DELETE EXAMPLE??

~~\$\$\$OTHERS??~~

Simplification

Simplification of sound sequences and regularization of grammatical patterns commonly occur in languages. We observe both forms of language change in Cheyenne.

Loss of voiceless syllables

Younger Cheyenne speakers simplify the sounds of some words. They drop the sounds of some words, especially some voiceless syllables which are difficult to hear. Here are some words with their traditional pronunciation and pronunciations by many younger speakers today:

meaning	traditional pronunciation	younger speaker pronunciation
old woman	máhtamáhááhe	tamáháahe
book	móxe'éstoo'o	xe'éstoo'o
I asked him	nánóhtséstóvo	nánéstóvo
berries	menótse	menéstse ??
your pet	néstótse	stótse
Kills On the Water	Máhpevana'hāne	Pevana'hāne
I see you	névóomátse	névóoméstse ??

Regularization

Cheyennes have been regularizing some irregular grammatical patterns. ~~EXAMPLES??~~

Obviation regularization

Cheyenne obviatives have been undergoing some regularization. Remember that Cheyenne, like other Algonquian languages, allows only one third person to be in focus at any one time. Any other third person is moved out of focus. It is called an obviative. A third person which remains in focus is called a proximate. Obviated nouns take an obviative suffix. Verbs which have obviated objects take obviative suffixes, as well.

Some proximate and obviative nouns, along with the phonemic spelling of the proximate, are:

meaning	phonemic	proximate	obviative
woman	/he'é/	hē'e	he'óho
man	/hetane/	hetane	hetanóho
clock	/éše'he/	éše'he	éše'hóho

Sioux /ho'óho'mo'é/ Ho'óhomō'e Ho'óhomo'óho

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:

meaning	phonemic	proximate	obviative
fly (insect)	/hésé/	hése	heso
rock	/ho'honáé/	ho'honáá'e	ho'honaa'o
alien	/nóte/	notse	noto
nighthawk	/pé'e/	pe'e	pe'o
duck	/sé'sé/	śé'se	śe'xo

Pitches of obviatives and their suffixes alternated between high and low depending on the phonemic pitch of the penultimate (next-to-the-last) vowel.¹⁵⁹ For several decades many fluent speakers have been regularizing these alternations so that obviatives take only the single suffix /-óho/. So, the obviative nouns in the preceding list are increasingly pronounced as in the following list:

meaning	phonemic	proximate	obviative
fly (insect)	/hésé/	hése	hésóho (\$\$ RECHECK)
rock	/ho'honáé/	ho'honáá'e	ho'honáóho(\$\$ RECHECK)
alien	/note/	notse	nótóho(\$\$ RECHECK)
nighthawk	/pé'e/	pe'e	pé'óho
duck	/sé'sé/	śé'se	śé'xóho

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:

meaning	phonemic stem	older	newer
he (obv) is praying	/-háóéná/	éháoenaho??	éháóénáho ??\$\$
he loves her (obv)	/-méhót/	éméhoto	éméhótóho
he fought him (obv)	/-méót/	éméoto	éméótóho
he ate him (obv)	/-mév/	émevo	émévóho
he (obv) invited to feast	/-mó'é/	émo'o	émó'óho
she suckled him (obv)	/-néh/	éneho	énéhóho
he (obv) is nursing	/-néne/	éneno	énénóho
there are two of them (obv)	/-néše/	énexo	énéxóho
there are four of them (obv)	/-néve/	énevo	énévóho
he hates him (obv)	/-péót/	épéoto	épéótóho

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:

¹⁵⁹ For further details, see my article, Leman, Wayne. 1987. Cheyenne Obviation Pitch Alternations. In Papers of the Eighteenth Algonquian Conference, ed. William Cowan, pp. 173-186. Ottawa: Carleton University.

positive	meaning	older negative	newer negative	meaning
návóóhta	I saw it	násáavóóhtóhe	násáavóóhtáhe	I did not see it
éhestāna	he took it	ésáahestanóhe	ésáahestanáhe	he did not take it
náhéne'ēna	I know it	násáahéne'enóhe	násáahéne'enáhe	I do not know it

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
nénove 'my home'	navénove ??
nétove	navétove ??
néséne 'my friend'	navéséne ??

Idiolectal changes

Some changes in Cheyenne are focused more in the speech of

Semantic change

Not only do sounds change over time, but meanings of words do also. \$\$

vé'ho'e trickster ~ creator > whiteman ~ job role

-o'ha dog > horse

hótame dog > domesticated animal

Borrowing

Cheyenne includes words borrowed from other languages.

Sound translations

A sound translation is a kind of borrowing that adapts the sounds of a word in one language to the sounds of another language.

The Cheyenne word heávohe 'devil' appears to be a borrowing from Spanish, from contact with Mexicans, of their word for the devil, "diablo". This kind of borrowing is sometimes called a sound translation. The sounds of "diablo" have been adapted to sound more like a Cheyenne word.

One Cheyenne word meaning '25 cents' is tòhévetse, phonetically [tʰoʷvic]. This is a sound translation from the English term "two bits" which was used commonly in the past to refer to a 25 cent coin.

A century or so ago Cheyennes adapted the name of the capital of the United States, Washington, pronouncing it as Vášétaēno. This is a sound translation of the word "Washington" plus the Cheyenne locative suffix –no which means 'place'.

Loan translations

Cheyennes traditionally had no greetings or leavetakings. After bilingualism with English increased, Cheyennes literally translated English greetings and leavetakings to Cheyenne. These have been used for several decades by at least some Cheyenne speakers.

Greetings

Pévevóona'o 'Good morning'

Péveéšeeva 'Good day'
Pévèhetóéva 'Good evening'
Pévetaa'ēva 'Good night'

These greetings have been adapted to be pronounced as verbs, creating more natural sounding greetings used by some speakers:

Épévevóonā'o 'It's a good morning'
Épéveéšeeve 'It's a good day'
Épévèhetóeve '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:

Nèstaévahósevóomátse 'I'll see you again later.'

Other loan translations

The Cheyenne verb náé'ahe means 'I am out of money' (literally, 'I-broken'). This appears to be a semantic borrowing from the English idiom "I am broke". The Cheyenne sign that accompanies this verb is the same sign used for something that is literally broken.

Other semantic borrowings are: \$\$

Cheyennes enjoy translating other English idioms literally to Cheyenne and then laughing about how silly they sound. Some examples are:

Né(tó'tae)pónóhta \$\$\$? toóneoheo'o! You hit the nail on the head!

We're scraping the bottom of the barrel. \$\$

During one work session an elder and I literally translated an English idiom to Cheyenne:

É-ma'xemené-he'anáto 'It's plum easy'

The Cheyenne word for 'plum' is má'xeme. We used it as a preverb along with the Cheyenne verb stem /-he'anátó/ meaning. We then had fun combining this new preverb with other verbs, such as Éma'xenéhotoanáto '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 as new words. Others are more recently minted. Some have been created recently but are not in common usage.

Older created words

Here are some words which were created when Cheyennes encountered new things and needed names for them. These words have been a regular part of the Cheyenne language for many years:

English	Cheyenne	literal meaning
---------	----------	-----------------

cow	vé'ho'é-otóá'e	whiteman-buffalo
stable	mo'éhno'hamé-máhéó'o	horse-house
coffee	mo'òhtávè-hohpe	black-broth
tea	véhpotsé-hohpe	leaf-broth
airplane	ame'hahtótse	flying-thing
buggy	tšěške'e-amó'enēō'o	small-wagon
car	amáho'hestótse	go along by heat/burning thing
battery	ho'ēsta	fire
tire	amáho'hé-máhtse'ko	car-leg
school	mòxe'èstóne-máhēō'o	writing-house
post office	mòxe'èstóoné-máhéó'o	letters-house
desk	táxe-mòxe'èstónestótse	upon-write-thing
pencil	mòxe'èstónestótse	writing-thing
chair	táxe'èséestótse	upon-buttocks-sit-thing
basketball	éseváohé-hóhtséme	into-throw-ball
newspaper	hóo'xevá-vòxe'èstoo'o	announce-paper
tribal office	mé'koné-máhéó'o	head-house
tribal council	mé'kono	heads
casino	mòheněšé-máhéó'o	playing cards house
movie theater	mòxe'a'xé-máhéó'o	moving picture house
policeman	matanaé-ve'ho'e	breast-whiteman (refers to the badge)
doctor	naa'é-ve'ho'e	doctoring whiteman
soldier	nótáxéve'ho'e	warrior-whiteman
diabetes	vé'keemáhpévomóhtáhestótse	sugar-sickness

Recently created words

Here are some words recently created which are not widely used, but they could be if more Cheyennes knew about them:

\$\$ (see file DKMC signs.doc)
 \$\$ (see file Medical Terms.doc)
 Storybook
 Bulletin board
 Computer
 Blender
 microwave
 High pitch mark
 Mountain Dew
 Wrist watch
 RV

The Cheyenne lexicon

The lexicon of a language is its entire inventory of words (vocabulary) and other important meaning parts (morphemes). The lexicon also should indicate relationships among the words. The Cheyenne lexicon is found in dictionaries of Cheyenne. The most recent dictionary is titled Cheyenne Dictionary. We have attempted to include all the words and lexical relationships among them in the Cheyenne Dictionary. We have attempted to write the words in the dictionary are accurately as possible. An online version of this dictionary can be accessed at this Internet address:

<http://cdkc.edu/cheyennedictionary/index.html>

The online dictionary includes links to audio files so that thousands of the words and other morphemes in the dictionary can be heard.

Study of the Cheyenne lexicon is very interesting. Through study of the Cheyenne lexicon we can learn so many interesting things about how Cheyenne speakers say words.

One word or two words

An interesting thing to learn when studying the lexicon of a language is whether it uses one or more words for something. Different languages use different numbers of words to refer to the same thing. Such differences between languages are interesting. If all the flowers in the world had the same color and shape, flowers would be a little boring. It's the same way with languages. If all languages said everything the same way, they would not be as interesting as they are. Differences among flowers, animals, people, cultures, and languages are interesting and beautiful. Just because one language says something one way and another language says it a different way is not a cause for shame or a feeling that one language is better than another language, regardless of what you might have been taught about your language by schoolteachers or others.

Monomials

If a language uses a single word for something, that word is called a monomial. Some English monomials are "baby", "child", "dog", "water", "tree", and "always". Cheyenne has monomials (single words) that match those English words: mé'ěšvòtse 'baby', ka'ěškóne 'child', oeškése 'dog', mahpe 'water', hoohtséstse 'tree', and mé'ěstse 'always'.

Binomials

Sometimes one language requires two or more words to say the same thing said in another language by only one word. A two word phrase that refers to something is called a binomial. Cheyenne speakers use a single word (monomial), kásovááhe, that requires two words (binomial) to say the same thing in English, "young man". English uses one word (monomial), "boy", that requires a compound word to say the same thing in Cheyenne, hetané-ka'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:

monomial	binomial
kásovááhe	young man
káse'éehe	young woman
ma'háhkése	old man
máhtamáhááhe	old woman
boy	hetané-ka'ěškóne
girl	he'é-ka'ěškóne
school	mòxe'ěstóne-máhēō'o
hestonónónó'e	drymeat pole

words or sentences

Sometimes a language can say something with a single word that is said by an entire sentence in another language. Cheyenne verbs are single words (monomials), often with several smaller parts (morphemes). But Cheyenne single word verbs usually must be translated as entire sentences in

English. Neither way is better than the other. Both ways of saying the same thing are good:

monomial	sentence
Émésehe.	He (or She) is eating (or He, or She, ate).
Ékoká'a'xe.	He (or She) is jumping. (or He, or She, was jumping.)
Náháéána.	I'm hungry.
Nééšemésehéhe?	Did you already eat?
Épéhéva'e.	It's good.
Éhoo'kōho.	It's raining.
Nésáatséhe'ševóomatséhe.	I never see you.

Semantic ranges

Sometimes a word in one language does not exactly match a word (or words) in another language. The words in the different languages might have slightly different meanings. Or they might share some of the same meanings, but have some meanings that are not the same. Again, this does not mean that one of the languages is better than the other language. It just means that the languages have different ways of saying things.

The set of meanings that a word has is called its semantic range. Often the semantic ranges of words between languages do not match up exactly. This makes the job of translating between these language more difficult, but not impossible.

Cheyenne and English have different semantic ranges for words having to do with siblings. For instance, in the Cheyenne language there are several words that refer to sibling relationships: older sibling, younger sibling, older brother, younger brother, sibling/cousin, etc. **\$\$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.

Énéšetaneva.??

Éhéstova'kehe.

Ého'néhevéhōhtse.

Épéeeēse.

Éhesó'xo'ēsta.

Énéhestáha.

ó'kōhóme

Éó'kōhoméheve'éxáne.

Énéhpoése ma'ēno.

Náméváá'e.

Heávohe nétaxe'há'tova.

Hesevávónó'e a'e hestonovónó'e!

Vó'kème éhonóva.

Old Man Winter is hanging drymeat)

oonāhā'e mǎxhevéesévōhtse

Móéšetó'séhestsevévěšéhéhe.

Ého'eohé'tóó'e hávésévevėhanéheho.

Náto'semāhééto ho'honáá'e.

Náno'ee'ėha'onótse voohe.

morning star)

Névááhe tséheaxáxévonéstse?

based on the image of the lead cow wearing a bell)

Éhonē'a vé'ho'émahpe.

Émaa'e.

Étaoméhótsenōhtóvenestse napāhpónēehéhame. My stomach is growling. (lit., my tapeworm can almost talk by itself)

He lies. (lit., he is two-tongued).

He is duplicitous. (lit., he is dual-natured??)

She outsmarts men. (lit., she has wolf footprints)

He is a hellraiser. (lit., he has a ground up nose)

He doesn't listen. (lit., he has slippery ears)

He's gets angry easily. (lit., he is quick-hearted)

sly, conniving person (lit., coyote)

He is sly/he cheats. (lit., he has coyote eyes)

It's foggy. (lit., the turtle is hanging shrouded)

They gossiped about me. (lit., they ate me)

You are in a bad mood. (lit., the devil is hanging over you)

Wow, that's amazing! (lit., wow, close to a drymeat rack)

It has snowed and snow is hanging on tree branches. (lit.,

never (lit., when frogs have teeth)

He's "crazy". (lit., he's about to have horns)

He's angry. (lit. The mad drummer came to him)

I'm going to be stubborn. (lit., I'm going to swallow a rock)

I got up really early. (lit., I put on my shoes with the

Who is the boss? (lit., Who has the bell? This idiom is based on the image of the lead cow wearing a bell)

He drinks all the time. (lit., he is clothed with whiskey)

He's courting. (lit., he's barking)

Semantic domains

Semantic domains are how speakers of a language group words according to how they belong together in topics. Speakers of a language group words together as they view that they belong together. The culture of the speakers determines how the groupings of words are made. Groups of words that belong together, according to speakers of a language, are called semantic domains. Some Cheyenne semantic domains have been influenced by interaction between traditional Cheyenne culture and other cultures, especially those of the vé'hó'e (white people) and their educational, business, and entertainment cultural patterns. Following are some of the semantic domains of Cheyenne language and culture. Many others can be found in the Cheyenne Topical Dictionary (Glenmore and W. Leman,

1984), as well as online copies of the Cheyenne Dictionary.

Numbers (combine with the numbers on pages 281ff)

The Cheyenne language has words for various numbers. Cheyennes have traditionally spoken about how many deer they shot or how many children they have. Cheyennes tell how many times they have done some action. Cheyenne speakers knew their numbers as fluent speakers of the language. It is probable, however, that Cheyennes never traditionally counted as an exercise in itself, as in done today in Cheyenne bilingual education programs. But counting is now considered an important part of Cheyenne language learning. Many Cheyenne children have learned to count from 1 to 10, using one or both of the two traditional Cheyenne number systems, numbers for how many things and numbers for how many times something is done:

Numbers of things

Numbers of times

Animals

Horses

Cheyenne life changed significantly after Cheyennes moved to the Great Plains and acquired horses. A horse culture developed. Words about horses became one of the most developed semantic domains of the Cheyenne language.

Birds

Trees

\$\$OTHER SEMANTIC DOMAINS

Colors

Fluent Cheyenne speakers have traditionally referred to various colors. Some of the words for colors can be used about almost any object. Other words are only used for certain purposes, such as the various colors of horses.

For several decades Cheyenne children have been taught Cheyenne colors in bilingual education programs. \$\$FILL OUT THIS SECTION AND INCLUDE COLOR SECTION FROM THE FIRST EDITIONS OF THIS BOOK

étônetôhtâhave	What color is he? What color is it?
étônetôhtâháveo?o	What color are they (an)?
étônetôhtâhávénestse	What color are they (inan)?
étônetova	What color is his fur, How is he furred?
étôneto?ééva	What color is his skin?

meaning	It is ____.	He is ____.
black	émo?ôhtávo	émo?ôhtávahe
black	émo?kôhtávo	émo?kôhtávahe
blue	éotá?távo	éotá?tavahe
brown	émôšéškáno	émôšéškanahe
brown, tan	énoóno	énoónahe
gray	épó?o	
green	éhoxo?ôhtsévo	éhoxo?ôhtsévahe
orange	éma?éheóvo	éma?éheóvahe
pink	éma?ómo?ôhtsévo	éma?ómo?ôhtsévahe
purple	éhoxôhkó?so	éhoxôhkó?sahe
red	émá?o	éma?ēta
turquoise	éhoxo?ôhtséve-otá?távo	éhoxo?ôhtséve-otá?tavahe
white	évó?ómo	évô?omahe
white	évó?kómo	évô?komahe
white, light	évôhpo	évôhpahe
yellow	éheóvo	éheóvahe

éheóvóva	He is yellow-furred.
épêhévóva	He has nice fur.
évó?néóva	He (e.g. a horse) is bay-colored.
éhohkó?sóva	He is chestnut-colored.
émo?ôhtáexamanōva	He is brown-black--colored.
émo?évâhetōva	He is buckskin.
énoónóva	He is tan-colored.
évovó?hase	He is pinto.

COLOR PARTICIPLES:

tséheóvo	the yellow one (inan)
tséheóvoo?éstse	the yellow ones (inan)
tséheóvaestse	the yellow one (an)
tséheóvâhese	the yellow ones (an)
tséma?etase	the red ones (an)
tsévô?komoo?éstse	the white ones (inan)

COLORS AS "ADJECTIVES":

heóve-mee?e	yellow feather
heóve-mâheo?o	yellow house
otá?tave-amâho?hestôtsé	blue car
vôhpe-nâhkohe	polar bear (white-bear)

COLORS IN VERB CONSTRUCTIONS:

éheóvovése	He has yellow hair.
éma?eēse	He has a red nose.
émôšéškané?éxâne	He has brown eyes.

Kinship terms

the one who is ____	the one who is my ____	meaning
tséhéhestovéstse	tséhéhéto	father, paternal uncle
tséheškéstovéstse	tséheškéto	mother, maternal aunt
tséheměšéméstovéstse	tséheměšéméto	grandfather, fa-in-law
tséhevěškéméstovéstse	tséhevěškéméto	grandmother, mo-in-law
tséhee?hahéstovéstse	tséhee?hahéto	son
tséhestónáhéstovéstse	tséhestónáhéto	daughter
tséhevéxahéstovéstse	tséhevéxahéto	grandchild
tséhestatanéméstovéstse	tséhestatanéméto	brother (of female)
tséheměhéstovéstse	tséheměhéto	older sister
tséheváséméstovéstse	tséheváséméto	younger sibling
tséhe?néhestovéstse	tséhe?néhéto	older brother
tséhevésèsônéstovéstse	tséhevésèsónéto	sibling (incl. cousin)
tséheaxáa?éheméstovéstse	tséheaxáa?éhéméto	sister(man's), sis-in-law(fem)
tséhešéstovéstse	tséhešéto	maternal uncle
tséheškamóonéstovéstse	tséheškamóonéto	maternal aunt, stepmother
tséhehaehéstovéstse	tséhehaehéto	paternal aunt
tséhevétaméstovéstse	tséhevétaméto	cross sibling-in-law
tséhevé?tovéstovéstse	tséhevé?tóvéto	brother-in-law (man's)
tséhe?haméhéstovéstse	tséhe?haméhéto	cross niece
tséhetsénótáhéstovéstse	tséhetsénótáhéto	cross nephew
tséhestse?éméstovéstse	tséhestse?éméto	wife
tséheehaméstovéstse	tséheehaméto	husband
tséhestónāhamóonéstovéstse	tséhestónāhamóonéto	niece, stepdaughter
tséhee?hahamóonéstovéstse	tséhee?hahamóonéto	nephew, stepson
tséhehamóonéstovéstse	tséhehamóonéto	paternal uncle, stepfather
tséhenésónéhéstovéstse	tséhenésónéhéto	child

(Note: see other material on kinship terms under TRANSITIVE ANIMATE CONJUNCT PARTICIPLES.)

Medical terms

Néto'sevé'hoomátse.
 Tósa'e néhâama'ta?
 Tósa'e néônèÿeotse?
 Néhâamá'tahe netonèÿe?
 Néhôse'ehe?
 Nétónèstôhêeÿe'hama?
 Néônèÿeotsehe hetséóhe?
 Néaseónèÿeotsehe, OR,
 Néanétanohe?
 Né'seestse'henátse!
 Né'to'xôhtahtse!
 Ma'xe-omotomèstse!
 Eneomotómèotsèstse!
 Náto'sevé'hóóhta nêstovoo'ótse.
 Néto'sêsónoomâne.
 Néhoveóó'èstse!
 Hámeétoó'èstse!
 Náto'seááhta nêstsesta.
 Nêstsesta épêhêva'e.
 Nétónèstôhêeáénâma?
 Etónèstôhêeÿe'hama?
 Nétatónè'ésêhâomóhtahe?
 Nétônètomóhtahe?
 Néhavèsévomóhtahehe?
 Héhe'e, nâhavèsévomóhtahe.
 Nâhâomóhtahe.
 Nétónèstôhnóóhne?
 Néhâamá'tovâhtsehe?
 Nétône'xovêháomóhtahe?
 Nátšêške'hâomóhtahe.
 Nâhohâehâomóhtahe.
 Névê'keemâhpevomóhtahehe?
 Návê'keemâhpevomóhtahe.
 Nénèšêho'hehe?
 Néohkepêhévenaóótsehe, OR,
 Néohkepêhévenomehe?
 Néó'óhtahe?
 Némomóhtóhtahe?
 Námomóhtóhta.
 He'tohe heséeo'ótse amêhestanomeo'o!
 He'tohe heséeo'ótse amemaneó'o!
 No'ka hestanomeo'o
 mãsáa'ésêemésêhêheto!
 Nexa hestanomeo'o
 mãsáa'ésêenaóótsêheto!
 Na'èstse hestanomeo'o neve
 no'ka-ešeeva!
 Évê'ôhkeotsehe?
 Néohkêheheotseotsehe?
 Nâhtsema'eme éhe'amoésta.
 Néhe'haehe?
 Náhe'haa'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.

Names

Taste

Time

Terms having to do with telling time and passage of time are one of the semantic domains of the Cheyenne lexicon. Time was traditionally noted in Cheyenne by the position of the sun, seasons of the year, and months. As Cheyennes have been increasingly influenced by the dominant culture surrounding them, this influence is reflected in terms for telling time, with adoption of terms for days of the week. There has also been some shift from using animate subjects with verbs for telling time to inanimate ones.

Traditionally, time was noted in Cheyenne by the position of the sun. Since 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'èhasēō'o, which literally means 'ticking thing'. This word is also animate.

Questions about time

Tóne'se ého'oése éše'he? ??

Tóne'se ého'oésta?

Étóne'ého'oése (éše'he)?

Étóne'ého'oésta?

What time is it? (lit., When has the sun arrived hanging?)

What time is it? (lit., When has it arrived hanging?)

What time is it? [lit. How high is he (the sun) hanging?]

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:

Éasevó'néóhtse.

Éhosóvoo máno'e.

Éhosóvoo máeóhtse.

Éméovóonā'o.

Évóonā'o

Éméséhévoésta.

Ésétovoésta.

Ééšé(hehpè)sétovoésta.

Éhomoése.

Ékáhoése.

Éhetóeve.

Étaa'eve.

Ésétóhtaa'eve.

It's daybreak. (lit. it's starting to get light)

It's dawn.

It's dawning.

It's early morning.

It's morning.

It's noon. (lit., it's eating time)

It's noon.

It's afternoon. [lit., it's already (past) noon]

It's almost sunset time.

It's close to evening [lit., he (the sun) is hanging close]

It's evening.

It's night.

It's midnight. (lit., it's middle-night)

Past times

Conjunct indicative verbs are used to refer to time which is already past:

tséhméovóonā'o

tséhvóonā'o

tséssétovoésta

tséxhetóeve

tséstaa'eve

tséssétóhtaa'eve

when it was early morning

when it was morning

when it was noon

when it was evening

when it was night

when it was midnight

Future times

Conjunct potential verbs are used to refer to time which has not yet occurred:

máhméovóonā'o

when it is early morning

māhvóonā'o	when it is morning, when it is tomorrow
māsétovoésta	when it is noon
māxhetóeve	when it is evening
??	when it is night
māssétòhtaa'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
hetóéva	in the evening
taa'ēva	at night
sétòhtaa'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'ohe.	It's 1 o'clock.
Ééšenésòxe'ohe.	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.
Ééšenaesóhtòxe'ohe.	It's 6 o'clock.
Ééšenésòhtòhnòxe'ohe.	It's 7 o'clock.
Ééšena'nóhtòxe'ohe.	It's 8 o'clock.
Ééšésóhtòxe'ohe.	It's 9 o'clock.
Ééšemáhtóhtòxe'ohe.	It's 10 o'clock.
Ééšéhóhtáhno'kòxe'ohe.	It's 11 o'clock.
Ééšéhóhtáhnésòxe'ohe.	It's 12 o'clock.
Ééšenésòxe'ohe tséhvóonā'o.	It's 2 o'clock in the morning.
Ééšemáhtóhtòxe'ohe tséstaa'eve.??	It's 10 o'clock at night.
Neva o'xe ééséhehpoésta.	It's 4:30.

Past hours

tséhno'kòxe'ohe	when it was 1 o'clock
tséhnésòxe'ohe	when it was 2 o'clock
tséhna'nòxe'ohe	when it was 3 o'clock
tséhnévòxe'ohe	when it was 4 o'clock

tséhnóhonòxe'ohe	when it was 5 o'clock
tséhnaesóhtòxe'ohe	when it was 6 o'clock
tséhnésóhtòhnòxe'ohe	when it was 7 o'clock
tséhna'nóhtòxe'ohe	when it was 8 o'clock
tséssóhtòxe'ohe	when it was 9 o'clock
tséhmáhtóhtòxe'ohe	when it was 10 o'clock
tséxhóhtáhno'kòxe'ohe	when it was 11 o'clock
máxhóhtáhnésòxe'ohe	when it was 12 o'clock

Future hours

máhnno'kòxe'ohe	when it's 1 o'clock
máhnésòxe'ohe	when it's 2 o'clock
máhna'nòxe'ohe	when it's 3 o'clock
máhnévòxe'ohe	when it's 4 o'clock
máhnóhonòxe'ohe	when it's 5 o'clock
máhnaesóhtòxe'ohe	when it's 6 o'clock
máhnésóhtòhnòxe'ohe	when it's 7 o'clock
máhna'nóhtòxe'ohe	when it's 8 o'clock
másóhtòxe'ohe	when it's 9 o'clock
máhmáhtóhtòxe'ohe	when it's 10 o'clock
máxhóhtáhno'kòxe'ohe	when it's 11 o'clock
máxhóhtáhnésòxe'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:

Hohtseése'he, Hoop Moon: January
 Ma'xéhohtseése'he, Big Hoop Moon: February
 Pónoma'a'éhasenéése'he, Drying Up Moon: March
 Véhpótseése'he, Leaf Moon: April

Énано'eése'he, Planting Moon: June
 Méanéése'he, Summer Moon: July
 Oenenése'he, Harvest Moon: August
 Tonóése'he, Cool Moon: September
 Sé'énéhe, Facing Into: October (This name refers to when thin ice begins to form on ponds and rivers.)
 He'koneneése'he, Hard Face Moon: November
 Ma'xéhe'koneneése'he, Big Hard Face Moon: December

Some alternative names are:

He'koneneése'he, Hard Face Moon: January (instead of November)
 Tšěške'hohtseése'he, Little Hoop Moon: February
 Pónoma'a'éhasénéhe, Drying Up: March (or April)
 Heše'kévénéhe, Dusty Face: March (also, variant Heše'événéhe)
 Heše'événéheése'he, Dusty Face Moon: March (or April)
 Véhpótseése'he, Leaf Moon: May (perhaps part of April also)
 É'omeése'he, Fattening Up Moon: latter part of June and first part of July
 Sétovéanéése'he, Midsummer Moon: July
 Hémoťseése'he, Breeding Moon: latter part of August and first part of September
 Tonóeveése'he, Cool Moon: September
 Sé'eneése'he, Facing Into Moon: October
 Se'ma'omeveése'he, Starting To Freeze Moon: October
 Heše'kévénéťse, Dirt In the Face (Moon): October
 Sétoveanéése'he, Midwinter Moon: December

Days of the week

In Oklahoma the first day of the week begins on Tuesday, while in Montana the first day begins on Monday. Following are Cheyenne names for days of the week.

Montana days of the week

No'ka éšeēva	Monday (lit., 'on the first day')
Nexa éšeēva	Tuesday (lit., 'on the second day')
Na'ha éšeēva	Wednesday (lit., 'on the third day')
Neva éšeēva	Thursday (lit., 'on the fourth day')
Nóhona éšeēva	Friday (lit., 'on the fifth day')
Tšěške'ma'heóneéseēva	Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day')
Ma'heóneéseēva	Sunday (lit., 'on the holy day')

Oklahoma days of the week

Here are days of the week for Oklahoma, as listed by Cheyenne language teacher Lenora Holliman:¹⁶⁰

Éno'kééno'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.')
Éťšěške'ma'heóneéseēve.	It's Saturday (lit., 'It's the little holy day.')

¹⁶⁰ From Internet webpage: <http://www.swosu.edu/academics/catc/dictionary/c04.aspx>

Éma'heóneéšeeve.
Éénema'heóneéšeeve.

It's Sunday (lit., 'It's the holdy day.')
It's Monday (lit., 'It's the end of the holy day.')

Montana past days of the week

No'ka tsé'ěšeeve	when it was Monday
Nexa tsé'ěšeeve	when it was Tuesday
Na'ha tsé'ěšeeve	when it was Wednesday
Neva tsé'ěšeeve	when it was Thursday
Nóhona tsé'ěšeeve	when it was Friday
Tséstšěške'ma'heóneéšeeve??	when it was Saturday
Tséhma'heóneéšeeve	when it was Sunday

Montana future days of the week

No'ka ma'ěšeeve	when it is Monday
Nexa ma'ěšeeve	when it is Tuesday
Na'ha ma'ěšeeve	when it is Wednesday
Neva ma'ěšeeve	when it is Thursday
Nóhona ma'ěšeeve	when it is Friday
Máhtšěške'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-améstòheéno'e.	It is a week.
ma'taaméstòheéno'e	in the coming "days" (lit., overnights)
ma'táhóseaméstòheéno'e	next week

-éno'tse final

The verb final -éno'tsé refers to how many nights of camping:

Éno'keenō'tse.	He camped one night.
Énéseenō'tse.	He camped two nights.

\$\$GET DATA FROM DICTIONARY

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'kēē'ěše	one day
néšéé'ěše	two days
na'hēē'ěše	three days
névéé'ěše	four days
nóhonéé'ěše	five days
naesóhtòhéé'ěše	six days
nésóhtòhéé'ěše	seven days
na'nóhtòhéé'ěše	eight days

sóohtóhē'ěše
mähtóhtóhéé'ěše

nine days
ten days

Numbers of weeks
\$\$??

Numbers of months
\$\$Number of months old, etc.

A number preverb plus the verb stem -ěše'hamá refers to how many months old someone is or how many months have transpired: ??

Éno'keěše'hāma.
Énéveěše'hāma.

He's one month old.
He's four months old.

Other preverbs can occur with this verb stem:

Étónéstóhe-ěše'hāma?
pregnant is she?

How many months old is he?/ How many months

Énéhestóhe-ěše'hāma.
she is due to deliver her child).

That's how many months she has (= her months are up;

Numbers of years
\$\$He's so many years old, etc.

Éno'keaénāma.
Énéšeaénāma.

He's one year old.
He's two years old.

A number plus the noun stem -aa'e 'year' tells how many years something occurred or how many years ago something occurred:

no'keāā'e
néšeāā'e
na'heāā'e

for one year
for two years
for three years

No'keāā'e étanéhe'xove.

It's been one year ago.

Temporal particles
Some particles refer to time:

á'e
ta'e
hehpeto
nenóveto
maato
hákó'e
tótseha
évaveto
nómóse
séetó'e'še
vétséno

soon¹⁶¹
until
later
shortly, a little while later
in the future¹⁶²
far in the past¹⁶³
long ago
back then
a long time
at the same time
right then

¹⁶¹ Á'e can also refer to being physically close.

¹⁶² Maato can also refer to being physically ahead.

¹⁶³ Hákó'e can also refer to far distance.

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
hehpe'xóvéva	later
nenóve'xóvéva	a little while later
móne'xóvéva??	??
hó'ótóva	sometime
háne aénéva	last year

Temporal preverbs

Some preverbs refer to time in relation to the action of the verb stem which they precede:

háa'éše-	for a long time, late
nenóve-	for a short while
he'éše-	as long as
he'se-	during
ése-	already
móne-	recently
nésta-	previously
vone'se-	for a long time
vóone-	all night
sé'hove-	suddenly

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'šenovõtse	snake
Évávaahē.	He's swinging.
heváváhkema	butterfly
po'po'ého'hóvahtótse	firecracker, motorcycle
Épó'ého'he.	He was fired / He had a blowout.
pó'ého'hémahpe	beer (lit., exploding water)
pó'po'ého'hémáhaemenótse	popcorn (lit., popping corn kernels)
Épá'panestse.	He repeatedly farted.
kokóhéáxa	chicken
kó'konóxe'éstónestótse	typewriter (lit., pecking thing)
kó'ko'éhasēō'o	clock (lit., ticking thing; an Oklahoma Cheyenne word)
hevovetāso	whirlwind, dragonfly

Translation

\$\$DEVELOP THIS SECTION ON TRANSLATION TO AND FROM CHEYENNE. Describe literal and idiomatic translation. (Include mention of the late Tom Gardner's stating that we needed "thought translation", which would be a good way of referring to idiomatic translation.) Include translation of figures of speech. Address the issue that some things said in one language sometimes do not have a translation equivalent in another language, e.g. Merry Christmas, Happy Birthday. Address the difference between: (1) Can this be said? vs. (2) Is this actually said? Discuss the CAN(A) acronym standard for acceptable translation: Clear, Accurate, Natural, (Acceptable). \$\$DEFINE SOURCE AND TARGET LANGUAGES.

Literal translation

A literal translation translates the form of the individual parts of an expression in the source language (the language you are translating from). All around the world many people assume that a literal translation is the best and most accurate kind of translation. But literal translation often are not adequate. Often they communicate a different meaning from the meaning of the original source language expression. And one of the most basic principles to follow for accuracy in translation is not to change the meaning during translation.

Cheyennes find great humor in literal translations which have some translations have made which do not communicate the right meaning. \$\$INCLUDE EXAMPLES FROM PAPER ON CHEYENNE TRANSLATION HUMOR, INCLUDING THE STORY OF "slide home" Cheyennes laugh at these stories because they recognize that the literal translation was not adequate to translate the intended meaning. So what principles should be followed to make a translation that is adequate? We try to answer this important question in the next section.

Translation equivalence

Literal translations are often not adequate because they sound unnatural. And they often do not communicate the original meaning very well. Instead of translating literally, better translation may be found by using translation equivalents which are already in use in the language and function

as close as possible to how an expression functions in the translation source language.

When translating from one language to another, it is helpful to try to find the closest natural translation equivalent as possible. By this we mean that a translation should be natural in the target language and also has the same meaning as what you are translating from in the source language. Translation equivalence is a complicated topic that deserves much more attention than 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'hahtótse, 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, -amáho'he 'to go along by heat' and turned it into nouns, animate amáho'héhe and inanimate amáho'hestótse, both meaning 'going along by heat thing'.

The Cheyenne words for 'airplane' and 'car' clearly and naturally communicate the function of these two forms of transportation. We can follow this principle whenever we are asked to translate something from English to Cheyenne. We can try to find an expression already in Cheyenne which functions in the same way as the English expression functions.

With the principle of translation equivalence in mind, let's think about translating a common English expression to Cheyenne. English speakers use the expression "Happy New Year!" to celebrate the beginning of a new year. Cheyennes do not say "Happy New Year!" in the Cheyenne language. So how might we translate "Happy New Year!" to Cheyenne, without creating an expression that sounds unnatural? Instead of focusing on trying to literally translate the individual words of the English expression, we can look for any expression already in use in Cheyenne that could function as a some kind of equivalent to "Happy New Year!" The closest expression already in use in Cheyenne is Aa'e émóna'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 émóna'e says nothing about "happy" and for some Cheyennes it might be important to include the meaning of "happy" in a translation of "Happy New Year!" So, we can consider revising the Cheyenne expression already in use by adding Pevetano! 'Be happy!' to it. Would the final expression of Aa'e émóna'e, pevetano! Sound natural in Cheyenne. I think it would. Does it include the idea of happiness? Yes. Does it include the idea of a new year. Yes, it does. It is worth testing this new translation to see how acceptable it is to other Cheyenne speakers.

Translation adequacy

Here are two of the most important principles to follow when translating.

Accurate

Does the translation have the same meaning as the original? Accuracy is not a matter of keeping the form of the original, but, rather translating the original meaning however it is actually said in the translation language.

Translation of Ó'kôhomóxháaheta to English as Little Wolf was clear and natural, but not accurate. Its meaning was actually Little Coyote.

Natural

The literal translation of "Hang around!" to Cheyenne was perhaps accurate, but it was not natural. It is not how Cheyennes would actually express the meaning of the English expression.

In order for a translation to be both clear and natural, it must respect the grammatical patterns of the both the source and target languages. Every language is different from every other language. If you are translating from English to Cheyenne, or from Cheyenne to English, it is important not to try to force either language to use the grammatical patterns of the other language.

Some grammatical relationships different from English

In this section we describe some ways that the grammatical patterns of English and Cheyenne do not match, yet it is possible to translate accurately and naturally between these languages, while respecting these differences.

There are many interesting differences between how the grammars of Cheyenne and English express some semantic relationships. By pointing out these differences, we are not suggesting that either language is inferior, non-standard, or "backwards". On the contrary, both languages are grammatically logical and beautiful in how they express the intended meanings. For examples of other Cheyenne verbs which have different grammatical relationships from English to express the same semantic relationships, see the end of the next major section of this book, Transitive Inanimate Independent Indicative verbs.

'-háamá'tov 'hurt (to someone)'

The Cheyenne TA verb –háamá'tov grammatically treats an animate body part that hurts as its direct object:

Náháamá'tóvo namo'ěško.	My finger hurts.
Náháamá'tovoo'o namo'ěškono.	My fingers hurt.

The first example can be literally translated as "I hurt to my finger." This literal translation sounds odd in English, but there is nothing odd about the Cheyenne verb. In spite of what some Cheyennes believe and have said, based on what they have learned, explicitly or implicitly, from teachers and administrators in English schools, there is nothing "backwards" about the Cheyenne language. Each language is beautiful and has unique ways of saying things. Just because a language expresses something in a different grammatical way from another language does not make that language backwards, ugly, or in any way inferior to any other language.

'fit (something)'

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

So, if you are translating a Cheyenne sentence such as Nátáá'e hóhkéha'e, an accurate and natural translation in English would be "The cap fits me," even though the literal translation would be 'I fit to the cap.' This literal translation would be accurate in English, but not natural. A translation must be both accurate and natural for it to be an adequate translation.

Nátáá'a hóhkéha'e.	The cap fits me. (lit., I fit to the cap)
Nátáa'anótse hóhkéhá'ěstse.	The caps fit me. (lit., I fit to the caps)

Compare corresponding TA verbs:

Nátáa'ōvo éstse'he.
Nátáa'ovoo'o éstse'heno.

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 the food which gives the sensation of good taste is grammatically the object of the TI verb –pèhéve'áhtá:

Nápèhévé'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 –pèhévoemeh 'cause (someone) to value good.'

Nápèhévoemeha. I think well of him. (= 'He is of good value to me.')
Nápèhévoemēho. 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 "Kovaaahe", by Josephine Glenmore (Montana)

Na'ěstse kase'éehe éhnóhtséstovósesto heške,
One young woman asked her mother,

“Éohkéóxóhevoōne oonáhá'e óhmónenéstoohévoséstse?”
“What do they say, frogs, when they first croak (in the spring)?”

“Héméhe, naa kováááhe, éohkéhevoōne, éxheséstse.
“Oh, well, 'kovaaahe,' they say,” she said.

naa éxhohátse'tóheséstse máhtamáhááhe,
And she was laughed at, the old lady, (because)

Kovááhe móxheševéhehevóhe hevóxaho.
Kovaahe he was named, her son-in-law.

If a woman wants her son-in-law to fetch some water or firewood, she can speak about him, in his hearing, with words like these:

Tell that lazy husband of yours to get some water. \$\$

Brothers-in-law are expected to tease each other within Cheyenne culture. Such teasing has become an art form. Language forms and quality of speech are influenced by the effort to tease, sometimes close to the point of shaming, a brother-in-law in front of others.

The following story illustrates brother-in-law teasing. Notice all the direct in-your-face kind of speech in this text. This is characteristic of teasing speech. \$\$TRY TO FIND SPECIFIC LANGUAGE FORMS TO COMMENT ABOUT IN THIS TEXT

The Brothers-in-law¹⁶⁴

Tséhéno he'ameo'hé'e éhéstahe hetane. Aénóhenéstoohe éohkéhestohe.
There up the river he is from, a man. Hawk Howler he is called.

¹⁶⁴ This text was first recorded and transcribed by linguist Kenneth Croft, in 1949, in Oklahoma. His fieldnotes label this as "Text 56". The Cheyenne narrator is not given in the fieldnotes. We have updated Croft's spelling. We have stayed close to his English translations. The editor (Leman) has added paragraphing.

Naa náohkeévená'so'eémáhtsème¹⁶⁵. Néhestoha öhvóomoo'èstse tséhéóhe máhoéve'ho'eno,
And we always tease each other. Every time whenever I see him here in town,

náohkeévèho'èhota. "Né'tóve," náohkéheta. "Hémanòxeha!
he always comes to me. "My brother-in-law," he says to me. "Give him a drink!

É'tóve ééveota'hoháóéne," náohkéheta. "Nésáa'aéstormèhevé'tove'tovatséhe,"
Your brother-in-law is very thirsty," he says to me. "You are not my brother-in-law for nothing,"

náohkéheta.
he tells me.

"Nétónèševèhevé'tove'továtse nèhe'se?" náhéto.
"How am I a brother-in-law to you then?" I told him.

"Heé, naa némáhevèstoemoo'o naaxaa'éhemo, néhéne'enovátse," náheta.
"Yes, and you married all my sisters, I know you," he told me.

"Hová'áhane, néevenetsé'e," náhéto. "Mónéohkevá'nenèhesétamèhéhe," náhéto.
"No, you are lying," I told him. "You must just think of me that way," I told him.

"Hová'áhane, néotá'pèhévèhéne'enovátse. Némáhevèstoemoo'o naaxaa'éhemo," náheta.
"No, I know you very well. You married all my sisters," he told me.

"Nonótovèhémanòxeha é'tóve!" náheta. "Náota'eévèháóéne," éhevoo'o.
"Hurry give a drink to your brother-in-law!" he told me. "I am very thirsty," he said.

Naa vo'èstane öhtsévého'èhótaetsee'èstse tséohkeévèhešemoméno'eóestove
And whenever a person comes to us where they always stand in bunches

tséhéóhe máhoéve'ho'eno náohkéhósema, "Tsé'tóhe né'tóve," náohkéheta,
here in town, he always tells about me, "This one, my brother-in-law," he says about me,

"émáhevèstoemóho naaxaa'éhemo. Hená'hanetséhe / nánèhesèhevé'tovenótse," náohkéheta.
"he married all my sisters. That's how I am a brother-in-law to him," he says about me.

Naa nèhe'se hó'ótóva táháóhe Nomá'heo'hé'e mótaéetséhe'öhtséhéhe.
And then all of a sudden over there to Kingfisher¹⁶⁶ he must have gone.

Násáanàhaxeévavóomóhe. Étanèšéháa'xóvetse.
I had not seen him for awhile. Quite a while went by.

Naa hó'ótóva náhóseévavóomo. Tséhéno éne'ameöhtse háp'o'e
And all of a sudden I saw him again. Here he was coming along just

tséstaameohtsevo. Sé'ea'e éne'éexaéméné'o. Naa náho'èhóto.
when I was going along. Right away he was smiling. And I went to him.

"Éaa! Tósa'e néa'enèháse?" náhéto. "Nésáatséhe'sevóomatséhe," náhéto.
"My! Where have you been all the time?" I said to him. "I never see you," I said to him.

"Naa táháóhe Nomá'heo'hé'e nátaéetséhe'öhtse. Náhá'ohe / náévea'enoo'e," náheta.
"Well, over there to Kingfisher I went. There I stayed all this time," he told me.

"Hénáá'e náháóhe tsétáhésea'enoeto? Hea'e náháóhe nétàhe'étáno tósa'e

¹⁶⁵ This text illustrates Cheyenne humor of joking relationships. Cheyenne culture encourages brother-in-law joking.

¹⁶⁶ Literally, 'Fish River'.

"Why there did you stay so long? Maybe there you wanted a woman somewhere at
Nomá'heo'hé'e," náhéto.
Kingfisher," I told him.

"Heé, ovánèhoo'èstse! Hea'e néhéne'enōvo Kèhaéné'e. Nàháóhe náho'èhóto,
"Hey, keep quiet! Maybe you know Squint Eye Woman. There I came to her.

náhó'xatamáotsé'tóvo," náheta //
I got used to her," he told me.

"Héhe'e," náhéto. "Naa néohkého'é'éšenoto neaxaa'éhemo. Néhe Kèha'ené'e
"Yes," I told him. "And you always accuse me of your sisters. That Squint Eye Woman

náhe'hamèhenòtse, mónétaésèhevéxahé'tovatséhéhe," náhéto. "Né'tóve,
is my niece, you must (therefore) already be my son-in-law," I told him. "Brother-in-law,

néohkévé'eévàheše. Namèšeme né'òhkèhešèstse nèhe'še.
don't again call me that. Father-in-law, always call me from now on.

Nétaésèhevéxahé'tovatsémoho!¹⁶⁷" náhéto.
You are already now my son-in-law!" I told him.

"Hová'aháne," éhevoo'o. "Néésetá'hóxèhevé'tove'továtse,
"No," he said. "I am so used to being a brother-in-law to you,

ésáatónèšéévanetàhéveotséhane," náheta.
it cannot be made different," he said to me.

"Heé, hé'tóhe émóná'e, nétaéšemónenòhóeve," náhéto.
"Hey, this is brand new, this is the first time you've been married," I told him.

"Nèstatséénèšèhevéxahé'továtse. 'É'tóve, hémanòxeha!"
"You are just going to be my son-in-law. 'Your brother-in-law, give him a drink!"

néohkéheše," náhéto." "Naa nèhe'še háp'o'e hétsetseha, 'Hémanòxeha
you always tell me," I told him. "And from now on likewise now, 'Give a drink to

nemèšeme!' nétàhetátse," náhéto. "Nenátsèhe'òhtsešèstse tsèhéóhe
your father-in-law!' let me tell you," I told him. "Come take me here

pó'èho'hé-màhpé-màheóne nèhe'še néhma'xèhémanoxèstse!" náhéto.
to the saloon¹⁶⁸ then give me a big drink!" I told him.

Éhohatse. "He'e, tàxó'e nèstsésáa'énenèhéhe, vo'èstane
He laughed. "Hey, again and again don't keep repeating that, someone

nèstsenéstova. Nèstaée'avó'èstomo'he (?),
will hear you. You will have them all start thinking that way,

nàhtsenóhpaohkéémaenèsétamāne. Nává'neohkéévéèstsèstōvo tsé'tóhe Kèhaéné'e,"
I will be thought of that way. I always just talk to this Squint Eye Woman,"

éhevoo'o.

¹⁶⁷ This appears to be a mirative usage of a preterit. Usually preterits occur with third person arguments, but this verb shows that a local verb can be marked as a preterit as well.

¹⁶⁸ Literally, 'popping-water-house-LOCATIVE'.

he said.

"Heé, néešetaomevé'nèhetóhta'haove naa," náhéto.
"Hey, you had already told me that story yourself and," I told him.

"Náhtaémaenèhetoo'o tsé'tóhe tséohkeévéévèhñese vo'èstaneo'o," náhéto,
"I'm going to tell all these who go around, people," I told him,

"tsetamáhehéne'enohe tséhešèhevèxahé'továtse,"¹⁶⁹ náhéto.
"so then it will all be known that you are my son-in-law," I told him.

"Nésáatónèšenonáháxe'tanóhe," náhéto. "Ohkeéepèhéve'tovéstse, ohkeéehémanòxeváenéstse
"You have no way to get out of it," I told him. "Always treat me good, always give me a drink

má'ohkevóometo nonóhpa nèstanèhešepèhévéhevèxahé'továtse!" náhéto //
whenever you see me so that way you will be a good son-in-law to me!" I told him.

Éhohatse. "Taxó'e nèstaa'avó'èstomo'he (?)
He laughed. "Again and again you will have them start thinking that way.

nèšenó'ka nèhešèha!" náheta //
Not even once again say it!" he told me.

"Heé, nésáahotómenèhetatséhe neaxaa'éhemo tséhmáhehévéstoemono,
"Hey, I didn't complain to you, (that) your sisters I had married them,

tséohke'evèhetóhta'haneto," náhéto.
the way you always tell the story," I told him.

"Naa náoné'se'omèhetóme, émáhehéne'enohe," éhevoo'o.
"Well, I really tell the truth., it is all known," he said.

"Heé, névááhe tsémáhehéne'ēno? Névá'neé'ohkeno'kenèheve¹⁷⁰
"Hey, who is it that knows all of it? You are the only one who says that

naa," náhéto. "Vo'èstane náohkésáa'éetšèhe'šenèhetaéhe," náhéto.
and," I told him. "No one ever told me that," I told him.

Nátaéenèšeameoó'evótáhtséme. Hená'hanéhe héne
We went along quarreling with each other. That's it, that's

náohkeéenèhešená'so'eémáhtséme tsé'tóhe hetane, Aénòhenéstoohe
how we always tease each other, this man, Hawk Howler,

tséohkéhestoestse.
as he is called.

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.

¹⁶⁹ These two words form a complex sentence in Cheyenne. There is an independent order verb of knowing followed by its complement in the conjunct order. The conjunct verb takes the complementizer preverb heše-.

¹⁷⁰ The preferred order of morphemes in this word would be néohkevá'neéeno'kenèheve.

keeso 'puppy'
ke'éehe 'grandma'
kókó'e 'bread'
mánóóhe 'I want a drink'
méméehe 'grandpa'
nénéhe 'bottle, nurse'
pápááhe 'ride on back'
etc??

Affected speech

Cheyenne speakers can create various kinds of social affect by varying their speech styles.

Exaggeration

A syllable of a word can be lengthened to exaggerate the word:

tóotseha 'a very long time ago' (lengthened version of tótseha 'long ago')
Névááááhe? 'Who?!' (this lengthened version of Névááhe typically indicates that the speaker emphatically does not know who someone is)
Névááááso? 'Who?!' (emphasized form of Névááso?)
Noóooo! Wow! (emphasized form of Nóoo! 'Wow!')
Véetsēno! Exactly! (emphasized form of vétsēno '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

\$\$COMBINE WITH FIRST DISCUSSION OF 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'èhaseo'o (onomatopoeic; literally, ticking thing)
md: éše'he(orig. meaning of 'sun' and continues to mean this in both od and md)
2. apple: od:má'xeme (inanimate); ma'xemenótse 'apples'
md: má'xeme (animate); ma'xemeno'apples'
3. watermelon: od: mähoo'o (in md, as well as od, this also has the more general meaning of 'melon')
md: nēxó'mévéhe (lit. raw eating thing)
4. cucumber: od: heškóve-mähoo'o (lit. thorny-melon)
md: mata (the same word used for 'peyote'; some md speakers may use heškóve-mähoo'o for 'cucumber', also ??)
5. 25 cents: od: tóhévetse (loan translation from English 'two bits')
md: tséháónóto (lit. that (coin) which is thick)
6. cat: od: ka'éné-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. éškóseesé-hotame 'pig' (lit. sharp-nosed-dog); for md speakers, and perhaps for some od speakers, too, this means 'bulldog')
md: póése (we suspect this is a sound translation from an English word for cat, "pussy")
7. pay: od: éhóeotsésane 'he got paid' (lit. he's bringing (something) out; refers to bringing money out of the office)
md: éonénéxóhemohe 'he got paid' (lit. it was destroyed to him; perhaps refers to destroying an indebtedness)
8. crackers: od: tóhkonave-kóhkonóheonótse (lit. skinny little breads; it is said that od speakers call crackers this, in teasing imitation of the md word)
md: mó'óhkonave-kóhkonóheonótse (lit. dried little breads)
9. potatoes: od: aéstome-méséhéstoto (lit. false eating things)
md: méséhéstoto (lit. eating things)
10. washboard: od: nēška'óséó'o or hahéehaseo'o (lit. rubbing-thing)
md: nēškéháséó'o
11. He's really a strong Christian (typically said with derision):
od: éhoháestaahe (lit. he-very.much-baptized(?))
md: éhoháema'heónévé'ho'eve (lit. he-very.much-holy-whiteman-be)
12. car: It is said that Oklahoma speakers call a car amáho'héhe (animate), while the most common term in Montana is inanimate amáho'hestótse, but I have heard some Montana speakers refer to a car as amáho'héhe (animate), and I would not be surprised to discover that some Oklahoma speakers have used the inanimate word for car.
13. days of the week: When saying days of the week, Oklahoma speakers begin counting of the 'first day' with Tuesday (and calling Monday the 'end of the holy day'), while Montana speakers start the 'first day' with Monday. The words for 'Saturday' and 'Sunday' are the same in

Montana and Oklahoma, so Montana speakers pronounce five days with a number in the term for the day of the week, while Oklahoma speakers only have four such days.

In each case of a dialect word difference which we have listed, speakers from one area understand what speakers from the other area mean when they say one of the words. Much good-natured joking takes place over such words. For instance, a Northern Cheyenne speaker may teasingly ask a Southern Cheyenne speaker how he pronounces the word for 'cat'. If the answer is given as *ka'éné-hótame*, the Northern Cheyenne speaker may laugh and say, "Oh, but that means 'short nosed dog'!" Then the Southern Cheyenne speaker might ask (already knowing the answer) what the Northern Cheyenne word for 'cat' is. When he gets the response *póéso*, he, in turn, has a good laugh.

It has been claimed by Moore (1987:99) that Montana speakers refer to a horse as *mo'éhno'ha* while Oklahoma speakers refer to a horse as *nähtotse*, literally, 'my pet'. But this claim is incorrect. There is abundant evidence in the fieldnotes of several researchers, whose work spans numerous decades, that both Oklahoma and Montana speakers refer to a horse as *mo'éhno'ha* and, likewise, speakers in both areas will sometimes refer to their own horse (or, less generally, a dog or cat) calling it 'my pet'. Which term will be used is not a matter of a geographical difference but rather a difference in a speaker's personal intentions when they are speaking. That is, when a Cheyenne speaker, regardless of where they live, refers to their horse, do they intend to indicate a pet relationship with their horse?

MISCELLANEOUS

\$\$\$DON'T INCLUDE THE ORIGINAL SCANNED PAGED IN THE REVISED EDITION, BUT DO MAKE SURE THAT SOME OF THE DATA IS INCLUDED IN EARLIER SECTIONS, SUCH AS THE indefinite pronouns nevá'eséstse and nevá'èsesto with reportative suffixes

Cheyenne discourse

Discourse is ____ \$\$FILL OUT THIS SECTION; INCLUDE TYPICAL BEGINNINGS OF DISCOURSE MONOLOGUES (náto'séhósémo, etc.), DISCOURSE-FINAL SAYINGS: Who would add tie on anything? That's the way it lies, hena'háanéhe, etc., PREPONDERANCE OF POST-QUOTE MARGINS, DISCOURSE STATUS OF OVERT NOUNS, ETC.

Dialogue

Dialogues are conversations that occur between two or more people. It is essential for anyone wishing to speak Cheyenne to learn to converse in Cheyenne. Cheyenne dialogues follow rules for what grammatical forms are appropriate to use for each turn of a conversation. It is also essential that conversation follow these rules so that each turn will sound natural. Conversations turns must not be literal translations from English dialogues. \$\$SEE IF ANYTHING NATURAL ENOUGH CAN BE IMPORTED FROM "LET'S TALK CHEYENNE"

Topic continuity

Questions and answers

\$\$AVOID COPYING "ELICITATION" PAIRS FROM ENGLISH

Single word utterances

Common utterances and responses (\$\$copy from dictionary, etc.)

\$\$Etc.

Monologues

Monologues are longer stretches of speech by a single individual. Typical kinds of monologues are prayers, instructions, sermons, and stories. Many of the same patterns followed in dialogues are followed in monologues, except that all elements of the patterns are provided by a single individual in monologues. Sometimes what people say are called texts.

Following are texts which were told by Cheyennes in Oklahoma and Montana:

When Cheyennes Crossed the Ice, by Mrs. Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

_sh v3.0 400 Cheyenne Interlinear

\ref 001

\t hoóma móhvo'èstanéhevèhevóhe

\m hoóma mó- h- vo'èstanéheve -hé -vo -hé

\g across INFER- PST- live -NEG -3PL -NEG

\p p p- tns- vai -sfx -fta -sfx

\t tósa'e.

\m tósa'e

\g somewhere

\p p

\f They lived across somewhere.

\ref 002

\t naa hóséstse mó'évahehevóhe
 \m naa hóséstse mó- h- évahe -hé -vó -hé
 \g and some INFER- PST- exist -NEG -3PL -NEG
 \p p p p- tns- vai -sfx -sfx -sfx

\t tósa'e nēhéóhe kahkése xaevo'éstane'o.
 \m tósa'e nēhéóhe kahkése xaevo'éstane -o
 \g somewhere there near Indian -PL
 \p p p p na -sfx

\f And there were some Indians near there.

\ref 003
 \t é'ohkésáanāho'òhtsévhésesto.
 \m é- h- ohke- sáa- nāho'òhtsévhésesto -ó -hé -sest -o
 \g 3- PST- HABIT- NEG- visit s.o. -DIR -NEG -REPORT -OBV
 \p pro- tns- pv- pv- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f They did not visit them.

\ref 004
 \t naa hó'ótóva móhnāho'òhtsévhéhvóhe.
 \m naa hó'ótóva mó- h- nāho'òhtsévhésesto -ó -hé -vo -vó -hé
 \g and sometime INFER- PST- visit s.o. -DIR -NEG -3PL -3PL -NEG
 \p p p p- tns- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f And one day they visited them.

\ref 005
 \t nēhe'se hó'ótóva éhnéstovóvósesto.
 \m nēhe'se hó'ótóva é- h- nést -ov -ó -vo -sest -o
 \g then sometime 3- PST- hear -FTA -DIR -3PL -REPORT -OBV
 \p p p pro- tns- vta -sfx -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f Then all of a sudden they heard them.

\ref 006
 \t éstshésenéstsesto
 \m é- h- tséhésenestse -sest -o
 \g 3- PST- talk Cheyenne -REPORT -PL
 \p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\t tséxhe'enéstse.
 \m tsé- h- he'enestse -vó -s
 \g REAL- PST- speak language thusly -3PL -3
 \p pfx-cjt- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They were talking Cheyenne as they talked.

\ref 007
 \t naa
 \m naa
 \g and
 \p p

\t móstāhéne'enóvóhevóhe
 \m mó- h- ta- héne'en -ov -ó -hé -vó -hé

\g INFER- PST- away- know -FTA -DIR -NEG -3PL -NEG
\p p- tns- pv- vta -sfx -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\t á'e hóséstse tséhnééhóvévöse.
\m á'e hóséstse tsé- h- nééhóve -vós
\g near some REAL- PST- be_the_one -3PL
\p p p pfx-cjt- tns- vai -sfx

\f And they found out about (those) near (them), that they were (just like) them.

\ref 008
\t éstanéšené'toveotsésesto.
\m é- h- ta- nése- né'toveotse -sest -o
\g 3- PST- away- continue- move_together -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- pv- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They moved together.

\ref 009
\t naa
\m naa
\g and
\p p

\t móhmanéstsehenovóhe
\m mó- h- manest -é -hé -nó -vó -hé
\g INFER- PST- make -INAM -NEG -PL -3PL -NEG
\p p- tns- vti -fti -sfx -fti -sfx -sfx

\t tséohkévé'seamóohestséstovetsee'éstse
\m tsé- ohke- vé'se- amóohest -é -htove -tse -et
\g REAL- HABIT- INSTR- sail -INAM -IMPERS -OBV -PL
\p pfx-cjt- pv- pv- vti -fti -fii -sfx -sfx

\t tsétótšěške'oo'éstse
\m tsé- tótšěške'ó -et
\g REAL- small -PL
\p pfx-cjt- vii -sfx

\t he'tóněšěhesto'tonohoměvöse.
\m he'- tóněše- hesto'tonoh -om -e -vó -s
\g however- somehow- braid -FTI -FTI -3PL -3
\p pv- pv- vti -sfx -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f And they made rafts (lit. things by which one moves on water, which are small, however they wove them).

\ref 010
\t néstsehotáovoeotsémáne.
\m né- htse- hotáovoeotse -ma -né
\g 2- FUT- capsize -21PL -1PL
\p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\f "We'll turn over.

\ref 011

\t nèstsemémèstanémáne
\m né- htse- mémèstané -ma -né
\g 2- FUT- drown -21PL -1PL
\p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\t é'òhkèhésesto.
\m é- h- ohke- he -sest -o
\g 3- PST- HABIT- say -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f We'll drown," they would say.

\ref 012
\t éssáa'évamanèstséhenovòsestòtse.
\m é- h- sáa- '- éva- manest -é -hé -nó -vó -sest -ot
\g 3- PST- NEG- EP- back- make -INAM -NEG -PL -3PL -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- pv- pv- pv- vti -fti -sfx -fti -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f They quit making them.

\ref 013
\t naa nèhe'se hó'ótóva ma'xeó'he'e
\m naa nèhe'se hó'ótóva ma'xe- ó'he'e
\g and then sometime big- river
\p p p p pv- ni

\t éohkéhevoōne,
\m é- ohke- hevooné
\g 3- HABIT- say.3PL
\p pro- pv- vai

\t móhma'xemáha'omòhtáhanéhe.
\m mó- h- ma'xe- máha'omohta -hane -hé
\g INFER- PST- much- all_frozen -NEG -NEG
\p p- tns- pv- vii -sfx -sfx

\f And then one day, the big river, they say, was frozen solid.

\ref 015
\t éstónova'omòhtánèse.
\m é- h- tónova'omòhtá -né -s
\g 3- PST- frozen_thick -FII -REPORT
\p pro- tns- vii -sfx -sfx

\f It was frozen thick.

\ref 016
\t éxhóxoveehésesto.
\m é- h- hóxove- ehe -sest -o
\g 3- PST- across- move_camp -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They moved across.

\ref 017
\t naa hósèstse taeò'xe
\m naa hósèstse tae- ò'xe

\g and some precisely- half
\p p p pv- p

\t tséhne'ěšéhóxoveehévòse
\m tsé- h- nēh- ế- hóxove- ehe -vó -s
\g REAL- PST- toward- already- across- move_camp -3PL -3
\p pfx-cjt- tns- pv- pv- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\t éhma'xepónévonēnèse.
\m é- h- ma'xe- pónévone -né -s
\g 3- PST- big- loud_pop -FII -REPORT
\p pro- tns- pv- vii -sfx -sfx

\f And when half of them had moved across, there was an exploding sound.

\ref 018
\t éxhoháatamano'énèse.
\m é- h- ho- háatamano'e -né -s
\g 3- PST- very- terrible_situation -REPORT -REPORT
\p pro- tns- RED- vii -sfx -sfx

\f It was terrible.

\ref 019
\t má'ome mó'oó'xeotséhanéhe.
\m má'ome mó- h- oó'xeotse -hane -hé
\g ice INFER- PST- break_up -NEG -NEG
\p ni p- tns- vii -sfx -sfx

\f The ice broke up.

\ref 020
\t éstaévaveehéohésesto hóséstse.
\m é- h- ta- évaveehéohe -sest -o hóséstse
\g 3- PST- away- move_back -REPORT -PL some
\p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx p

\f Some turned back.

\ref 022
\t naa tsé'tóhe
\m naa tsé'tóhe
\g but these
\p p p

\t móhne'ěšééhóxovèhnèhevóhe
\m mó- h- nēh- ế- é- hóxovèhné -hé -vó -hé
\g INFER- PST- toward- already- around- walk_across -NEG -3PL -NEG
\p p- tns- pv- pv- pv- vai -sfx -sfx -sfx

\t hóséstse.
\m hóséstse
\g some
\p p

\f And some had already come across.

\ref 023
 \t éssáahéne'enovóhevósesto
 \m é- h- sáa- héne'en -ov -ó -hé -vo -sest -o
 \g 3- PST- NEG- know -FTA -DIR -NEG -3PL -REPORT -OBV
 \p pro- tns- pv- vta -sfx -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\t tósa'e
 \m tósa'e
 \g somewhere
 \p p

\t tséheta'otsése néhe
 \m tsé- heta'ó -tse -s néhe
 \g REAL- be -OBV -3 those
 \p pfx-cjt- vai -sfx -sfx p

\t hóséstse.
 \m hóséstse
 \g some
 \p p

\f They did not know where those others were.

\ref 024
 \t hévámémèstanèhevóhe.
 \m hévá h- mémèstané -hé -vó -hé
 \g maybe PST- drown -NEG -3PL -NEG
 \p p tns- vai -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f Maybe they drowned.

\ref 025
 \t naa
 \m naa
 \g and
 \p p

\t éhnèšéhóxoveehésesto
 \m é- h- nèše- hóxove- ehe -sest -o
 \g 3- PST- continue- across- move_camp -REPORT -PL
 \p pro- tns- pv- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\t néhe.
 \m néhe
 \g those
 \p p

\f And those kept moving across.

\ref 026
 \t éohkéhetóhta'haneo'o ma'háhkèseho.
 \m é- ohke- hetóhta'hané -o ma'háhkèséh -o
 \g 3- HABIT- thus_tell_story -PL old_man -PL
 \p pro- pv- vai -sfx na -sfx

\f That's how the old men tell the story.

\ref 027
\t hena'háanéhe.
\m hena'háanéhe
\g that's_it
\p pro

\f The end.

Sweet Medicine, by Mrs. Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

1) Hé'tóhe hóhta'heo'o, éhóhta'heóneve².

This story, it is a story.

2) Vé'hó'e tséssáa'ésého'èhnehévòse hákó'e móxhésóhanéhe.

Whitemen, before they came, it (the story) from long ago must be from.

3) Naa násáapèhévéhéne'enóhe.

And I do not know it well.

4) naa tséohkeéevá'nèhetàtomónéto náhtanèhešeme'esta.

And just the way I heard it, I'll tell it like that.

5) éohkemaetotóxeme oha násáahéne'enovóhe / -héne'enóhe /

He's discussed all over, but I do not know him, -do not know it.

6) Motsé'éóeve³, éohkéhevoōne, mó'ohkeéveéestséstóehevovóhe, vé'hó'e

Sweet Medicine, they say, used to talk to them, whitemen

tséssáa'ésého'èhnehévòse.

before they came.

7) Naa mó'ohkeéemé'èstomóehenovóhe hová'éhe, héva tséstó'sého'èhnetotse,

And he used to explain to them something maybe that was going to come,

hová'éhe.

something.

8) naa hétsetseha náto'vá'ne/=ta'se=tšěške'mé'ésta⁴// hetoo //

And now I'm just going to tell, like, a little. Uh,

9) néto'sého'a'ó'tóévo // vo'èstane éxhesaneséstse //

"He'll come to you, a person," (Sweet Medicine) said.

10) tsemàhevé'senohe éxhe- / éxheséstse ///

"He'll be all sewed up," he-, he said.

11) ho'évótse tseohkéhestohe éxheséstse //

"Earth Man, he will be called," he said.

12) Tósa'e ésáapo'vé'senóhéhe, tsé'tóhe vo'èstane

Nowhere will he not be sewed up, this person

tséto'sého'a'ó'tóése.

who is going to come to you.

13) néto'vonéano'táe'vo / netao'o hová'éhe / tséméhae/'òhkeéene'étamése⁵ //
He'll destroy for you everything that you used to depend on.

14) "Éto'semàhevonéanōhtse," éxhetósesto.
"He'll destroy everything," he told them.

15) "Naa / máto / néto'sèho'a'ó'tóévo mo'éhno'ha /
"And also it will come to you, the horse.

16) "Mo'éhno'ha,"⁶ néstseohkèhetóvo éxheséstse, "hōva."
"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 tsenévéohta //
And his legs, there will be four.

20) néstseohketáhóénóvo hoháá'ěše
You'll ride him very far away.

21) néstseohketsèhe'òhtséháévo,
He will take you there,

22) tsé'tóhe mo'ehno'ha / néstseohkèhetóvo //
this horse, you will call him that.

23) tséohkésó'tó'ome'ého'oése éše'he
It will still hang firm (in the sky), the sun (during your travels)

24) néstseohkèho'eohéme hákó'e / éxhesaneséstse /
you will arrive far away," he said.

25) néstsenèheše/vo'èstanéhévème
"You will live like that.

26) néstsenèhešeéva'xème / tsé'tóhe mo'éhno'ha tséhešeévoa'xèse / exhesaneséstse /
You will be on the way this horse rolls his eyes," he said.

27) naa // máto vé'ho'éotóá'e néstseohkèhetóvo
And also (will come), (the cow) 'whiteman-buffalo', you will call it that.

28) máto tsenévéohta //
Also it will have four legs.

29) tsenéše'ēsta
It will have two ears.

30) naa / mátò=he'éxánéstse tsenéxanetotse /
And also his ears, there will be two.

31) hestséhévá'xe / tseohkemähexóneehatse / ho'ēva /
His tail will reach all the way to the ground.

32) tsenésòhkonávèháhta // hestóohevono tsenésòhkonaho / éxheséstse /
It will have split hooves, his hooves will be split," he said.

33) naa hoto / tsé'tóhe hóva néstseohkemévóvo /
And, uh, this animal (cow), you will eat it.

34) Vé'ho'éotóá'e néstseohkèhetóvo /
Ve'ho'eotoa'e you will call it.

35) hoháá'ěse tseohkèhešeméa'xe éxheséstse /
From very far away he'll be smelled," he said.

36) Éxhetósesto néhe hováhne, "Vé'ho'éotóá'e," tséohkèhetóse.
He told them (about) this animal, "Cow," as you'll call it.

37) naa tsé'tóhe tséto'sèho'a'ó'tóése
And this one who will come to you

tsemáhetáeotsé'ta ho'e tséxhetaa'óma'ō'e /
will take over all the land throughout the world.

38) Totósa'e néstseohkeevemé'a'ééme.
Here and there your heads will appear (in various places).

39) "Néstseohkemo'kòhtávèstséáme," éxhesaneséstse /
"You will have black hair," he said.

40) Naa móhma- / má'tamàsèhánéése / mäsáa'évatóxetanó'tomáhése / nésta "But if you are
crazy, if you do not think about the way previously

tséheševò'èstanéhévése, néstamóhkevóhpa'éme," éxhesaneséstse.
how you used to live, you'll have gray hair," he said.

41) naa máto mé'ěševótse tséhóehevése⁷ /
And also a baby will come out (be born) with teeth."

42) Éstaěšèhetósema'xémé'èstomósaneséstse.
He was constantly explaining a lot.

43) Nává'nèhetaa'mé'èstomóvo.
I am just telling this much about him.

44) Nèhe'še
The end.

FOOTNOTES:

¹This text was first collected by Donald Olson during 1963-1964 in Oklahoma. It appeared in print in a previous collection of Cheyenne texts (W. Leman 1980b). It appears here with spelling slightly updated. Some slight changes to bring the transcription closer in line with the taped recording have been made. Original clause numbers are retained.

²Usually, this word would indicate that something is "just a story". The word hóhta'heo'o 'story' should not be applied to accounts of history. On the whole, Cheyennes regard the story of Sweet Medicine to be of more credible historicity than the usual legend or folktale, for which the label hóhta'heo'o is appropriate. However, here it is probable that the narrator is not casting doubt on the historicity of the account. Hesitation on the tape may indicate that the narrator wasn't quite sure what to say at this point but used a word which fit grammatically here.

³Sweet Medicine is the most important prophet in Cheyenne history. For other accounts of Sweet Medicine's prophecy, see the following:

Grinnell, The Cheyenne Indians, Their History and Ways of Life, Vol. II, pp. 379-81.

Powell, Sweet Medicine, Vol. II, p. 466.

Standstintimber and Liberty, Cheyenne Memories, p. 40.

⁴The condensed preverb to' here is pronounced to'se- by most other Cheyennes. It is said that the pronunciation here is a characteristic of (some) Southern Cheyenne speech. It can be seen, as in the next clause, 9), that this narrator also uses the full form of the preverb, to'se-.

⁵The usual order of preverbs here, probably preferred by this narrator also, is 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 éxho'hooné'tánese taa'ēva.
\m é- h- ho'hooné'tá -né -s taa'ēva
\g 3- PST- be_camp_in_a_circle -FII -REPORT at_night
\p pro- tns- vii -sfx -sfx obl

\f There was a camp at night.

\ref The Corn and Meat 002

\t é'ováxenásesto hetaneo'o.
\m é- h- ováxená -sest -o hetane -o
\g 3- PST- dream -REPORT -PL man -PL
\p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx na -sfx

\f Men dreamed.

\ref The Corn and Meat 003

\t naa tséhvóona'o é'áhkóheohtsésesto
\m naa tsé- h- vóona'ó é- h- áhkóheohtsé -sest -o
\g and REAL- PST- be_morning 3- PST- play_hoop_game -REPORT -PL
\p p pfx-cjt- tns- vii pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\t kásováaheho.

\m kásováahéh -o
 \g young_man -PL
 \p na -sfx

\f And the next morning young men were playing the hoop game.

\ref The Corn and Meat 004
 \t netao'o éxhoháetanevoo'énèse.
 \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 nèhe'se éhváxeésesto.
 \m naa nèhe'se é- h- váxéé -sest -o
 \g and then 3- PST- be_dressed_formally -REPORT -PL
 \p p p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\f And then they were dressing fancy.

\ref The Corn and Meat 006
 \t nomáhéstó'e tséhésèhoo'èse tséováxéstse
 \m nomáhéstó'e -é tsé- hése- hoe -s tsé- ováxená -ht
 \g south -LOC REAL- from_there- be_at -3 REAL- dream -3
 \p p -sfx pfx-cjt- pv- vai -sfx pfx-cjt- vai -sfx

\t éhnessé'èhneséstse.
 \m é- h- nèh- sé'èhné -sest
 \g 3- PST- toward- walk_to_center -REPORT
 \p p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx

\f One who was on (from?) the south side (of the camp) who had dreamed came to the center.

\ref The Corn and Meat 007
 \t éxheóvoma'eséstse; é'ke'haso éhnésesto
 \m é- h- heóvoma'e -sest é'ke'haso é- h- néé -sest -o
 \g 3- PST- yellow-headed -REPORT plume 3- PST- stand -REPORT -OBV
 \p p pro- tns- vai -sfx na pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\t hemé'kóne.
 \m he- mé'kon -é
 \g 3PS- head -LOC
 \p p pro- ni -sfx

\f He was painted yellow; a feather stood on his head.

\ref The Corn and Meat 008
 \t naa notāma tséováxéstse éhnessé'èhneséstse.
 \m naa notāma tsé- ováxená -ht é- h- nèh- sé'èhné -sest
 \g and north REAL- dream -3 3- PST- toward- walk_to_center -REPORT
 \p p p pfx-cjt- vai -sfx pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx

\f And from the north side one who had dreamed came to the center.

\ref The Corn and Meat 009
 \t máto éstó'nèhesetóneséstse.
 \m mato é-{pro} h-{tns} tó'-{pv} nèheš-{i} e{fai} -t -óné -sest
 \g also 3- PST- exactly- that way (anaph.)- sit
 \p p

\f He was dressed the same (as the other one).

\ref The Corn and Meat 010

\t nomáhéstó'e tséhvé'hóómòse néhe na'éstse notāma
\m nomáhéstó'e -é tsé- h- vé'hoom -ó -s néhe na'éstse notāma
\g south -LOC REAL- PST- look_at -DIR -3 that one north
\p p -sfx pfx-cjt- tns- vta -fta -sfx pro p p

\t tséhésèhoétsese.

\m tsé- hése- ho- e -tsé -tse -se
\g REAL- from_there- very- sit -1PL -OBV -3PL
\p pfx-cjt- pv- RED- fai -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f When the one from the south looked at that one from the north, (he said,)

\ref The Corn and Meat 011

\t "hēā'e néhóxe'éstšeše."
\m hēā'e né- hóxe'éstshé -e
\g maybe 2- copy -2:1
\p p pro- vta -sfx

\f "Maybe you are copying me," (he said).

\ref The Corn and Meat 012

\t "naa hápó'e nétáhóovenèhesétamātse."
\m naa hápó'e né- ta- hóove- nè- hesétam -atse
\g and likewise 2- away- groundlessly- AN- thus_think_of -1:2
\p p p pro- pv- i- pv- vta -sfx

\f "And I was thinking the same about you," (the other one said to him).

\ref The Corn and Meat 013

\t "naa náováxe."
\m naa ná- ováxená
\g well 1- dream
\p p pro- vai

\f "Well, I dreamed," (said the first man).

\ref The Corn and Meat 014

\t "naa hápó'e náováxe."
\m naa hápó'e ná- ováxená
\g and likewise 1- dream
\p p p pro- vai

\f "And likewise I dreamd," (said the second man).

\ref The Corn and Meat 015

\t naa vé'hoomenáno nevo'èstanémaneo'o,
\m naa vé'hoom -enáno ne- vo'èstaném -ane -o
\g well look_at -2:3PL.IMPV 2PS- person -21PL.PS -PL
\p p vta -sfx pro- na-poss -sfx -sfx

\t éoháeanao'o.

\m é- ho- háeaná -o
\g 3- very- hungry -PL
\p pro- RED- vai -sfx

\f "Look at our people, they are very hungry," (he said).

\ref The Corn and Meat 016

\t nétóněšeoováxe.

\m né- tóněše- ováxená
\g 2- how- dream
\p pro- pv- vai

\f "What did you dream?" (asked the first man).

\ref The Corn and Meat 017

\t naa hé'tóhe tséxhóeneoo'e náonóoma mahtamáhááhe,"
\m naa hé'tóhe tsé- h- hóeneoo'e ná- onóom -a mahtamáhááhéh
\g well this REAL- OBL- flow_out 1- call -INV old_woman
\p p pro pfx-cjt- tns- vii pro- vta -fta na

\t éxheséstse.
\m é- h- he -sest
\g 3- PST- say -REPORT
\p pro- tns- vai -sfx

\f Well, this, where water came out, an old woman called me," he said.

\ref The Corn and Meat 018

\t "naa hápó'e náněhetó'ováxe."
\m naa hápó'e ná- nē- hetó'ováxená
\g and likewise 1- AN- thus_dream
\p p p pro- pv- vai

\f "And I dreamed the same," (answered the second man). (More modern word, náněheševáxe.)

\ref The Corn and Meat 019

\t "naa nénéhe'óhtsema!" éxhésesto.
\m naa né- nēhe'óhtsé -ma
\g well 2- go_there -21PL
\p p pro- vai -sfx

\f "Well, let's go there!" they said.

\ref The Corn and Meat 020

\t naa é'éneahkóheohtsésesto.
\m naa é- h- éne- ahkóheohtsé -sest -o
\g and 3- PST- stop- play_hoop_game -REPORT -PL
\p p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f And they stopped playing the hoop game.

\ref The Corn and Meat 021

\t éhmásóhamèstoetsésesto.
\m é- h- másó- háméstoeotse -sest -o
\g 3- PST- suddenly- sit_down_quickly -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They suddenly sat down.

\ref The Corn and Meat 022

\t éstatséhe'óhtsésesto héné mahpe
\m é- h- ta- tséhe'óhtsé -sest -o héné mahpe
\g 3- PST- away- go_to -REPORT -PL that water
\p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx pro ni

\t tsé'anóhe'sevòtse.
\m tsé- h- anóhe'sevó -tse
\g REAL- OBL- flow_down -OBV

\p pfx-cjt- tns- vii -sfx

\f They went to where that water ran down.

\ref The Corn and Meat 023

\t éstaéstsehnésesto.

\m é- h- ta- éstsehné -sest -o

\g 3- PST- away- enter -REPORT -PL

\p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They went in.

\ref The Corn and Meat 024

\t hotáhtse máhtamáhááhe éxhoeséstse.

\m hotáhtse máhtamáháahé h é- h- hoe -sest

\g here old_woman 3- PST- be_at -REPORT

\p p na pro- tns- vai -sfx

\f Here, the old woman was there.

\ref The Corn and Meat 025

\t "nétaonóomatséme, néxahéhaséstse. háméstoeotse!"

\m né- ta- onóom -atse -mé néxahéh -aséstse háméstoeotse

\g 2- away- call -1:2 -2PL my_grandchildren -VOC sit_down_quickly

\p pro- pv- vta -sfx -sfx na-poss -sfx vai

\t éxhetaevósesto.

\m é- h- het -ae -vó -sest -o

\g 3- PST- tell -INV -3PL -REPORT -OBV

\p pro- tns- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f "I have called you, my grandchildren. Sit down!" she told them.

\ref The Corn and Meat 026

\t éxhámeštoesesto.

\m é- h- hámeštoe -sest -o

\g 3- PST- sit_down -REPORT -PL

\p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They sat down.

\ref The Corn and Meat 027

\t "hé'tóhe mese!" éxhetaevósesto, "ho'évohkötse naa

\m hé'tóhe mése é- h- het -ae -vó -sest -o ho'évohkötse naa

\g this eat 3- PST- tell -INV -3PL -REPORT -OBV meat and

\p pro vti pro- tns- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx ni p

\t máhaemenötse."

\m máhaemén -ot

\g corn_kernel -PL

\p ni -sfx

\f "Eat this, meat and corn," she told them.

\ref The Corn and Meat 028

\t "náhtásáaná'so'enóhéhe," na'éstse

\m ná- htse- ta- sáa- ná'so'enohe -hé na'éstse

\g 1- FUT- away- NEG- full_from_eating -NEG one

\p pro- tns- pv- pv- vai -sfx p

\t móxhešetanóhéhe.

\m mó- h- hešetanó -hé -hé
 \g INFER- PST- thus_think -NEG -NEG
 \p p- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\f "I won't get full," one of them was thinking.

\ref The Corn and Meat 029
 \t éhvéssetséstóvähstsésesto.
 \m é- h- vésetsést -ov -ahtse -sest -o
 \g 3- PST- hurry -FTA -REFL -REPORT -PL
 \p pro- tns- vta -sfx -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f They were in a hurry (to eat).

\ref The Corn and Meat 030
 \t hotáhtse éstó'omo'tánése ho'évohkótse naa
 \m hotáhtse é- h- tó'omo'tá -né -s ho'évohkótse naa
 \g unexpectedly 3- PST- remain_same -FII -REPORT meat and
 \p p pro- tns- vii -sfx -sfx ni p

\t máhaemenótse.
 \m máhaemén -ot
 \g corn_kernel -PL
 \p ni -sfx

\f Here, the meat and corn remained the same (in amount).

\ref The Corn and Meat 031
 \t éhná'so'enóhésesto.
 \m é- h- ná'so'enohe -sest -o
 \g 3- PST- full_from_eating -REPORT -PL
 \p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They got full.

\ref The Corn and Meat 032
 \t é'áhtse'só'nèhetaa'ónése.
 \m é- h- áhtse'- só'- nèhetaa'ó -né -s
 \g 3- PST- simultaneously- still- be_so_big -FII -REPORT
 \p pro- tns- pv- pv- vii -sfx -sfx

\f It stayed the same amount.

\ref The Corn and Meat 033
 \t naa nèhe'se, "tatséhetó'o!" éxhetaevósesto.
 \m naa nèhe'se ta- tséhetó'o'ó é- h- het -ae -vó -sest -o
 \g and then away-look_yonder COMP- PST- tell -INV -3PL -REPORT -OBV
 \p p p pv- vai pfx-cjt- tns- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f And then, "Look over there!" she told them.

\ref The Corn and Meat 034
 \t éstatséhetó'o'ósesto.
 \m é- h- ta- tséhetó'o'ó -sest -o
 \g 3- PST- away-look_yonder -REPORT -PL
 \p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They looked over there.

\ref The Corn and Meat 035
 \t máhaemenótse éxxaetséhetó'a'hánèsestótse.

\m máhaemén -ot é- h- xae- tséhetó'a'há -né -sest -ot
 \g corn_kernel -PL 3- PST- simply- wave -FII -REPORT -PL
 \p ni -sfx pro- tns- pv- vii -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f Corn was simply waving.

\ref The Corn and Meat 036

\t é'ěšěhema'óhkeenétonésestótse.
 \m é- h- éše- he- ma'óhkeenétó -né -sest -ot
 \g 3- PST- already- have- tassel -FII -REPORT -PL
 \p pro- tns- pv- pv- vii -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f It was already tasseled.

\ref The Corn and Meat 037

\t naa nēhe'še, "tséhéóhe hósětséhetóó'o!"
 \m naa nēhe'še tséhéóhe hóse- tséhetóó'ó
 \g and then here again- look_yonder
 \p p p p pv- vai

\t éxhetaevósesto

\m é- h- het -ae -vó -sest -o
 \g 3- PST- tell -INV -3PL -REPORT -OBV
 \p pro- tns- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f And then, "Here, look again!" she told them.

\ref The Corn and Meat 038

\t éstáhósetséhetóó'ósesto.
 \m é- h- ta- hóse- tséhetóó'ó -sest -o
 \g 3- PST- away- again- look_yonder -REPORT -PL
 \p pro- tns- pv- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f 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 taanáhoeotsēstse!
 \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'háhkése tséhóo'xēva.
\m ma'háhkése 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'háhkéséh -o tse- vovóe- mésehe -o
\g old_man -PL 3:FUT- first- eat -PL
\p na -sfx tns- pv- vai -sfx

\f The old men will eat first.

\ref The Corn and Meat 045
\t naa nēhe'se tsé'tóhe tséheto'xóve'éhahévose
\m naa nēhe'se tsé'tóhe tsé- heto'xóve'éhahe -vó -s
\g and then these REAL- be_such_age -3PL -3
\p p p pro pfx-cjt- vai -sfx -sfx

\t tsetáhóseméséheo'o,"
\m tse- ta- hóse- mésehe -o
\g 3:FUT- away- next- eat -PL
\p tns- pv- pv- vai -sfx

\t éhnēhešeonóomósesto
\m é- h- nē- heše- onóom -ó -sest -o
\g 3- PST- AN- thus- call -DIR -REPORT -OBV
\p pro- tns- pv- pv- vta -fta -sfx -sfx

\t ma'háhkéseho.
\m ma'háhkéséh -o
\g old_man -PL
\p na -sfx

\f And then these (others) according to their ages will eat next," that's how she called the old men.

\ref The Corn and Meat 046
\t éhmásóse'eohtsésesto ma'háhkéseho.
\m é- h- másó- sé'eohtsé -sest -o ma'háhkéséh -o
\g 3- PST- all_the_group- go_to_center -REPORT -PL old_man -PL
\p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx na -sfx

\f All the old men came to the center.

\ref The Corn and Meat 047
\t éhméséhésesto.
\m é- h- mésehe -sest -o
\g 3- PST- eat -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They ate.

\ref The Corn and Meat 048

\t naa nonó'hónó'e tsétanèhe'xóve'éhahese.
 \m naa nonó'hónó'e tsé- ta- nè- he'xóve'éhahe -se
 \g and step_by_step REAL- away- AN- be_such_age -3PL
 \p p p pfx-cjt- pv- pv- vai -sfx

\f And step-by-step according to their ages.

\ref The Corn and Meat 049
 \t naa nèhe'se ka'èškóneho
 \m naa nèhe'se ka'èškónéh -o
 \g and then child -PL
 \p p p na -sfx

\t éstamóneméséhésesto.
 \m é- h- ta- mone- mésehe -sest -o
 \g 3- PST- away- recently- eat -REPORT -PL
 \p pro- tns- pv- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f And then the children ate next.

\ref The Corn and Meat 050
 \t éstasé'hovetšěške'eotsénèse hé'tóhe
 \m é- h- ta- sé'hove- tšěške'eotse -né -s hé'tóhe
 \g 3- PST- away- suddenly- become_smaller -FII -REPORT this
 \p pro- tns- pv- pv- vai -sfx -sfx pro

\t ho'évohkótse naa máhaemenótse.
 \m ho'évohkótse naa máhaemén -ot
 \g meat and corn_kernel -PL
 \p ni p ni -sfx

\f This meat and corn suddenly got smaller.

\ref The Corn and Meat 051
 \t ka'èškóneho tsémónenòhtóve'hanase
 \m ka'èškónéh -o tsé- mone- nòhtóve'haná -se
 \g child -PL REAL- recently- know_how_to_eat -3PL
 \p na -sfx pfx-cjt- pv- vai -sfx

\t éstamáhaéstánóvòse.
 \m é- h- ta- máhaést -á -nó -vó -s
 \g 3- PST- away- devour -INAN -PL -3PL -REPORT
 \p pro- tns- pv- vti -fti -fti -sfx -sfx

\f Children who had just learned to eat ate it all up.

\ref The Corn and Meat 052
 \t naa mé'ěševoto
 \m naa mé'ěševot -o
 \g and baby -PL
 \p p na -sfx

\t tsésáa'ěšenòhtóve'hanáése
 \m tsé- sáa- ' -ěše- nòhtóve'haná -hé -se
 \g REAL- NEG- EP- already- know_how_to_eat -NEG -3PL
 \p pfx-cjt- pv- pv- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\t héne aměške hemé'konēvo éstséhetanetse.
 \m héne aměške he- mé'kon -evó é- h- tséhetan -e -tse
 \g that grease 3PS- head -PL.PS 3- PST- do_something_to -PSV -OBV
 \p pro ni pro- ni -sfx pro- tns- vta -sfx -sfx

\f And babies who did not yet know how to eat, that grease was put on their heads.

\ref The Corn and Meat 053

\t "naa tséhéóhe néstshetóó'óhéne
\m naa tséhéóhe néh- tséhétoó'ó -héne
\g and here toward- look_yonder -2p:IMPV.DEL
\p p p dir- vai -sfx

\t máhméovóona'o!

\m máh- méo- vóona'ó
\g IRREAL- morning- be_morning
\p pfx-cjt- pv- vii

\f "And look toward here early in the morning!

\ref The Corn and Meat 054

\t tseméohóéévo'soo'e mó'késá'e,"
\m tse- méo- hóe- évo'sóe mó'késá'e
\g 3:FUT- morning- out- play calf
\p tns- pv- i- vai na

\t éxhetaevósesto.

\m é- h- het -ae -vó -sest -o
\g 3- PST- tell -INV -3PL -REPORT -OBV
\p pro- tns- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f A calf will come out to play," she told them.

\ref The Corn and Meat 055

\t naa nèhe'she héva
\m naa nèhe'she héva
\g and then maybe
\p p p p

\t tsétáhóséhóna'oveno'keaénámáhtse,"
\m tsé- ta- hóse- hóna'ove- no'ke- aénamá -ht
\g REAL- away- again- the_next_one- one- be_so_many_years_old -3
\p pfx-cjt- pv- pv- pv- i- fai -sfx

\t éxhetaevósesto.

\m é- h- het -ae -vó -sest -o
\g 3- PST- tell -INV -3PL -REPORT -OBV
\p pro- tns- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f "And then maybe the next one who will be one year old," she told them.

\ref The Corn and Meat 056

\t "naa nèhe'she hówéhno tséma'haetáhtse.
\m naa nèhe'she hówéhno tsé- ma'haeta -ht
\g and then barely REAL- large -3
\p p p p pfx-cjt- vai -sfx

\f "And then a little (bigger) one who is bigger.

\ref The Corn and Meat 057

\t naa nèhe'she hotóá'e tsemé'hóva'xe,"
\m naa nèhe'she hotóá'e tse- mé'- hóva'xe
\g and then buffalo 3:FUT- appear- go_out
\p p p na tns- i- vai

\t éxhetaevósesto.

\m é- h- het -ae -vó -sest -o
 \g 3- PST- tell -INV -3PL -REPORT -OBV
 \p pro- tns- vta -fta -sfx -sfx

\f And then a buffalo will appear as it comes out," she told them.

\ref The Corn and Meat 058
 \t naa éhnehétóhta'hanésesto.
 \m naa é- h- nè- hetóhta'hané -sest -o
 \g and 3- PST- AN- thus_tell_story -REPORT -PL
 \p p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f And they told the story that way.

\ref The Corn and Meat 059
 \t naa nèhe'se tséhvóona'o éstsehetóo'ósesto.
 \m naa nèhe'se tsé- h- vóona'ó é- h- tsé- hetóo'ó -sest -o
 \g and then REAL- PST- be_morning 3- PST- CAT- thus_look -REPORT -PL
 \p p p pfx-cjt- tns- vii pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f And then in the morning they looked.

\ref The Corn and Meat 060
 \t mó'késá'e éhmé'évo'sóeséstse.
 \m mó'késá'e é- h- mé'- évo'sóe -sest
 \g calf 3- PST- appear-play -REPORT
 \p na pro- tns- i- vai -sfx

\f A calf appeared playing.

\ref The Corn and Meat 061
 \t naa nèhe'se hóna'oveto
 \m naa nèhe'se hóna'oveto
 \g and then next
 \p p p p

\t tsétanèhetaetáhtse.
 \m tsé- ta- nèhetaeta -ht
 \g REAL- away- be_so_big -3
 \p pfx-cjt- pv- vai -sfx

\f And then the next sized one.

\ref The Corn and Meat 062
 \t naa nèhe'se hotòà'e éhmónèhestóxèhóehneséstse.
 \m naa nèhe'se hotòà'e é- h- móne- hestóxe- hóehné -sest
 \g and then buffalo 3- PST- recently- last- emerge -REPORT
 \p p p na pro- tns- pv- pv- vai -sfx

\f And then a buffalo came out last.

\ref The Corn and Meat 063
 \t naa nèhe'se
 \m naa nèhe'se
 \g and then
 \p p p

\t tséhvóona'o éhmaheóesesto ésevone.
 \m tsé- h- vóona'ó é- h- máhe- óé -sest -o ésevone
 \g REAL- PST- be_morning 3- PST- all- stand -REPORT -PL buffalo_herd
 \p pfx-cjt- tns- vii pro- tns- pv- fai -sfx -sfx na

\f And then in the morning a buffalo herd was standing.

\ref The Corn and Meat 064

\t naa nêhéóhe éhmâhenéhomó'hesesto.

\m naa nêhéóhe é- h- mâhe- néhomó'he -sest -o

\g and there 3- PST- all- chase -REPORT -PL

\p p p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f And there they all chased (buffalos).

\ref The Corn and Meat 065

\t éstanêhešéhoháeesenêhésesto.

\m é- h- ta- nè- heše- ho- háeesenehe -sest -o

\g 3- PST- away- AN- thus- very- have_plenty_food -REPORT -PL

\p pro- tns- pv- pv- pv- RED- vai -sfx -sfx

\f In this way they had plenty to eat.

\ref The Corn and Meat 066

\t hena'háanéhe tséhetaa'héne'enōmo

\m hena'háanéhe tsé- hetaa'- héne'en -om -ó

\g that's_it REAL- entire- know -FTI -1:I

\p pro pfx-cjt- i- vti -sfx -sfx

\f That's all that I know of (the story).

\dt 17/Sep/1999

The Whiteman and the Indian, by Leonard Yelloweagle (Oklahoma)

Vé'ho'e naa xaevo'éstane é'éenéseohtsésesto.

Whiteman and Indian were going along together.

Naa hetóéva éxhonótovösesto še'xo ho'éstáva.

And in the evening they roasted a duck in the fire.

Naa tsé'éšeéxáho'hetsése é'áhto'hohnóvösesto páéva.

And when it was done cooking they buried it in the ashes.

Naa mósto'seověšenáhevóhe.

And they were going to lie down.

Naa nêhe'se vé'ho'e éhnêhetósesto tsé'tóhe xaevo'èstanóho.

And then the whiteman told this Indian,

"Tsépêheveováxéstse hétsetseha taa'eva tsetamevo tsé'tóhe še'xo,"

"He who dreams well now at night will eat this duck,"

éxheséstse.

he said.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevo'éstane é'amáhtovösesto tsé'tóhe vé'hó'e.

And this Indian agreed with this whiteman.

Naa nêhe'se é'ověšenásesto.

And then they lay down.

Naa tséhvóona'otse vé'ho'e é'oseeméoto'eséstse.

And when it was morning the whiteman got up really early.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevo'èstane é'ěšéahtse'tótoešenaséstse.
But this Indian was already lying with his eyes open.

Naa vé'ho'e é'oseehóhta'hanétanoséstse.
And the whiteman really wanted to tell his story.

Éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe xaevo'èstanóho, "Nátavovóehósésta
He told this Indian, "Let me be first to tell

naováxestótse!" éxhetósesto.
my dream!" he told him.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevo'èstane éhpéhévátsestánóse.
And this Indian thought well of that.

Naa néhe vé'ho'e é'aséstóhta'haneséstse.
And that whiteman started telling his story.

Éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe xaevo'èstanóho.
He told this Indian,

"Tsé'ováxenáto vé'ho'á'eo'o tséhetsénoonese éhne'anóheéséne.
"When I dreamed white women who had wings (= angels) were coming down.

"Naa tséhéóhe tsé'ěšého'oéšenávóse e'evonóhó'o éhne'anóheneeotse,"
"And here where they were a ladder came down,"

éxheséstse.
he said.

"Naa néhe'še nátaasee'eohtse,"
"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 tséstaěšého'óhta'hanése tsé'tóhe
And there when he got to that point in the story this

xaevo'èstane éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe vé'hó'e,
Indian told this whiteman,

"Hee, hápó'e náto'éstó'néhetó'ováxe
"Hee, likewise I dreamed about the same

tséhetó'ováxenáto," éxheséstse.
the way I dreamed," he said.

"Naa hápó'e vétséóhe tó'néhe'xóvéva
"And likewise then at exactly the same time

mónáováxenáhéhe," éxheséstse tsé'tóhe xaevo'èstane.
I must have dreamed," said this Indian.

"Hénéhéóhe nétavóomátse. E'evonóhó'óne
"There I saw you On a ladder

nétaamee'eohtse," 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'se náhestano, námévo," éxhetósesto.
"This duck I took it, I ate it," he told him.

Hená'hanehe.
That's it.

The Bat, by Edward Riggs (Oklahoma)

1. no'ka tótseha éhmóheeohtséhoono hováhne
Once long ago they met, animals.
Once long ago the animals met.
2. naa mato hapo'e móhmóheeohtséhevōhe vé'késeho tséohkéhetaa'eame'hávōse
And also likewise they met, birds those who fly.
And also likewise birds, those who fly, met.
3. naa móséškanetsénoonáhe móséstō'sevéseéetse'òhtséhēhe
And bat was also going to go to
And a bat was also going to go to
4. tséhmóheeohtséstovetse
where there was a meeting.
the meeting.
5. éstatséhe'òhtséhoo'o hováhne tséhmóheeohtsetsése
He went to animals where they were meeting.
He went to where the animals were meeting.
6. hováhne éstsehetaesesto nésáahováhévēhe névé'késéheve
Animals told him, "You are not an animal. You are a bird.
The animals told him, "You are not an animal. You are a bird.
7. tatséhe'òhtséstse vé'késeho tséhmóheeohtsévése
Go over to birds where they are meeting!"
Go to where the birds are meeting!"
8. éxhestóhehoo'o móséškanetsénoonáhe
he was told, bat.
the bat was told.
9. naa épéhéva'e éxhetóhoono
And, "That's good," he told them.
"Well, that's good," he told them.
10. náhtaévatséhe'òhtse vé'késeho tséhmóheeohtsévése éxhéhoo'o
"I'll go to birds where they are meeting," he said,
"I'll go to where the birds are meeting," said

móséškanetsénoonáhe
bat.
the bat.

11. éstatséhe'òhtséhoo'o móséškanetsénoonáhe tséhmóheeohtsetsése
He went to, bat, where they were meeting,
The bat went to where the birds were meeting.

vé'késeho
birds.

12. naa hánaháohe tséstáho'eòhtsése énéxhósepéohehoo'o
And over there when he arrived he was again rejected.
And when he arrived there he was rejected again.

13. tatséhe'òhtséstse hováhne tséhmóheeohtsévoše
"Go over to animals where they are meeting!
"Go to where the animals are meeting!

14. nésáavé'késéhévéhe néhováheve éxhestóhehoo'o
You are not a bird. You are an animal," he was told.
You are not a bird. You are an animal," he was told.

15. éhne'evaaseohtséhoo'o
He came away.
He left.

16. naa náme'tatóněšévémase
And "What should I do?
"Well, what in the world should I do?

17. tósa'e náho'xéstáhēmase éxhešetanóhoo'o
Where do I belong?" he thought.
Where do I belong?" he wondered.

18. tá'sè=hótáhtse náhováheve
"I thought I was an animal,
"I thought I was an animal,

19. naa vé'késo náhetane
and 'bird' I am called.
but I am called a bird.

20. naa tséhešésáavé'késéhévèhéto
And since I am not a bird,
But since I am not a bird,

21. tósa'e náho'xéstáhēmase
where do I belong?
where in the world do I belong?

22. násáaxaehéne'enōhe
I just do not know."

I just don't know."

23. tsé'tóhe hóhta'áhēō'o éhešenéhetóšése
This story thusly lies (is told that way).
That's how this story is told.
24. tósa'e ésáaho'xéseotséheséstse móséškanetsénoonáhe
Someplace he does not belong, bat.
The bat doesn't belong anywhere.
25. mó'ohkéhéseéveahtoēšenāhēhe éšēēva
That must be why he hides in daytime.
That must be why he hides in the daytime.
26. tósa'e heva ma'tāā'e heva véhpotsēva éohkeahtoēšenaséstse
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'nóhkeéeamēhnéstse táhta
Someplace he doesn't go around in open.
He doesn't go around anywhere in the open.
28. naa hena'háanehe énéhe'éstóšése
And that's all. It is thusly told.
And that's how the story is told.

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The Frog and Her Brothers, by Ed Riggs (Oklahoma)

\ref FROG2 clause 1

\tx Tótseha éstáho'kónoehoo'o oonáha'é'héhe
\mr tótseha é-h -táho'kónoe-hoon oonáha'é'héhe
\mg long.ago 3-PST-sit.upon -PRET frog:FEM

\tx ma'xého'honáéva.
\mr ma'xe-ho'honáé-vá
\mg big -rock -OBL

\ft Long ago a frog sat on a big rock.

\ref FROG2 clause 2

\tx Ehnémenéehoo'o.
\mr é-h -némené-e -hoon
\mg 3-PST-sing -sit-PRET

\ft She sat singing.

\ref FROG2 clause 3

\tx E'ohketséhéhoo'o,

\mr é-h -ohke -tsè-hé -hoon
\mg 3-PST-HABIT-CAT-say-PRET

\ft She would say,

\ref FROG2 clause 4

\tx "Nàhtatanemo òhpèhévenenoohé'ševosèstse
\mr \ na -htataném-o oh -pèhéve-nenoohé'šé-vó -s-et
\mg \ 1POSS-brother -PL whenever-good -appear(?) -3PL-3-ITER

\tx náohkevóesetāno,"
\mr ná-ohke -vóése -tanó
\mg 1 -HABIT-joyful-mental

\ft "When my brothers look nice (dancing) I am happy,"

\ref FROG2 clause 5

\tx é'òhkèhéhoo'o.
\mr é-h -ohke -hé -hoon
\mg 3-PST-HABIT-say-PRET

\ft she would say.

\ref FROG2 clause 6

\tx Exho'sóehoono neše kàsováaheho.
\mr é-h -ho'sóe-hoon-o neše kàsováahéh-o
\mg 3-PST-dance -PRET-PL two young.man -PL

\ft The two young men danced.

\ref FROG2 clause 7

\tx Néhnéšévose votōnèstse éhnéestsenóvosestótse
\mr néh-néše-vó -s voton -ét é-h -néestsé -n -óvó-sest -ot
\mg CJT-two -3PL-3 tailfeather-PL 3-PST-stand(?)-FTI-3PL-REPORT-PL

\tx hemé'konēvo néhe tsého'sóese.
\mr he -mé'kon-evó néhe tsé-ho'sóe-se
\mg 3POSS-head -3PL these CJT-dance -3PL:PART

\ft Both of those who danced had tailfeathers stuck in their hair on their heads.

\ref FROG2 clause 8

\tx Tséhnéšenáamého'sóévose
\mr tsé-h -néšená-ame -ho'sóe-vó -s
\mg CJT-PST-while -along-dance -3PL-3

\tx é'òhkeéestséhoo'o oonāha'é'héhe,
\mr é-h -ohke -éestse-hoon oonāha'é'héhe
\mg 3-PST-HABIT-speak -PRET frog:FEM

\ft While they danced, the frog spoke,

\ref FROG2 clause 9

\tx "Nàhtatanemo òhpèhévenenoohé'ševosèstse

\mr \ na -htataném-o oh -péhéve-nenoo'hé'sé-vó -s-et
\mg \ 1POSS-brother -PL whenever-good -appear(?) -3PL-3-ITER

\tx náohkevoeshetāno,"
\mr ná-ohke -vóeshé -tanó
\mg 1 -HABIT-joyful-mental

\ft "When my brothers look nice (dancing) I am happy,"

\ref FROG2 clause 10

\tx é'òhkèhéhoo'o.
\mr é-h -ohke -hé -hoon
\mg 3-PST-HABIT-say-PRET

\ft she said.

\ref FROG2 clause 11

\tx Hévá=móhe tsé'tóhe tsého'sóese
\mr hévá móhe tsé'tóhe tsé-ho'sóe-se
\mg maybe right? these.AN CJT-dance -3PL:PART

\tx kásováaheho aénòhevoohahoono néhe
\mr kásováahéh-o aénohe-vóohé-a-hoon-o néhe
\mg young.man -PL hawk -rabbit?-PRET-PL these:AN

\tx tsénésòhomó'hese.
\mr tsé-nés-ohomó'he-se
\mg CJT-two-dance -3PL:PART

\ft Apparently these young men who danced, these who danced together, were jackrabbits.

\ref FROG2 clause 12

\tx Mó'òhkèhestatanémèhénotóhe
\mr mó -h -ohke -he -htataném-é -hé -not-ó -hé
\mg DUB-PST-HABIT-have-brother -FAI-NEG-FTA-DIR-NONAFFIRM

\tx oonáha'é'héhe vóhkooheho.
\mr oonáha'é'héhe vóhkoo'héh-o
\mg frog:FEM rabbit -OBV

\ft The rabbits were the brothers of the frog.

\ref FROG2 clause 13

\tx Hena'háanéhe tséhetaa'óhta'hanéto.
\mr hena'háanéhe tsé-hetaa'-óhta'hané -tó
\mg this.is.it CJT-extent-tell.story-1

\ft That is all that I have to tell.

The Geese, by Maude Fightingbear (Montana)

1. Éxhóhta'hane tséméhaevéstoemo.
He told a story, the one who was my spouse.

2. Éxhósemóho henā'e.
He told about geese.
3. "Éhma'xeame'hao'o,"
"They were a lot of them flying,"
4. éxhetóhta'hāne.
he told the story that way.
5. "Nèhe'se ma'aetano'e náxhèseváéna.
"Then the rifle, I grabbed it.
6. Náhtae'eamoo'o tséhnèšema'xemetónove'hávòse.
I shot up at them while they were thickly flying.
7. Hótáhtse na'èstse náhtaa'tāno.
Here, one I accidentally shot.
8. Náhtató'omemāso.
I shot him stiff.
9. Éhne'ameanā'o.
He was falling down.
10. Nèhe'se éhma'xepe'pe'e'háooheo'o néhe henā'e.
Then they were really hollering flying, those geese.
11. Éhne'évaanóhenéheohé'tovovo néhe na'èstse tséméhaetó'omemáxamoo'o.
They followed him down, that one that I shot stiff.
12. É'évanāha'enovo.
They caught him.
13. Éstaévaasèhe'ame'hao'o.
They started to fly back up.
14. Éstaévahe'ameno'ase'hánovo.
They took off upward with him.
15. Éstaévató'nèseasevéseame'ha néhe tséméhaetó'omemaso,"
Right then he also started flying again, that one that I shot stiff,"
16. éxhetóhta'hāne.
he told the story that way.

I'm Beading Moccasins, by Jeanette Howlingcrane (Oklahoma)

1. Tséxho'èhneto náoxa'òhēne.
When you came I was beading.
2. Mo'kèhanòtse námanèstsenòtse.
Moccasins, I was making them.
3. A'e náhtaéxananòtse.
Soon I'll finish them.

4. Hé'tóhe mo'kèhanòtse námanèstootáhahtsenòtse.
These moccasins I'm making them for myself.
5. Náto'setaomèhemo'kèhanenòtse,
They are going to be my own moccasins,
6. naa mátò=héva vo'èstane máxho'aestse náhtanèšèhohtóvanòtse.
or someone if he wants (them), I'll sell them.
7. Móme'héhaoemēnèstse.
They surely won't be expensive.
8. Éohkevá'nemáhtóhtóhanoemēnèstse.
They just cost ten (dollars).

How Birney Got the Name Oevemanaheno, by Elaine Strange Owl (Montana)

Naa tséheškéto nánòhtséstóvo hé'tóhe tséhmano'éeévòse Oévemanahéno
And my mother I asked her (about) this where they have a village, Scabby Place,

tséhestohe. Hénova'e tséohkèhésenèhestohe hé'tóhe Oévemanahéno, náhéto.
as it is called. "Why is it called that, this Scabby Place?" I said to her.

Naa hákóke tótseha tséhéóhe tséssáa'ěšemano'éeéhévòse vo'èstane'o,
"Well, long ago here when the people did not yet have a village,"

éhevoo'o, netao'o háá'ěše móméhaenonó'kevo'èstanéhevèhevóhe tsé'tóhe Oévemanaho,
she said, "all over far away they used to live by themselves, these Scabbies,

tséohkèhestóhese hétsetseha, naa tséssáa'ěšemano'éeéhévòse, éhevoo'o.
as they are called now, and when they did not yet have a village," she said.

Mó'òhkeméhae'ovóenèhestóhehanéhe Tó'èsèhahtámáhoéve'ho'éno,
"It first used to be called Longfoot Town,

mó'òhkeméhaehestóhehanéhe. Hetane nèhéóhe móhvo'èstanéhevèhéhe.
it used to be called that. A man lived there.

Móxhoháa'èstàhehéhe naa móhtó'èsèhahtáhéhe. Tó'èsèhahtámáhoéve'ho'éno,
He was tall and he had long feet. Longfoot Town,

éohkeméhae'ovóehestohe, éhevoo'o. Naa tsé'tóhe hetane móhnèheševèhehéhe
it first used to be called," she said. "And this man was named

Oévemana. Naa hétsetseha Oévemanahéno tsétaohkèhósèhestohe, éhevoo'o. Naa
Scabby. And now Scabby Place as it is again called," she said. "And

nèhe'xóvéva ésáa'ěšemáhoéstovéhane hétséhéóhe, 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 Hátšeške éhma'xéhotse'óheséstse.
\mr hátšeške é-h -ma'xe-hotse'óhe-sest
\mg ant 3-PST-big -work -REPORT

\ft An ant worked hard.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 3

\tx éhněšema'xeéstovóhtsénöse héstáme hemáheóne.
\mr é-h -něše-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 Méaněva hová'éhe mó'éeho'tséhéhe
\mr méane -vá hová'éhe mó -h -ée -ho'tsé -hé -hé
\mg summer-OBL something DUB-PST-about-have.s.t.-NEG -NONAFFIRM

\tx tséxhemáheóněse.
\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'hého'sóeséstse méaněva.
\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'éhe éme'éseotsehe nemáheóne
\mr hápó'e hová'éhe é-me' -éseotseh -e ne -máheón-é
\mg likewise something 3-should-put.in.s.o. -PSV 2POSS-house -LOC

\tx nonóhpa máxho'tonéto nèstsemese
 \mr nonóhpa máx -ho' -tonéto ne -htse-mése
 \mg so.that CJT.IRREAL-arrive-be.cold 2POSS-FUT -eat.s.t.

\tx hová'éhe,"
 \mr hová'éhe
 \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 hátšěškeho.
 \mr é-h -het -ae -sest -o hátšěškeh-o
 \mg 3-PST-say.to.s.o.-INV-REPORT-OBV ant -OBV

\ft He was told by the ant.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 10

\tx "Hová'aháne,"
 \mr \ hová'aháne
 \mg \ no

\ft "No,"

\ref GRASSHOP clause 11

\tx éxhesèstse háhkota.
 \mr é-h -hé -sest háhkota
 \mg 3-PST-say-REPORT grasshopper

\ft said the grasshopper.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 12

\tx "Náto'seéeho'soo'e,
 \mr \ ná-to'se-ée -ho'sóe
 \mg \ 1 -gonna-about-dance

\ft "I'm gonna dance.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 13

\tx naa màto náto'senéméne.
 \mr naa màto ná-to'se-némené
 \mg and also 1 -gonna-sing

\ft and also I'm gonna sing.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 14

\tx Násáahotse'óhetanóhe.
 \mr ná-sáa-hotse'óhe-tanó-hé
 \mg 1 -NEG-work -want-NEG

\ft I don't want to work.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 15

\tx Eheómèhoháaehō'ta."
\mr é-heóme -ho -háaeho'tá
\mg 3-excessive-REDUP-be.sunny

\ft It's too sunny."

\ref GRASSHOP clause 16

\tx Nèhe'se tséstatonétotse
\mr nèhe'se tsé-h -ta -tonéto -tse
\mg then CJT-PST-TRANSLOC-be.cold-OBV

\tx éstaosáaneméséhétanoséstse.
\mr é-h -ta -osáne -mésehe-tanó-sest
\mg 3-PST-TRANSLOC-commence-eat -want-REPORT

\ft Then when it was cold, he wanted to eat.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 17

\tx "Otséhámóhe,
\mr \otséhámóhe
\mg \oh.yes

\ft "Oh yes,

\ref GRASSHOP clause 18

\tx hátšesške éma'xeéstóvóhtse héstáme
\mr hátšesške é-ma'xe-éstovohtsé hé -htamé
\mg ant 3-big -put.in.s.t. 3POSS-food

\tx hemáheóne.
\mr he -máheón-é
\mg 3POSS-house -LOC

\ft the ant stored a lot (of) her food in her house.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 19

\tx Náto'séhémèséhétáno,"
\mr ná-to'se-hé -mésehe-tanó
\mg 1 -gonna-INTENT-eat -want

\ft I want to go eat,"

\ref GRASSHOP clause 20

\tx éxheséstse.
\mr é-h -hé -sest
\mg 3-PST-say-REPORT

\ft he said.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 21

\tx Estáhémèséhétanoséstse.
\mr é-h -ta -hé -mésehe-tanó-sest
\mg 3-PST-TRANSLOC-INTENT-eat -want-REPORT

\ft He went to eat.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 22

\tx E'ěšeméhaenéhetaesesto,
\mr é-h -ěše -méhae -ně -het -ae -sest -o
\mg 3-PST-already-previously-ANAPH-say.to.s.o.-INV-REPORT-OBV

\ft She had already told him,

\ref GRASSHOP clause 23

\tx "Něstsésáahoxomatséhe máxháeanato."
\mr \ ne -htse-sáa-hoxom -atse-hé máx -háeaná -to
\mg \ 2POSS-FUT -NEG-feed.s.o.-1:2 -NEG CJT.IRREAL-be.hungry-2

\ft "I'll not feed you when you're hungry."

\ref GRASSHOP clause 24

\tx Naa éstaněšěševátamósesto hátšeške
\mr naa é-h -ta -něše-ševátam-ó -sest -o hátšeške
\mg but 3-PST-TRANSLOC-CONT-pity -DIR-REPORT-OBV ant

\tx háhkotaho
\mr háhkotah -o
\mg grasshopper-OBV

\ft But the ant had pity on the grasshopper.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 25

\tx éxhoxomósesto.
\mr é-h -hoxom -ó -sest -o
\mg 3-PST-feed.s.o.-DIR-REPORT-OBV

\ft She fed him.

The Snake and Mice, by James Shoulderblade (Montana)

(\$\$USE NEWLY KEYBOARDED TEXT)

The Snake and the Mice

James Shoulderblade

- 1) nétato?śéhóséstomévatsénóvo śé?śenovótse naa hókkeehesono
I'm going to tell you about a snake and little mice.
- 2) śé?śenovótse éstaamevonéhného?o 3) éstáho?evonéhóhtanohe vóxe
A snake was crawling along. He came upon a hole (den).
- 4) naa éstaésevonéhného?o 5) hotátse éxhoehoono hókkeehesono
And it crawled inside. Behold, there were little mice (there).
- 6) éxhâmasetséstóehoono 7) va?óhtama tsetsehnéstse éxhetóhoono
They really welcomed him! "In place-of-honor go sit!" they told him.
- 8) hókkeeheso éstśéhetóhoono henésono tse?tohe neměśémévo
The mouse said to her children, "This (is) your grandfather.
- 9) ného?náho?óhtséváévo éxhetóhoono 10) nêhe?śe tséstaeśenenóve?xóvetse
He came to visit you," she told them. Then after a little while
éstśéhetóhoono na?éstse henésono néxhêestanomóveha kâhamaxéstse
she told one (of) her children, "Go fetch firewood!
- 11) nâhtâhomóhtáoohé?tóvo neměśémévo éxhetóhoono
I'll cook for your grandfather," she told him.
- 12) éstaosáanéhóva?xého?o 13) tséstaeśenenéśenenóve?éhóhtâse
He went outside. After he had been gone a little while
éxhósenéhetóhoono na?éstse néxhênóohomóveha mahpe
she told one (child), "Go fetch water!
- 14) nâhtâhomóhtáoohé?tóvo neměśémévo 15) tsetaměśéhéotse éxhetóhoono
I'll cook for your grandfather. He'll eat," she told him.
- 16) éstaosáanéhóśéhóva?xého?o 17) tséstaeśéhósenenóve?éhóhtâse
He went outside. After he had been gone for a little while
éxhóśetséhetóhoono tséněśěhe?eotsetse henésono tâhénóhtsevóoma
she said to the two remaining (of) her children, "Go look for them!
- 18) étóněśěvésesto 19) étâhâe?éhohtao?o 20) néxhěvéstâhéotsema
What are they doing? They have been gone a long time. Go help them!"
éxhetóhoono 21) éstaosáanéhóśéhóva?xého?o 22) tséstaeśěhóse-
she told them. They went outside. Again after a
nenóve?xóvetse éhnéhetóhoono śé?śenovoto tsétama?xéhe?éhohtāvóse
little while she said to the snake, "It's taking them too long!
- táaxa?e nâhtâhénóhtsevóomoo?o éxhetóhoono 23) éstaosáanéhóśéhóva?xého?o
Let's see, I go look for them," she told him. She went outside.
- 24) tséstaeśěhóéhněse henésono éstaasevéno?óhtśéhoono 25) naa nêhe?śe
*When she got outside, her children she began moving from danger. And then
śé?śenovótse hapó?eveta tséssâa?évâho?éhnéhetśěse éhne?évâhóevonéhného?o
the snake likewise when they did not return crawled back out.
- 26) tséstaeśěhóevonehněse tsé?éetsetóó?óse éxxamaahováneehéhoono
After crawling outside, upon looking around, they were simply gone.
- 27) hena?háanehe hapó?eveta tséohkéheśěhóśéstomónéto he?tohe hóhta?âheo?o
That is it, likewise, what was told to me, this story,
tséstśe?kéahéto 28) hena?háanehe
when I was young. That is all.

Corn Pemmican, by Elva Killsontop (Montana)

- 1) nahko'eehe emanestse ho'xéstoha
- 2) máheemenôtse eeséstahonohtanôtse hononéstova
- 3) tse'ešeexáho'tatse eevaononanôtse
- 4) epeenánôtse
- 5) naa néhe'se ehohpe'ha aměške
- 6) eaesto'enanôtse máheemenôtse ve'kee-mahpe naa néhe'se aměške
- 7) eova'kanenéstse

Nahko'eehe emanestse ho'xéstoha.
Mymother made corn penrnican.

Eesetahonohtanotse
Sheput

mahaemenotse hononestova. corn intheoven.
Tse' geexaho'tatse
men shetook itout.
Epeenannotse. Naanehe'ge ehohpe'ha arnegke. She ground it.And then she melted grease.

Eaesto'enanotse
Shemixed together

mahaemenotse, ve'kee-mahpe, naanehe'ge amegke. corn, sugar, and then grease.

Eova'kanenestse.
They were formed into balls.

The Bear, the Coyote, and the Skunk, by Jeanette Howlingcrane (Oklahoma)

1. Nétáhóhta'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'kòhóme móhnéhnéheohtsé'tòhéhe.
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 éstatséhetóhoono ó'kòhomeho,
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'áhane,
no
"No,

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

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

12. éxhetaehoono.
he told him
he told him.

13. Tséxhe'éseóo'evotáhtsevöse éxhe'kemé'èhnéhoo'o xao'o.
while they argued slowly appeared skunk
While they were arguing a skunk slowly appeared.

14. "Háhtome!
scram
"Scram!

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

16. éxhetóhoono.
he told them.
he told them.

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

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

19. Tséhvóomovöse éstanéšèhe'névo'ahéotséhoono.
when they saw him they took off in two directions
When they saw him they took off in two different directions.

20. Essáanaha'óoméhesesto tósa'e tséhešeasetaxevöse.
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'ěšemee'ěstse menötse

- 2) eohkeovoeheo'enenéstse
 - 3) naa eohkéhoxe'anenéstse
 - 4) eohkepeenenéstse naa mátò=héva eohkepenóhenéstse
 - 5) eohkeova'kanenéstse
 - 6) hešeeše eohkeo'ěšemenéstse
 - 7) naa eohkeonee'osenenéstse kokahkése
 - 8) (naa eohkene'evavooméo'o ve'késeho) naa óhtšešeo'eotsee'éstse
- hoo'henova eohkeeto'ehenéstse
- 9) tosa'e tse'o'o eohkého'henéstse
- \$\$REVISE TEXT AND DELETE FOLLOWING DEFECTIVE SCAN

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To'seo'eMemee'estse menotse eohkeovoeheo'enenéstse
 When theyaregoing to be dried,chokecherries,theyarefirstpicked
 naa eohkehóxe'añenéstse. Eohkepeenestsé nãa mato eohkepenohenestse.
 and theyare cleaned. Theyareground or theyare pounded (witha tool).
 Eohkeova'kanenestse. HeMéeMe
 Theyaremadeintopatties.
 eohkeo'eMemenestse naa
 In thesunthey are driedand
 eohkeonee'osenenestse kokahkese. NaahtMeMeo'eotsee'estse
 theyareturned overevery little 1while.And when theybecome dry,
 hoo'henova eohkeeto'ehenestse. Tosa'e tse'o'o eohkeho'henestse.
 in a bag theyareput. Someplace whereit is drytheyarekept.

COMMENTS ON THE TEXTS

\$\$CORRECT DEFECTIVE SCAN

I have attempted to have a wide variety of texts from several viewpoints. There is geographical variety. Speakers who live in Montana have (mt) after the author credit in the text; speakers who live in Oklahoma have (ok). Some stories are told by men, others by women. Some stories are "historical" first-person eyewitness accounts while others are popular folktales. There are other categories of "historicity", too, for instance, first-person accounts which were made up for pedagogical purposes for bilingual programs. I have tried to select texts for inclusion which illustrate the various verbal modes. In this section I will

briefly comment on various aspects of the texts.

Two of the texts, "The Drumming Owls" and "The Whiteman and the Indian" illustrate the popular motif of tension between the Indian (xamae-vo'estane, 'ordinary-person') and a trickster. Around the world it is very common to find that different groups of people have stories illustrating the tension they feel as they come into contact with other kinds of people. In some Indian groups of Mexico stories first spoke of the tension between the Indians and the conquering Spaniards. Today these same stories are told, but the oppressor is now the "wealthy" Mexican national land-owner. Often, stories illustrating the cultural tension have plots in which the "underdog" ultimately overcomes or tricks the oppressor. This motif of the tension between a people and a trickster is a common one in Cheyenne stories, and also in other languages of the people who first inhabited North America. In some languages the trickster is a coyote. It is probably no accident that some of the language groups use the same word for 'spider' and 'trickster'. Such is the case with Cheyenne and Arapaho and I seem to recall that a Muskogean language also uses the same word for 'spider' and 'trickster'. The Cheyenne word is ve'hó'e. The Arapaho word is nih?oo8oo (Salzmann, IJAL 22.151). After having used these words for their cultural tricksters, both Cheyennes and Arapahos applied these words to the white man once he arrived on the scene.

Today, the term "vé'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 tsemáhevé'senohe ('he will be all sewed up'). A related word is eve'hoo'e 'he is all wrapped up (as a baby in a blanket)', which is close to eve'ho'eve. Because of the similarity in sounds between the verb roots for 'wrapped up' and 'be a white man', some say that the word ve'ho'e is a shortened form of the terminology that Sweet Medicine used.

This is perhaps as good a place as any to point out that Cheyennes divide the human world into three basic types of peoples:

\$\$REVISE DEFECTIVE OCR SCAN

(1) Tsétséhéstáhese 'Cheyennes', (2) nótseo'o 'other tribes' and (3) vé'hó'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'e-v 'ho'e 'Germans' (red-ve'ho'e), me'gees -v 'hb'e 'Mexicans' (hairy-nosed (moustached)-v 'hb'e), and mo'ohtae-ve'h6'e are 'Negroes' (black-ve'ho'e). The term v 'ho'e meaning of 'white' in it, but because of its most common useage 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 vé'ho'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 ohtgee'eotsee'estse 'when they become dry'.

"The Trek from Oklahoma" is a brief summary of an important historical event for the Cheyenne people. Note that the predominant verbal mode used is the Inferential. The Inferential is commonly used to pass along information that is known to have occurred but which was not viewed first-hand. Note that the first two verbs are Impersonals. Describing a situation with an Impersonal verb is one way of generalizing it, enabling the speaker to leave out reference to specific subjects.

This can be done particularly when the participants involved are well-known to the speaker and hearers. In this case, there is no mistaking that the speaker is referring to Cheyennes (not, for example, to Crows or Siouxs!).

There are some Conjunct Intensive Negative (RENAME??) verbs, e.g.

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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. éxheséstse '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. tsenévéóhta 'he will have four legs' and tsenéše'ēsta 'he will have two ears. There are some conjunct potential verb forms toward the end of the text, ma'tamásáneése 'if, when you (pl) are crazy' and másaa'évatóxetanó'tomáhése 'if, when you (pl) do not want to discuss it'.

The story about "The Geese" has an interesting verb form, tséméhaetó'omemáxamoo'o. This appears to be an example of an "absentative" conjunct participles.

"The Frog and Her Brothers" uses several independent order preterit verb forms, a verb type commonly used in legends and folklore in Cheyenne, for instance éstaho'konoehoo'o and éhnémenéehoo'o. The verb **óhpéhévenenóohévoséstse (??)** 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 éhnémenéhoono '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 'Oevemanáhen'" 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(??)**eamoohestsestovetsee'estse. The verb is made "relational" because it is the object of a verb with a third-person subject.

There are first-person plural (inclusive) Independent Indicative verb forms with the longer first-plural (inclusive) suffix /-mane/, i.e. _____ (??) 'We will turn over' and nestsememestanemane 'we will drown'. The verb **héváhmémèstanehevóhe** (??) has a suffix like an inferential verb, but lacks the usual inferential particle turned prefix, mó-. Instead it has a different particle, heva- which can be translated as 'maybe'.

The text about "Lame Deer School Children" (\$\$KEEP??) contains regular Independent Indicative verb forms. This would be a good text on which to study the use of PREVERBS (see page 179ff.). For example, in the verb eevahoseamee'eohtseo'o 'they went back up again' there are at least three preverbs, -eva- 'back', -hose- 'again', and -ame- 'along'. The verb **eanóhesevanoo'o** (??) contains the preverb -anóhe- 'down', and the verb **éeváhósevohe Meanaha'xeo'o** (??) besides having the preverbs -eva- and -hose-, contains the preverb -voheMe(??)- which means 'anew'.

The next text, "The Whiteman and the Indian", illustrates the tensions between Indians and the cultural trickster (subsequently applied to the white man). There is a question and answer dialogue in *henaa'etseohkee'tome?* and *hová'éhe náohkésáaa'e'tóhe...* The latter form is interesting in that it is an example of a word which takes on different meaning depending on whether it is in a "positive" or "negative" environment. The sentence *hova'ehe nae'ta* would mean 'I am afraid of something' but if -le add *hov a'eehe* to the verb *nasaa I e I tohe I* I am not afraid of it I 've get *hova'ehe nasaa'e'tohe* 'I'm not afraid of anything' (the verb in the text also contains the preverb -ohke- 'regularly'). This is one story where the trickster gets the best of the Indian. But the next story turns the tables on the trickster in a delightful plot. Note the fondness and "pushiness" of the white man in the text "The Whiteman and the Indian". But, in the end, the cleverness and intelligence of the Indian wins out.

The story of "The Grasshopper and the Ant" is a familiar one from Aesop's Fables. But the Cheyenne version puts a strong cultural statement on the conclusion. In the English version, the grasshopper is not fed, but he is, in the end, in the Cheyenne version. It is very much against Cheyenne tradition to turn a needy person out, even if much of their trouble is self-inflicted.

"The Snake and Hice" shows how cunning can rescue one from danger. It is another story of the victory of the "underdog" over the oppressor.

The last two texts are self-explanatory. "Corn Pemmican" is a kind of recipe, told in an eyewitness form. "The Bear, the Coyote, and the Skunk" always brings a laugh from those who hear it.

(Note: the "Oklahoma" texts were first transcribed by Donald Olson, the text by James Shoulderblade was first transcribed by linguist Danny Alford.)

Phonological rules

This section of the book describes the sound system of Cheyenne and how the sounds and tones interact with each other when words are pronounced. Much of this section will be quite technical. Feel free to skip reading anything that is confusing to you. But it would be good to at least try to understand what is described in the example words. It is necessary to learn the technical explanations about the sound changes, but it is necessary to learn how to correctly pronounce words which have experienced the sound changes.

Although there are fourteen letters in the Cheyenne alphabet, there are only thirteen phonemes. The letter "x" is always phonologically derived from some other sound.

The Cheyenne alphabet is mostly phonemic, but not entirely so. It is intended to be a "pronunciation orthography", that is, a writing system that allows readers to correctly pronounce any word. In general, official Cheyenne spellings reflect the stage in derivations after phonological rules have applied.

Following are the most important phonological rules of Cheyenne. We have tried to describe the rules in a way that individuals with a moderate amount of training in phonology can understand them, regardless of any particular phonological model that they might prefer. Abbreviations are given for the names of most of the phonological rules.

1. t-Assibilation (TA)

Phonemic /t/ is pronounced as "ts" [phonetic [c]] preceding "e":

$t \rightarrow ts / _ e$

nótá'e /nóta'é/¹⁷¹ 'woman from another tribe'
notse /nóte/ 'person from another tribe'

2. h-Assimilation (h-Assim)

Phonemic /h/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a following voiceless fricative:

$h \rightarrow [\alpha \text{ PLACE}] / _ [\alpha \text{ PLACE}]$
[-voiced]

éssóhpeohtseséstse /é-h-sóhpeohté-seht/ 'it is said he walked through'
tséssáanémenéhéto /té-h-sáa-némené-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":

$h \rightarrow s / e _ t$

Néhmetséstse! /néh-méteht/ 'Give it to me!'
Néstséhe'ooestse! /néh-tehe'oeht/ 'Come here quickly!'

náhtona /na-htónah/ 'my daughter'
néstona /ne-htónah/ 'your daughter'

¹⁷¹ 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].

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.

néspáháveameotšěšemenó! ~ néhpáháveameotšěšemenó! 'Lead us well!'

All speakers pronounce the sequence [sp] in words with the morpheme ho'ěsp- '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'ěspáhō'ta 'it's not done'

ého'ěspemāsóho '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. šé'se 'duck')

néxahe /néšahe/ 'my grandchild' [cf. néše /néšé/ 'Grandchild! (vocative)']

éháóénáxe /éháóénášé/ 'he's lying praying'

éneše'xáhtse /éneše'sahté/ 'he gargled (lit., he washed his mouth; cf. éneše'séwóéne 'he washed his face')

énéxánéstse /énéšanét/ 'there are two of them (inanimate)' [cf. énéseo'o 'there are two of them (animate)']

6. s to š Assimilation

/s/ assimilates to [š] preceding /š/:

š → š / ___ e š

Note: This rule is optional when the /e/ is voiced, but obligatory when it is voiceless.

hátšeške ~ hátseške /hátéhke/ 'ant'

éhemótšeške ~ éhemótseške /éhemótehke/ 'he has a knife'

motšěške /mótehke/ 'knife'

néameotšěšemenó /néameotešemenó/ 'you led us'

7. h-Dissimilation (h-Diss)

A phonemic /h/ is pronounced as phonetic [x] preceding another phonemic /h/:

h → x / ___ h

nánéxhé'óhtse /ná-neh-hé'óhté/ 1-CIS-there.come.from 'I came from there'

néxhéstánóhtse! /néh-hestan-ó-ht/ CIS-take-IOAM-IMP 'Bring it to me!'
 tséxhonónévose /té-h-honóné-vós/ CJT-PST-bake-3PL 'when they baked'
 náxhéne'ēna /ná-h-héne'en-á/ 1-PST-know-IOAM 'I knew it (far past)'

8. a-Backing (a-Back)

The vowel /a/ is pronounced as a phonetic [ɔ] before the back vowel /o/. A glottal stop or /h/ can occur between the two vowels.

a → ɔ / ____ (ʔ / (h) o

énaóotse [í nɔː c] 'he's sleeping'
 éma'o [í mɔ ʔ ɔ] 'it's red'
 hestónaho [h ɪ s tónɔ h] 'his/her daughter'
 páhoešestótse /páhoešéstot/ [pʰɔː š ɪ s t ɔ c] 'cradleboard'

9. y-Glide Insertion (YGI)

A phonetic [y] glide occurs between "e" and a following back vowel ("a" or "o"):

Ø → y / e ____ [back vowel]

Náháéána [n á h á íʏ á n á] 'I'm hungry'
 Néá'éna [n íʏ á ʔ í n á] 'You own it'

This "y" sound is not written in the official Cheyenne orthography. Writing the "y" would make it more difficult to see the relationships between morphologically related forms. For instance, the verb stem -á'en always means 'own something' regardless of whether or not it has a "y" glide at the beginning due to a preceding "e". If we wrote 'you own it' as néyá'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":

Ø → w / o ____ a

hotóá'e [h o t óʷ á ʔ ɪ] 'buffalo'
 Nóávóse [n óʷ á w ós] 'Bear Butte'
 Énáhešéve [í n óʷ a h ɪ š í 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 énávahe 'he is slow' has a phonemic /v/, rather than the phonetic [w] glide, when the word is pluralized, énáváheo'o [í n ófʰ aʏ o ʔ ɔ] '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 → [-voiced] / ____ &

Phrase-medially, phonological characteristics vary a little from those of phrase-final phenomena. Complex Syllable Formation occurs across word boundaries in natural speech. Phrase-medially, word-final vowels which precede other words often are not devoiced in natural, connected speech.

This rule is illustrated by each Cheyenne word written in this book, if it is pronounced with a pause after it. ~~\$\$\$DELETE SENTENCE AND GIVE EXAMPLES??~~

12. Prepenultimate Devoicing (PPD)

A low-pitched vowel is devoiced if it is followed by a voiceless fricative and not preceded by /h/:

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \text{V} \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / \text{C} ___ [-\text{voiced}] \text{C}_0 \text{V} \text{C}_0 \text{V} \\ [-\text{high}] \qquad \qquad \qquad [+cont] \end{array}$$

PPD applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

táhpeno /tahpenon/ 'flute'
 kòsáne /kosáné/ 'sheep (plural)'
 mòxe'èstoo'o /moše'ehtóon/ 'paper, book'
 naměšéme /namešémé/ 'my grandfather'
 máhnòhtséstovótse /mahnohtehtovot/ 'if you ask him'

13. Penultimate Devoicing (PD)

$$\text{V} \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / \text{C} ___ (\text{h}) \text{C} \#$$

Penultimate vowels devoice if they are followed by an obstruent which, in turn, is followed by a word-final "e". The word-final "e" is inserted by the following rule of e-Epenthesis.

hohkóxe /hóhkoš/ 'ax'
 tsétáhpétáhtse /tétahpetáht/ 'the one who is big'
 tséxhonónévòse /téhhonónévós/ 'when they baked'
 éšénéstse /éšenét/ 'days'
 vóhpoma'òhtse /vóhpoma'oh/ 'salt'
 éheóvāheséstse /éheóvāheséht/ 'he is said to be yellow'
 motšěške /mótehk/ 'knife'

14. Consonant Devoicing (CD)

A consonant is devoiced if it precedes a voiceless segment:

$$\text{C} \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / ___ [-\text{voiced}]$$

Naturally, if a consonant is intrinsically voiceless, this rule applies vacuously.

émane [í m a ɳ i] 'he drank'
 máhtamáhááhe [m̥ á t a m̥ h á: h] 'old woman'
 éheóvo [í h ɻ ó f ò] 'it's yellow'

15. Special a and o Devoicing (SD)

Non-high /a/ and /o/ devoice at least partially if preceded by a voiced vowel and followed by /h/, a consonant, and two or more syllables:

V

[+back] → [-voiced] / V ___ h C \$₂
 [-high]

This special devoicing is indicated in the examples below, although it would not normally be noted.

náòhkèho'soo'e 'I regularly dance'
 émóheeòhtseo'o 'they are gathering'
 nápóàhtsenáhno 'I punched him in the mouth'

16. Preverb Devoicing

Vowels often devoice following a preverb and immediately preceding a voiceless stop:

V → [-voiced] / + ___ C
 [-voiced]

ééšèpèhéva'e ~ ééšèpèhéva'e / ééše+pehéva'e/ 'it's already good'
 énéšèpèhéva'e ~ énéšèpèhéva'e / énéše+pehéva'e/ 'it's okay'

The same rule applies at the boundary between an initial and a following voiceless stop:

(\$\$COMBINE RULES??)

éaséta'xe ~ éaseta'xe / éase+ta'se/ 'he started to run'
 asètānòhtse ~ asetānòhtse / ase+tanóht/ 'Pass it!'
 nánèhešètāno ~ nánèhešetāno '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:

Ø → ? / V ___ + V

This rule is obligatory with the preverb *sáa*-:

ésáa'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:

Ø → 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 → Ø / ___ #
 [-obs]

mée'e / méen/ 'feather' (cf. méeno / méeno/ 'feathers')
 mo'keha / mó'kehan/ 'moccasin, shoe' (cf. mo'kéhanòtse / mó'kehanot/ 'moccasins, shoes')

mo'éhno'ha /mo'éhno'ham/ 'horse' (cf. mo'éhno'hāme /mo'éhno'hamé/ 'horses')

20. s-Epenthesis (e-Ep)

/h/ is inserted between /e/ and a phonemic word-final /t/. This /h/ is pronounced as [s] according to the preceding HSA rule:

$\emptyset \rightarrow h / e _ t \#$

PPD (Prepenultimate Devoicing) follows, causing the "e" added by e-Ep to be voiceless.

hóhkéhá'éstse /hóhkeha'ét/ 'hats'

ého'tánéstse /ého'tánét/ 'They (inanimate) are here/there'

21. Complex Syllable Formation (CSF)

A complex syllable is formed when a consonant is followed by a voiceless vowel, /h/, then a voiced vowel. The /h/ becomes aspiration on the consonant.

$C \rightarrow C^h / _ V \ h \ \check{V} \ V^{172}$

tòhohko /tohohkon/ [t^h o h k ò] 'hammer'

máhēō'o /maheón/ [m^h ā^y ō ? ò] 'house'

énóváheo'o /énóvaheo/ [í nóf^h a^y o ? ò] 'they are slow'

páhoešestótse /pahoešéstot/ [p^h ɔ: š ɪ s t ò c] 'cradleboard'

22. Diphthongization

The two vowels of a complex syllable form a diphthong:

$\check{V} \rightarrow [-syl] / _ V$

mo'kéhanótse [m o ? k^{hy} a n ò c] 'moccasins, shoes'

náohkéhomōse [ná ò k^{hy} o m ō s] 'I regularly cook'

páhoešestótse [p^h ɔ: š ɪ s t ò c] 'cradleboard'

nátáhéovēše [n á t^h á^y o w ɪ š] 'I'm going to lie down'

máhēō'o [m^h ā^y ō ? ò] 'house'

Náhkóhá'e [n á h k^h á ? ɪ] 'Bear Woman'

énáhahkahe [í n^h a h k a h] 'he's energetic'

23. h-Absorption (h-Ab)

A phonemic /h/ is absorbed by a preceding or following voiceless vowel:

$h \rightarrow \emptyset / \check{V}$

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'

Hestānóhtse! [h ɪ stān ò c] 'Take it!'

Vonáhō'hóhtse! [v o n^h ɔ ? ò c] 'Burn it up!'

24. High-Raising (HR)

High-Raising is one of several rules which adjust the pitches (tones) of Cheyenne. Pitch marks

¹⁷² \check{V} stands for a voiceless vowel here.

used in these rules are: ´ (high), ^ (raised high), ¯ (mid), and ` (low)¹⁷³.

A high is pronounced as a raised high when it is followed by a word-final high and not preceded by another high:

$$\acute{} \rightarrow \hat{} / \{ \# \} \text{ — } \acute{} \#$$

šê'se /šé'sé/ 'duck'
 sêmo /sémón/ 'boat'
 éma'ovêse /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:

$$\grave{} \rightarrow \acute{} / \acute{} \text{ — } \acute{} \#$$

méšéne /méšené/ 'ticks'
 návóómo /návóómó/ 'I see him'
 póéso /póesón/ 'cat'
 éméhósáne /éméhósané/ 'he loves'
 ésâašé'sévéhe /ésâašé'sévehé/ 'he is not a duck'
 émá'o /éma'ó/ 'it is not red'

26. High-Leveling (HL)

A low is raised to a high if it is preceded and following by high pitches: \$\$RECHECK RULE FORMULATION

$$\grave{} \rightarrow \acute{} / \acute{} \text{ — } (\text{V}) (\$) \acute{} \#$$

One or more more voiceless syllables can occur between the pitch that is raised and a following high pitch. It appears that this rule only applies when the word-final pitch is phonemically high. This rule is closely related to the preceding rule of LHR and may be part of a single natural rule of pitch assimilation that includes both LHR and HL. \$\$RECHECK, RETHINK, REVISE

éávoónése /éávoonešé/ 'he's lying fasting' \$\$INCLUDE PHONEMIC SPELLINGS
 éstsénèhé'e 'swamp'
 ého'néhénóne /ého'néhenoné/ 'he sang a wolf song'
 náhtóóhévo /nahtóohevón/ 'my fingernail'
 onéhávó'ke 'bead'

27. Low-to-Mid Raising (LMR)

A low is raised to a mid when it precedes a phonemic word-final high and is not preceded by a high. (This second condition can be eliminated from the rule if there is rule ordering and LMR is ordered after LHR.)

$$\grave{} \rightarrow \bar{} / \text{ — } \acute{} \#$$

kōsa /kosán/ 'sheep (singular)'
 hē'e /he'é/ 'woman'
 éhomōse /éhomosé/ 'he is cooking'
 étahpe'āse /étahpe'asé/ 'he has a big belly'

¹⁷³ The grave accent low pitch mark is only used in the pitch rules themselves when it is needed. Otherwise, low pitches are left unmarked.

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:

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{C} \\ \text{'} \rightarrow \text{^} / \text{' } ((\text{C } \text{V} \begin{array}{l} [-\text{voiced}] \\ [-\text{high}] \end{array}) \text{C}_0)_0 \text{ --- } \text{' } \text{C}_0 \text{V} \\ \text{[+cont]} \end{array}$$

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.

éhâməstoo'e /éhámehtoe/ 'he sat down'
 émêsehe /émésehe/ 'he is eating'
 émôna'e /émóna'e/ 'it's new'
 tséhnêmenéto /téhnêmenétó/ 'when I sang'
 násâamétôhênoto /násâamétôhénoto/ 'I did not give him (obv) to him'
 éssâamésêhéheo'o /ésâamésêhéhéó/ 'they did not eat'
 tséhevésésóneto /téhevésésóneto/ 'the one who is your cousin'
 mónésó'hâeanáme /mónésó'háéanámé 'Are you (plural) still hungry?'
 névê'ea'xaāme! /nevê'ea'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):

$$\text{V} \rightarrow \text{' } / \text{ --- }]_{\text{stem}} \$2\#$$

As written, SFR applies to any stem-final vowel that is antepenultimate or earlier in a word. It applies vacuously to a stem-final vowel which is already high-pitched. Here are examples of words in which SFR applies to stem-final vowels which have underlying low pitches.

émané-stove 'there is drinking' (cf. émane 'he is drinking')
 éta'pósé-stove 'there is getting cold easily' (éta'pose 'he gets cold easily')
 námésêhé-otse 'I ate quickly' (cf. námésehe 'he ate')
 mésêhé-stoto 'potatoes'
 amáho'hé-stotôtse 'cars' (cf. éamáho'he 'he's going along by car')
 ésaánaóotsé-heo'o 'they are not sleeping' (cf. énaóotse 'he is sleeping')
 ésaápêhéva'é-hane 'it is not good' (cf. épêhéva'e 'it is good')
 tsépêhéva'é-tsee'êstse 'those (things) which are not good'
 éhe'kotâhé-sesto 'they are said to be quiet (reportative mode) (cf. éhe'kotahe 'he is quiet')
 é'ameohé-hoo'o 'Wow, he quickly walked!' (preterit mode) (cf. é'ameohe 'he quickly walked')
 ésaápêhévenóohé-hehoono 'Wow, they do not look good!' (cf. épêhévenóohe '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:

$$\text{' } \rightarrow \text{' } / \text{' } \text{ --- } \text{' }$$

As formulated, HPO must be preceded by HR (High-Raising). HPO applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

néhâoenama /néháóénáma/ 'we (incl) prayed'
 némêhotone /néméhótóne/ 'we (incl) love him'

námêhosanême /náméhósanémé/ 'we (excl) love'

31. High-Lowering (HL)

A high is pronounced as a low¹⁷⁴ preceding a word-final low:

' → ` / ____ #

pe'e /pé'e/ 'nighthawk'
mene /méne/ 'berry'
motšěške /móteh/ '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 → ` / ____ &

návôomo#náhkohè 'I saw a bear'
évôohta#máhēō'ò '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'óéséó'o /ó'oéseon/ 'clothesline'
óová'hasēō'o /óova'haseon/ 'pump'
éhestó'tonóhnóho. /éhehto'tonohnóhó/ 'he braided his (someone else's) hair.'
tséévèhestá'amáxese /téevehehta'amašese/ 'who had gunshot wounds' (1987:107)

34. Vowel-Stretching (VS)

Cheyenne does not permit word-final vowel sequences for pronunciation. If there is a phonemic word-final vowel sequence, a glottal stop and a copy of the last phonemic vowel will be inserted.¹⁷⁵

Ø → $\begin{matrix} V \\ [\alpha \text{ back}] \\ [\beta \text{ high}] \\ [\gamma \text{ PITCH}] \end{matrix} ? / \begin{matrix} V \\ [\gamma \text{ PITCH}] \end{matrix} \text{ — } \begin{matrix} V \\ [\alpha \text{ back}] \\ [\beta \text{ high}] \end{matrix} \text{ — } \begin{pmatrix} [+obs] \\ [-voiced] \end{pmatrix} \#$

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'

¹⁷⁴ I perceived this as a "hanging low" pitch (between a mid and low) in my 1981 article on Cheyenne pitch rules and the first editions of this book. Since then, however, I have concluded that there is insufficient evidence to say that there is such a pitch. Most, if not all, speakers pronounce a lowered high as a phonetic low pitch.

¹⁷⁵ This process was first observed in Cheyenne by Algonquianist Ives Goddard and described in a slightly different formulation (1978).

honoo'o /honóon/ 'roast'
 vee'e /véen/ 'lodge, tepee'
 xāō'o /šaón/ 'skunk'
 néšéé'ěše /néšééš/ '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'ěse /vées/ 'tooth', instead of expected vee'ěse
 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:

énaā'e /énaa'é/ 'he doctored (cf. énaa'e /énae/ 'he died')
 náné'póó'o /náné'póo'ó/ 'I peeked over'
 éméo'e /éméo'é/ 'he fought'

35. Vowel Assimilation

An "e" assimilates to take on the phonetic value of an immediately preceding vowel when that "e" is followed by a consonant:

$$\begin{array}{ccc} V & & V & & V \\ [-back] \rightarrow & [\alpha \text{ back}] & / & [\alpha \text{ back}] & \text{---} C \\ & [\beta \text{ high}] & & [\beta \text{ high}] & \end{array}$$

Sometimes this assimilation is not total, but usually it is nearly so. Assimilation occurring to vowels which have undergone Vowel-Stretching is total, and so I write the second vowel in its assimilated form. I do not write non-Vowel-Stretched sequences in their assimilated forms, since they are sometimes not totally assimilated and also since their underlying (phonemic) forms can be more easily recovered from their written forms.

návóomāā'e [náwôomā:ʔi] 'they saw me'
 névóomaene [níwôoma:ɳi] 'he saw us (incl)'
 ého'oēstse [íhoʔō: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'èstoo'o. [ná m̀ò xʷ ɪ ʔ ̄ò ā # m̀ò xʷ ɪ ʔ ʔ s t o: ʔ ̄ò] 'I wrote a book.'

Násáavóomóhe náhkohke. [nássâawô:mó:#nâhkoh] 'I did not see the bear.'

h-Loss also occurs with some word-medial sequences in natural rapid speech:

éméhaemane [í m̂â:mañ̂i] 'he used to drink'

étšéhe'kéhahe [čʰ ɪ ʔ k í ah] 'he is young'

éhoháetonéto [íʷoh á:toní tò] '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/:

$\emptyset \rightarrow w / o \begin{matrix} C \\ [+back] \\ [+cont] \end{matrix} __ \begin{matrix} V \\ [+high] \end{matrix}$

oha [ohwà] 'only'

namòxe'èstoo'o [na° m̂ òxw ɪ ʔ °ɪ s t o: ʔ ̄ò] 'my book'

38. Palatalization

Cheyenne /h/ is palatalized if it is preceded by /e/ and followed by /a/ (??) or /o/: **\$\$RECHECK RULE; DOES IT NEED TO BE WORD-FINAL?**

$\emptyset \rightarrow y / e h \begin{matrix} C \\ [+high] \\ [+cont] \end{matrix}$

eho /ého/ [ʰ ɪ h y ̄ò] 'your father'

\$\$OTHER EXAMPLES??

39. h-Metathesis (h-Met)

A phonemic /h/ and a vowel exchange places when they are preceded by a vowel and followed by a word-final /ht/:

$V_1 h V_2 \rightarrow V_1 V_2 h / __ h t \#$

Méseestse! /mésehe-ht/ 'Eat!'

Né'èsto'hahtse! /né'ehto'haha-ht/ 'Take your gloves off!'

Po'ōōhtse! /po'oh-ó-ht/ '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=hmémèstanèhevóhe 'maybe they drowned' (1987:4:23)

Enclitics attach to the ends of words:

$\emptyset \rightarrow = / \# X __$

tá'sè=háma 'Isn't that right?'
 nóhásè=háma 'any way'
 heá'è=háma 'I guess, maybe'

If a particle ends with "he", this syllable is lost during cliticization:

$\{h\ e\} \rightarrow = / __ \# X$

In the following examples, compare the particles as they are pronounced as single words with their cliticized forms:

tsé'tóhe 'this one (animate)'; tsé'tó=mé'ěševótse 'this baby'
 hé'tóhe 'this one (animate)'; hé'tó=mähéó'o 'this house'
 néhe 'that one (referred to; animate); né=ka'ěškóne 'that (referred to) child'
 móhe 'True?, Really?'; mó=néháéána? 'Are you hungry?'; mó=héva 'maybe'; mó=néhe 'You mean that one (animate)?'
 nēhéóhe 'there'; nēhéó=Nóávóse 'there at Bear Butte'

41. Glottal Stop Epenthesis (GSEp)

A glottal stop is inserted between a clitic and a following vowel:

$\emptyset \rightarrow ? / = __ V$

tsé'tó='éstse'he 'this shirt'
 mó='éháohō'ta 'Is it hot?'
 mó='ěšēpēhéva'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:

$\{ov\} \rightarrow óe / __ X$
 $\{ev\}$

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 Cheyenne contraction follow:

náhéne'enóó'e 'they know me' (cf. náhéne'enova 'he knows me')
 nánéhóó'e 'they chased me' (cf. nánéhova 'he chased me')
 nénéhoehe? 'Did he chase you?'
 nēhéne'enoehē? Does he know you?
 návovéstomóene 'he taught us (excl)' (cf. návovéstomeva 'he taught me')
 névovéstomóene 'he taught us (incl)'
 tséhvovéstomóó'ěse 'when he taught me'

tséxhéne'enóétse 'when he knew us'

43. Inferential mode pitches

Suffixes of inferential mode verbs take a unique pitch template. Basically, each suffix after the verb stem becomes low pitched except for the word-final /-hé/ suffix of each inferential verb and the syllable that precedes it. Some examples are:

Móhmanéhéhe /mó- h- mane -hé -hé/ 'He must have drunk'

Móhnaóotséhevóhe /mó- h- naóotse -hé -vó -hé/ 'They must have slept'

Móhoo'kòhóhanéhe /mó- hoo'kohó -hane -hé/ 'It must have rained'

Móhvóomòhevóhe /mó- h- vóom -ó -hé -vó -hé/ 'He must have seen him (obv)'

Móhvóohtòhéhe /mó- h- vóóht -ó -hé -hé/ 'He must have seen it'

\$\$Suggestions from Rich Rhodes:

h --> s / ___ [+obs, -lab] (i.e., t, s, k, š)

s --> š / ___ [+obs, +back] (i.e., k, š)

with a codicil that for the speakers who assibilate before p the first rule is:

h --> 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 --> 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.

hh ==> xx

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