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The Cheyenne Language

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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There is no standard agreed upon list of Cheyenne names for the months. Instead, English names for months have been regularly used for many decades. However, some knowledge does remain of months or periods of time close to months. It is very possible that there never was a list of exactly twelve month names. Some information seems to suggest that some of the original month names did not correspond exactly to month divisions found on calendars in use today. More common month (or "moon") names may have originally been names for some of the major seasons and weather changes. It has been said that, traditionally, there were only six Cheyenne names for divisions of the years. There is often interest, however, in trying to construct a list of twelve month names. Cheyenne speakers have suggested various alternatives for month names. Sometimes there is disagreement as to which month is referred to by a term. 298

Here is one list which is in used on a Cheyenne calendar which has been distributed annually for many years. There has never been any official endorsement of this particular set of names, so Cheyennes should feel free to improve upon this list if improvement is possible at this date in history. 298

Hohtseéše'he, Hoop Moon: January 298
Ma'xéhohtseéše'he, Big Hoop Moon: February 298
Pónoma'a'éhaséñéšé'he, Drying Up Moon: March 298
Véhpotsee'he, Leaf Moon: April 298
Énano'eéše'he, Planting Moon: June 298
Méanéese'he, Summer Moon: July 298
Oenenéeše'he, Harvest Moon: August 298
Tonóeeše'he, Cool Moon: September 298
Sé'énehé, Facing Into: October (This name refers to when thin ice begins to form on ponds and rivers.) 298
He'koneneéše'he, Hard Face Moon: November 298
Ma'xéhe'koneneéše'he, Big Hard Face Moon: December 298
Some alternative names are: 298
He'koneneéše'he, Hard Face Moon: January (instead of November) 298
Tšéške'hohtsee'he, Little Hoop Moon: February 298
Pónoma'a'èhasenéhe, Drying Up: March (or April) 298
Heš'e'kévénéhe, Dusty Face: March (also, variant Heš'e'évenéhe) 298
Heš'e'évenéheéše'he, Dusty Face Moon: March (or April) 298
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Hémotséeše'he, Breeding Moon: latter part of August and first part of September 299
Tonóeevéš'e'he, Cool Moon: September 299
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  The Brothers-in-law 308
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  When Cheyennes Crossed the Ice 315
Sweet Medicine 321
The Corn and Meat 325
The Whiteman and the Indian 337
The Bat 339
The Frog and Her Brothers 342
The Geese, by Maude Fightingbear (Montana) 345
I'm Beading Moccasins 346
How Birney Got the Name Oevemanaheno 346
The Grasshopper and the Ant 347
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17. Preverb Glottal Stop Epenthesis (PGSEp) 364
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25. Low-to-High Raising (LHR) 366
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40. Glottal Stop Epenthesis (GSEp) 372
41. Contraction 372

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Abbreviations and symbols

Person abbreviations

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

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

Pitch symbols

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

Other symbols

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

Other abbreviations

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

1  Mid pitch was marked with the ´ (umlaut) symbol or ´ (tilde) symbols in earlier publications when the ´ (macron) symbol was not available. Please do not use the the ´ and ´ symbols from earlier books.
2  The raised high pitch was marked with the ° (circumflex) symbol in earlier editions of this book. It is marked with the regular high pitch park ´ in this edition. We could write 'he ate' with the raised high symbol, éméšehe, but, instead, we simplify pitch marking to éméšehe in this edition of the book. One reason not to use the ° symbol is that it was used (when the ´ symbol was not available) to mark voiceless vowels in some earlier publications and we do not want to confuse readers with the use of the ° symbol for two different purposes.
3  A lowered high pitch was marked with the ° (caron) or ` (grave) symbols in earlier publications. I included the lowered high pitch in my pitch rules article (Leman 1981), but I now believe I was wrong. Further study has convinced me that there is no lowered high pitch in Cheyenne.
4  Dot above (') or ring above (') can be used to mark Cheyenne voiceless vowels. Some linguists use other symbols to indicate voicelessness.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TI</td>
<td>Transitive Inanimate (Transitive verb with Inanimate Object)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anim., an.</td>
<td>animate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inan., in.</td>
<td>inanimate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASC</td>
<td>masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEM</td>
<td>feminine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POS</td>
<td>positive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEG</td>
<td>negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominalizer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PST</td>
<td>past tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUT</td>
<td>future tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relational (verb)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>interrogative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INF</td>
<td>inferential</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPT</td>
<td>reportative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRET</td>
<td>preterit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CNJ</td>
<td>conjunct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PA</td>
<td>Proto-Algonquian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mt</td>
<td>Montana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ok</td>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.</td>
<td>for example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.e.</td>
<td>namely</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Cheyenne language

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

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

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

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

Language viability

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

Cheyenne dialects

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

Family, district, and idiolectal differences

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

---

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>pronunciation</th>
<th>another pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>star</td>
<td>hotohke</td>
<td>hetohke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hill</td>
<td>hoéhose</td>
<td>hoéhase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my throat</td>
<td>naéstoo'o</td>
<td>naéstoo'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uninvited??</td>
<td>hópose</td>
<td>hápose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for example</td>
<td>hámó'öhtse</td>
<td>hómó'öhtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen!</td>
<td>Ótahe!</td>
<td>Átahe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listen to me!</td>
<td>Áahtovéstse!</td>
<td>Áahahtovéstse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for that reason</td>
<td>hése-</td>
<td>hóse-^6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Suhtai dialect

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

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

History of Cheyenne language research

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

---

^6 This pronunciation is the same as for the preverb hóse- meaning 'again'.
^7 Spelled So'taeo'o in the official orthography used in this book.
^8 Mutual understanding between the Cheyennes and Suhtaio is mentioned by Mrs. Albert Hoffman in her Cheyenne story, "When Cheyennes Crossed the Ice", found in the Texts section near the end of this book. Mrs. Hoffman refers to the Suhtaio as xaevó'ëstanë'ë 'Indians' in sentence 3 of the story.
^9 Spelled as Issiwun by Grinnell.
Cheyenne sounds
There are 14 letters in the Cheyenne alphabet:\[10\]:

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

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

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

Cheyenne e
The letter "e" usually has the so-called short "i" English sound, written with the phonetic symbol [i] or [ɪ]. 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 épēhēva'ė. However, it usually sounds more like ipeva'i, phonetically [ɪpʰɛvaʔɪ], with the last vowel whispered.

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

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

---

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

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

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

**Cheyenne h**

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

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

- hat
- horse
- heavy
- rehearsal

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

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

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

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

**Cheyenne m and n**

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

- émane [í m ań i] 'he drank'
- māhpēva [fm á p ã] 'in the water'
- máhtamahááhe [fm á t a mʰ á: h ] 'old woman'
Cheyenne s

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

Cheyenne p, t, and k

Cheyenne p, t, and k\(^\text{11}\) are voiceless and unaspirated. They sound like the English letters p, t, and k when they follow the letter "s", as in the English words "spill", "still", and "skill."

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

For instance, we can write the word for 'bear' as it sounds to Cheyennes, as nahgo. That’s easy. But then it’s harder to recognize that what we have written as nahgo still has the meaning of 'bear' when we add the ending to make the word 'bears', nahkohe'o'o (or in simpler spelling, nahkoy'o'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 having a little puff of air after them when they are the first letter of a word, as in "poor", "ten", and "kill". That is, they are aspirated. English p, t, and k are unaspirated, without this puff of air, when they are not the first letter of a word, as in "spot", "stick", "skip", and "letter". English b, d, and g are actually different from what is perceived as b, d, and g in Cheyenne in that the English letters are voiced, that is, our vocal cords vibrate when we say them, as in the English words "bird", "dog", and "girl". Our vocal cords never vibrate when we say Cheyenne p, t, and k (which are perceived as b, d, and g).

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

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

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

Cheyenne š

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

---

\(^{11}\) Linguists call p, t, k stops.
alphabet for Cheyenne. The š symbol\(^\text{12}\) has also been used by many linguists to transcribe this sound, called an alveopalatal fricative. It's fine to write this Cheyenne sound with the letters "sh" if you prefer. Do not be confused by the symbol "ş" and write the letter "s". The letters "s" and "ş" 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 "ş".

Authors who write books about Cheyennes often like to include some Cheyenne words. You may be asked to help them spell some Cheyenne words for their book. If their book is for a popular (non-technical) audience, spell the Cheyenne words with "sh" instead of "ş". 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’senovtse.

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 "ş".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>official spelling</th>
<th>newspaper spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day Walking Woman</td>
<td>Ešeamèhe’e</td>
<td>Ishiamhi’i / Ishiamhi’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Woman</td>
<td>Ešeeva’e</td>
<td>Ishiiva’i / Ishiiva’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising Sun</td>
<td>Eš’he Ōhme’ehnèéstse</td>
<td>Ish’i Ōhnimihnts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Moon</td>
<td>Eš’he Ōhnèésèéstse</td>
<td>Ish’i Ohnishists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusty Nose</td>
<td>Heš’e eveesehe</td>
<td>Hishi’iviisih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcupine</td>
<td>Heškovèstse</td>
<td>Hishkovsts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alights On the Clouds</td>
<td>Ho’eváhtoešéstse</td>
<td>Ho’ivahoishts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lying Wolf</td>
<td>Ho’nehèseeše</td>
<td>Ho’nihiishi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden Thigh</td>
<td>Kamáxèvéšèo’o</td>
<td>Kamáxivshio / Kamáxivshio’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raccoon</td>
<td>Matšèskome</td>
<td>Machgom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mint Woman</td>
<td>Moxèšeha’e</td>
<td>Moxshiha’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Crows</td>
<td>Okòhoke’o Öhnèse</td>
<td>Okohkeo’o Ohnishis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Snowbird</td>
<td>Šèhese</td>
<td>Shihiso / Shihis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pine Woman</td>
<td>Šestoto’a’e</td>
<td>Shistota’i / Shisdoda’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Creek</td>
<td>Tšèške’eo’he’e</td>
<td>Chki’io’hi’i / Chki’io’hi’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Glottal stop**

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

---

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

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

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

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

**Cheyenne x**

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

**Cheyenne v**

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

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

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

Our vocal cords normally 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 maahpe 'arrow', naa 'and', and vetšëške '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: ȧ, ē, ô. In some earlier publications, when a dot was not available, whispered vowels were marked with the circumflex symbol: á, é, ó. 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'ēškone child
- semonôtse boats
- tâhpeno 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 maahpe 'water' are both voiced. However, when the locative suffix -va is added to this word, both the "m" and "a" are devoiced (whispered), máhpēva 'in the water', phonetic [mâhpîfâ]. Notice that the word-final final syllable is also whispered, making the "v" sound like English "f". The "n" is whispered in the first syllable of the word for 'diaper', nēhpē'êhestôtse, 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:**
Kásóvaahehasêstsê, nêstoohéonânê, nêsto'anê, nemehohtanõné.
Young men, our (incl) flag, our (incl) land, we love it.

**Northern Cheyenne Flag Song, Busby version, as sung:**
Kásóvaahehasétsê, nêstoohéonâne, nêsto'anê, nemehohtanone.

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

**Pitch marks**

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

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

If there is more than one high pitch in a row before a low pitch, the high pitch of the last vowel in this series is raised slightly higher than the preceding high pitches.

Notice the pitches in these words:

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

---

14 Mid pitches occur on a penultimate syllable if there is no preceding high pitch and the word-final vowel is phonemically high pitched.
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.

**Double vowels**

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

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

**Complex syllables**

A Cheyenne consonant is aspirated when it occurs before a voiceless vowel, followed by "h", followed by a vowel, which is followed by another syllable. This is one of the most difficult things to learn about Cheyenne pronunciation. Two syllables get squeezed together and pronounced as a single syllable. We call this phenomenon 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:

\[ C \ Y \ h \ V \ > \ C^h \ V \ / \ _ \ S \]

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>phonetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It's good</td>
<td>épéhêva'e</td>
<td>[ɪ pʰ ɛ v a ? i ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They (an.) are good</td>
<td>épéhêvâhêo'o</td>
<td>[ɪ pʰ ɛ vʰ a ʰ o ʰ ō ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cradleboard</td>
<td>pâhoešestôte</td>
<td>[pʰ s ʃ i ʃ t ʰ o c ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hammer</td>
<td>tohohko</td>
<td>[tʰ o h k ō ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Go to bed! tâhâovâéstse [tʰ ɑ̃ o w ɾ ʃ s c]
I'm tired nâkâhanâotse [n̥ u kʰ a n i̯ o c]
shoes mo'kéhanôtsê [m o ? kʰ y a ɾ ŋ o c]
They are proper éonó'âheo'o [í o n ò ʔ n a o ɾ ŋ o o ɾ ŋ]
house mâhê'ô [m̥ b ǎ ɾ ʃ o ɾ ŋ o ɾ ŋ]
then nehe'sê [n̥ b i ? ŋ]
I caught it nânâhâ'ëna [n á n h a ɾ ñ ɾ ŋ]
bears nânkôheo'o [n á h kʰ o ɾ ŋ o ɾ ŋ]
they are eating émêsêheo'o [í m í sʰ ɾ ʃ o ɾ ŋ]

Aspirated consonants

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aspirated</th>
<th>unaspirated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>étâ'pâheo'o 'they are weak'</td>
<td>étâ'pahe 'he is weak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éno'kahêhe 'Is he single?'</td>
<td>éno'kahe 'he is single'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésânêtâhehe 'he is not a different one'</td>
<td>énêtahe 'he is a different one'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Even though the stops in these words can be either aspirated or unaspirated, the part of the word (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 –nêtahe means 'be other' whether or not we turn it into a negative verb as we did in the list.

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

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

|í m í sʰ ɾ ʃ o ɾ ŋ|
|---|---|
|house mâhê'o | [m̥ b ǎ ɾ ʃ o ɾ ŋ o ɾ ŋ]|
|then nehe'sê | [n̥ b i ? ŋ]|
|I caught it nânâhâ'ëna | [n á n h a ɾ ñ ɾ ŋ]|

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'
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'
énóvähe'o 'they are slow'

In the first word, énóvahe, the letter "v" sounds like an English "w". In énóvähe'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'
énēše 'he washed his (own) face', énēše'xähtse 'he gargled'
énēše'o 'there are two of them (an.), énēgânëstse 'there are two of them (inan.)
šē'se 'duck', šē'xo 'duck' (obviative)

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

Éhnëmëne 'he sang', Éxho'soo'e 'he danced'
Néhmetsëstse! 'Give it to me!, Néxhëstânòhtse! 'Bring it to me!'

---

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

16 This phonological rule is called š-Backing.

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

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>Petter</th>
<th>official spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>grasshopper</td>
<td>hàkota</td>
<td>hahkota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetan</td>
<td>hetane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>hée</td>
<td>he'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>hee</td>
<td>hē'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soup</td>
<td>hōhp</td>
<td>hohpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>nàko</td>
<td>nahkohe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>māp</td>
<td>mahpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>Maheo</td>
<td>Ma'heo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>mhayo</td>
<td>máheo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gopher</td>
<td>eszemae</td>
<td>estsema'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>móesz</td>
<td>mo'ëstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>nasz</td>
<td>na'ëstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>noz</td>
<td>notse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whiteman</td>
<td>vého</td>
<td>ve'ho'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white woman</td>
<td>véhoa</td>
<td>ve'ho'a'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>voe</td>
<td>vo'e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
body  mavōxōz  mavoxōtse
Cheyennes  Zezetassō  Tsetsēhestāhese (simpler spelling Tsitsistas recommended)
clothes  honeōnōz  hone'oontse
my son  nāha  na'e'ha
his son(s)  hēhya  hec'haho
tepee  vē  vee'e
dress  hōstoz  hoestōtse
it's moist  ehekōva  ehe'koova
he barked  emāe  emaa'e
it's empty  evēpeha  evenpeha
it's bad  ehatseva  ehavēseva'e
he's bad  ehavsevae  ehavēsevahe

Holliman alphabet

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

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

Phonetic spelling

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Here are some phonetic spellings which you may find useful, along with the official spellings and the meanings of the Cheyenne words. (Often more than one phonetic spelling is possible. For instance, you could spell 'pemmican' phonetically either as am or um.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>phonetic</th>
<th>official</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>um (or am)</td>
<td>ame</td>
<td>pemmican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amshk</td>
<td>améške</td>
<td>grease</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boyso (or boiso)</td>
<td>poeso</td>
<td>cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gashgon</td>
<td>ka’ěškone</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi’iih</td>
<td>ke’eehe</td>
<td>grandma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipiva.</td>
<td>Epéheva'e.</td>
<td>It's good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idonit.</td>
<td>Etoneto.</td>
<td>It's cold (weather).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itsisinists.</td>
<td>Etséhesenestse.</td>
<td>He (or She) speaks Cheyenne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itsisda.</td>
<td>Etséhestahe.</td>
<td>He (or She) is a Cheyenne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiss</td>
<td>hese</td>
<td>fly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hochk</td>
<td>ho'tšěške</td>
<td>sinew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khoa</td>
<td>xao'o</td>
<td>skunk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>machk</td>
<td>ma'tšěške</td>
<td>bow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maheo</td>
<td>Ma'heo'o</td>
<td>God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhayo</td>
<td>máheo'o</td>
<td>house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mochk</td>
<td>motšěške</td>
<td>knife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nahgko</td>
<td>nahkohe</td>
<td>bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nahkoyo</td>
<td>nahkóhe'o</td>
<td>bears</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahka</td>
<td>Nahkoh’a’e</td>
<td>Bear Woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahkosoto</td>
<td>Nahkoheso</td>
<td>Littlebear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nahgo’iih</td>
<td>nahko’eehe</td>
<td>my mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namshim</td>
<td>naméšéme</td>
<td>my grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natsisdah.</td>
<td>Natséhestahe.</td>
<td>I'm Cheyenne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niho’iih</td>
<td>neho’eehe</td>
<td>my father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nish</td>
<td>neše</td>
<td>two</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nishgi’iih</td>
<td>neške'eehe</td>
<td>my grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nits</td>
<td>netse</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nidonshif?</td>
<td>Netonéševe?</td>
<td>What are you doing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nidonshivih?</td>
<td>Netonéševehe?</td>
<td>What is your name?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nitsishtahe?</td>
<td>Netséhestahehe</td>
<td>Are you Cheyenne?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niya’ish</td>
<td>Nea’eše</td>
<td>Thank you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okom</td>
<td>o’kohome</td>
<td>coyote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oishkis</td>
<td>oéškese</td>
<td>dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shi’sh</td>
<td>še’she</td>
<td>duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsitsistaists</td>
<td>Tsetséhestaestse</td>
<td>Cheyenne (person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsitsistas</td>
<td>Tsetséhestáhes</td>
<td>Cheyennes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsisinistsistsots</td>
<td>Tséhesenéstsestötse</td>
<td>Cheyenne language</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vichk</td>
<td>vetšěške</td>
<td>fat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waodzif</td>
<td>vaotseva</td>
<td>deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wohihih</td>
<td>Vooheheve”</td>
<td>Morning Star</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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.

- šēše /šēšé/ 'duck'
- ēméšehe /éméšehe/ 'he is eating'
- ēmōna'e /émōna'e/ 'it's new'
- mónésó'hâeanámé /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'
- motšēške /mótēhk/ 'knife'
- némēhotone /némēhótóne/ 'we (incl) love him'

**Impermanent antepenultimate high**

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

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

ma'háhk'o/e /ma'hahk'o/e 'badger' (cf. ma'hahkō'e 'badgers')

tšěsk'e /tehke'e/ 'a little' (cf. étšěsk'o 'it's little')

éné'ta'ë /éne'ta'ë/ 'it's important' (cf. éne'ta'ë 'Is it important?')

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

koohkóva'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'ne /nomá'ne/ 'fish (singular)' (cf. nomá'ne 'fish (plural)')

hexóva'e /hešova'e/ 'bedbug' (cf. hexová'e 'bedbugs')

hó'nehe /ho'néhe/ 'wolf' (cf. ho'néheo'o 'wolves')

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'ēstse 'rivers')

mó'meno 'apples (Northern Cheyenne), ma'xemeno 'plums' (Southern Cheyenne)

náhehaehen /náhehaehen/ 'she is my aunt')

vóhe'e /vohe'e/ 'shoestring' (cf. vóhē'ēstse 'shoestrings')

mó'e'e /mo'e'e/ 'blade of grass' (cf. mó'ē'ēstse 'grass')

népů'óna'e /népů'óna'e/ 'it's beautiful' (cf. népů'óna'ë 'Is it beautiful?', népů'ona'ë 'she's beautiful', éšámo'ona'ēháne 'it's not beautiful

épěhévatamáñó/e /épěhévatamáñó/e 'it's nice weather (cf. éśáapěhévatamáñó'ěháne 'it's not nice weather', épěhévatamáñó'ë 'Is it nice weather?')

épěhévenonó/e /épěhévenonó/e 'it looks nice' (cf. épěhévenonó'ë 'Does it look nice?')

énó'ka'ë /énó'ka'ë 'there is one (inan.)' (cf. énó'ka'ë 'Is there one (inan.)?', énó'kahe 'there

---

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

22 The singular is also pronounced as nóma'he.
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. henamóséstó 'on the left side')
- Táhpeta 'Bigman' (cf. étáhpéta 'he is big')
- Táhpe'eé'ese 'Big Nose'
- Má'ee'é'se 'Red Nose' (cf. éma'ee'é'se 'he has a red nose')
- Pá'ee'é'se 'Lump Nose' (cf. épa'ee'é'se 'he has a lump nose')
- Á'ee'é'se 'Pug Nose' (cf. éa'ee'é'se 'he has a pug nose')
- Mámahke 'Curly' (cf. émamáhkhá'e 'he has curly hair')

**Parts of speech**

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

- tsé'tóhe this, these (animate)
- hé'tóhe this, these (inanimate)
- tá'tóhe that, those (animate)
- há'tóhe that, those (inanimate)
- naa and
- máto also
- oha but, only
- nóxa'e Wait!
- nóheto Let's go!
- na'éstse one
- neše two
- no'ka once
- nexa twice
- héva maybe
- móhe Really?
- ótséhámóhe oops
ééhe'e  yes
hová'aháne  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', amēške 'grease', mahpe 'water', ho'évohkótsé 'meat', and vétsěskéwáhonoo'o 'frybread'.

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

But in Cheyenne there are two words that mean 'this': tse'tohe and he'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 right. And if we try to say he'tohe with all Cheyenne nouns, Cheyenne speakers will tell us the same thing: we are not speaking Cheyenne right.

We soon learn that Cheyenne nouns are separated into two groups. The two Cheyenne words meaning 'this' cannot be said with both groups of nouns. The word tse'tohe can only be said with nouns from one of the groups, and the other word he'tohe can only be said with nouns from the other group. Here are some Cheyenne words from these two groups:

tse'tohe things:

oeškese  poesonono  vaotseva  he'eka'ěškone

hoohtséstse  néxo'mevehe  eš'ehe  hotohke

---

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.
mo'eško  hestahpe  hestsetato  ho' honaeo'o

estse'he  hone'komono  hohtseme  heevaho

he'tohe things:

hestahpano'e  hestaa'e  he'e  ma' evo

maheo'o  ame' hahtótse  amovóhto'hestótse

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

**Animacy**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### Animate nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vo'ëstane</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hē'e</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ëškóne</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>póéso</td>
<td>cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>váótséva</td>
<td>deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé'késo</td>
<td>bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>netse</td>
<td>eagle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vóhkóóhe</td>
<td>rabbit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'heono</td>
<td>sacred powers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méståeo'ô</td>
<td>spooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoohtséstse</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maxe</td>
<td>log</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méséhéstoto</td>
<td>potatoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>henene</td>
<td>tomato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éš'e'he</td>
<td>sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taa'e-ëš'e'he</td>
<td>moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hotohke</td>
<td>star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho' honáeo'o</td>
<td>rocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestahpe</td>
<td>brain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestsétato</td>
<td>kidneys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'ëškono</td>
<td>fingers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héta'e</td>
<td>gland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heévaho</td>
<td>rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éstse'he</td>
<td>shirt, coat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóoma</td>
<td>blanket, mosquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoestoto</td>
<td>dresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héva'kéehestótse</td>
<td>scarf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhe'ëhestótse</td>
<td>diaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tseene'éheono</td>
<td>combs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hone'kómo</td>
<td>button</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mata</td>
<td>peyote</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhtséme</td>
<td>ball</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'xemeno</td>
<td>apples (but inanimate ma'xemenótse in Oklahoma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móxe'otséstótse</td>
<td>picture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Inanimate nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ame</td>
<td>pemmican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahpe</td>
<td>water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho'ëvohkótse</td>
<td>meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>méséhéstótse</td>
<td>food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menótse</td>
<td>berries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'xemenótse</td>
<td>apples (in Oklahoma, but animate ma'xemeneno in Montana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetanéméno'e</td>
<td>juneberry bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'ë'éstse</td>
<td>hay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heséóvo'e</td>
<td>sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'kéhanótse</td>
<td>shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhkéha'e</td>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoestató</td>
<td>belt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káhamaxe</td>
<td>stick</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some languages classify their nouns according to feminine and masculine, and sometimes neutral, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>hátseške</td>
<td>hátšēškeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mé'ěševótse</td>
<td>mé'ěševoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>nákhohe</td>
<td>nákhoheo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>háhnoma</td>
<td>háhnomaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vé'kése</td>
<td>vé'késeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póšo</td>
<td>póšono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'ěškkóne</td>
<td>ka'ěškóneho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clam</td>
<td>hexovo</td>
<td>hexovono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comb</td>
<td>tseene'ěhe'o</td>
<td>tseene'ěheono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oeškese</td>
<td>oeškéseho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghost(^{24})</td>
<td>seo'otse</td>
<td>séoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dress</td>
<td>hoestótse</td>
<td>hoestoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šéšé</td>
<td>šéšéo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feather</td>
<td>mee'e</td>
<td>méeno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td>mo'ěško</td>
<td>mo'ěškono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>hése</td>
<td>héseo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monster</td>
<td>méhne</td>
<td>méhneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nighthawk</td>
<td>pé'e</td>
<td>pé'eo'o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{24}\) The word seo'otse refers to the spirit of a dead person.
pipe he'ohko he'óhkono
porcupine heškovéstse heškovéto
rabbit vóhkóóhe vóhkoohheho
shirt, coat éstse'he éstse'heno
tomato henene heneno

animal hóva hovánhne
chicken kokóhéáxa kokóhéaxáne
dereer váótsevé váotseváhe
sheep kósa kósáne
tick mešé méšéne
turtle ma'ëno ma'enóne
skunk xā'ō o xaőne

badger ma'háhko'e ma'hahkő'e
beaver hóma'e homă'e
goose héna'e henă'e
white man vé'ho'e vé'hó'e

horse mo'éhno'ha mo'éhno'háme
cougar nanóse'hame nanósė'háme

Inanimate plural nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>airplane</td>
<td>ame'hahtótse</td>
<td>ame'háhtotótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>ma'ahtse</td>
<td>ma'ahtsenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ax</td>
<td>hóhkóxe</td>
<td>hóhkóxehótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beard</td>
<td>mé'hahtse</td>
<td>mé'hahtsenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berry</td>
<td>mene</td>
<td>menótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>he'ko</td>
<td>he'konótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dish</td>
<td>hetohko</td>
<td>hetóhkonótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>me'ko</td>
<td>mé'konótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>máheo'o</td>
<td>máheonótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>road</td>
<td>meo'o</td>
<td>méonótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoe</td>
<td>mo'keha</td>
<td>mo'kéhanótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bead</td>
<td>onéhávó'ke</td>
<td>onéhávó'ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belt</td>
<td>hoestátó</td>
<td>hoestátónéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowstring</td>
<td>ma'táno</td>
<td>ma'tánonéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coin, money</td>
<td>ma'kaata</td>
<td>ma'kaatánéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>eše</td>
<td>éšénéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire</td>
<td>ho'ësta</td>
<td>ho'ëstánéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hat</td>
<td>hóhkéha'e</td>
<td>hóhkéhá'ëstse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

How many plural suffixes are there?

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

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'háme 'horses' that some spelling changes
are required to make some plurals. And there are pitch changes that make some nouns plural, as with hóma'ę 'badger' and homā'ę '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 -ôtse and -êstse.) If we create an "abstract" spelling for a noun "stem" we can get by with just these four pluralizers. The abstract spelling is either the same as the singular spelling or else halfway between the singular and plural spellings. The abstract spellings can be supported on technical grounds, especially from how the noun stems are spelled in some other words such as equative verbs. We will not discuss the technical issues further now, but it is enough to point out that there are good reasons from a study of the patterns (morphology) of Cheyenne to believe the abstract noun stems allow us to view pluralization of Cheyenne nouns as being simpler than it at first appears. Let's see how this works in the following lists with abstract noun stem spellings. The column for the abstract stem spellings is simply labeled "stem" in these lists, to save space, but there is enough evidence to consider the abstract stem spellings as the actual spellings of the stems. So we will refer to these abstract spellings as stem spellings from now on.

**Animate noun stems**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plurals ending in -o</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>hátseške</td>
<td>hátseškeh</td>
<td>hátšeskeho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>m'éševótse</td>
<td>mé'ëševot26</td>
<td>mé'ëševoto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bean</td>
<td>móneske</td>
<td>móneskeh</td>
<td>móneskeho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkohe</td>
<td>náhkohe</td>
<td>náhkoheoº</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>hánhoma</td>
<td>hánhnomah</td>
<td>hánhnomaho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vé'kesé</td>
<td>vé'keséh</td>
<td>vé'keseho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póéso</td>
<td>póésón</td>
<td>póésono</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'ěškóne</td>
<td>ka'ěškóneh</td>
<td>ka'ěškónehono</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comb</td>
<td>tseene'ěheo'o</td>
<td>tseene'ěheono</td>
<td>tseene'ěheono</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetaneoº</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šé'še</td>
<td>šé'še</td>
<td>šé'šeoº</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feather</td>
<td>mee'e</td>
<td>méen</td>
<td>méeno</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rabbit</td>
<td>vôhkoóhe</td>
<td>vôhkoohéh</td>
<td>vôhkoohého</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plurals ending in -e</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>hóva</td>
<td>hovahn</td>
<td>hovahn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25 And when we study the phonological history of Cheyenne within the Algonquian language family, we see that these four pluralizers actually descend from just one animate Proto-Algonquian pluralizer, *-aki, and one inanimate pluralizer, *-ali.

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

**Plurals ending in -ótse**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>ma'ah'tse</td>
<td>ma'ah'tsen</td>
<td>ma'ah'tsenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ax</td>
<td>hóhkóxe</td>
<td>hôhkóxeh</td>
<td>hôhkóxehótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>he'ko</td>
<td>he'kon</td>
<td>he'konótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoe</td>
<td>mo'keha</td>
<td>mo'kehan</td>
<td>mo'kehanótse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plurals ending in -étse**

| belt    | hoestátó | hoestátón | hoestátónéstse |
| coin    | ma'kaata | ma'kaatán | ma'kaatánéstse |
| hat     | hóhkéha'e| hóhkéha' | hóhkéha'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'késého 'birds'. If we subtract -h from the end of the stem, we get the pronunciation for the singular vé'késé.

Including the -h at the end of the stem for 'bird' is not simply an ad hoc solution to derive the singular and plural pronunciations easily. There is additional support from Cheyenne grammar for the spellings of the noun stems. 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'késé-. Equative verbs support the spelling of other animate and inanimate noun stems also.

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

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

---

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.
pluralizer –o to the stem we get šéšéo. But the plural is actually pronounced as šéšeo’o.  

Vowel-stretching

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

Deriving inanimate singulars and plurals

We have stated that there are two pluralizers for inanimate nouns, -ot and –ét. But inanimate noun plurals actually end with "phonetic" spellings -őtse and –ėstse, as seen in the preceding list. (The two letters –se are added to these pluralizers by phonological rules described at the end of this book. An "s" is inserted between the /é/ and /t/ of the /-ét/ pluralizer by another phonological rule.)

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

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

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

---

29 A High Push-Over rule lowers the second high pitch. This rule is described in the Phonological rules section of this book.
30 Because of this important observation by Goddard, I called this process Goddard’s Law in my early publications. Later I used the descriptive term, vowel-stretching.
31 The rule of e-Epenthesis adds "e" to the end of any word that ends in a consonant, such as /t/ of the inanimate pluralizers. Then the rule of t-Assibilation changes the /t/ to –ts before the vowel /e/.
32 Dropping of word-final sounds (called apocope) has been part of historical phonological changes in Cheyenne and other Algonquian languages for a long time.
33 Phonemic /-ėt/, with a pronunciation spelling of –ėstse.
CHECK TO SEE IF THIS INFO IS ADEQUATELY INCLUDED IN WHAT PRECEDES THIS:

**ANIMATE NOUNS** taking pluralizer -o

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>underlying stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>nôtse</td>
<td>nótseo?o</td>
<td>nóté</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien (female)</td>
<td>nótá?a</td>
<td>nót?e?o</td>
<td>nótáyé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>hátseške</td>
<td>hátššēškeho</td>
<td>háttehkān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antelope</td>
<td>voʔkaʔa?e</td>
<td>voʔkaeho</td>
<td>voʔkašh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apple</td>
<td>maʔxemen</td>
<td>maʔxemen</td>
<td>maʔxemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>méʔšševotse</td>
<td>méʔšševoto</td>
<td>méʔšševot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
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<td>ooʔhe?o</td>
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<td>tseeʔehe?o</td>
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<td>oʔkőhohe</td>
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<td>hěškoʔsema</td>
<td>hěškoʔsema</td>
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<td>oʔkóhohe</td>
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<td>náhpásasono</td>
<td>náhpásason</td>
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<td>hōstọto</td>
<td>hōstọto</td>
<td>hōstọt</td>
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<td>šěʔe</td>
<td>šěʔe?o</td>
<td>šěʔe?ę</td>
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<td>šěʔeššèškšono</td>
<td>šěʔeššèškóson</td>
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<tr>
<td>eagle</td>
<td>netse</td>
<td>netse</td>
<td>nete</td>
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<td>bald eagle</td>
<td>vóaxasʔe</td>
<td>vóaxasʔe?o</td>
<td>vóaxasaʔé</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: Forms preceded by a plus sign (+) have special complications with the vowels -e and -o.)
| queen | věhóná?e | věhona?e o | věhóná?é |
| quilt | hon?ko | hon?kon | hon?kon |
| quiver | estóso | estóso | áétsóśon |
| rabbit | vóhkoehe | vóhkoehehó | vóhkoehehó |
| rabbit | vóhehe | vóhehe | vóhehe |
| raccoon | matšašköme | matšašköme | mætæhkoæmæh |
| rat | nó?kätse | nó?kätse | nó?kätse |
| rattle | še?šenono | še?šenono | še?šéønon |
| rock | ho?honáé?o | ho?honáé | ho?honáé |
| rug | séchaseo | séchaseo | séchæseøn |
| scorpion | vóhkæhevä'sæhe | vóhkæhevä'sæhe | vóhkæhevä'sæhe |
| shirt, coat | éstse?heno | éstse?heno | éhtæ?hen |
| snail | nema?ke | nema?ke | nema?ke |
| snake | še?šenovotse | še?šenovotse | še?šéønovot |
| sock | hoxeo | hoxeo | hoxeo |
| squirrel | no?ése | no?ése | no?ése |
| star | hotókke | hotókke | hotókke |
| stone | ho?honáhkæ | ho?honáhkæ | ho?honáhkæ |
| sun | éšë?he | éšë?he | éšë?he |
| swallow | mëso?ke | mëso?ke | mëso?ke |
| swan | vøeståso | vøeståso | vøeståso |
| teacher | vovéstomósanéhe | vovéstomósanéhe | vovéstomósanéhe |
| tobacco plug | tse?néemo?o | tse?néemo?o | tse?néëmmo |
| tomato | + henëne | henëne | henen |
| tree | hohtsøêtse | hohtsøêtse | hohtet |
| twin | heståhke | heståhke | heståhke |
| twin girl | heståhkekæ?e | heståhkekæ?e | hahtåhkehæ?é |
| warrior | nótaxe | nótaxe | nótaxe |
| weasel | xaæ?e | xaæ?e | xaæ?e |
| wolf | ho?néhe | ho?néhe | ho?néhe |
| woman | he?e | he?e | he?é |
| young woman | kæsaeëhæhe | kæsaeëhæhe | kæsaeëhæhæ |
| old woman | máhtamåñåhehæhe | máhtamåñåhehæhe | mahtamåñåhæhæ |
| woodchuck | sëavoneške | sëavoneške | sëavoneñke |
PLURALIZATION: ANIMATE NOUNS having é in pluralizer

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>underlying stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
<td>hōva</td>
<td>hovēhne</td>
<td>hovān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blackbird</td>
<td>he?heēno</td>
<td>he?heenē</td>
<td>he?heenō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue thrush</td>
<td>eʔeʔeʔæ</td>
<td>eʔeʔtāhne</td>
<td>eʔeʔtāhn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>kokōhēáxe</td>
<td>kokōhēáxēne</td>
<td>kokōhēaxēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chipmunk</td>
<td>nēškeʔēsta</td>
<td>nēškeʔēstāhne</td>
<td>nēškeʔēstāhn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>vāōtsēvé</td>
<td>vāōtsēvēhne</td>
<td>vāōtsēvāhn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magpie</td>
<td>moʔeʔha</td>
<td>moʔeʔhāne</td>
<td>moʔeʔhān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>kōsā</td>
<td>kōsāne</td>
<td>kosān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tick</td>
<td>mēʔe</td>
<td>mēʔēne</td>
<td>mēʔēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turnip</td>
<td>moʔōhtāʔe</td>
<td>moʔōhtāʔēne</td>
<td>moʔōhtāʔen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>maʔēno</td>
<td>maʔēnēne</td>
<td>maʔēnōn</td>
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Nouns which retain -n word-internally:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>máhoʔōxēnō</th>
<th>máhoʔōxēnōne</th>
<th>mahoʔōxēnōn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gourd</td>
<td>máhoʔōxēnō</td>
<td>máhoʔōxēnōne</td>
<td>mahoʔōxēnōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>melon</td>
<td>máhōʔo</td>
<td>máhōn</td>
<td>mahōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cantelope</td>
<td>máhōʔkö</td>
<td>máhōʔköne</td>
<td>mahōʔköen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>salamander</td>
<td>heʔoʔhtāʔo</td>
<td>heʔoʔhtāʔōne</td>
<td>heʔoʔhtāʔōn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>xaʔʔo</td>
<td>xaʔʔe</td>
<td>xaʔʔn</td>
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</table>

Nouns with pitch change:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>maʔhānʔköʔe</th>
<th>maʔhahkōʔe</th>
<th>maʔhahkoʔ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>badger</td>
<td>maʔhānʔköʔe</td>
<td>maʔhahkōʔe</td>
<td>maʔhahkoʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>hōmaʔe</td>
<td>homēʔe</td>
<td>homēʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedbug</td>
<td>hēxōvēʔe</td>
<td>hēxōvēʔe</td>
<td>hēxōvēʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>hōtāmē</td>
<td>hotāmē</td>
<td>hotām</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fish</td>
<td>nōmaʔhe</td>
<td>nōmēʔhe</td>
<td>nōmāʔh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frog</td>
<td>oonāʔhaʔe</td>
<td>oonāʔhēe</td>
<td>oonāʔhēa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goose</td>
<td>hēnāʔe</td>
<td>hēnāʔe</td>
<td>hēnāʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gopher</td>
<td>ēstēmāʔe</td>
<td>ēstēmāʔe</td>
<td>ēstēmāʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leech</td>
<td>hēskōʔe</td>
<td>hēskōʔe</td>
<td>hēskōʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white man</td>
<td>vēʔhoʔe</td>
<td>vēʔhōʔe</td>
<td>vēʔhoʔ</td>
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Nouns which retain -m word-internally:

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<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>moʔēʔn̂m̂noʔha</th>
<th>moʔēʔn̂m̂noʔhām̂e</th>
<th>moʔēʔn̂m̂hoʔham</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>horse</td>
<td>moʔēʔn̂m̂noʔha</td>
<td>moʔēʔn̂m̂noʔhām̂e</td>
<td>moʔēʔn̂m̂hoʔham</td>
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<td>mare</td>
<td>heʔeʔhām̂e</td>
<td>heʔeʔhām̂e</td>
<td>heʔeʔhām̂e</td>
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<tr>
<td>male horse</td>
<td>hetanēʔhām̂e</td>
<td>hetanēʔhām̂e</td>
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<td>lion</td>
<td>nanōsēʔhām̂e</td>
<td>nanōsēʔhām̂e</td>
<td>nanōsēʔhām̂e</td>
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<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>underlying stem</td>
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<td>-----------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>airplane</td>
<td>ameʔháhtötse</td>
<td>ameʔháhtotötse</td>
<td>ameʔháhtot</td>
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<tr>
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<td>noʔéstáhtotötse</td>
<td>noʔéstáhtot</td>
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<td>maʔxemenötse</td>
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<td>mene</td>
<td>menotse</td>
<td>mën</td>
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<td>səmo</td>
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<td>sémn</td>
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<td>meʔšeškẹn</td>
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<td>hétokho</td>
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<td>hétokhonötse</td>
<td>hétokho</td>
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<td>hammer</td>
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<td>tóhkonötse</td>
<td>tóhkon</td>
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<td>meʔko</td>
<td>méʔkonotse</td>
<td>méʔkon</td>
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<td>heart</td>
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<td>heštahotse</td>
<td>heštah</td>
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<td>máʔheńotse</td>
<td>máheńon</td>
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<tr>
<td>shed</td>
<td>máʔheńọʔo</td>
<td>máʔheńotse</td>
<td>máheńon</td>
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<td>xoμcoonotse</td>
<td>xoμcoon</td>
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<td>heʔpo</td>
<td>heʔpönötse</td>
<td>heʔpon</td>
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<td>heʔpótotötse</td>
<td>heʔpótot</td>
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<td>hoʔévokototötse</td>
<td>hoʔévokot</td>
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<tr>
<td>meat</td>
<td>hoʔévokotse</td>
<td>hoʔévokototötse</td>
<td>hoʔévokot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dry meat</td>
<td>honóvokho</td>
<td>honóvokototötse</td>
<td>honóvokot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>věhéstötse</td>
<td>věhéstotötse</td>
<td>věhéstot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>heʔtőtse</td>
<td>heʔtökse</td>
<td>heʔtót</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>maʔevo</td>
<td>maʔevońötse</td>
<td>maʔevoń</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>maʔevo</td>
<td>maʔevońötse</td>
<td>maʔevoń</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purse</td>
<td>kaʔämɛmɛstötse</td>
<td>kaʔämɛmɛstotötse</td>
<td>kaʔämɛmɛhtot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ring</td>
<td>moʔeško</td>
<td>moʔeškonötse</td>
<td>moʔeškẹh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>road</td>
<td>méńọ</td>
<td>méńotse</td>
<td>méńon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roast</td>
<td>honón̄ọo</td>
<td>honónotse</td>
<td>honón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoe</td>
<td>moʔkeha</td>
<td>moʔkehẹnötse</td>
<td>moʔkehẹn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year, winter</td>
<td>aʔe</td>
<td>aʔenotse</td>
<td>aęn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>underlying stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axe</td>
<td>hohkoxe</td>
<td>hohkoxéstse</td>
<td>hohkox(eh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bead</td>
<td>onénavo?ke</td>
<td>onénavo?késtse</td>
<td>onénavo?k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belt</td>
<td>hoestâto</td>
<td>hoestátônéstse</td>
<td>hoestátõn(ah)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bow</td>
<td>ma?tšëške</td>
<td>ma?tšëškéstse</td>
<td>ma?tehk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowstring</td>
<td>ma?tâno</td>
<td>ma?tanônéstse</td>
<td>ma?tanôn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>branch (tree)</td>
<td>hestæa?e</td>
<td>hestæa?éstse</td>
<td>hestae(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>vo?e</td>
<td>vō?éstse</td>
<td>vo?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coin</td>
<td>ma?këta</td>
<td>ma?këtânéstse</td>
<td>ma?këtân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raw corn</td>
<td>hočokóhtse</td>
<td>hočokóhtéstse</td>
<td>hočokht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corral</td>
<td>ména?o?e</td>
<td>ména?o?éstse</td>
<td>ména?o?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>ešëse</td>
<td>ešësenéstse</td>
<td>ešen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ma?ëxa</td>
<td>ma?ëxânéstse</td>
<td>ma?ëxân</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fishhook</td>
<td>nonónëo?e</td>
<td>nonónëo?éstse</td>
<td>nonónëé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hat</td>
<td>hóhkëha?e</td>
<td>hóhkëha?éstse</td>
<td>hóhkëha?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hay</td>
<td>mo?ëse?e</td>
<td>mo?ë?éstse</td>
<td>mo?ëse?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lake</td>
<td>ne?hâne</td>
<td>ne?hânenéstse</td>
<td>ne?hânen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land</td>
<td>ho?e</td>
<td>ho?éstse</td>
<td>ho?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>hë?e</td>
<td>hë?éstse</td>
<td>hë?(é)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>hë?e</td>
<td>hë?enéstse</td>
<td>hë?en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>hesésec?o?tse</td>
<td>hesésec?ööstse</td>
<td>hesésecot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>taa?e</td>
<td>taa?éstse</td>
<td>taa?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>taa?e</td>
<td>taa?ënéstse</td>
<td>taa?en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rib</td>
<td>hë?o?e</td>
<td>hë?ëpéstse</td>
<td>hë?ëp(éh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>river</td>
<td>o?he?e</td>
<td>o?he?ëstse</td>
<td>o?he?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td>vóhtâne</td>
<td>vóhtânéstse</td>
<td>vóhtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forest</td>
<td>ma?tâe?e</td>
<td>ma?tâe?éstse</td>
<td>ma?tâe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year, winter</td>
<td>ãã?e</td>
<td>ãã?ëstse</td>
<td>ãé(n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póéso</td>
<td>póesono</td>
<td>póesono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oeškëse</td>
<td>oeškëseho</td>
<td>oeškëseho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'ěškóne</td>
<td>ka'ěškóneho</td>
<td>ka'ěškóneho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree</td>
<td>hoohtsêtse</td>
<td>hoóhtseto</td>
<td>hoóhtseto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>séšenóvótse</td>
<td>šéšenovoto</td>
<td>šéšenovoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grasshopper</td>
<td>háhkota</td>
<td>háhkotaho</td>
<td>háhkotaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>god</td>
<td>ma'heō'o</td>
<td>ma'heono</td>
<td>ma'heono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apple</td>
<td>má'xeme</td>
<td>ma'xemeno</td>
<td>ma'xemeno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my daughter</td>
<td>náhtona</td>
<td>náhtónaho</td>
<td>náhtónaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>váótsevá</td>
<td>váótseváhne</td>
<td>váótseváhne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>xāo'o</td>
<td>xaóne</td>
<td>xaóne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetaneo'o</td>
<td>hetanóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>hē'e</td>
<td>he'eo'o</td>
<td>he'óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šé'še</td>
<td>šé'še'o</td>
<td>šé'xo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>éše'he</td>
<td>éše'heo'o</td>
<td>éše'hóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkhohe</td>
<td>náhkhoeo'o</td>
<td>náhkóhóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>ho'honáá'e</td>
<td>ho'ho'hóho'eo'o</td>
<td>ho'ho'naa'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white woman</td>
<td>vé'ho'á'e</td>
<td>vé'ho'ha'eo'o</td>
<td>vé'ho'a'0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Examples of obviatives in sentences:

Hetane évóomóho še'xo. The man saw a duck/ducks (obv).
Énoóomaevóho henésónéhevóho. Their children (obv) called them.
Oeškëso ématómóho xaóne. The dog smelled a skunk/skunks (obv).
Oeškëseho ématómового xaóne. The dogs smelled a skunk/skunks (obv).

---

34 Or ma'heōneva
35 This is the animate Montana pronunciation. Oklahoma pronunciation is inanimate ma'xemeno'tse.
36 An alternate pronunciation is šé'xóho.
Éméhótóho37 náahtónaho. He loves my daughter/daughters (obv).
Ka'èškóne évéstáhémóho heške. The child helped his mother (obv).
Henésono évéstáhémää'e. Her child(ren) (obv) helped her.

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

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

The prefixes indicating possession are:

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

We will study verbs in the next section of this book, but for now notice that the possessor prefixes are low pitched while the person prefixes on verbs are high 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.')</p>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>unpossessed</th>
<th>possessed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sémo 'boat'</td>
<td>hesémo 'his boat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sémonôtse 'boats'</td>
<td>hesémonôtse 'his boats'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'keha 'shoe'</td>
<td>namo'keha 'my shoe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'kėhanôtse 'shoes'</td>
<td>namo'kėhanôtse 'my shoes'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>singular possessor</th>
<th>plural possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namähēō’o 'my house'</td>
<td>namähēónâne 'our (excl) house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevëe'e 'your tepee'</td>
<td>nevëenëvo 'your (pl) tepee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesto’e 'his land'</td>
<td>hesto’ëstse 'their lands'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nenéso 'your child'</td>
<td>nenésônëhëvo 'your (pl) child'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

37 Or Émēhoto.
38 The high pitches on verb prefixes become low pitches when the future tense is used. Cf. nâmësehe 'I'm eating (or 'I ate') with náhtsemësehe 'I will eat.'
person someone is speaking to. In Cheyenne there is no such ambiguity. If Cheyennes say 'our' which includes the person(s) they are speaking to, they use 'our' inclusive pronominal affixes. If Cheyennes say 'our' that excludes the person(s) they are speaking to, they use 'our' exclusive pronominal affixes. So, nemāhéonáne means 'our house' (which includes you as owner). And namāhéonáne means 'our house' (which excludes you as owner). Some other inclusive and exclusive first person possessors (corresponding to English 'our') are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inclusive 'our'</th>
<th>exclusive 'our'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nevéenane 'our (incl) tepee'</td>
<td>navéenâne 'our (excl) tepee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neamāho’héstōnāne 'our (incl) car'</td>
<td>namāho’héstōnâne 'our (excl) car'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nenésōnēhāne 'our (incl) child'</td>
<td>nánésōnēhāne 'our (excl) child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēstotsēhāne 'our (incl) pet'</td>
<td>nāhtotsēhāne 'our (excl) pet'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inclusive 'our'</th>
<th>exclusive 'our'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nénémenema 'we (incl) sang'</td>
<td>nánémenēme 'we (excl) sang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névōomone 'we (incl) saw him'</td>
<td>návōomóne 'we (excl) saw him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhetāene 'he told us (incl)'</td>
<td>náhetāēne 'he told us (excl)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Obviated possessives**

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

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

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

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

**Inanimate possessives**

Many Cheyenne nouns can be possessed. Nouns that are possessed can be either inanimate or animate. Here are some inanimate possessives: **INCLUDE INTERLINEAR GLOSSES AND WORD

---

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

māhēō'o 'house' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>my house</th>
<th>namāheonótse</th>
<th>my houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namāhēō'o</td>
<td>your house</td>
<td>nemāheonótse</td>
<td>your houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemāhēō'o</td>
<td>his house</td>
<td>nemāheonótse</td>
<td>his houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemāhéōnéneh</td>
<td>our (excl) house</td>
<td>nemāheonánötse??</td>
<td>our (excl) houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemāhéōnéneh</td>
<td>our (incl) house</td>
<td>nemāheonánötse??</td>
<td>our (incl) houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemāhéōnévo</td>
<td>your (pl) house</td>
<td>nemāheonévótse</td>
<td>your (pl) houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemāhéōnévo</td>
<td>their house</td>
<td>hemāheónevótse</td>
<td>their houses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vee'e 'tepee, dwelling' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>my tepee</th>
<th>navéenótse</th>
<th>my tepees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>navee'e</td>
<td>your tepee</td>
<td>nevénötse</td>
<td>your tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevee'e</td>
<td>his tepee</td>
<td>hevénötse</td>
<td>his tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navéenâne</td>
<td>our (excl) tepee</td>
<td>navéenánötse(ôtse??)</td>
<td>our (excl) tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevéenâne</td>
<td>our (incl) tepee</td>
<td>nevéenánötse??</td>
<td>our (incl) tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevéenâvo</td>
<td>your (pl) tepee</td>
<td>nevéenévótse</td>
<td>your (pl) tepees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevéenâvo</td>
<td>his (pl) tepee</td>
<td>hevéenévótse</td>
<td>their tepees</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

mo'keha 'shoe' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>my shoe</th>
<th>namo'kēhanótse</th>
<th>my shoes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namo'keha</td>
<td>your shoe</td>
<td>nemo'kēhanótse</td>
<td>your shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemo'keha</td>
<td>his shoe</td>
<td>hemo'kēhanótse</td>
<td>his shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namo'kēhanâne</td>
<td>our (excl) shoe</td>
<td>namo'kēhananötse(ôtse??)</td>
<td>our (excl) shoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemo'kēhanane</td>
<td>our (incl) shoe</td>
<td>nemo'kēhananótse??</td>
<td>our (incl) shoe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemo'kēhanâvo</td>
<td>your (pl) shoe</td>
<td>nemo'kēhavenótse</td>
<td>your (pl) shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemo'kēhanâvo</td>
<td>their shoe</td>
<td>hemo'kēhavenótse</td>
<td>their shoes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

amāhō'hestótse 'car' (possessed)

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>my car</th>
<th>namāhō'héstotótse</th>
<th>my cars</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namāhō'héstotse</td>
<td>your car</td>
<td>neamōhō'héstotótse</td>
<td>your cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neamāhō'héstotse</td>
<td>his car</td>
<td>heamōhō'héstotótse</td>
<td>his cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namāhō'héstônâne</td>
<td>our (excl) car</td>
<td>naamāhō'héstotanötse</td>
<td>our (excl) cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neamāhō'héstotane</td>
<td>our (incl) car</td>
<td>naamāhō'héstotanötse</td>
<td>our (incl) cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neamāhō'héstovévo</td>
<td>your (pl) car</td>
<td>naamāhō'héstovevótse</td>
<td>your (pl) cars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heamāhō'héstovévo</td>
<td>their car</td>
<td>neamāhō'héstovevótse</td>
<td>their cars</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Dependent stems

The unpossessed form of each of the preceding words can be pronounced as individual words. The Cheyenne word for 'land' is an individual word, ho'e. But if this word for 'land' is possessed, it cannot be pronounced as an individual word. Nouns which are possessed and cannot be pronounced

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40 From this point on, we will only include the masculine words 'his', 'he', or 'him' in paradigms to save space. Always remember, however, that third person singular in Cheyenne can also be translated with the feminine words 'her' and 'she'.
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', nêsto'e 'your land', hesto'e 'his/her land'
-htōtse 'pet', náhtōtse 'my pet', nêstōtse 'your pet', hestotseho 'his/her pet(s)'
-éxa 'eye', na'éxa 'my eye', na'éxánéstse 'my eyes', he'éxánéstse 'his/her eyes'
-evo 'nose', na'evo 'my nose', ne'evo 'your nose', he'evoh 'his/her nose'
-me 'older sister', name 'my older sister', hemeho 'his/her older sister'

**Dependent stem ma- prefix**

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

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

- ma'evo 'nose'
- ma'ahtse 'arm'
- manestäne 'knee'
- máhtame 'food'

**Doublets with the ma- prefix**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>independent form</th>
<th>ma-form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
<td>he'ko</td>
<td>máhtse'ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brain</td>
<td>hestahpe</td>
<td>máhtséahpere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gland</td>
<td>héta'ë</td>
<td>máhtséata'ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>héstah</td>
<td>máhtséata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thigh</td>
<td>hénòme</td>
<td>máhtsénòme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ma-forms in word formation**

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

- ma'ëxa 'eye'
- máhtséna 'eyes'
- mahtsésta 'heart'
- máhtségho 'hearts'

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

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

**Possession suffix -am**

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

ka'ěskóone 'child', naka'ěskóněhame⁴² 'my child'
ma'heño'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 –véhkéha'e)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>navóhkéha'e⁴³</td>
<td>my hat</td>
<td>navóhkéha'estse</td>
<td>my hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevóhkéha'e</td>
<td>your hat</td>
<td>nevóhkéha'estse</td>
<td>your hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevóhkéha'e</td>
<td>his hat</td>
<td>hevóhkéha'estse</td>
<td>his hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navóhkéha'âne</td>
<td>our (excl) hat</td>
<td>navóhkéha'anótse</td>
<td>our (excl) hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névóhkéha'âne</td>
<td>our (incl) hat</td>
<td>névóhkéha'anótse</td>
<td>our (incl) hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevóhkéha'ëvo</td>
<td>your (pl) hat</td>
<td>nevóhkéha'ëvótse</td>
<td>your (pl) hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevóhkéha'ëvo</td>
<td>their hat</td>
<td>nevóhkéha'ëvótse</td>
<td>their hats</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ho'e 'land' (possessive stem –hto'e)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhto'e</td>
<td>my land</td>
<td>náhto'estse</td>
<td>my lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nést'o'e</td>
<td>your land</td>
<td>nést'o'estse</td>
<td>your lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hest'o'e</td>
<td>his land</td>
<td>hest'o'estse</td>
<td>his lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhto'âne</td>
<td>our (excl) land</td>
<td>náhto'anótse</td>
<td>our (excl) lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nést'o'âne</td>
<td>our (incl) land</td>
<td>nést'o'anótse</td>
<td>our (incl) lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nést'o'ëvo</td>
<td>your (pl) land</td>
<td>nést'o'ëvótse</td>
<td>your (pl) lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hest'o'ëvo</td>
<td>their land</td>
<td>hest'o'ëvótse</td>
<td>their lands</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ma'ëxa 'eye' (possessive stem –'ëxa)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma'ëxa</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ma'ëxánëstse</td>
<td>eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'ëxa</td>
<td>my eye</td>
<td>na'ëxánëstse</td>
<td>my eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'ëxa</td>
<td>his eye</td>
<td>he'ëxánëstse</td>
<td>his eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'ëxáéne</td>
<td>our (excl) eye</td>
<td>na'ëxanëstse</td>
<td>our (excl) eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne'ëxáene</td>
<td>our (incl) eye</td>
<td>ne'ëxanëstse</td>
<td>our (incl) eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>né'ëxáëvo</td>
<td>your (pl) eye</td>
<td>né'ëxavótse</td>
<td>your (pl) eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'ëxáëvo</td>
<td>their eye</td>
<td>he'ëxavótse</td>
<td>their eyes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
<th>Sg.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhtáme</td>
<td>my food</td>
<td>náhtamótse</td>
<td>my foods⁴⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstáme</td>
<td>your food</td>
<td>néstamótse</td>
<td>your foods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héstáme</td>
<td>his food</td>
<td>hestamótse</td>
<td>his foods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtámáne</td>
<td>our (excl) food</td>
<td>náhtamánótse</td>
<td>our (excl) foods</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

⁴¹ Cheyenne–em is a reflex of the PA possessive suffix *-am.
⁴² The letter "e" is added to this suffix if the suffix is at the end of a word.
⁴³ The word for 'hat' is hóhkéha'e. It can be pronounced as a word by itself. When it is possessed, it changes to a bound stem that begins with "v", -véhkéha'e. Bound noun stems can only be pronounced as words by themselves if possessor prefixes are included with them.
⁴⁴ The plural could refer to corn which is plural in Cheyenne, because there are individual kernels. Perhaps a more accurate gloss of this plural would be 'my pieces of food'. $\$RECHECK
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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Form</th>
<th>Possessive Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náoeškēsēhame</td>
<td>my dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néoeškēsēhame</td>
<td>your dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héoeškēsēhamo</td>
<td>his dog(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náoeškēsēhamane</td>
<td>our (excl) dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néoeškēsēhamane</td>
<td>our (incl) dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héoeškēsēhamevóho</td>
<td>their dog(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

veho 'chief' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Form</th>
<th>Possessive Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>návehóname</td>
<td>my chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néevehóname</td>
<td>your chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héevehónamo</td>
<td>his chief(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návehónamane</td>
<td>our (excl) chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névehónamane</td>
<td>our (incl) chief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héevehónamevóho</td>
<td>their chief(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ma'heō'o 'god, sacred power' (possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Form</th>
<th>Possessive Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náma'heóname</td>
<td>my god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némna'heóname</td>
<td>your god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hémna'heónamo</td>
<td>your god(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náma'heónamane</td>
<td>our (excl) god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némna'heónamane</td>
<td>our (incl) god</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hémna'heónamevóho</td>
<td>their god(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

child (biological; possessed)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Form</th>
<th>Possessive Case</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nanéso</td>
<td>my child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénéso</td>
<td>your child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hénésono</td>
<td>his child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanésonéháne</td>
<td>our (ex) child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nénésonéháne</td>
<td>our (in) child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

45 The asterisk * is typically used to indicate that something is ungrammatical. In this book, with the letters "PA," the asterisk also marks a Proto-Algonquian form (and it is not ungrammatical).
46 Another pronunciation is oeškēso.
nenésónéhevó your (pl) child nenésónéhevo'o your (pl) children
tenésónéhevo your (pl) child(ren) nenasónhame your (pl) child(ren)

child (possessed)
naka'ěškónéhame my child naka'ěškónéhame my children
neka'ěškónéhame your child neka'ěškónéhame your children
heka'ěškónéhame his child(ren) heka'ěškónéhame his child(ren)
naka'ěškónéhamane our (ex) child naka'ěškónéhamaneo' our (ex) children
neka'ěškónéhamane our (in) child neka'ěškónéhamaneo' our (in) children
heka'ěškónéhamévo your (pl) child heka'ěškónéhamévo your (pl) children
heka'ěškónéhamévóho their child(ren) heka'ěškónéhamévóho their child(ren)

mōxe'ėotséstôtse 'picture' (possessed)
namōxe'eotséstôtse my picture namōxe'eotséstoto my pictures
nemōxe'eotséstôtse your picture nemōxe'eotséstoto your pictures
hemōxe'eotséstoto his picture(s) hemōxe'eotséstoto his picture(s)
namōxe'eotséstónáne our (ex) picture namōxe'eotséstónáne our (ex) pictures
nemōxe'eotséstónane our (in) picture nemōxe'eotséstónane our (in) pictures
nemōxe'eotséstévévo your (pl) picture nemōxe'eotséstévévo your (pl) pictures
hemōxe'eotséstévévóho their picture(s) hemōxe'eotséstévévóho 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-:

son (possessed)
nae'ha my son nae'ha my sons
nee'ha your son nee'ha your sons
hee'haho his son(s) hee'haho his son(s)
nae'hahāne our (ex) son nae'hahaneo' our (ex) sons
nee'hahane our (in) son nee'hahaneo' our (in) sons
nee'hahēvo your (pl) son nee'hahevoo'o your (pl) sons
hee'hahevóho their son(s) hee'hahevóho their son(s)

daughter (possessed)
náhhtona my daughter náhtóna my daughters
něstona your daughter něstóna your daughters
hestónaho his daughter(s) hestóna his daughter(s)
náhtónaháne our (ex) daughter náhtónahaneo' our (ex) daughters
něstónahane our (in) daughter něstónahaneo' our (in) daughters
něstónahévo your (pl) daughter něstónahévoo'o your (pl) daughters
hestónahévóho their daughter(s) hestónahévóho their daughter(s)

pet (possessed)
náhtotse my pet náhtotse my pets
něstotse your pet něstotse your pets
hestotseho his pet(s) hestotseho his pet(s)
náhtotséháne our (ex) pet náhtotséhaneo' our (ex) pets
něstotséhane our (in) pet něstotséhaneo' our (in) pets

47 The difference between –néso and –ka’ėškónéhame is that –néso refers to a child born to you, that is your biological child, while –ka’ėškónéhame refers to any person that you consider your child. A chief can call any of his people, naka’ėškónéhame ‘my children’, but he could only call his biological child(ren) nanésoneho ‘my children’.
néstotséhéo your (pl) pet néstotséhevo'o your (pl) pets
hestotséhevehóho their pet(s) hestotséhevehóho their pet(s)

brother (possessed by female)$RECHECK
náhtatanesmee your brother(n) nahtatanememo my brothers
néstatanámesmee your brother(s) néstatanámesmee your brothers
hestatanámesmee her brother(s) hestatanámesmee her brother(s)
nahtatanámesmee your (ex) brother nahtatanámesmee your (ex) brothers
néstatanámesmane your (in) brother néstatanámesmane your (in) brothers
hestatanámesmane your (pl) brother néstatanámesmane your (pl) brothers
hestatanámesmane their brother(n) hestatanámesmane their brother(s)

grandfather (possessed)
nameśémee my grandfather namešémo my grandfathers
neméśémee your grandfather neméšemo your grandfathers
heméšémee his grandfather(s) heméšemo his grandfather(s)
naméšémémane your (ex) grandfather neméšémémane your (ex) grandfathers
néméšémémane your (in) grandfather neméšémémane your (in) grandfathers
néméšémémane your (pl) grandfather neméšémémane your (pl) grandfathers
heméšémémane their grandfather(s) heméšémémane their grandfather(s)

older brother (possessed)
ná'ne my older brother na'neho my older brothers
ně'ne your older brother ne'neho your older brothers
he'neho his older brother(s) he'neho his older brother(s)
ná'nehane our (ex) older brother na'nehaneo'o our (ex) older brothers
ne'nehane our (in) older brother ne'nehaneo'o our (in) older brothers
ne'nehéve your (pl) older brother ne'nehéveo'o your (pl) older brothers
he'nehévého their older brother(s) he'nehévého their older brother(s)

older sister (possessed)
naméšémee my older sister namehemo my older sisters
neméšémee your older sister nemeho your older sisters
heméshemo his older sister(s) hemeho his older sister(s)
naméshemané our (ex) older sis naméshemanéo'o our (ex) o. sisters
neméshemané our (in) older sis naméshemanéo'o our (in) o. sisters
neméshémo your (pl) older sis neméshémo'o your (pl) o. sisters
heméshémo their o. sister(s) heméshémo their o. sister(s)

mother (possessed)
náhko'éehe48 my mother ----- 
neško your mother ----- 
heške his mother ----- 
neškane49 our (incl) mother neškaneo'o our (incl) mothers 
néškane your (pl) mother néškevoo'o your (pl) mothers 
heškevóho their mother(s) heškevóho their mother(s)

relative (possessed) $RECHECK
navóohestótse my relative navóohestoto my relatives 
nevóohestótse your relative nevóohestoto your relatives

48 No plurals are known for plural 'mothers' possessed by singular possessors.
49 No form has been found meaning 'our (exclusive) mother'. $RECHECK
Irregular possessives

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cheyenne</th>
<th>english</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>né'tóvé 50</td>
<td>my (masc) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étóve</td>
<td>your (masc) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'tovo</td>
<td>his (masc) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'é'tovane</td>
<td>our (masc excl) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é'tóveo</td>
<td>your (masc incl) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'tovevóho</td>
<td>their (masc) bro(s)-in-law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cheyenne</th>
<th>english</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>n'é'tame</td>
<td>my (fem) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étame</td>
<td>your (fem) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'táme</td>
<td>her brother(s)-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'é'tamáne</td>
<td>our (fem excl) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étamáne</td>
<td>our (fem incl) brother-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'tamevóho</td>
<td>their (fem) bro(s)-in-law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

friend (male friend of a male; possessed) 51

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cheyenne</th>
<th>english</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nése'ne</td>
<td>my (masc) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é'séne</td>
<td>your friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'senóho</td>
<td>his (masc) friend(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n'é'senéháne</td>
<td>our (masc excl) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é'senéháve</td>
<td>our (masc incl) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'senéhevóho</td>
<td>their (masc) friends(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

friend (female friend of a male; possessed) 52

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>cheyenne</th>
<th>english</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nése'é</td>
<td>my (fem) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é'sé'e</td>
<td>your (fem) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevé'se'óho</td>
<td>her (fem) friend(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nése'áne 53</td>
<td>our (fem excl) friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é'sé'áne 54</td>
<td>our (fem incl) friend</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

50 These brother-in-law words can only have male possessors.
51 These words are traditionally said only about friendship between males. But in recent years some Cheyenne women have been saying these words also, perhaps due to influence from English where the word "friend" can be used about friends who are not of the same gender.
52 Said only between females.
53 Alternate forms are nése'êháne and navése'âne.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>father</strong></td>
<td>my father</td>
<td>ného'éhe</td>
<td>ného</td>
<td>their father</td>
<td>hevése'evóho</td>
<td>hevése'evóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>your father</td>
<td>eho</td>
<td>eho</td>
<td>your (pl) father</td>
<td>éhevo</td>
<td>éhevo'ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>his father</td>
<td>heho</td>
<td>heho</td>
<td>their (pl) fathers</td>
<td>hevése'evóoo</td>
<td>hevése'evóoo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>our (excl) father</td>
<td>néháne</td>
<td>néháne</td>
<td>our (excl) fathers</td>
<td>néháneo'o</td>
<td>néháneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>our (incl) father</td>
<td>éhane</td>
<td>éhane</td>
<td>our (incl) fathers</td>
<td>éhaneo'o</td>
<td>éhaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>your (pl) father</td>
<td>éhévó</td>
<td>éhévó</td>
<td>your (pl) fathers</td>
<td>éhévoo'o</td>
<td>éhévoo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>their father(s)</td>
<td>héhevóho</td>
<td>héhevóho</td>
<td>their (pl) father(s)</td>
<td>héhevóho</td>
<td>héhevóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>grandmother</strong></td>
<td>my grandmother</td>
<td>néske'éehe</td>
<td>néske'éehe</td>
<td>my grandmothers</td>
<td>navéškemo</td>
<td>navéškemo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>your grandmother</td>
<td>éškeme</td>
<td>éškeme</td>
<td>your grandmothers</td>
<td>éškemo</td>
<td>éškemo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>his grandmother(s)</td>
<td>hevéškemé</td>
<td>hevéškemé</td>
<td>his grandmother(s)</td>
<td>hevéškemo</td>
<td>hevéškemo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>our (ex) grandmothers</td>
<td>néškemani</td>
<td>néškemani</td>
<td>our (ex) grandmothers</td>
<td>néškemaneo'o</td>
<td>néškemaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>our (in) grandmothers</td>
<td>éškemane</td>
<td>éškemane</td>
<td>our (in) grandmothers</td>
<td>éškemaneo'o</td>
<td>éškemaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>your (pl) grandmothers</td>
<td>éškemévo</td>
<td>éškemévo</td>
<td>your (pl) grandmothers</td>
<td>éškemévo'o</td>
<td>éškemévo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>their grandmother(s)</td>
<td>hevéškemévóho</td>
<td>hevéškemévóho</td>
<td>their grandmother(s)</td>
<td>hevéškemévóho</td>
<td>hevéškemévóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>grandchild</strong></td>
<td>my grandchild</td>
<td>néxahe</td>
<td>néxahe</td>
<td>my grandchild</td>
<td>néxaho</td>
<td>néxaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>your grandchild</td>
<td>éxahe</td>
<td>éxahe</td>
<td>your grandchild</td>
<td>éxaho</td>
<td>éxaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>his grandchild(ren)</td>
<td>hevéxaho</td>
<td>hevéxaho</td>
<td>his grandchild(ren)</td>
<td>hevéxaho</td>
<td>hevéxaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>our (ex) grandchild</td>
<td>néxáháne</td>
<td>néxáháne</td>
<td>our (ex) grandchild</td>
<td>néxáhaneo'o</td>
<td>néxáhaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>our (in) grandchild</td>
<td>éxahane</td>
<td>éxahane</td>
<td>our (in) grandchild</td>
<td>éxahaneo'o</td>
<td>éxahaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>your (pl) grandchild</td>
<td>éxahévo</td>
<td>éxahévo</td>
<td>your (pl) grandchild</td>
<td>éxahévo'o</td>
<td>éxahévo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>their grandchild(ren)</td>
<td>hevéxahévóho</td>
<td>hevéxahévóho</td>
<td>their grandchild(ren)</td>
<td>hevéxahévóho</td>
<td>hevéxahévóho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Mixed paradigm**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Younger sibling (possessed)</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>násemáhe</td>
<td>my younger sibling</td>
<td>násemáhe</td>
<td>násemaho</td>
<td>my younger siblings</td>
<td>násemaho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésemáhe</td>
<td>your younger sibling</td>
<td>ésemáhe</td>
<td>ésemaho</td>
<td>your younger siblings</td>
<td>ésemaho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevésemáhe</td>
<td>his younger sibling(s)</td>
<td>hevésemáhe</td>
<td>hevésemáhe</td>
<td>his younger sibling(s)</td>
<td>hevésemáhe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násemáháne</td>
<td>our (excl) younger sibling</td>
<td>násemáháne</td>
<td>násemáháne</td>
<td>our (excl) younger siblings</td>
<td>násemáháne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésemáháne</td>
<td>our (incl) younger sibling</td>
<td>ésemáháne</td>
<td>ésemáháne</td>
<td>our (incl) younger siblings</td>
<td>ésemáháne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésemáhévo</td>
<td>your (pl) younger sibling</td>
<td>ésemáhévo</td>
<td>ésemáhévo</td>
<td>your (pl) younger siblings</td>
<td>ésemáhévo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevésemévóho</td>
<td>their younger sibling(s)</td>
<td>hevésemévóho</td>
<td>hevésemévóho</td>
<td>their younger sibling(s)</td>
<td>hevésemévóho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Regularized possessives**

Irregular forms are more difficult to learn than regular forms. Speakers of languages with irregular paradigms often try to regularize them to regular paradigms. Cheyennes have been

---

54 Alternate forms are ése'éhane and nevése'ane.
55 As with the possessive of 'mother', no plurals are known for plural 'fathers' possessed by singular possessor.
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
regularizing irregular possessives, creating new paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>older word</th>
<th>newer word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my lodge/home</td>
<td>nénóve</td>
<td>navénóve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my body??</td>
<td>néstove</td>
<td>navéstove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my brother-in-law</td>
<td>nétóve</td>
<td>navétóve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my brother-in-law</td>
<td>néséso</td>
<td>navéséso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your sibling</td>
<td>nénőve</td>
<td>navénőve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your sibling</td>
<td>né'tóve</td>
<td>navé'tóve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your sibling</td>
<td>néséso</td>
<td>navéséso</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Diminutives**

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

Diminutives sometimes have a teasing meaning, with an affectionate connotation. For instance, you can call a 50-year old man a ma'háhkésèhoso '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'háeso, which is less diminutive than ma'háhkéso.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>diminutive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>améstó’eesoo'o</td>
<td>travois</td>
<td>améstó’keeso'o</td>
<td>little travois</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amó’énë'o</td>
<td>wagon</td>
<td>amó’kenë'o</td>
<td>children’s wagon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ao’ésoto</td>
<td>hailstone</td>
<td>ao’këseoto</td>
<td>little hailstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hásoo'o</td>
<td>crowbar</td>
<td>hásohko</td>
<td>lance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesó’xo’énéë'o</td>
<td>sled</td>
<td>hesó’xo’eneško</td>
<td>children’s sled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóma’e</td>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>hóma’ke</td>
<td>little beaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káso’ee’e</td>
<td>kettle</td>
<td>káso’ëške</td>
<td>jug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhëë’o</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>máhëško</td>
<td>shed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhëë’o</td>
<td>melon</td>
<td>máhëhko</td>
<td>small melon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé’ësevéótse</td>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mé’ëškevéótse</td>
<td>baby (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mésta’ë</td>
<td>owl, spook</td>
<td>mésta’ke</td>
<td>screech owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mó’ësá’e</td>
<td>calf</td>
<td>mó’kësá’e</td>
<td>calf (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tôhoo’o</td>
<td>club</td>
<td>tôhohko</td>
<td>hammer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó’he’e</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>ó’he’ke</td>
<td>creek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

58 An even newer word, used today by many Cheyennes, is náhtóö’õhtsëotse ‘my home’.
59 The Cheyenne words for ‘sibling’ refer to a cousin, brother, sister, step-brother, or step-sister.
60 Phonemic /hk/ is pronounced as [šk] following the vowel "e".
61 This refers to a larger melon. In Oklahoma it specifically refers to a watermelon.
oónáha'e  frog  oonáha'kēso  little frog
hō' honáá'e  rock  ho' honáhke  stone
sásóovéta  watersnake  sásóhkóvéta  watersnake (dim)
šéštótó'e  pine  šéštótó'ke  little pine
tse'némo'o  tobacco  tsé'némo'ho  tobacco (dim)
váótséva  deer  váhkótséva  little deer
vé'ho'e  whiteman  vé'ho'ke  little white boy
vé'ho'séō'o  suitcase  vé'ho'seško  purse, small suitcase

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>diminutive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>É'ometāā'e</td>
<td>Greasy River</td>
<td>É'ometaēso</td>
<td>Little Greasy River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heávohe</td>
<td>devil</td>
<td>heávōhēso</td>
<td>little devil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'éhe</td>
<td>maggot</td>
<td>he'é'hēso</td>
<td>rice (kernel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhkéehe</td>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>hóhkéehēso</td>
<td>little mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhkóxe</td>
<td>ax</td>
<td>hóhkóxēso</td>
<td>little ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'nehe</td>
<td>wolf</td>
<td>ho'nēhēso</td>
<td>little wolf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ěškóne</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'ěškōnēhēso</td>
<td>little child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káse'ééhe</td>
<td>young lady</td>
<td>ká'se'é'ehēso</td>
<td>young teenage girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásováahé</td>
<td>young man</td>
<td>kásováāhēso</td>
<td>young teenage boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóhkónōhē'o'</td>
<td>bread</td>
<td>kóhkónōheonēso</td>
<td>cracker (od), little bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokóhékāxa</td>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>kokóhékāxāēso</td>
<td>chick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'hāha'</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'hāēso</td>
<td>old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gmésta'e'e</td>
<td>owl</td>
<td>méstaēso</td>
<td>little owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'éhno'ha</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>mo'éhno'hamēso</td>
<td>colt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhkohe</td>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkōhēso</td>
<td>little bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóma'he</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>nóma'kēso</td>
<td>little fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oeškēse</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oeškēsēhēso</td>
<td>pup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé'kése</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vé'kēsēhēso</td>
<td>little bird</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>diminutive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hóma'e</td>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>homa'kēso</td>
<td>little beaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'emóno</td>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>ma'emón'kēso</td>
<td>small turtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'hā'ha'</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'hāhkēso</td>
<td>old man (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'hāhēhe</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'hāhkēsēhēso</td>
<td>little old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'éhno'ha</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>mo'kēhno'hamēso</td>
<td>colt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóma'he</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>nóma'hēškēso</td>
<td>minnow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šé'se</td>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šé'sēškēso</td>
<td>duckling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé'ho'e</td>
<td>whiteman</td>
<td>vé'ho'kēso</td>
<td>little white boy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>vocative</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhko’éehe</td>
<td>my mother</td>
<td>Náhko’e</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ného’éehe</td>
<td>my father</td>
<td>Ného’e</td>
<td>Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néške’éehe</td>
<td>my grandmother</td>
<td>Néške’e</td>
<td>Grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naméšéme</td>
<td>my grandfather</td>
<td>Náméšeme</td>
<td>My grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naméšémo</td>
<td>my great-grandmother</td>
<td>Naméšémaséstse</td>
<td>My great-grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navéškemo</td>
<td>my great-grandparents</td>
<td>Néške’eeháhaséstse</td>
<td>My great-grandparents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka’éškóneho</td>
<td>children</td>
<td>Ka’éškónéhaséstse</td>
<td>Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanęśoneho</td>
<td>my children</td>
<td>Nésonéhaséstse</td>
<td>My children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nae’ha</td>
<td>my son</td>
<td>Náe’ha</td>
<td>My son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtona</td>
<td>my daughter</td>
<td>Náhtse??</td>
<td>My daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtónaho</td>
<td>my daughters</td>
<td>Náhtónahaséstse</td>
<td>My daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néxahe</td>
<td>my grandchild</td>
<td>Néšé</td>
<td>My grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’eö’o</td>
<td>women</td>
<td>He’eséstse</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetaneo’o</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>Hetaneséstse</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásaváheho</td>
<td>young men</td>
<td>Kásaváaháhaséstse</td>
<td>Young men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káse’éeheho</td>
<td>young women</td>
<td>Káse’eeháhaséstse</td>
<td>Young women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>né’tóve</td>
<td>my brother-in-law</td>
<td>Né’tovaséstse</td>
<td>My brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>véhoo’o</td>
<td>chiefs</td>
<td>Véhonaséstse</td>
<td>Chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho’honáeo’o</td>
<td>rocks</td>
<td>Ho’honáeséstse</td>
<td>Rocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mählenmaháahého</td>
<td>old women</td>
<td>Mählenmaháaháhaséstse</td>
<td>Old women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’háhkéseho</td>
<td>old men</td>
<td>Ma’háhkéséhehaséstse</td>
<td>Old men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésésono</td>
<td>my siblings</td>
<td>Nésésónéhaséstse</td>
<td>Siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navó’estanemo</td>
<td>my people</td>
<td>Navó’éstanémaséstse</td>
<td>My people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navóohestoto</td>
<td>my relatives</td>
<td>Navóohéstonaséstse</td>
<td>My relatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’heono</td>
<td>sacred spirits</td>
<td>Ma’heónaséstse</td>
<td>Sacred spirits</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Locatives

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

Vášétaéno –no suffix
Vóhpoométanéno White River Place
É’éxováhtóva Billings, Montana (lit., sawing-place)
ETC.** ANALYZE SUFFIXES MORE
**Proper names**

ISTRIBUTION 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'ẽstse hetane 'one man'
- neše he'eo'o 'two women'
- háesto ka'ẽškóéheho 'many children'
- tõhkomo kãhãmãxẽstse 'a few sticks'

**Demonstratives**

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

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

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

**Discourse pronouns**

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

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

**Adjectival prenouns**

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

- mo'õhtavé-hohpe 'coffee' (literally, black-broth)
- ma'ẽ-ho'évohkótse 'corned beef' (literally, red-meat)
- ma'ẽx-hâhâhno'ma 'bumblebee' (literally, big-bee)
- heóvé-amáho'hestótse 'schoolbus' (literally, yellow-car)
- táxe-mêséhestótse 'table' (literally, top-eating.thing)

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

- ma'aatae-meo'o 'railroad' (literally, iron-road)
- matanaé-ve'ho'e 'policeman' [literally, (badge on) chest-whiteman])
- mőxe'estóoné-máheó'o 'post office' (literally, letter-house)
- séotsé-amáho'héstótse 'hearse' (literally, corpse-car)
- vě'ho'é-otóa'e 'buffalo' (literally, whiteman-buffalo)
- vě'ho'é-mahpe 'whiskey' (literally, whiteman-water)
- věhpotsé-hohpe 'tea' (literally, leaf-broth)

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

- ame'há-ve'ho'e 'pilot' (literally, flying-whiteman)
- hóhtóva-máheó'o 'store' (literally, buying-house)
- mőxe'estóne-máheó'o 'school' (literally, writing-house)
- òhtaené-máheó'o 'motel' (literally, overnight-house)

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

- hetane tséhéne'enovaéstse 'educated man' (lit., man who is educated)
- kásóvaáhe tséháa'éstaéstse 'tall young man' (lit., young man who is tall)
- ma'háhkéso tséhé'keoméstse 'fat old man' (lit., old man who is fat)
- amáho'héstótse 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 the speech context (pragmatics). Typically, first mention of a noun in a discourse is indefinite. Subsequent references to that noun are definite. In the following story the first mentioned (definite) nouns are underlined and subsequent mentions (definite) are boldfaced:

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

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

2. Náhkohe éstaamenéheohtsé'tanoho meo'o.
   bear followed it path
   A bear was following a path.

3. Hápó'e náháóhe ó'kóhóme móhnéhnéheohtsé'tóhéhe.
Likewise there  coyote  followed it
Likewise there  a coyote was following it.

4. Nēhe'še éstóó'e'ováhtséhoono.
   Then  they met
   Then they met.

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

6. "No'héhnéstse!
   Move aside
   "Move aside!

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

8. éxhetóhoono.
   he told him
   he told him.

9. "Hova'āhane,
   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. éxhetetahoono.
    he told him
    he told him.

13. Tséxhe'éšeéo'evotáhtsévóse éxhe'kemé'éhnéhoo'o xao'o.
    while they argued  slowly appeared  skunk
    While they were arguing  a skunk slowly appeared.

14. " Háhtome!
    scram
    "Scram!

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

16. éxhetóhoono.
    he told them.
he told them.

17. Exhe'kenéma'evonènhéhoo'o.
    he slowly turned around
    He slowly turned around.

18. Exhe'kèheşéhosóhnéhoo'o.
    he slowly backed up
    He slowly backed up.

19. Tséhvóomovóse éstanèshé'névo'ahéotséhoono.
    when they saw him they took off in two directions
    When they saw him they took off in two different directions.

20. Essáanáha'óméhesesto tósa'e tséhešesaseto'névo'.
    they were not caught sight of wherever they took off to
    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 + motšéške is pronounced as hé'tó=motšéške 'this knife', where the "=" symbol represents the phonological attachment with its smooth flow from the end of the demonstrative to the beginning of the noun.

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

hétóhe    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'.

Currently used locative particles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhéóhe</td>
<td>here (proximal; new location in discourse?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hétséhéóhe</td>
<td>over here</td>
<td>RECHECK GLOSSES FOR THE LONGER FORMS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhéóhe</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>(previously mentioned location)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hénhéóhe</td>
<td>over</td>
<td>(previously mentioned)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tâháóhe</td>
<td>farther</td>
<td>there (distal; new location in discourse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hátâháóhe</td>
<td>over</td>
<td>(previously mentioned)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náháóhe</td>
<td>farther</td>
<td>there (distal; previously mentioned location)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hánháóhe</td>
<td>over</td>
<td>(previously mentioned)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particle</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhéno</td>
<td>here (proximal; new location in discourse?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hétséhéno</td>
<td>over here</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhéno</td>
<td>there</td>
<td>(previously mentioned location)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hénhéno</td>
<td>over</td>
<td>(previously mentioned)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tâhéno</td>
<td>farther</td>
<td>there (distal; new location in discourse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hátâhéno</td>
<td>over</td>
<td>(new location)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéno</td>
<td>farther</td>
<td>there (distal; previously mentioned location)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hánhânéno</td>
<td>over</td>
<td>(previously mentioned)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- heta’hánéhe: that's the one (proximal cataphoric"
- hetá'hanehe: (contracted form)
- heta’háanevótse: those are the ones

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

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

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

**Animate predicative pronouns**

- tsea'hánéhe: here he is; he's the one (proximal cataphoric/pointing at"
- tsea’hanéhe??: (contracted form)
- tsea’háanevóhe: here they are; they are the ones

- neá’hánéhe: he's the one (proximal anaphoric"
- née'hanéhe??: (contracted form)
- nea'háanevóhe: there they are; they are the ones

- táa’hánéhe: he's the one (distal cataphoric)
- táa’hanehe: (contracted form)
- táa’háanevóhe: there they are; they are the ones

- náa’hánéhe: he's the one (distal anaphoric)
- née’a’hanéhe: (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).

- néhe’še: then (marks temporal sequence)
Deictic preverbs

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

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

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

Speech functions

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

Sentence types

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

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

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

Statements

Cheyennes inform through statements. Statements typically are composed of a verb which may be accompanied by one or more nouns which the verb tells about. Statements may, however, be other parts of speech, such as a noun or particle which is a response to something someone else says. The 63 The cataphoric preverb tsé- is pronounced as tšé- preceding /š/ of the relative preverb heše-.
particles héehe'e 'yes' and hová'aháne 'no' can serve as complete statements in answer to some questions. A significant part of this grammar will describe Cheyenne verbs which are used to inform. As a preview, they are verbs which are in the indicative, inferential, reportative, and preterit modes.

Questions

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

Yes/No questions

There are two ways to form yes/no questions in Cheyenne. Yes/no questions (also known as polar questions) are questions for which a "yes" or "no" answer is requested:
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>statement</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>question</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émane.</td>
<td>He drank.</td>
<td>Êmane-he?</td>
<td>Did he drink?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'eto.</td>
<td>It's snowing.</td>
<td>Ého'eto-he?</td>
<td>Is it snowing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'o'kóho.</td>
<td>It's raining.</td>
<td>Ého'o'kóho-he?</td>
<td>Is it raining?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóómo.</td>
<td>You saw him.</td>
<td>Névóómo-he?</td>
<td>Did you see him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nêhestána.</td>
<td>You took it.</td>
<td>Nêhestána-he?</td>
<td>Did you take it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námeshótaéne.</td>
<td>He loves us (ex).</td>
<td>Námeshótaene-he?</td>
<td>Does he love us (ex)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

mó- questions

The interrogative particle móhe can be attached to the beginning of several categories of words to question them. When it attaches to a word, it shortens to mó- and acts like a prefix to the word

Questions formed with mó- have an assumption that the answer will be positive, unlike questions formed with the interrogative suffix -he. Cheyenne mó- questions are similar in function to English tag questions, such as "You've eaten, haven't you?"

Here are examples of Cheyenne mó- questions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>questioned word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé'tóhe</td>
<td>this one (animate)</td>
<td>Mó-tsé'tóhe?</td>
<td>This one?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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.
hetanéka'ěšk̡óne       boy              Mó-hetanéka'ěšk̡óne?   The boy?
Nééséh̡o'soo'e.       You've already danced. Mó-nééséh̡o'soo'e? You've already danced?
Náméhótáéne.         He loves us (ex).       Mó-náméhótáéne?   He loves us?
Éhoo'k̡óho.           It's raining.          Mó'-éhoo'k̡óho?66 It's raining?
Néhóxe'ána.          You cleaned it.        Mó-néhóxe'ána?   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:
Mó'-éhoo'k̡óhónése? Given what you heard (reportative), did it rain?
Mó'-éxh̡ó'táheváhoo'o? Given what was narrated (preterit), did he win?

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

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

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

Hénová'e tséméseto?   What did you eat?
Hénová'e tséméséstse? What did he eat?
Hénová'e tséh̡o'āheto? What do you want?
Hénová'e tséh̡o'aësstse? What does he want?
Hénová'e tséh̡o'tseto? What do you have?
Hénová'e tséh̡o'oëstseto? What are you cooking / boiling?
Hénová'e tséh̡onóhtomo? What are you baking / roasting?
Hénová'e tsépëéñomo?   What are you grinding?
Hénová'e tsémanëstseto? What are you making?
Hénová'e tsémöxe'ohomo? What are you writing?
Hénová'e tsëtoenomo?   What are you holding?
Hénová'e tsëvé'hoohtómañëse? What are you (plural) looking at?
Hénová'eh̡ótse tsëtoenëomo? What (plural things) are you holding?

---

66 A glottal stop is inserted between mó- and any vowel that follows it.
Hénová'ehótse tsév'é'hoohtomáse?  What (plural things) are you (plural) looking at?
Hénová'e tsémetohtse?  What did you give him?
Hénová'etotse tsémétóhtse?  What (relational) did he give him (obv)?
Hénová'etotse tséno'èheséstse?  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 tséháóénáhtse?  Who is praying?
Neváaseo'o tséháóenase?  Who (plural) are praying?
Névááhe tsévéstomójhtse?  Who is your spouse? (lit., Who is the one you sit with?)
Neváasóho tsévéstomóhtse?  Who (obviative) is his spouse?
Neváasóho tséméhotovose?  Who (obviative) do they love?
Névááhe tsémanestséstse?  Who made it?
Névááhe tséhóxe'änódhtse?  Who cleaned it?
Névááhe tsémmétata'è?  Who gave it to you?
Neváasóho tsémmétàa'ése?  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-vóhkèhaèstse?  Whose hat is this? / Who has on the hat?
Névááhe tsé-he-mo'kèhànéstse?  Whose shoe is this? / Who has on the shoe?
Névááhe tsé-he-voestovèstse?  Whose dress is this? / Who has on the dress?

Which questions

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

Táaso67 vôhpoma’ôhtse?  Which one is the salt?
Táasévoonéstse nemótšëškehôhtse?  Which are your knives?
Táasévooe tsévéstomójhtse?  Which is your spouse?
Táasévoone tséomata’ôse?  Which ones (animate) hit you?
Táasévoone hoemaho tsémanèhôse?  Which shawls did you make?

Why questions

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

Hénová’e tsé-hése-oomóhtse?  Why did you hit him?

---

67 Alternate pronunciations are táase, tóáse, and tóaso.
Hénová'e tsé-hésé-háóénáhtse?  Why is he praying?
Hénová'éto tsé-hést'-a'xaneto?  Why are you crying?
Hénáá'e tsé-hésé-aseohtsése?  Why did you (plural) leave?

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

Tóne’sé ého’eōhtse?  When did he arrive?
Tóne’sé névéhó’eohe?  When did you return?
Tóne’sé néto'seoseōhtse?  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’éšé-háomótahae?  How long have you been sick?
Étaohke-tóne’éše-ohénove He'konemáhoéevo'ho'éno?  How long does it take to get to Hardin?

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

Tósa’e néto'sésēhōōhtsë?  Where are you going to go?
Tósa’e néohkhéhotssëhoe?  Where do you work?
Tósa’e ého’e?  Where is he?
Tósa’e néhohtóva?  Where did you buy it?
Tósa’e névóómo?  Where did you see him?
Tósa’e éhó’ta namōxé’esto'o?  Where is my book?
Tósa’e éto'semóheohtséstove?  Where is the meeting going to be?
Tósa’e nénexhéhéstahae?  Where are you from?

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

Né-tónešé-véhe?  What's your name? (lit., How are you called?)
Né-tónešé-ho’ëhne?  How did you come?
Né-tónešé-héne'enovo'o'o?  How do you know them?
Né-tónešé-táno?  How do you feel (mentally/emotionally)?
Né-tónet-omóhtahæ?  How are you (in terms of wellness)? $$RECHECK GLOSS
Né-tónes-étsësta?  What do you think of it?
Né-tónes-étámo?  What do you think of him?
É-tónet-åho'ta?  How is it cooked? (e.g. Is it cooked yet?)
É-tónet-oeme?  How much does it cost?
É-tónet-aeta?  What size is he?
É-tónet-aō'o? What size is it?
É-tónet-ōnōtō? How thick is it?
É-tóne-ētame? ?? How deep is it? (e.g. water)
É-tóne-ēhotoo'e? How deep is it? (e.g. a hole or cave)
É-tóne-ēho'oēsta? How high is it hanging?
É-tóne-ēho'oēse? How high is he hanging?
É-tóne-ēstahe? ?? How tall is he?
É-tóne-ēhahe? How old is he?
É-tóne'xóv-anāno? How much does it weigh?
É-tóne'xvé-aneta? How much does he weigh?
É-tónet-aa'ene'hō'ta? How much room is there?
É-tóne-ēhoo'e? How long is he staying / How long did he stay?
É-tónet-otse'ohe? What is his work?
É-tóne-ēhoma'o'e? How far away it?
É-tónet-ēhtāheve? What color / design is it/he?
É-tóne'ē-eno'e? How does it taste?
É-tóne'-ēnehe? How does he taste?
É-tónet-ātamáno'e? How is the environment?
É-tónet-ōéstomo'he? What kind of personality does he have?
É-tónest-āhevóno'e? What kind (or type) is it?
É-tónest-ā'e? How long is his hair?
É-tóneš-ē'e? How does it feel (in texture)?
É-tóneš-e'seme? What sound does he make?
É-tónes-ēvone? 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-tóneso? What is its condition?
É-tónesta? What is his condition?
É-tónéšé'tovóho? What did he do to him?

-tónéšéve 'What is/are ___ doing?'

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

Ná-tónéšéve? What did I do?
Né-tónéšéve? What did you do?
É-tónéšéve? What did he/she do?
É-tónéšévého? What did he/she (obv) do?
Ná-tónéšévéme? What did we (exclusive) do?
Né-tónéšévéma? What did we (inclusive) do?
Né-tónéšévéme? What did you (plural) do?
É-tónéšéveo'o? What did they do?

'How many' questions

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

| Tónesto néó'hamoo'o? | How many (fish) did you catch? |
| Né-tónéstôhe-aénâma? | How old are you? (lit., How many are you yeared?) |
| É-tonéstôhe-éše'hama? | How many months old is he? |
| Né-tonéstôhe-enô’tse? | How many nights did you camp? |
| É-tonéstôhe-éno’e? | What day of the week is it? (lit., how many days is it?) |
| É-tónést-ôxeo'o? | How many of them (an.) are there? |
| É-tónést-ôhânéstse? | How many of them (inan.) are there? |

‘How many times’ questions

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

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

To what degree questions

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

É-tóne’xóvê-háomóhtaha? How sick is he?
Né-tóne’xóve-méhóto? How much do you love her?

Other question forms

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

Nénéevá’eve? Who are you?
Éhová’ève? What gender is he/she?
Éhová’evééhne? What child did she bear?
Éhová’èseenotseve? What kind of a tree (bush) is it?
Éhová’evenotseve? What kind of tribe is he?
Éhová’evé’ho’ève? What non-Indian nationality is he?
Éhová’éešeevee? What kind of a day is it? (cf. -tónéšééséevee, with the same meaning)

‘What say’ questions

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

Ná-óxó-heve? What did I say?
Né-óxó-heve? What did you say?
É-óxó-hevoo'o? What did he/she say?
É-óxó-hevoöne? What did they say?
É-óxó-henove? What is said?
Né-óxó-héto? What did you say to him?
É-óxó-hetóho? What did he say to him (obviative)?
**naa questions**

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

Naa Amé'há'e?  How's Flying Woman?
Naa ma’háéso?  Where's the old man?
Naa neamáho’héstotse?  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', tónêše- 'somehow' (include Rolling Head sentence). 'something', hénáá'énèse 'something', etc.

Tóne'se móho'eohtséhéhe. 'He must have come sometime.'
Tósa'e nóháso móstanèšema'xetónèšéhe'ame-pónenenèhéhe. 'He just shot in any direction up in the air.' (1987:277)
Naa oha tónesto tséhetaa'he'konahítse hêtséhéóhe náho'mánèstènóne. 'But however many of us who were healthy, we made it back here.' (1987:37)
Naa hêna'hanèhe náêshöhta'hâne tónetáa'e tóshéhé'ênómo. 'And I have told however much I know.' (1987:97)

**How forms and negatives**

How forms have an indefinite negative meaning in negative verbs:

Násáa-tónetávéhe. I'm not doing anything.
Násáa-tónetañóhe. I'm not feeling anything.
Násáa-tôx'évo'móhtóhéhe. I'm not feeling anything.
Ésáa-tónestáhe. There's nothing wrong with him.
Ésáa-tóñesóhánéhe. There's nothing wrong with it. (??)
Násáa-tónestá'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 óxó- in negative contexts, including prohibitives:

Násáa'-óxóhéhe. I didn't say anything.
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’ahéhe hová’éhe. I don't want anything.
Násáavóóhtóhe hová’éhe. I didn’t see anything.

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

Hovánee’e étáahóéhe. No one was there.

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

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

Nésáahé’évéhehe! Are you not a woman?
Névé’hétónéšéve! Why did you do that!
Névé’hénéméne! ?? Why did you sing! $$RH Q??
Névé’héoxóñhetoo’o! Why did you say that to them!
Mónáme’hétone’otse! ?? Nothing would happen to me!
Mónéme’hé- tone’otëo. You won’t be able to do anything to him. (e.g., he’s more powerful than you)
Ésáatónéšéseenótëhâne! 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 phonemically /-ht/. Here are some commonly used commands:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Háméstop'ëstse!</td>
<td>Sit down!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He'kotoo'ëstse!</td>
<td>Be quiet! / Sit still!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Méseeestse!</td>
<td>Eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né'ëstshënestse!</td>
<td>Come in!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né'tôhkhéh'ahste!</td>
<td>Take your hat off!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E'séestse'hënahtse!</td>
<td>Put your coat on!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né'séestse'hënahtse!</td>
<td>Take your coat off!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E'ëhâ'oihtse!</td>
<td>Put your shoes on!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né'tô'ëstse!</td>
<td>Take your shoes off!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tâhéovësëstse!</td>
<td>Go to bed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áahtovëstse!</td>
<td>Listen to me!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhmanoxëstse!</td>
<td>Give me a drink!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Në'ëvëuëvëvënestse!</td>
<td>Wash your face!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Në'ëvëvëvëvënestse!</td>
<td>Wash your hands!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vë'hôôhtôhtse!</td>
<td>Look at it!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plural addressees**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Háméstop'o'e!</td>
<td>Sit down!</td>
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<td>Be quiet! / Sit still!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mésehe!</td>
<td>Eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né'ëstshëne!</td>
<td>Come in!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E'tôhkhéh'a!</td>
<td>Put your hat on!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né'tôhkhéh'a!</td>
<td>Take your hat off!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E'séestse'hëna!</td>
<td>Put your coat on!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né'séestse'hëna!</td>
<td>Take your coat off!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E'ëhâ'oi!</td>
<td>Put your shoes on!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né'tô'e!</td>
<td>Take your shoes off!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tâhéovësë!</td>
<td>Go to bed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áahtovë!</td>
<td>Listen to me!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhmanoxë!</td>
<td>Give me a drink!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Në'ëvëuëvëvëna!</td>
<td>Wash your hands!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vë'hôôhtô!</td>
<td>Look at it!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 /-/0/. The suffix for a delayed imperative said to more than one person is phonemically /-héné/.

Hámésteo'o! Sit down later! (singular addressee)
Háméstoehéne! Sit down later! (plural addressee)

Néhméteo'o! Give it to me later! (singular addressee)
Néhmétsehéne! Give it to me later! (plural addressee)

Né'évahósého'ëhneo'o! Come again later! (singular addressee)
Né'évahósého'ëhnéhéne! 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'-hestäna. You should take it.
Né-me'-méhotáhtséme. You should love each other (or, yourselves).

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

É-me'-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'-néhešéve! Don't do that! (said to one person, a singular addressee)
Né-vé'-néhešévéme! Don't do that! (said to more than one person)

Né-vé'e-a'xaame! Don't cry! (singular addressee)
Né-vé'e-a'xaamême! Don't cry! (plural addressee)

Né-vé'e-oome! Don't hit me! (singular addressee)
Né-vé'-vé'hóóhta! Don't look at it! (singular addressee)
Né-vé’-vé’hóóhtánóvo! Don’t look at it! (plural addressee)
Né-vé’e-óxóheve! Don’t say anything! (singular addressee)

Negative 'should' commands

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

Né-mé’-sáa-néhešévé. You (singular) shouldn't do that.
Né-mé’-sáa-néhešévéme. You (plural) shouldn't do that.
Né-mé’-sáa-tsèhe’öhtse. You (singular) shouldn't do there.

Negative 'should' impersonal commands

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

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

Negative impersonal commands

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

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

Rhetorical question commands

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

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

Negative interrogatives

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

Né-sáa-méséhe-he-he?! Aren’t you eating?!
Né-sáa’-ovëšëná-he-he?! Didn’t you go to bed?!
Né-sáa-naóotsë-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:

\[
\begin{align*}
Né-sáa-vé'-mésèhè-he?! & \quad \text{Shouldn't you eat?!} \\
Né-sáa-vé'-néhešèvè-he?! & \quad \text{Shouldn't you do that?!} \\
Né-sáa-vé'-néhešèvè-hè-me?! & \quad \text{Shouldn't you (plural) do that?!}
\end{align*}
\]

**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:

\[
\begin{align*}
Némeneha! & \quad \text{Let him sing!} \\
Vé'hoohtoha! & \quad \text{Let him look at it!}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
Némenévoha! & \quad \text{Let them sing!} \\
Vé'hoohtomávoha! & \quad \text{Let them look at it!}
\end{align*}
\]

**First person hortatives**

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

\[
\begin{align*}
Ná-ta-mésehe! & \quad \text{Let me eat!} \\
Ná-ta-vé'hóóhta! & \quad \text{Let me look at it!} \\
Né-ta-évo'sóémáne! & \quad \text{Let's play!} \\
Né-ta-néšeasema! & \quad \text{Let's just leave!}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
Né-tá-hé-mésèhmáne! & \quad \text{Let's eat!} \\
Né-tá-hé-ve'hoosanémáne!?? & \quad \text{Let's go look on! (for example, at a powwow)}
\end{align*}
\]

**Command particles**

Some short words called particles function as commands:

\[
\begin{align*}
Nóhe'to! & \quad \text{Let's go!} \\
Nóxa'e! & \quad \text{Wait!} \\
Ótahe! & \quad \text{Listen!} \\
Táaxa'e! & \quad \text{Let's see!}
\end{align*}
\]

**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 Méseeestse! 'Eat!' and Tahéové'èstse!'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.

104
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'mésēhéstove '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 Éohkésáá'áhtomónéhe means 'He regularly does not listen.' We can add nouns to give more information. We can say "Hetane énéméne" which means 'The man is singing.' Návóómo váótséva means 'I saw a deer.'

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

Transitivity

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

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

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

Verbs and animacy

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

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

This classification reflects an ergative pattern. That is, animacy is marked for absolutes, i.e.,

---

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

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

**AI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Épéhévahe. 'He's good.'</td>
<td>Épéhéva'ė. 'It's good.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étähpéta. 'He's big.'</td>
<td>Étähpé'o. 'It's big.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénémenehe? 'Did you sing?'</td>
<td>Éhoo'kōho. 'It's raining.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma'ovése. 'He has red hair.'</td>
<td>Éma'ohé? 'Is it red?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náováxe. 'I dreamed.'</td>
<td>Ésétovésta. 'It's noon.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésone. 'She had a child.'</td>
<td>Éháohō'ta. 'It's hot.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésehe. 'He's eating.'</td>
<td>Éméséhéstove. 'There is eating.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**II**

TA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nápéhéváno. 'I fixed him up.'</td>
<td>Nápéhéváno. 'I fixed it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóómo. 'I saw him.'</td>
<td>Névoohtahé. 'Did you see it?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhoxoomeho. 'Did you feed him?'</td>
<td>Násáahestanóhe. 'I didn't take it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméhota. 'He loves me.'</td>
<td>Éhő'tse. 'He has it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Àahtovéstte. 'Listen to me!'</td>
<td>Náááhta. 'I'm listening to it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násááoomóhe. 'I didn't hit him.'</td>
<td>Násááoohtóhe. 'I didn't hit it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émevo. 'He ate him (obv).'</td>
<td>Émesé. 'He ate it.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námésehe.</td>
<td>I ate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaméséhéhe.</td>
<td>I did not eat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émá'o.</td>
<td>It's red.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáama'óhane.</td>
<td>It's not red.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Polarity**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positve</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námésehe.</td>
<td>I ate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaméséhéhe.</td>
<td>I did not eat.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Interrogatives**

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

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

69 Also called affirmative.
Imperatives

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

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

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

Independent verbs

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

| Énaóotse. | He's sleeping. |
| Námes.    | I'm eating it. |
| Éoseepéhévééno'e. | It tastes really good. |
| Nátséhésenéstséme. | We speak Cheyenne. |
| Nésáátšéhe'sevóomatséhe. | I never see you. |

Dependent (conjunct) verbs

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

| tséhnaóotsése | when he was sleeping |
| tséhvóonā'o | when it was morning |
| ma'énséétovóésta | 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. |
| Némësehehe? | Did you eat? |
| Móxháeanāhevóhe. | They must have been hungry. |
Ésáavé’hoohtóhe. He didn't look at it.

**Conjunct order verbs**

Some examples of conjunct order verbs are:

- tséhméseese  
  when he ate
- tsénémenese  
  those who are singing
- éóháoénávohítse  
  whether they were hungry
- máxho’ehnéstse  
  when he comes

**Imperative order verbs**

Some examples of imperative order verbs are:

- Háméstoo’éstse!  
  Sit down!
- Táhóvéšéstse!  
  Go to bed!
- Né’évahósého’ehneo’o!  
  Come again (later)!

**Modes**

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

**Evidentials**

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

**Indicative mode**

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

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

**Reportatives**

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

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

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

Móhoo'kóhóhanhéhe It must have rained
Mónéméséehéhé You must have eaten

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

Use in legends
The preterit mode can also be considered a kind of evidential. The preterit marks actions which occurred long ago. No one living has any personal memory of them. The preterit has been used extensively when Cheyennes narrate legends, stories passed on down through many generations. Because this mode has so often been used when a storyteller narrates legends, Sarah Murray (xxxx: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) observed. Semantically, the "separation by time" semantics of this mode aligns with the past tense idea of the preterit mode in other Algonquian languages.

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

Sometime forms indicating surprise are called miratives.

Interrogative mode
The interrogative mode, marking yes/no questions (also known as polar questions), is a non-

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?"
evidential mode. The suffix -he marks the interrogative mode:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nénémene-he?</th>
<th>Did you sing?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émésèhevo-he?</td>
<td>Did they eat?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
are verbs which usually need some other verb(s) to help them out.
From English grammar, this second type of verb 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'soc'a
námesáhe
mómohonéhevéhe (hetane'o)
ézavé'hoohíhe

CONJUNCT (DEPENDENT) VERBS
táne'mánasé
táne'máse
édjóndóta'se
mánho'ehnásé

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

Modes are very important in Cheyennes. Verbs will be of different
modes depending on how a speaker has come by his knowledge. For instance,
if he has been told that something has happened (but has not seen it for
himself), he can use verbs in the "Attributive Mode". Such verbs can be
translated with English words like "It is said that ___" or "they say that___.
Here are some examples: ednabónátse 'It is said that he
drank', and éromóke'seto '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'kóbhóhanehe 'it must have rained', móndó'tlikehé 'you
must have eaten already', and móhúmómóhétáhíhe '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 énáméněhoo'ó 'he sang' and énhěhěva'áneho '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 (an effective and suffixes attached directly to a verb. In a way, we can say that the "pronominal prefixes 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 nè-, and the basic third-person prefix is á-. 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:

námáše I ate.
némáše you (singular) ate.
émáše 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,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{éenéna} & \quad 3 \quad \text{he sang} \\
\text{hee’haho énáméno} & \quad 4 \quad \text{his son sang}
\end{align*}
\]

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

Obviation will also occur when two third-persons are referred to by the same verb, such as 'see'. The proximate forms of 'man' and 'woman' are hétené and hé’e, respectively. Their obviative forms are hétramóho and hé’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.

\[
\begin{align*}
1-3 & \quad \text{Hévóomo hétené.} & 1-3 & \quad \text{I saw a man.} \\
1-3 & \quad \text{Hévóomo hé’e.} & 1-3 & \quad \text{I saw a woman.} \\
2-3 & \quad \text{Névóomo hétené.} & 2-3 & \quad \text{You saw a man.} \\
3-4 & \quad \text{Hévóomo hétramóho hé’óho.} & 3-4 & \quad \text{The man saw a woman.} \\
3-4 & \quad \text{Hé’e hétramóho hé’óho.} & 3-4 & \quad \text{The woman saw a man.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
4-3 & \quad \text{Héke évóomsaa’é hétené-ke’ká’ká. His (the boy's) mother saw the boy.} \\
4-3 & \quad \text{Hemého évóstáhe’éná’e. Her big sister helped her.}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
1-3 & \quad \text{Hévóomo} & \quad \text{(direct)} & \quad \text{I saw him.} \\
2-3 & \quad \text{Névóomo} & \quad \text{(direct)} & \quad \text{You saw him.} \\
3-1 & \quad \text{Névóomsa} & \quad \text{(inverse)} & \quad \text{He saw me.} \\
3-2 & \quad \text{Névóomsa} & \quad \text{(inverse)} & \quad \text{He saw you.}
\end{align*}
\]
INTRODUCTION TO VERBS (cont'd)

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

- névôme  You saw me.
- névómátsé  I saw you.
- névómatsámé  I saw you (plural).
- névóomé  You (plural) saw me.

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

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

- I-1 ného'ëǐhtá  I came to it.
- I-1 ného'ëǐhtamátsé  I came to them (inanimate).
- I-1 ného'ëǐt'sawē  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
  5  third-person
  4  fourth-person
  3  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-, -nes-, -ne'-, or -nes-. If it is "away", there will be a -ta-.

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

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

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

ááȟȟá'oo It is big.
áȟhú'kого It is raining.
áȟtonáto It is cold.
áȟheÁ’o It is yellow.
áȟímá'oo It is red.

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

áȟmásáhe He ate.
áȟmane He drank.
áȟho'go'oe He danced.
áȟvóstómósáne He taught.
áȟpáhévohe He is good.

There are several important Transitive Animé (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: návólóm (p-ó) | 1-I: návólóhta (ht-á) |
| carry    | 1-3: námaatešáho (h-ó) | 1-I: námaateštse (t-ó) |
| love     | 1-3: náme'köto ('t-ó) | 1-I: náme'köhta (ht-á) |
| be good  | 1-3: nápáte'ňáño ('tov-ó) | 1-I: nápáte'ňáno ('t-ó) |
| saka     | 1-3: námáhe'to ('t-ó) | 1-I: námáhe'tse (t-ó) |
| break    | 1-3: ná'šá'súl'ho ('h-ó) | 1-I: ná'šá'súl'ho ('t-ó) |
| dampen   | 1-3: náhá'kóóvá'to ('ht-ó) | 1-I: náhá'kóóvá'tse (ht-á) |
| find     | 1-3: náme'ño ('ov-ó) | 1-I: náme'no (ov-á) |
| have     | 1-3: náho'ho ('h-ó) | 1-I: náho'ho ('t-ó) |
are verbs which usually need some other verb(s) to help them out. From English grammar, this second type of verb would be called "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. $$REVISE?\

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

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Examples of verb types

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>translation</th>
<th>outline category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Épêhëvahe.</td>
<td>He's good.</td>
<td>I.A.POS.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésâapêhëvahëhe.</td>
<td>He's not good.</td>
<td>I.A.NEG.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épêhëvëhe.</td>
<td>Is he good?</td>
<td>I.B.POS.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésâapêhëvëhe?</td>
<td>Isn't he good?</td>
<td>I.B.NEG.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Môpêhëvëvëhe.</td>
<td>He seems to be good.</td>
<td>I.C.POS.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Mó)ho'nôpêhevaestse.</td>
<td>He seems to be not good.</td>
<td>II.I.NEG.AI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

...$$CORRECT AND REVISE THE FOLLOWING SCAN

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

when he was good
when he is good (unrealized) Hhenever he is good
when he is good (in general)
the one who is good
whether he is good
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-OBJIATIVE/NUMBER

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

$$REVISE$$

PERSON:
ná- 1
né- 2
é- 3

Tense
h- PST
htse- FUT

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

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

**NEG (negative):**
Requires sáa- preverb plus following suffixes:
-hé (non-II)
-hanéh (II)

**OBVIATIVE:**
-(h)ó ~ -(h)o

**MODE:**

Interrogative

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

*Yes/No Question with prefix*
mó=

Imperative

*Immediate:*
-t IMPV.SG.ADDRESSEE

*Delayed*
-o IMPV.SG.ADDRESSEE
-héné IMPV.PL.ADDRESSEE

Hortative

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

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

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

-mésehe 'eat'

Námésehe I ate **INCLUDE INTERLINEAR GLOSSES for AI, II, TA, TI, & MODES & VERB TEMPLATES DISCUSSION (INNER & OUTER AGREEMENT, FROM OXFORD), ETC.
Némésehe You ate
Émésehe He ate
Éméséhóho He (obv) ate
Náméséhémé We (excl) ate
Néméséhema We (incl) ate
Éméséhémé You (pl) ate
Éméseheo'o They ate

-mane 'drink'

Námane I drank
Némane You drank
Émane He drank
Émanóho He (obv) drank
Námanémé We (excl) drank
Némanema We (incl) drank
Némanéme You (pl) drank
Émaneo'o They drank

/-nomené/ 'drink heated liquid'

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

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

/-hotse'ohe/ 'work'

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

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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhoo'e</td>
<td>I'm (here)</td>
<td>/ná-hoe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhoo'e</td>
<td>You're (here)</td>
<td>/né-hoe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'o'e</td>
<td>He's (here)</td>
<td>/é-hoe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoēho ??</td>
<td>He (obv) is (here)</td>
<td>/é-hoe-hó/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhoēme</td>
<td>We (excl) are (here)</td>
<td>/ná-hoe-mé/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhoema</td>
<td>We (incl) are (here)</td>
<td>/né-hoe-ma/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhoēme</td>
<td>You (pl) are (here)</td>
<td>/né-hoe-mé/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoeo'o</td>
<td>They are (here)</td>
<td>/é-hoe-o/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/ho'sōe/ 'dance'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náho'soo'e</td>
<td>I danced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'soo'e</td>
<td>You danced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'soo'e</td>
<td>He danced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'sóho</td>
<td>He (obv) danced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náho'sóéme</td>
<td>We (excl) danced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'sóema</td>
<td>We (incl) danced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'sóéme</td>
<td>You (pl) danced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'sóeo'o</td>
<td>They danced</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/háéaná/ 'hungry'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náháéána</td>
<td>I am hungry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néháéána</td>
<td>You are hungry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éháéána</td>
<td>He is hungry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éháéanáho</td>
<td>He (obv) is hungry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náháéanáme</td>
<td>We (excl) are hungry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néháéanama</td>
<td>We (incl) are hungry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néháéanáme</td>
<td>You (pl) are hungry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éháéanao'o</td>
<td>They are hungry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/háóéná/ 'pray'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náháo'éna</td>
<td>I prayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néháo'éna</td>
<td>You prayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éháo'éna</td>
<td>He prayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éháóénáho</td>
<td>He (obv) prayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náháóénáme</td>
<td>We (excl) prayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néháoenama</td>
<td>We (incl) prayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néháóénáme</td>
<td>You (pl) prayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éháoenao'o</td>
<td>They prayed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-oveše 'go to bed' and –ováxe 'dream'

These verbs add /ná/ to their stems except when their AI final –eše 'lie' is word-final:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náoveše</td>
<td>I went to bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néoveše</td>
<td>You went to bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éoveše</td>
<td>He went to bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éovešenáho</td>
<td>He (obv) went to bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náovešenáme</td>
<td>We (excl) went to bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néovešenama</td>
<td>We (incl) went to bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néovešenáme</td>
<td>You (pl) went to bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éovešenao'o</td>
<td>They went to bed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náováxe</td>
<td>I dreamed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néováxe</td>
<td>You dreamed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éováxe</td>
<td>He dreamed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éováxenáho</td>
<td>He (obv) dreamed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náováxenáme</td>
<td>We (excl) dreamed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néováxenama</td>
<td>We (incl) dreamed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néováxenáme</td>
<td>You (pl) dreamed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éováxenao'o</td>
<td>They dreamed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

73 Common alternative pronunciations are éovéšēne and éovéšēna.
-véstahe 'help'

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

/-méó'é/ 'fight'

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

/-naa'é/ 'doctor'

Nánaä'e I doctored
Nénaä'e You doctored
Énaä'e He doctored
Énaa'óho He (obv) doctored
Nánaa'ême We (excl) doctored
Nénaa'ema We (incl) doctored
Nénúa'ême You (pl) doctored
Énaa'eo'o They doctored

-naóotse 'sleep'

Nánaóotse I slept
Nénaóotse You slept
Énaóotse He slept
Énaóotóho He (obv) slept
Nánaóotséme We (excl) slept
Nénaóotsema We (incl) slept
Nέnáaóots'éme You (pl) slept
Énáotseo'o They slept

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nánéméné</th>
<th>I sang</th>
<th>Nánéméné</th>
<th>I have a crooked face</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nénéméné</td>
<td>You sang</td>
<td>Nénéméné</td>
<td>you have a crooked face</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énéméné</td>
<td>He sang</td>
<td>Énéméné</td>
<td>He has a crooked face</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Énemenóho  He (obv) sang  Énemenóho  He (obv) has a crooked face
Nánemenémé  We (excl) sang  Nánemenémé  We (excl) have crooked faces
Nénémenéma  We (incl) sang  Nénémenémama  We (incl) have crooked faces
Nénémenémé  You (pl) sang  Nénémenémé  You (pl) have crooked faces
Énemengeo'o  They sang  Énemengeo'o  They have crooked faces

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>official spelling</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>simpler spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nátséhéstaha</td>
<td>I'm Cheyenne</td>
<td>Natsistah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nétséhéstaha</td>
<td>You're Cheyenne</td>
<td>Nitsistah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étséhéstaha</td>
<td>He's Cheyenne</td>
<td>Itsistah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étséhéstahóho</td>
<td>He (obv) is Cheyenne</td>
<td>Itsistaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nátséhéstahémé</td>
<td>We (excl) are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Natsistam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nétséhéstahémé</td>
<td>We (incl) are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Nitsistama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nétséhéstahémé</td>
<td>You (pl) are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Nitsistam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étséhéstahéo'o</td>
<td>They are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Itsistayo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| Náheve   | I said         |
| Néheve   | You said       |
| Éheveo'o | He said        |
| Éhevoone | He (obv) said  |
| Náchéme  | We (excl) said |
| Néhema   | We (incl) said |
| Néhémé   | You (pl) said  |
| Éhevoone | They said      |

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

| Nánéehove   | I am the one. |
| Nénéehove   | You are the one. |
| Énéehove    | He is the one. |
| Énéehóvóho?? | He (obviative) is the one. |
| Nánééehévéme | We (exclusive) are the ones. |
| Nénééevévema | We (inclusive) are the ones. |
| Nénééevévéme | You (plural) are the ones. |
| Énéévévo'o | They are the ones. |

-he 'have'
A Cheyenne verb may consist of the morpheme -he, meaning 'have', plus an incorporated noun

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhenésone</td>
<td>I have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésone</td>
<td>You have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésone</td>
<td>He has a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésónéhóho</td>
<td>He (obv) has a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhenésónéhóme</td>
<td>We (excl) have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésónéhóme</td>
<td>We (incl) have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésónéhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésónéhémeo'o</td>
<td>They have a child(ren)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhevoestove</td>
<td>I have on a dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhevoestove</td>
<td>You have on a dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhevoestove</td>
<td>She has on a dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhevoestovéme</td>
<td>We (excl) have on dresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhevoestovéma</td>
<td>We (incl) have on dresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhevoestovéme</td>
<td>You (pl) have on dresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhevoestoveo'o</td>
<td>They have on dresses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

**Animate Intransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs**

**-mane 'drink'**

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

**-mésehe 'eat'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáaméséhéhe</td>
<td>I did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhéhe</td>
<td>You did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhéhe</td>
<td>He did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhéheho</td>
<td>He (obv) did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaméséhéhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhéhóme</td>
<td>We (incl) did not eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhéhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) did not eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
They did not eat

-hotse'ohe 'work'
Násháhotse'óhéhe I did not work
Nésháhotse'óhéhe You did not work
Ésháhotse'óhéhe He did not work
Ésháhotse'oheho He (obv) did not work
Násháhotse'ohéme We (excl) did not work
Nésháhotse'ohehma We (incl) did not work
Nésháhotse'ohéme You (pl) did not work
Ésháhotse'ohe'o'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:

Násháho'sóéhe I did not dance
Nésháho'sóéhe You did not dance
Ésháho'sóéhe He did not dance
Ésháho'sóéheho He (obv) did not dance
Násháho'sóéhéme We (excl) did not dance
Nésháho'sóéhehma We (incl) did not dance
Nésháho'sóéhéme You (pl) did not dance
Ésháho'sóéhe'o'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:

Násháa'ovešenáhe I did not go to bed
Nésháa'ovešenáhe You did not go to bed
Ésháa'ovešenáhe He did not go to bed
Ésháa'ovešenáheho He (obv) did not go to bed
Násháa'ovešenáhéme We (excl) did not go to bed
Nésháa'ovešenáhehma We (incl) did not go to bed
Nésháa'ovešenáhéme You (pl) did not go to bed
Ésháa'ovešenáhe'o'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':

Násháa'ováxenáhe I did not dream
Nésháa'ováxenáhe You did not dream
Ésháa'ováxenáhe He did not dream
Ésháa'ováxenáheho He (obv) did not dream
Násháa'ováxenáhéme We (excl) did not dream
Nésháa'ováxenáhehma We (incl) did not dream
Nésháa'ováxenáhéme You (pl) did not dream
Ésháa'ováxenáhe'o'o They did not dream

-/hé/ 'say'
Násháahéhe I did not say
Nésháahéhe You did not say
-he-nésone 'have a child'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáahenésónhéhe</td>
<td>I do not have a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahenésónhéhe</td>
<td>You do not have a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahenésónhéhe</td>
<td>He does not have a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahenésónhéheho</td>
<td>He (obv) does not have a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahenésónhéhéme</td>
<td>We (excl) do not have a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahenésónhéhéme</td>
<td>We (incl) do not have a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahenésónhéhéme</td>
<td>You (pl) do not have a child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahenésonhéheo'o</td>
<td>They do not have a child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Animate Intransitive equative verbs**

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éhováheve</td>
<td>It is an animal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émé'ēsevotseve</td>
<td>He is a baby.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énáhkóheve</td>
<td>It is a bear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoma'eve</td>
<td>It is a beaver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évé'késéheve</td>
<td>It is a bird.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhotóave</td>
<td>It is a buffalo.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épóesónhéheve</td>
<td>It is a cat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évéhoneve</td>
<td>He is a chief.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éka'ēškónèheve</td>
<td>He is a child.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éö'kohméheve</td>
<td>It is a coyote.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évatósevéheve</td>
<td>It is a deer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhostove</td>
<td>It is a dress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éše'șeve</td>
<td>It is a duck.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énetseve</td>
<td>It is an eagle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóaxaa'eve</td>
<td>It is a bald eagle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émó'éheve</td>
<td>It is an elk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émo'ēškoneve</td>
<td>It is a finger.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énomá'heve</td>
<td>It is a fish.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhéséve</td>
<td>It is a fly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma'heóneve</td>
<td>It is a sacred power.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Émo'éhno'haméheve It is a horse. Émo'éhno'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.
Épé'eve It is a nighthawk. Épé'eveo'o They are nighthawks.
Éma'hákéséheve He is an old man. Éma'hákéséheveo'o They are old men.
Éséstotó'eve It is a pine. Éséstotó'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.
Éhotóheve It is a star. Éhotóheveo'o They are stars.
Éhoóhtsetseve It is a tree. Éhoóhtsetséveo'o They are trees.
Énótaxéve He is a warrior. Énótaxéveo'o They are warriors.
Ėvé'ho' eve He is a whiteman. Évé'ho'éveo'o They are whitemen.
Ėhe' eve She is a woman. Éhe'éveo'o They are women.

Animate Intransitive Independent Interrogative verbs

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

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

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

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

-he suffix yes/no questions

-mane 'drink'

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

-mésehe 'eat'

Námeséhehe? Did I eat?
Néméséhehe? Did you eat?
Émeséhehe? Did he eat?
Émeséhevohe? Did he (obv) eat?
Námeséhememehe? Did we (excl) eat?
Némámeséhememehe? Did we (incl) eat?
Némámeséhememehe? Did you (pl) eat?

77 Also called polar interrogatives.
-oveše 'go to bed' interogatives
The same /ná/ is added to the AI final –eše 'lie' that we saw in previous paradigms, except when verbs have singular subjects and are in the indicative positive mode:

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

-he-nésone 'have a child' interogatives
Náhenésonéhehe? Do I have a child(ren)?
Néhenésonéhehe? Do you have a child(ren)?
Éhenésonéhehe? Does he have a child(ren)?
Éhenésonéhevohe? Does he (obv) have a child(ren)?
Náhenésonéhevohe? Do we (excl) have a child(ren)?
Néhenésonéhemanehe? Do we (incl) have a child(ren)?
Néhenésonéhemehe? Do you (pl) have a child(ren)?
Éhenésonéhevohe? Do they have a child(ren)?

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

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

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

Mónééšemésehe? Did you already eat?
Mónéháána? Are you hungry?
Mónéstseñoméne? Will you drink (something heated, especially coffee)?
Mónémnévéhóeohe? Did you just get back?
Móé háomóhtahe? Is he sick?
Móénéméne? Did he sing?

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

---

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

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

-he suffix negative questions

Nésáaméséhehehe? Didn't you eat?
Nésáa'ověšenáhehe? Didn't you go to bed?
Nésáahotse'óhehehe? Didn't you work?
Nésáanaōotséheméhehe? Didn't you (pl) sleep?
Ésáatāhpétáhehe? Isn't he big?

mó- prefix negative questions

Mónésáa'čšeméhe? Didn't you eat yet?
Mó'ésáa'ověšenáheo'o? Didn't they go to bed?
Mó'ésáannémenéheo'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 negative suffix /-hé/, except that an II (Inanimate Intransitive verb will take the /-hane/ suffix, instead.

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 this 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 whatever evidence is available to them. Sarah Murray (xxxx:xx) has used another accurate label for this mode, the conjectural.

Some Animate Intransitive Inferential verbs

/-mane 'drink'/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónāmanéhēhe</td>
<td>I must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónémanéhēhe</td>
<td>You must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mómanéhēhe</td>
<td>He must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mómanéhēvevōhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónāmanéhemanēhe</td>
<td>We (excl) must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēmanéhemanēhe</td>
<td>We (incl) must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēmanéhemenēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mómanēhēvevōhe</td>
<td>They must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-háéaná/ 'be hungry'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónaháéanahēhe</td>
<td>I must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēháéanahēhe</td>
<td>You must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháéanahēhe</td>
<td>He must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháéanāhevōhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónaháéanahemanēhe</td>
<td>We (excl) must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēháéanahemanēhe</td>
<td>We (incl) must have drunk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēháéanahemēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháéanāhevōhe</td>
<td>They must be hungry.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónaháóénañahēhe</td>
<td>I must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēháóénañahēhe</td>
<td>You must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháóénañahēhe</td>
<td>He must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháóēnañāhevōhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónaháóénañahemanēhe</td>
<td>We (excl) must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēháóénañahemanēhe</td>
<td>We (incl) must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónēháóénañahemēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móháóēnañāhevōhe</td>
<td>They must have prayed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-táhoe/ 'ride'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónatáhoehēhe</td>
<td>I must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónétáhoehēhe</td>
<td>You must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mótáhoehēhe</td>
<td>He must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mótáhoehēvevōhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónétáhoehemanēhe</td>
<td>We (excl) must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónétáhoehemanēhe</td>
<td>We (incl) must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónétáhoehemehe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mótáhoehēvevōhe</td>
<td>They must have ridden.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

Mónánéhehēhe.\(^{80}\) I must have said that.
Mónénehehēhe. You must have said that.
Móhehehēhe. He must have said.
Móhehevōhe. He (obv) must have said.
Mónāhehemanēhe?? We (excl) must have said.
Mónéhehemanēhe?? We (incl) must have said.
Mónéhehemēhe?? You (pl) must have said.
Móhehevōhe. They must have said.

Inferential pitch template

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

**Animate Intransitive Negative Inferential verbs**

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

-\(mēsehe\) ‘eat’

(Mó)ho'nómēsehéto I must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nömēsehto You must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nömēseestse He must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nömēsehetséstse He (obv) must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nömēsehēte We\(^{82}\) must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nömēsehēse You (pl) must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nömēshēhvōhtse They must not have eaten.

-\(mane\) ‘drink’

(Mó)ho'nómāne I must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nömāneto You must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nömānestse He must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nömānetśéstse He (obv) must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nōmāńte We must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nōmāńse You (pl) must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nōmanēáohtse 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 called this the attributive mode in earlier editions of this

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

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

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

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book.83

-mésehe 'eat'

Náméséhmáse I am said to have eaten.
Néméséhmáse 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.
Néméséhméése You (pl) are said to have eaten.
Éméséhésesto They are said to have eaten.

-mane 'drink'

Námámanémáse I are said to have drunk.
Némámanémáse You are said to have drunk.
Émaneséstse He is said to have drunk.
Émanésesto He (obv) is said to have drunk.
Námámanémánése We (excl) are said to have drunk.
Némámanémánése We (incl) are said to have drunk.
Némánémése You (pl) are said to have drunk.
Émánésesto They are said to have drunk.

-/he/ 'say'

Náhémáse I am said to have said.84
Néhémáse You are said to have said.
Éheséstse He is said to have said.
Éhésesto He (obv) is said to have said.
Náhémánése We (excl) are said to have said.
Néhémánése We (incl) are said to have said.
Néhémése You (pl) are said to have said.
Éhésesto They are said to have said.

Animate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs

Násáaméséhémáse I am said to have not eaten.
Nésáaméséhémámae You are said to have not eaten.
Ésáaméséheséstse He is said to have not eaten.
Ésáaméséhesesto He (obv) is said to have not eaten.
Násáaméséhémánése We (excl) are said to have not eaten.
Nésáaméséhémánése We (incl) are said to have not eaten.
Nésáaméséhémése You (pl) are said to have not eaten.
Ésáaméséhesesto They are said to have not eaten.

83 In other writings I have sometimes called this mode a Reportative. More recently Sarah Murray (2010) has also called it a Reportative. I now prefer the label Reportative and use it throughout this edition of this book.
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 used the label mediate for this mode. Verbs in the preterit mode only take third person subjects.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éhnémenéhoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Éhnémenéhoono</td>
<td>They sang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êxhonónéhoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Êxhonónéhooono</td>
<td>They baked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êxháoenáhoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Êxháoenáhooono</td>
<td>They prayed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êxháeanáhoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Êxháeanáhooono</td>
<td>They were hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êxhováneehoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Êxhováneehooono</td>
<td>They were gone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhnaehoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Êhnaehooono</td>
<td>They died.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhnáa'éhoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Êhnáa'éhooono</td>
<td>They doctored.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhméséhéhoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Êhméséhéhooono</td>
<td>They ate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êxhéhoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Êxhéhooono</td>
<td>They said.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Animate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éssáanéménéhoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Éssáanéménéhooono</td>
<td>They did not sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáahonónéhoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Éssáahonónéhooono</td>
<td>They did not bake.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáaháoenáhoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Éssáaháoenáhooono</td>
<td>They did not pray.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáaháeanáhoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Éssáaháeanáhooono</td>
<td>They were not hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáahováneehoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Éssáahováneehooono</td>
<td>They were not gone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáanaehoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Éssáanaehooono</td>
<td>They did not die.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáanaa'éhoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Éssáanaa'éhooono</td>
<td>They did not doctor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáaméséhéhoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Éssáaméséhéhooono</td>
<td>They did not eat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáahéhoo'o</td>
<td>He</td>
<td>Éssáahéhooono</td>
<td>They did not say.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Animate Intransitive Imperative verbs

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

Animate Intransitive Immediate Imperative

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>command one person</th>
<th>command persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eat!</td>
<td>Méseestse!</td>
<td>Mésehe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit down!</td>
<td>Hámèstoo'èstse!</td>
<td>Hámèstoo'e!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance!</td>
<td>Ho'soo'èstse!</td>
<td>Ho'soo'e!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to bed!</td>
<td>Tábéovééstse!</td>
<td>Tábéovéše!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pray!</td>
<td>Háóénáhtse!</td>
<td>Háóéna!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing!</td>
<td>Néménéstse!</td>
<td>Néméne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work!</td>
<td>Hotse'óéstse!</td>
<td>Hotse'óhe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get up!</td>
<td>Tö'èstse!</td>
<td>Tö'e!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Animate Intransitive Delayed Imperative

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>command one person</th>
<th>command persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eat (later)!</td>
<td>Mésēheo'o!</td>
<td>Mésēhéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit down (later)!</td>
<td>Hámëstoeo'o!</td>
<td>Háméstoehéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance (later)!</td>
<td>Ho'sóeo'o!</td>
<td>Ho'sóéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to bed (later)!</td>
<td>Tâhéovëšenao'o!</td>
<td>Tâhéovëšenáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pray (later)!</td>
<td>Háoenao'o!</td>
<td>Háóênahéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing (later)!</td>
<td>Némeneo'o!</td>
<td>Némenéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work (later)!</td>
<td>Hotse'óheo'o!</td>
<td>Hotse'óhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get up (later)!</td>
<td>To'eo'o!</td>
<td>To'éhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be happy (later)!</td>
<td>Pêhévetanoo'o!</td>
<td>Pêhévetanóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look (later)!</td>
<td>Tséhetóo'oo'o!</td>
<td>Tséhetóó'óhéne!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Animate Intransitive Hortative verbs

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hortatives said about one person</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ho'sóeha!</td>
<td>Let him dance!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mêsëheha!</td>
<td>Let him eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tâhéovëšenaha!</td>
<td>Let him go to bed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Háóenaha!</td>
<td>Let him pray!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némenéha!</td>
<td>Let him sing!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotse’óheha!</td>
<td>Let him work!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Animate Intransitive Negative Hortative verbs

Negative hortatives state what you don’t want someone else to do. A negative hortative is composed of the sáä- 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**
- Sáahó'sóheha!
- Sáaméséhéheha!
- Tásáa'ovéšenáheha!
- Sáanémenéhéheha!
- Sáahotsé'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**
- Sáahó'sóhevéoha!
- Sáaméséhéhevéoha!
- Tásáahóovéšenáhevéoha!
- Sáanémenéhéhevéoha!
- Sáahotsé'óhehevéoha!

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

---

### Inanimate Intransitive Independent Indicative verbs

Examples of intransitive verbs with inanimate subjects are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbo</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Équivalent</th>
<th>Translitération</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Êhó'ta.</td>
<td>It's (there).</td>
<td>Êhó'tánéstse.</td>
<td>They are (there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êpéhëvá'e.</td>
<td>It's good.</td>
<td>Êpéhëvá'énestse.</td>
<td>They are good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhávévëva'e.</td>
<td>It's bad.</td>
<td>Êhávévëva'ënestse.</td>
<td>They are bad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êtáhpë'o.</td>
<td>It's big.</td>
<td>Êtáhpë'ënestse.</td>
<td>They are big.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êtáshëkë'o.</td>
<td>It's small.</td>
<td>Êtáshëkë'ënestse.</td>
<td>They are small.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êséëso.</td>
<td>It's the same.</td>
<td>Êsëësë'ënestse.</td>
<td>They are the same.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhó'éëto.</td>
<td>It's snowing.</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhó'këho.</td>
<td>It's raining.</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êvó'kómo.</td>
<td>It's white.</td>
<td>Êvó'komënëstse.</td>
<td>They are white.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhéóvo.</td>
<td>It's yellow.</td>
<td>Êhéóvë'ënestse.</td>
<td>They are yellow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êmá'o.</td>
<td>It's red.</td>
<td>Êma'ënestse.</td>
<td>They are red.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êó'o.</td>
<td>It's dry.</td>
<td>Êó'ënestse.</td>
<td>They are dry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhe'kóóva.</td>
<td>It's wet.</td>
<td>Êhe'kóóvë'ënestse.</td>
<td>They are wet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhánëno.</td>
<td>It's heavy.</td>
<td>Êhánënorë'ënestse.</td>
<td>They are heavy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êéstóvo.</td>
<td>It's sharp.</td>
<td>Êéstóvë'ënestse.</td>
<td>They are sharp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êpëhëvëvëno'e.</td>
<td>It tastes good.</td>
<td>Êpëhëvëvëno'ënestse.</td>
<td>They taste good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êpëhëvëvëmë'ha.</td>
<td>It smells good.</td>
<td>Êpëhëvëvëmë'hënestse.</td>
<td>They smell good.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Inanimate Intransitive equative verbs

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is a knife.</td>
<td>Émótšēškeve.</td>
<td>They are knives.</td>
<td>Émótšēškévénéstse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is liver.</td>
<td>Éhe'eve.</td>
<td>They are livers.</td>
<td>Éhe'événéstse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is medicine.</td>
<td>Éhesēeotseve.</td>
<td>They are medicines.</td>
<td>Éhesēeotsévénéstse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a ring.</td>
<td>Êmo'ëškoneve.</td>
<td>They are rings.</td>
<td>Êmo'ëškonévénéstse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a trail/road.</td>
<td>Êméoneve.</td>
<td>They are trails/roads.</td>
<td>Êméonévénéstse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a scalp.</td>
<td>Êméta'xe.</td>
<td>They are scalps.</td>
<td>Êméta'xévénëstse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a shoe.</td>
<td>Êmo'kēhanèveve.</td>
<td>They are shoes.</td>
<td>Êmo'kēhanévénéstse.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is drinking.</td>
<td>Émanéstove.</td>
<td>There are drinking.</td>
<td>Émanéstóvénéstse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is eating.</td>
<td>Émésēhéstove.</td>
<td>There are eatings.</td>
<td>Émésēhéstóvénéstse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is hungering.</td>
<td>Éháeanáhtove.</td>
<td>There are hungerings.</td>
<td>Éháeanáhtóvénéstse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is praying.</td>
<td>Éháoenáhtove.</td>
<td>There are prayings.</td>
<td>Éháoenáhtóvénéstse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is singing.</td>
<td>Énémonéstove.</td>
<td>There are singings.</td>
<td>Énémonéstóvénéstse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is sliding.</td>
<td>Esévanóhtove.</td>
<td>There are slidings.</td>
<td>Ésévanóhtóvénéstse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is said.??</td>
<td>Éhenove.</td>
<td>There is saying.</td>
<td>Éhenóvénëstse.??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>??</td>
<td>Éhestohe.??</td>
<td>There is arguing with each other</td>
<td>Éhestóhénëstse.??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impersonals with reflexive/reciprocal stems**

Transitive Animate (TA) reflexives and reciprocals\(^\text{86}\) can appear as impersonals. When they do, they behave as regular II verbs. In the following word pairs the first word of a pair is the original reflexive/reciprocal and the second word is an impersonal made from the original reflexive/reciprocal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>They love themselves/each other.</td>
<td>Éméhotáhtseo'o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is love for themselves/one another.</td>
<td>Éméhohtáhtséstove.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They argued with each other.</td>
<td>Êo'ëvótáhtseo'o.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is arguing with each other.</td>
<td>Êo'ëvótáhtséstove.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Inanimate Intransitive Independent Indicative relational verbs**

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

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\(^{84}\) This sounds the same as Éhe'eve 'she is a woman'.

\(^{85}\) This sounds the same as Êmo'ëškoneve 'it (animate) is a finger'.

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

\(^{87}\) Some who have used the label inanimate obviates are Ellis (1971), Frantz (1991), Valentine (2001), and Wolfart (1973).
relational verbs. I use the label relational verbs in this book. The Cheyenne relational suffix is –tse. In the following sentence pairs the second sentence has a relational verb:

Namáhēō'o étāhpē'o 'My house is big'; Hemáhēō'o étāhpē'otse 'His house is big (rel).'
Neamāho'héstōtse émā'o 'Your car is red'; Heamāho'héstōtse émā'otse 'His car is red (rel).'
Namōx'estoo'o ēhō'ta 'My book is here'; Hemōxe'estoo'o ēhō'tatse 'His book is here (rel).'

Unlike AI obviated verbs, II relational verbs are marked for number of their subjects:
Namaahēō'o étāhpē'o 'My house is big.'
Namaahēō'o étāhpē'otse 'His house is 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/.

| Ésáahō'táháne. | It is not (here). | Ésáahō'táhánehötse. | They are not (here). |
| Ésáapēhēva'ēháne. | It’s not good. | Épēhēva'ēhānehötse. | They are not good. |
| Ésáahāvēsēva'ēháne. | It’s not bad. | Ésáahavēsēva'ēhānehötse. | They are not bad. |
| Ésáatāhēpē'ōháne. | It’s not big. | Ésáatāhēpē'ōhānehötse. | They are not big. |
| Ésáatēšēkē'ōháne. | It’s not small. | Ésáatēšēkē'ōhānehötse. | They are not small. |
| Ésásēsēsēsōháhe. | It’s not the same. | Ésásēsēsōhānehötse. | They are not the same. |
| Ésáahō'ētēlaháne. | It’s not snowing. | ----- | ----- |
| Ésáahōohōhōháne. | It’s not raining. | ----- | ----- |
| Ésáavō'komōháne. | It’s not white. | Ésáavō'komōhānehötse. | They are not white. |
| Ésáahēovōhōháne. | It’s not yellow. | Ésáahēovōhānehötse. | They are not yellow. |
| Ésáama'ōháne. | It’s not red. | Ésáama'ōhānehötse. | They are not red. |
| Ésāa'ō'ōháne. | It’s not thick. | Ésāa'ō'ōhānehötse. | They are not thick. |
| Ésāahe'kōvāháne. | It’s not wet. | Ésāahe'kōvāhānehötse. | They are not wet. |
| Ésāaháenanōháne. | It’s not heavy. | Ésāaháenanōhānehötse. | They are not heavy. |
| Ésāa'ēstōvōháne. | It’s not sharp. | Ésāa'ēstōvōhānehötse. | They are not sharp. |
| Ésāapēhēvéénō'ēháne. It tastes good. | Ésāapēhēvéénō'ēnēstse. | They do not taste good. |

Impersonal Negative verbs
Impersonals may be negated:

| Ésáamēsēhēstōvehāne. | There is not eating. |
| Ésāamēsēhēstōvehānehötse. | There are not eatings. |

| Ésāahāeəanáhtōvehāne. | There is not hungering. |
| Ésāahāeəanáhtōvehānehötse. | 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'táhanéhenetōtse. They are not (here) (rel).
- Ésáahéovóhanéhetse. It is not yellow (rel).
- Ésáahéovóhanéhenetōtse. They are not yellow (rel).
- Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetse. It is not good (rel).
- Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhenetōtse. They are not good (rel).
- Ésáa'ó'óhanéhetse. It is not dry (rel).
- Ésáa'ó'óhanéhenetōtse. They are not dry (rel).
- Ésáamanéstovéhanéhetse. There is not drinking (rel).
- Ésáamanéstovéhanéhenetōtse. There are not drinkings (rel).
- Ésáaméséhéstopéhanéhetse. There is not eating (rel).
- Ésáaméséhéstopéhanéhenetōtse. There are not eatings (rel).
- Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanéhetse. There is not hungering (rel).
- Ésáaháeanóhtovéhanéhenetōtse. There are not hungerings (rel).
- Ésáaháoenáhtovéhanéhetse. There is not praying (rel).
- Ésáaháoenáhtovéhanéhenetōtse. 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 –pêhéva'è 'be good'. Here are

$DETAIL AND/OR GIVE SOME RELATIONAL VERBS WHICH DO NOT HAVE 3RD P. POSSESSOR SUBJECTS$
the forms of the verb with singular and plural subjects:

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

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

Épëhëva'ehe? Is it good?

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

/é-pëhëva’e-nevot-he/ Are they good?

A phonological rule causes the second "e" to devoice. Other phonological rules cause the "h" of the -he suffix to be absorbed as the word-final "e" causes the "t" before it to assimilate to "ts". After the phonological rules apply, we get this pronunciation spelling of the word:

Épëhëva’enevotse? Are they good?

Some other II interrogatives are:

Ého’tahe? Is it (there)? Ého'tanevotse? Are they (there)?
Étæhe'ohe? Is it big? Étæhe'onevotse? Are they big?
Ého’ëetohe? 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?
Éhávësëva'ehe? Is it bad? Éhávësëva'enevotse? Are they bad?
Éó’ohe? Is it dry? Éó’onevotse? Are they dry?
Éma’ohe? Is it red? Ema'onevotse? Are they red?
Émanéstovehe? Is there drinking? Émanéstovonevotse? Are there drinkings?
Émësëhéstovehe? Is there eating? Émësëhéstovonevotse? 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:

Nemoxë’estoo'o ého’tahe? Is your book there?
Hemoxë’estoo'o ého’tatsehe? Is his book there (rel)?
Hemoxë’ëstoonôtse ého’tanetsevotse? Are his books there (rel)?
Éháeanáhtovehe? Is there hungering? Éháeanáhtovenevotse? Are there hungerings (rel)?
Éháoenáhtovehe? Is there praying? Éháoenáhtovenevotse? Are there prayings (rel)?
Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative verbs

Ésáaho'táhanéhe? Isn’t it (there)?
Ésáaho'táhanévotse? Aren’t they (there)?

Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhe? Isn’t it good?
Ésáapéhéva'éhanévotse? Aren’t they good?

Ésátahpe’óhanéhe? Isn’t it big?
Ésátahpe’óhanévotse? Aren’t they big?

Ésáaho’éetóhanéhe? Isn’t it snowing?
Ésáahoo’kóhóhanéhe? Isn’t it raining?

Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanéhehe? Isn’t there hunger?
Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanévotse? Aren’t there hungerings?

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative relational verbs

Ésáaho'táhanéhetsehe? Isn’t his ___ (there) (rel)?
Ésáaho'táhanéhetotsehe? Aren’t his ___ (there) (rel)?

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

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

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

mó- prefix Inanimate Intransitive yes/no questions

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

Mó’épéhéva’e? Is it good?
Mó’épéhéva’éñéstse? Are they good?

Mó’éésáapéhéva’éhane? Isn’t it good?
Mó’éésáapéhéva’éhanéhotse? Aren’t they good?

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

Mó’éhoo’koho? Is it raining?
Mó’éésáahoo’kóhóhane? Isn’t it raining?

Mó’ého’éeto? Is it snowing?
Mó’éméséhéstove? Is there eating?

Inanimate Intransitive Inferential verbs
Mópếhavá’éhanêhe. It must be good.
Mópếhavá’éhanevôtse. They must be good.

Móma’óhanêhe. It must be red.
Móma’óhanevôtse. They must be red.

Móheóvóhanêhe. It must be yellow.
Móheóvóhanevôtse. They must be yellow.

Móhoo’kóhóhanêhe. It must have rained.

Móméséhéstovéhanêhe. There must have been eating.
Móméséhéstovéhanevôtse. There must have been eatings.

Inanimate Intransitive Inferential relational verbs
Heamåho’hestotse máma’óhanetsêhe. His car must be red (rel).
Heamåho’héstototse máma’óhanetsévôtse. His cars must be red (rel).

Hemoxe’éstoo’o móbepèhava’éhanetsêhe. His book must be good (rel).
Hemoxe’éstóonôtse móbepèhava’éhanetsévôtse. His books must be good (rel).

Hemahóo’o móbheóvóhanetsêhe. His house must be yellow (rel).
Hemáheonôtse móbheóvóhanetsévôtse. His houses must be yellow (rel).

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

Éhoo’kóhónése. It’s said to be raining.

Évóhkónése. It’s said to be bent.
Évóhkonnéstôtse. They are said to be bent.

Éma’ónése. It’s said to be red.
Éma’ónésestôtse. They are said to be red.

Éheóvónése. It’s said to be yellow.
Éheóvonéséstôtse. They are said to be yellow.

Épèhèva’énése. It’s said to be good.
Épèhèva’énéséstôtse. They are said to be good.
Inanimate Intransitive Reportative relational verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émésêhéstovené.</td>
<td>It's said there is eating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésêhéstovenéeséstõstê.</td>
<td>It's said there are eatings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésêhéstóvétsé.</td>
<td>It's said there is eating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésêhéstóvétsenéeséstõstê.</td>
<td>It's said there are eatings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tátsé.</td>
<td>It’s said his ___ is (here/there) (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tátsenéeséstõ.</td>
<td>It’s said his ___ are (here/there) (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóhhkötse.</td>
<td>It’s said his ___ is bent (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóhkontsenéeséstõ.</td>
<td>It’s said his ___ are bent (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma'ótsé.</td>
<td>It’s said his ___ is red (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma'ótsenéeséstõ.</td>
<td>It’s said his ___ are red (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheóvtse.</td>
<td>It’s said his ___ is yellow (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheóvotsenéeséstõ.</td>
<td>It’s said his ___ are yellow (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épêhéva'êtsé.</td>
<td>It’s said his ___ is good (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épêhéva'êtsenéeséstõ.</td>
<td>It’s said his ___ are good (rel).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'tâhanéhé.</td>
<td>It's said it is not (here/there).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'tâhanéhénéeséstõ.</td>
<td>It's said they are not (here/there).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésâahoo'kôhóhanéhé.</td>
<td>It's said it's not raining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésâapêhéva'éhanéhé.</td>
<td>It's said it's not good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésâapêhéva'éhanéhénéeséstõ.</td>
<td>It's said they are not good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésâamésêhéstôvéhânéhé.</td>
<td>It's said there is not eating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésâamésêhéstôvéhânéhénéeséstõ.</td>
<td>It's said there are not eatings.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative relational verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'tâhanéhêotsené.</td>
<td>It’s said his ___ isn't (here/there) (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'tâhanéhêotsenéeséstõ.</td>
<td>It’s said his ___ aren’t (here/there) (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésâahoo'kôhóhanéhêotsené.</td>
<td>It's said it's not raining (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésâapêhéva'éhanéhêotsené.</td>
<td>It’s said his ___ is not good (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésâapêhéva'éhanéhêotsenéeséstõ.</td>
<td>It’s said his ___ are not good (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésâamésêhéstôvéhânéhêotsené.</td>
<td>It's said there isn't eating (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésâamésêhéstôvéhânéhêotsenéeséstõ.</td>
<td>It’s said there aren’t eatings (rel).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inanimate Intransitive Preterit verbs

Ého’táneho!  Surprisingly, it’s (here/there)!\(^{89}\)
Ého’tánéhoonótse!  Surprisingly, they are (here/there)!

Éhoo'kóhóneho!  Surprisingly, it's raining!

Épèhéva’éného!  Surprisingly, it’s good!
Épèhéva'énéhoonótse!  Surprisingly, they are good!

Éméséhéstoveneho!  Surprisingly, there is eating!
Éméséhéstovenéhoonótse!  Surprisingly, there are eatings!

Inanimate Intransitive Preterit relational verbs

Ého’tátseneho!  Surprisingly, his ___ is (here/there) (rel)!
Ého’tátsenéhoonótse!  Surprisingly, his ___ are (here/there) (rel)!

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

Épèhéva’ëtseneho!  Surprisingly, his ___ is good (rel)!
Épèhéva'ëtsénóhoonötse!  Surprisingly, his ___ are good (rel)!

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

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs

Ésáaho’táhanéheneho!  Surprisingly, it's not (here/there)!
Ésáaho’táhanéhenëhoonótse!  Surprisingly, they are not (here/there)!

Ésáaho’kóhóhanéheneho!  Surprisingly, it's not raining!

Ésáapèhéva’ëhanéheneho!  Surprisingly, it’s not good!
Ésáapèhéva'éhanëëhoonötse!  Surprisingly, they are not good!

Ésáméséhéstovëhanëëheneho!  Surprisingly, there is not eating!
Ésáméséhéstovëhanëëhëhoonótse! Surprisingly, there are not eatings!

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit relative verbs

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

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

---

\(^{89}\) English translations are given here with the meaning of surprise, to show that there is a difference in meaning between the II preterits and II indicatives. But the preterits can also have a non-surprisal meaning, as they occur in legends with the past tense, e.g. Vee'e éxho’táneho 'Once upon a time) a tepee was there.'
Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetotséneho! Surprisingly, his ___ isn't good (rel)!
Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetotsénöhoonötse! Surprisingly, his ___ aren't good (rel)!

Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetotséneho! Surprisingly, there is not eating (rel)!
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetotsénöhoonötse! Surprisingly, there are not eatings (rel)!
Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs

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

**/vóom/ 'see (someone)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>návóomahtse</td>
<td>I saw myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómátse</td>
<td>I saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómo</td>
<td>I saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomáho</td>
<td>I saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomášéme</td>
<td>I saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomo'o</td>
<td>I saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóome</td>
<td>you saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomahtse</td>
<td>you saw yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóómó</td>
<td>you saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóománo</td>
<td>you saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóománo</td>
<td>you saw us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóománo</td>
<td>you saw us (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóománo</td>
<td>you saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomáhtse</td>
<td>you saw himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomáhtse</td>
<td>you saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomáhtse</td>
<td>you saw himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomáhtse</td>
<td>you saw us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomáhtse</td>
<td>you saw us (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomáhtse</td>
<td>you saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomáhtse</td>
<td>you saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomó</td>
<td>you (pl) saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomó</td>
<td>you (pl) saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóoménemo</td>
<td>you (pl) saw you (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóoménemo</td>
<td>you (pl) saw yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóoménemo</td>
<td>you (pl) saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomáa</td>
<td>they saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomáa</td>
<td>they saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóóomovó</td>
<td>they saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomáeno</td>
<td>they saw us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomáeno</td>
<td>they saw us (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomáeno</td>
<td>they saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomáhtseo</td>
<td>they saw themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóománe</td>
<td>I was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóománe</td>
<td>you were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóome</td>
<td>he was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomanémë</td>
<td>we (excl) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomanémë</td>
<td>we (incl) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>you (pl) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomanémë</td>
<td>they were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóo</td>
<td>you (pl) saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóo</td>
<td>you (pl) saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóo</td>
<td>you (excl) saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>you (excl) saw him</td>
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<td>you (excl) saw us (excl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>návóóo</td>
<td>you (excl) saw us (incl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>návóóo</td>
<td>you (excl) saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>you (excl) saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóo</td>
<td>you (incl) saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóo</td>
<td>you (incl) saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóo</td>
<td>you (incl) saw ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóo</td>
<td>you (incl) saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóo</td>
<td>you (pl) saw me</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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

---

147
/-méót/ ’fight (someone)’

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náméotahtse</td>
<td>I fought myself</td>
<td>néméótóvo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméotatse</td>
<td>I fought you</td>
<td>néméotamovo</td>
<td>you (pl) fought him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméoto91</td>
<td>I fought him</td>
<td>néméoxemeno</td>
<td>you (pl) fought us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotamóho</td>
<td>I fought him (obv)</td>
<td>néméotahntséme</td>
<td>you (pl) fought yourselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>néméotatsémé</td>
<td>I fought you (pl)</td>
<td>néméotovoo'</td>
<td>you (pl) fought them</td>
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<tr>
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<td>I fought them</td>
<td>náméotáá'e</td>
<td>they fought me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméoxe</td>
<td>you fought me</td>
<td>néméotáá'e</td>
<td>they fought you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>you fought yourself</td>
<td>éméoto</td>
<td>they fought him (obv)</td>
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<td>néméoto</td>
<td>you fought him</td>
<td>néméotaeneo'o</td>
<td>they fought us (excl)</td>
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<td>néméotamóho</td>
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<td>néméotaeneo'o</td>
<td>they fought us (incl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>néméoxemeno</td>
<td>you fought us (excl)</td>
<td>néméotaevoo'</td>
<td>they fought you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotoo'o</td>
<td>you fought them</td>
<td>éméotahntseoo'</td>
<td>they fought themselves93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméota</td>
<td>he fought me</td>
<td>náméotáne</td>
<td>I was fought</td>
</tr>
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<td>néméota</td>
<td>he fought you</td>
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<td>you were fought</td>
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<td>he fought himself</td>
<td>éméohe</td>
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<tr>
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<td>we (excl) were fought</td>
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<td>néméotaena</td>
<td>we (incl) were fought</td>
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<tr>
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<td>éméoheo'</td>
<td>they were fought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotaetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) fought me</td>
<td>náméotáá</td>
<td>they fought each other93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotaetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) fought you</td>
<td>néméotáá</td>
<td>they fought each other93</td>
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<td>he (obv) fought him</td>
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<td>they fought each other93</td>
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<td>he (obv) fought himself</td>
<td>náméotántéme</td>
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<tr>
<td>náméotaetsenone</td>
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<td>he (obv) fought them</td>
<td>éméotavóo'</td>
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<td>we (ex) fought you</td>
<td>náméotáá</td>
<td>they fought each other93</td>
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<td>we (ex) fought him</td>
<td>náméotáá</td>
<td>they fought each other93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotamone</td>
<td>we (ex) fought him (obv)</td>
<td>náméotáá</td>
<td>they fought each other93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméotáhtséme</td>
<td>we (ex) fought ourselves</td>
<td>náméotáá</td>
<td>they fought each other93</td>
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<tr>
<td>náméotatsemen</td>
<td>we (ex) fought you (pl)</td>
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<td>they fought each other93</td>
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<td>they fought each other93</td>
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<td>we (incl) fought them</td>
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<td>they fought each other93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néméoxéme</td>
<td>you (pl) fought me</td>
<td>néméotáá</td>
<td>they fought each other93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

The stem-final 't' of /-het/ becomes "š" before "e" in second person subject local forms. The stem changes to /-hestóh/ in the third person passive forms.

náhetahštse I told myself náhetóvo'o you (pl) told them
náhetatše I told you náhetáš'e they told me
náhéto I told him náhetáš'e they told you
náhetamóho I told him (obv) éhetovó they told him (obv)
náhetatséme I told you (pl) náhetáneso'o they told us (excl)
náhetoo'o I told them náhetáneso'o they told us (incl)
néheše you told me náhetásevo'o they told you (pl)
néhetahštse you told yourself éhetáhštevo'o they told themselves
néhéto you told him náhetáne you were told
néhetamóho you told him (obv) éhešte you were told
néhešemo you told us (excl) náhetanémé we (excl) were told
néhetoo'o you told them náhetanémé we (incl) were told
náhéta he told me náhetanémé you (pl) were told
néhetahštse he told you éhešóhe'o they were told
éhetóho he told him (obv) náhetatšemeno we (excl) told us
náhetáše he told us (excl) éhešo we (excl) told them
náhetane he told us (incl) éhešomé we (incl) told us
náhetáevo he told you (pl)
náhetatšemeno he (obv) told me náhetáše ne
náhetatšemeno he (obv) told you éhešó o
éhetáš'e he (obv) told him náhetatšemeno he (obv) told us (excl)
ehetatšemeno he (obv) told us (incl) náhetatšemeno he (obv) told you (pl)
éhetamóho he (obv) told them

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'xéstse  I acc. cut you
néaťáso65  I acc. cut him
néaťáxamóho  I acc. cut him (obv)
néaťáxetséme  I acc. cut you (pl)
néaťásoo'o  I acc. cut them

néa'taxe  you acc. cut me
néa'táxestse  you acc. cut yourself
néaťáso  you acc. cut him
néaťáxamóho  you acc. cut him (obv)
néaťáxemenô  you acc. cut us (excl)
néaťásoo'o  you acc. cut them

néa'taxe  he acc. cut me
néa'táxestse  he acc. cut himself
néaťáso  he acc. cut him
néaťáxene  he acc. cut us (incl)
néaťáxeëvo  he acc. cut you (pl)
néaťáxetsëne  he acc. cut you (pl)
néaťáxetsemenô  he acc. cut you (pl)
néaťáxamôho  he acc. cut him (obv)
néaťáxamovo  he acc. cut himself
náaťáxetsëne  he acc. cut ourselves
náaťáxetsemenô  he acc. cut ourselves
náaťáxamôho  he acc. cut him (obv)
náaťáxamovo  he acc. cut himself
náaťáxetsëne  he acc. cut ourselves
náaťáxetsemenô  he acc. cut ourselves
náaťáxamôho  he acc. cut him (obv)
náaťáxamovo  he acc. cut himself
náaťáxetsëne  he acc. cut ourselves
náaťáxetsemenô  he acc. cut ourselves
náaťáxamôho  he acc. cut him (obv)
náaťáxamovo  he acc. cut himself
náaťáxetsëne  he acc. cut ourselves
náaťáxetsemenô  he acc. cut ourselves
náaťáxamôho  he acc. cut him (obv)
náaťáxamovo  he acc. cut himself
náaťáxetsëne  he acc. cut ourselves
náaťáxetsemenô  he acc. cut ourselves

95 This is phonemically /náa' tasó/. It reflects PA *nepe?tešwa:wa.
96 This is pronounced the same as the verb meaning 'you accidentally cut me'.
-vovéstomev 'teach (someone)'

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

návovéstomévahtse I taught myself návovéstomévaméno we (ex) taught him (obv)
návovéstomévátséme I taught you (pl) návovéstomévameno we (excl) taught themselves
návovéstomévoo'o I taught them

névovéstomeve you taught me névovéstoméveme you (pl) taught me
névovéstomévahtse you taught yourself névovéstomévóvo you (pl) taught him
névovéstomévamóho you taught him (obv) névovéstomévamovo you (pl) taught him (obv)
névovéstomevemenó you taught us (excl) névovéstomévamenó you (pl) taught ourselves
névovéstomevoo'o you taught them

návovéstomeva he taught me návovéstomóó'e they taught me
névovéstomeva he taught you návovéstomóó'e they taught you
évovéstomévahtse he taught himself évovéstomóó'e they taught themselves
évovéstomévóho he taught him (obv) návovéstomóó'ane we (incl) were taught
névovéstoméene he taught us (excl) návovéstomóó'ame we (in) were taught
névovéstomóévo he taught you (pl) návovéstomóó'ame we (pl) were taught

návovéstomóetsenoto he (obv) taught me návovéstomóó'ane we (incl) were taught
névovéstomóetsenoto he (obv) taught you évovéstomóó'ane we (excl) were taught
évovéstoméváhtóho he (obv) taught himself évovéstomóó'one we (excl) were taught
návovéstomóetsenone he (obv) taught us (excl) návovéstomóó'mone we (pl) were taught
névovéstomóetsenóvo he (obv) taught you (pl) návovéstomóó'mone we (pl) were taught
évovéstomóévóho he (obv) taught them évovéstomóó'mone we (pl) were taught

névovéstomévatsemenó we (excl) taught you névovéstomóó'mone we (pl) were taught
návovéstomévóne we (ex) taught 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".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvah tse</td>
<td>I know myself</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvah tse</td>
<td>we (ex) know him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enová tse</td>
<td>I know you</td>
<td>náhéne'enováhtseséme</td>
<td>we (ex) know ourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvo</td>
<td>I know him</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvat semeno</td>
<td>we (ex) know you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvamóho</td>
<td>I know him (obv)</td>
<td>náhéne'enovóne</td>
<td>we (incl) know them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvatséme</td>
<td>I know you (pl)</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvamone</td>
<td>we (ex) know him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovoo'o</td>
<td>I know them</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvamono</td>
<td>we (incl) know him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enove</td>
<td>you know me</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvamone</td>
<td>we (in) know him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvah tse</td>
<td>you know yourself</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvah tse</td>
<td>we (in) know ourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enóvo</td>
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<td>náhéne'enóvamono</td>
<td>we (incl) know them</td>
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<td>náhéne'enóvamone</td>
<td>we (in) know him (obv)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>náhéne'enóvamone</td>
<td>we (in) know ourselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovoo'o</td>
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<td>náhéne'enóvamono</td>
<td>we (incl) know them</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enova</td>
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<td>náhéne'enóvamono</td>
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<tr>
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<td>náhéne'enóvamone</td>
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<td>náhéne'énóvetsenoto</td>
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<td>náhéne'enóvamono</td>
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<td>náhéne'énóveñene</td>
<td>he (obv) knows us (incl)</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvamono</td>
<td>we (incl) know them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhéne'énóvoho</td>
<td>he (obv) knows you (pl)</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvamono</td>
<td>we (incl) know them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhéne'énóvoho</td>
<td>he (obv) knows them</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvamono</td>
<td>we (incl) know them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'énóvat semeno</td>
<td>we (excl) know you</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvamono</td>
<td>we (incl) know them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'enovéne</td>
<td>we (excl) know him</td>
<td>náhéne'enóvamono</td>
<td>we (incl) know them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

náhéne'énóne | I am known | náhéne'énóne | you are known |
| náhéne'énóne | you are known | náhéne'énóhe | he is known |
| náhéne'énóne | you are known | náhéne'énóne | you are known |
| náhéne'énóne | you are known | náhéne'énóne | you are known |
| náhéne'énóne | you are known | náhéne'énóne | you are known |
| náhéne'énóne | you are known | náhéne'énóne | you are known |
| náhéne'énóne | you are known | náhéne'énóne | you are known |
| náhéne'énóne | you are known | náhéne'énóne | you are known |
| náhéne'énóne | you are known | náhéne'énóne | you are known |
| náhéne'énóne | you are known | náhéne'énóne | you are known |
| náhéne'énóne | you are known | náhéne'énóne | you are known |
| náhéne'énóne | you are known | náhéne'énóne | you are known |
| náhéne'énóne | you are known | náhéne'énóne | you are known |
-/taeváhn/ 'measure (someone)'

Stem-final "n" of consonant clusters in verb stems such as /-taváhn/ deletes word-medially in the inverse voice and certain other person combinations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
<th>Person/Number</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhestse</td>
<td>I measured myself</td>
<td>you (pl)</td>
<td>m. him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaevaestse</td>
<td>I measured you</td>
<td>you (pl)</td>
<td>m. us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváno</td>
<td>I measured him</td>
<td>you (pl)</td>
<td>m. yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhamóho</td>
<td>I measured him (obv)</td>
<td>you (pl)</td>
<td>m. measured them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhetsémé</td>
<td>I measured you (pl)</td>
<td>nátaeváhamovó</td>
<td>you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaevahe</td>
<td>you measured me</td>
<td>nátaeváhëné</td>
<td>I was measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhese</td>
<td>you measured yourself</td>
<td>nátaeváhëné</td>
<td>you were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhame</td>
<td>you m. him (obv)</td>
<td>nátaeváhëné</td>
<td>he was measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváheméno</td>
<td>you measured us (ex)</td>
<td>nátaeváhëné</td>
<td>we (ex) were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>you measured them</td>
<td>nátaeváhëné</td>
<td>we (in) were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaevahe</td>
<td>he measured me</td>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>you (pl) were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaevahe</td>
<td>he measured you</td>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>they were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhe</td>
<td>he measured himself</td>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>they were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnó</td>
<td>he measured him (obv)</td>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>they measured me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhêno</td>
<td>he measured us (ex)</td>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>they measured you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhëne</td>
<td>he measured us (incl)</td>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>they measured m. him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhe</td>
<td>he measured you (pl)</td>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>they measured us (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhe</td>
<td>he measured them</td>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>they measured you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhees</td>
<td>he (obv) measured me</td>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>they measured m. themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváheestse</td>
<td>he (obv) measured you</td>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>I was measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhëse</td>
<td>he (obv) measured him</td>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>you were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváheestóho</td>
<td>he (obv) measured himself</td>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>he was measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetséne</td>
<td>he (obv) measured us (ex)</td>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>we (ex) were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetséno</td>
<td>he (obv) measured us (in)</td>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>we (in) were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetsëvo</td>
<td>he (obv) measured you (pl)</td>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>you (pl) were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhëthe</td>
<td>he (obv) measured them</td>
<td>nátaeváhëvé</td>
<td>they were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetsëno</td>
<td>we (excl) measured you</td>
<td>nátaeváhëné</td>
<td>we (excl) were measured</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhëno</td>
<td>we (excl) measured him</td>
<td>nátaeváhëné</td>
<td>we (excl) m. him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhëtse</td>
<td>we (ex) m. him (obv)</td>
<td>nátaeváhëné</td>
<td>we (ex) m. ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhetse</td>
<td>we (ex) m. you (pl)</td>
<td>nátaeváhëné</td>
<td>we (ex) m. them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhëne</td>
<td>we (excl) m. them</td>
<td>nátaeváhëné</td>
<td>we (excl) m. them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhësé</td>
<td>we (in) measured him</td>
<td>nátaeváhëné</td>
<td>we (in) m. him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhëmë</td>
<td>we (in) m. ourselves</td>
<td>nátaeváhëné</td>
<td>we (in) m. ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhënéno</td>
<td>we (in) m. them</td>
<td>nátaeváhëné</td>
<td>we (in) m. them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

97 Some speakers say étaevaho 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 contacts in the inverse voice like other TA verb stems ending in "ov". $$\text{RECHECK PARADIGM}$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Direct Voice</th>
<th>Inverse Voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>námoné'tovahtse</td>
<td>I chose myself</td>
<td>námoné'tóó'e they chose me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'továste</td>
<td>I chose you</td>
<td>némoné'tóó'e they chose you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némonenòtse</td>
<td>I chose him</td>
<td>émonénovo they chose him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némonévonoto</td>
<td>I chose him (obv)</td>
<td>némoné'toneo'o they chose us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tovatséme</td>
<td>I chose you (pl)</td>
<td>némoné'toneo'o they chose us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némonénèto</td>
<td>I chose them</td>
<td>némoné'toovo'o they chose you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tove</td>
<td>you chose me</td>
<td>émonénévono'o they chose themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'továhtse</td>
<td>you chose yourself</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némonenòtse</td>
<td>you chose him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némonévonoto</td>
<td>you chose him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tovenemo</td>
<td>you chose us (ex)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némonénèto</td>
<td>you chose us (incl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tóevo</td>
<td>you chose you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'totsetenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) chose me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'totsetenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) chose you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>émoné'tóó'to' he (obv) chose him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>émoné'tóathtóho? he (obv) chose himself</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'totsetenone</td>
<td>he (obv) chose us (ex)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'totsetenone</td>
<td>he (obv) chose us (in)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'totsetenovo</td>
<td>he (obv) chose you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>émoné'tóó'tóho?? he (obv) chose them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'totsemeno</td>
<td>we (excl) chose you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némonénòne</td>
<td>we (excl) chose him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némonévonone??</td>
<td>we (ex) chose him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tóátsème?</td>
<td>we (ex) chose ourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tovemeneno</td>
<td>we (ex) chose you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némonénètono</td>
<td>we (excl) chose them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némonénène</td>
<td>we (incl) chose him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némonévonono</td>
<td>we (incl) chose him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tovatsema</td>
<td>we (incl) chose ourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tonoo</td>
<td>we (incl) chose them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tovème</td>
<td>you (pl) chose me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némonénovò</td>
<td>you (pl) chose him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némonévonovo</td>
<td>you (pl) chose him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tovemenono</td>
<td>you (pl) chose us (ex)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némoné'tóátsème</td>
<td>you (pl) chose yourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>némonénovoo'o</td>
<td>you (pl) chose them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**other verbs with the -tov final:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Direct Voice</th>
<th>Inverse Voice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náho'ahé'tova</td>
<td>He wants me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náho'ahenòtse</td>
<td>I want him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náne'étamé'tova</td>
<td>He depends on me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náne'étamèntse</td>
<td>I depend on him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nápéhévé'tova</td>
<td>he was good to me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nápéhévé'tóvo</td>
<td>I was good to him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméànòtse</td>
<td>I gave him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náméánòne</td>
<td>we (excl) gave him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náno'evéhe'tova</td>
<td>he (obv) gave him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náno'evéhenòtse</td>
<td>he is named after me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náamo'xè'tova</td>
<td>I am named after him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náamo'xonòtse</td>
<td>he carried me on his back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nánomáhtsenòtse</td>
<td>I carried him on my back</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nánomáhtsé'tó'o'</td>
<td>I stole him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhe'stònáhe'tova</td>
<td>they stole me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhe'stònáhenòtse</td>
<td>I am his/her daughter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhe'stònáhenòtse</td>
<td>she is my daughter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhe'xahé'tova</td>
<td>I am his/her son</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhe'xahenòtse</td>
<td>he is my son</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhe'xahénto</td>
<td>they are my sons</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhe'ské'tova</td>
<td>I am his/her mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhe'skéntse</td>
<td>she is my mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

99 Literally, 'she has me as daughter'
**Transitive Animate Independent Indicative negative verbs**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'not see (someone)'</th>
<th>I did not see myself</th>
<th>you (pl) did not see yourselves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomàhtséhe</td>
<td>I did not see you</td>
<td>nésáavóomahtséhéme (you) did not see yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomatséhe</td>
<td>I did not see him</td>
<td>nésáavóomóheo'o (you) did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomóhe</td>
<td>I did not see (obv)</td>
<td>nésáavóomaheo'o (they) did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomatséhéme</td>
<td>I did not see you (pl)</td>
<td>nésáavóomaheo'o (they) did not see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomóheo'o</td>
<td>I did not see them</td>
<td>nésáavóomaheo'o (they) did not see (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésáavóoméhe</td>
<td>you did not see me</td>
<td>nésáavóomaheo'o (they) did not see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésáavóomáhtséhe</td>
<td>you did not see yourself</td>
<td>nésáavóomaheo'o (they) did not see us (incl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésáavóomóhe</td>
<td>you did not see him</td>
<td>nésáavóomaheo'o (they) did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésáavóomamóheho</td>
<td>you did not see him (obv)</td>
<td>nésáavóomaheo'o (they) did not see us (excl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésáavóomémemenon</td>
<td>you did not see us (ex)</td>
<td>nésáavóomaheo'o (they) did not see oneself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésáavóomóheo'o</td>
<td>you did not see them</td>
<td>nésáavóamahehemo'o (they) did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomaëhe</td>
<td>he did not see me</td>
<td>nésáavóomahehemo'o (they) did not see himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésáavóomaëhe</td>
<td>he did not see you</td>
<td>nésáavóomamóheho (they) did not see (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésáavóämáhtséhe</td>
<td>he did not see himself</td>
<td>nésáavóomahehemo'o (they) did not see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésáavóamôheo'ho</td>
<td>he did not see him</td>
<td>nésáavóomahehemo'o (they) did not see us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomaehehene</td>
<td>he did not see us (excl)</td>
<td>nésáavóomahehemo'o (they) did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésáavóomaehévo</td>
<td>he did not see you (pl)</td>
<td>ésáavóomáhtséheho (they) did not see yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomahétseno(to he (obv) did not see me</td>
<td>nésáavóomahehëseneho (he (obv) did not see him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésáavóomamahënsenone he (obv) did not see you</td>
<td>ésáavóomoëhëseho (he (obv) did not see (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésáavóomatsëhëseno he (obv) did not see us (ex)</td>
<td>nésáavóomatsëhëseneho (he (obv) did not see us (in)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésáavóomamahëstenovo he (obv) did not see you (pl)</td>
<td>ésáavóomoëhëseho (he (obv) did not see them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésáavóomëhëseho he (obv) did not see them</td>
<td>nésáavóomamama(hëseneo'o) (we (ex) did not see ourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésáavóomëhëseho we (ex) did not see you</td>
<td>nésáavóomamama(hëseno'o) (we (ex) did not see him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésáavóomâhtsëhësene we (excl) did not see ourselves</td>
<td>nésáavóomamâhtsëhëseneo'o (we (ex) did not see you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nésáavóomëhëseno'o we (ex) did not see them</td>
<td>nésáavóomamëhëseneo'o (we (excl) did not see him</td>
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<tr>
<td>nésáavóomëhëseneo'o we (excl) did not see (obv)</td>
<td>nésáavóomamëhëseneo'o (we (excl) did not see yourselves</td>
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<td>nésáavóomëhëseno'o we (excl) did not see us (ex)</td>
<td>nésáavóomamëhëseneo'o (we (excl) did not see us (incl)</td>
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<td>nésáavóomëhëseno'o we (excl) did not see you (pl)</td>
<td>nésáavóomamëhëseneo'o (we (excl) did not see them</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

nésáavóomëhëseneo'o (we (excl) did not see ourselves | nésáavóomamëhëseneo'o (we (excl) did not see you (pl) |
| nésáavóomamëhëseneo'o (we (excl) did not see them | nésáavóomamëhëseneo'o (we (excl) did not see us (excl) |
| nésáavóomamëhëseneo'o (we (excl) did not see us (incl) | ésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see me |
| nésáavóomamëhëseneo'o (we (excl) did not see you (pl) | ésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see you |
| nésáavóomamëhëseneo'o (we (excl) did not see them | ésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see (obv) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see (obv) | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see ourselves |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (ex) | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (in) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see you (pl) | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see them |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (excl) | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (incl) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see you (pl) | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (excl) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (incl) | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see you (pl) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see them | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (excl) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (incl) | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see you (pl) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see them | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (excl) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (incl) | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see you (pl) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see them | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (excl) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (incl) | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see you (pl) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see them | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (excl) |
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| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see them | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (excl) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (incl) | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see you (pl) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see them | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (excl) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (incl) | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see you (pl) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see them | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (excl) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (incl) | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see you (pl) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see them | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (excl) |
| nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see us (incl) | nésáavóomëhëseho (they (obv) did not see you (pl) |
'not know (someone)'

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

$$RECHECK PARADIGM$$

násáhéne'enóvahtséhe I do not know myself
násáhéne'enóvatséhe I do not know you
násáhéne'enóvóhe I do not know him
násáhéne'enóvamóheho I do not know him (obv)
násáhéne'enóvatséhémene I do not know you (pl)
násáhéne'enóvóheo'o I do not know them

násáhéne'enóvéhe you do not know me
násáhéne'enóvéhéséhe you do not know yourself
násáhéne'enóvamóheho you do not know him (obv)
násáhéne'enóvamóhehemo you do not know us (ex)
násáhéne'enóvóheo'o you do not know them

násáhéne'enóéhe he does not know me
násáhéne'enóéhe he does not know you
ésááhéne'enóvahtséhe he does not know himself
esááhéne'enóvóheho he does not know him (obv)
násáhéne'enóehéne he does not know us (excl)
násáhéne'enóehéhene he does not know us (incl)
násáhéne'enóéhévo he does not know you (pl)

násáhéne'enóehétsenotoho (obv) does not know me
násáhéne'enóehétsenotoho (obv) does not know you
ésááhéne'enóehéhelo he (obv) does not know him
násáhéne'enóehétsenone he (obv) does not know us (ex)
násáhéne'enóehétsenone he (obv) does not know us (in)
násáhéne'enóehétsenohe (obv) does not know you (pl)
esááhéne'enóéhevo he (obv) does not know them

násáhéne'enóvatséhemo we (ex) do not know you
násáhéne'enóvóhêne we (ex) do not know him
násáhéne'enóvamóhêne we (ex) do not know him (obv)
násáhéne'enóvatséhême we (ex) do not know ourselves
násáhéne'enóvatséhêmenowe (ex) do not know you (pl)
násáhéne'enóvóhêneo'owe (ex) do not know them

násáhéne'enóvôhêne we (incl) do not know him
násáhéne'enóvamóhêne we (in) do not know him (obv)
násáhéne'enóvahtséhêmeawê (in) do not know ourselves
násáhéne'enóvôhêneo'we (incl) do not know them

násáhéne'enóvôhême you (pl) do not know me
násáhéne'enóvôhêvo you (pl) do not know him
násáhéne'enóvamóhêvo you (pl) do not know him (obv)
násáhéne'enóvâhêmêne you (pl) do not know ourselves
násáhéne'enóvôhêvoo'o you (pl) do not know them

násáhéne'enóêheo'o they do not know me
násáhéne'enóêheo'o they do not know you
ésááhéne'enóvôhêvo they do not know him (obv)
násáhéne'enóêhêne'o they do not know us (excl)
násáhéne'enóêhêne'o they do not know us (incl)
násáhéne'enóêhêvo'o they do not know you (pl)
esááhéne'enóvahtsêhêo'o they do not know themselves

násáhéne'enónêhe?? I am not known
násáhéne'enónêhe?? you are not known
ésááhéne'enónêhe he is not known
násáhéne'enónêhéme we (excl) are not known
násáhéne'enónêhêma we (incl) are not known
násáhéne'enónêhéme you (pl) are not known
ésááhéne'enónêheo'o they are not known
'not choose (someone)'

RECHECK PARADIGM

násáamoné tôváhtséhe I did not choose myself
násáamoné tôváhtséhe he (obv) I did not choose you
násáamoné tôváhtséhe he (ex) I did not choose him
násáamoné tôváhtséhe he (excl) I did not choose us (ex)
násáamoné tôváhtséhe he (incl) I did not choose us (incl)
násáamoné tôváhtséhe he (pl) I did not choose them

násáamoné tôvéhe you did not choose me
násáamoné tôvéhe you did not choose yourself
násáamoné tôvéhe you did not choose him (obv)
násáamoné tôvéhe you did not choose yourself (ex)
násáamoné tôvéhe you did not choose (pl)
násáamoné tôvéhe they did not choose me
násáamoné tôvéhe they did not choose you
násáamoné tôvéhe they did not choose him (obv)
násáamoné tôvéhe they did not choose us (ex)
násáamoné tôvéhe they did not choose (pl)

Other negative verbs with the -'tov final:

násáapéhéve’ tóvóhe I was not good to him
násáapéhéve’ tóvóhe he (obv) was not good to me
násáaméhenôtshe I did not give him (away)
násáaméhenôtshe he (obv) I did not give them (away)
násáane’ étaméhenôtshe He does not depend on him
násáane’ étaméhenôtshe he (obv) He does not want me
násáahô’ hêhôntsé I did not steal him
násáahô’ hêhôntsé he (obv) I did not steal them
násáahô’ hêhôntsé he (pl) they are not my children
násáahô’ hêhôntsé they (pl) they are not my sons

násáahô’ hêhôntsé he (obv) I am not her mother
násáahô’ hêhôntsé she (pl) she is not my mother
násáahô’ hêhôntsé he (pl) he is not my father

násáahô’ hêhôntsé she (pl) she 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?
Návóome? Did I see him?
Návóomamovoh? Did I see him (obv)?
Névóomatsemeh? Did I see you (pl)?
Návóomovoh? Did I see them?
Návóomeh? Did you see me?
Névóomatseheh? Did you see yourself?
Névóomeh? Did you see him?
Névóomamovoh? Did you see him (obv)?
Névóomatumenoh? Did you see you (incl)?
Névóomovoh? Did you see them?
Návóomaeh? Did he see me?
Névóomaeh? Did he see you?
Évóomahthsehe? Did he see himself?
Évóomovoh? Did he see him (obv)?
Návóomaeh?? Did he see us (excl)?
Névóomaeh?? Did he see us (incl)?
Névóomaeh? Did he see you (pl)??
Návóomaetsenotohe? Did he (obv) see me?
Névóomaetsenotohe? Did he (obv) see you?
Évóomaehve? Did he (obv) see him?
Évóomaetsvehe? Did he (obv) see himself?
Návóomaetsenonehe? Did he (obv) see us (excl)?
Névóomaetsenonehe? Did he (obv) see us (incl)?
Návóomaetsenoveh? Did he (obv) see you (pl)?
Évóomaevoh? Did he (obv) see them?
Névóomamonehe? Did we (incl) see him?
Névóomamonehe? Did we (incl) see himself?
Névóomamethsenehe? Did we (incl) see ourselves?
Névóomamenehe? Did we (incl) see you (pl)?
Névóomovoh? Did we (incl) see them?
Névóomemeh? Did you (pl) see me?
Névóomovoh? Did you (pl) see him?
Névóomamovoh? Did you (pl) see him (obv)?
névóomemenoh? Did you (pl) see you (excl)?
névóomamnenhe? Did you (pl) see yourselves?
névóomovoh? Did you (pl) see them?
névóomaeh? Did they see me?
Névóomaeh? Did they see you?
Évóomovoh? Did they see him (obv)?
Névóomaeh? Did they see us (excl)?
Névóomaeh? Did they see you (pl)??
Névóomaeh? Did they see themselves?
Návóomanehe? Was I seen?
Névóomanehe? Were you seen?
Évóomeh? Was he seen?
Návóomanehe? Were we (excl) seen?
Névóomanehe? Were we (incl) seen?
Névóomanehe? Were you (pl) seen?
Évóomeh? Were they seen?

Some mó- prefix yes/no questions:

Mónévóomo? Did you see him?
Mónévóomoo'o? Did you see them?
Mónévóomóvó? Did you (pl) see him?
Mónévóomóovoo'o? Did you (pl) see them?
Mónéhéne'eroho? Do you know him?
Mónéméhóto? Do you love him?
Mónéhxóomó? Did you feed him?

100 This can also be said as návóomáhtsémanehe.
–moné’tov ‘choose (someone)’

The interrogative suffix –he combines with the /-no(t)/ final of the direct voice of verbs which have –tov transitivizing finals. When this happens, a verb which ends with –nôse in its indicative form ends with –nose in its interrogative form. $$RECHECK PARADIGM$$

Námoné’továhtsëhe? Did I choose myself?
Námoné’tovatsehë? Did I choose you?
Námonenotse? Did I choose him?
Námonévonotohe? Did I choose him (obv)?
Námoné’tovatsemëhe? Did I choose you (pl)?
Námonénotohe? Did I choose them?

Námoné’tohe? Did you choose me?
Námoné’továhtsëhe? Did you choose yourself?
Námonenotse? Did you choose him?
Námonévonotohe? Did you choose him (obv)?
Námoné’tovemenonohe? Did you choose us (ex)?
Námonénotohe? Did you choose them?

Námoné’tohe? Did he choose me?
Námoné’továhtsëhe? Did he choose you?
Émoné’továhtsehe? Did he choose himself?
Émonénotohe? Did he choose him (obv)?
Námoné’tonehe? Did he choose us (exl)?
Námoné’tonehe? Did he choose us (incl)?
Námoné’tovohe? Did he choose you (pl)?

Námoné’tovemenonohe? Did he choose me?
Námoné’tovemenonohe? Did he choose you (obv)?
Émoné’tovemenonohe? Did he choose him (obv)?
Námoné’tovemenonohe? Did he choose us (ex)?
Námoné’tovemenonohe? Did he choose us (exl)?
Námoné’tovemenonohe? Did he choose us (incl)?
Námoné’tovemenonohe? Did he choose you (pl)?

Námoné’tovemenonohe? Did we (ex) choose you?
Nánononehe? Did we (excl) choose him?
Námonévononohe? Did we (ex) choose him (obv)?
Námoné’továhtsemënëhe? Did we (ex) choose ourselves?
Námoné’tovemenonohe? Did we (ex) choose you (pl)?
Námonénotonohe? Did we (ex) choose them?

Námonénotonohe? Did we (incl) choose him?
Námonévononohe? Did we (incl) choose him (obv)?
Námoné’továhtsëmënahe? Did we (incl) choose him (obv)?
Námonénotonohe? Did we (incl) choose us?
Námoné’tovemenonohe? Did we (incl) choose you (obv)?

Námoné’tovemenonohe? Did you (pl) choose me?
Námoné’nohe? Did you (pl) choose him?
Námonévononohe? Did you (pl) choose him (obv)?
Námoné’tovemenonohe? Did you (pl) choose us (ex)?

Námoné’továhtsemëhe? Did you (pl) choose yourselves?
Námonénotonohe? Did you (pl) choose them?

Námoné’tohe? Did they choose me?
Námoné’továhtsëhe? Did they choose you?
Émoné’továhtsëhe? Did they choose him (obv)?
Námoné’tovënehe? Did they choose us (exl)?
Námoné’tovënehe? Did they choose you (pl)?
Émoné’tovënehe? Did they choose themselves?

Námoné’tonehe? Did I chosen?
Námoné’tonehe? Did we chosen?
Émoné’tonehe? Did he chosen?
Námoné’tonamehe? Were we (excl) chosen?
Námoné’tonamehe? Were you (pl) chosen?
Émoné’tovënehe? Were they chosen?

Other verbs with the –tov final:

Náhö’ähe’tohe? Does he want me?
Ného’ähetse? Do you want him?
Náne’ätemë’tohe? Does he depends on me?
Némonenotse? Do you depend on him?
Népëhe’etse? Was he good to you?
Népëhe’etvohe? Were you good to him?
Néménotse? Did you give him?
Némanëvohe? Did you (pl) give him?
Éméä’etvohe? Did he (obv) give him?
Néno’evëhe’etëhe? Is he named after you?
Néno’evëhenëtohe? Are you named after him?
Nénomähtse? Did you stole him?
Néhëstöna’ähohe’etëhe? Are you his/her daughter?
Nëhëstönahenëtohe? Is she your daughter?
Nëhe’hahë’etëhe? Are you his/her son?
Nëhe’hahenëtohe? Is he your son?
Nëhe’hahënohe? Are they your sons?
Nëhe’ske’etohe? Are you his/her mother?
Nëhe’skenëtohe? Is she your mother?
'not see (someone)'

$\$RECHECK QUESTIONED FORMS

Násáavóómahéhe? Didn't I see myself?
Násáavóómatséhe? Didn't I see you?
Násáavóómohéhe? Didn't I see him?
Násáavóómamohévohe? Didn't I see him (obv)?
Násáavóóomatséhemehe? Didn't I see you (pl)?
Násáavóómohévohe? Didn't I see them?

Násáavóóméhehe? Didn't you see me?
Násáavóómahatséhe? Didn't you see yourself?
Násáavóómamohéhe? Didn't you see him?
Násáavóómamohévohe? Didn't you see him (obv)?
Násáavóómeshemenonehe? Didn't you see us (excl)?
Násáavóómahévohe? Didn't you see them?

Násáavóómahehe? Didn't he see me?
Násáavóómahetséhe? Didn't he see you?
Ésáavóómahetséhe? Didn't he see himself?
Ésáavóómamohévohe? Didn't he see him (obv)?
Násáavóómahehemenonehe? Didn't he see us (excl)?
Násáavóómahehovoh? Didn't he see you (pl)?

Násáavóómahetsehemenonehe? Didn't we (excl) see you?
Násáavóómahenehe? Didn't we (excl) see him?
Násáavóómahetséhemenonehe? Didn't we (ex) see him (obv)?
Násáavóómahetséhemenonehe? Didn't we (ex) see ourselves?
Násáavóómamohévohe? Didn't we (ex) see you (pl)?
Násáavóómamohévohe? Didn't we (ex) see them?

Násáavóomohenehe? Didn't we (incl) see him?
Násáavóóomohenehe? Didn't we (in) see him (obv)?
Násáavóómahetséhemenonehe? Didn't we (in) see ourselves?

Násáavóómohenehe? Didn't we (incl) see them?
Násáavóómohenehe? Didn't you (pl) see me?
Násáavóómohenehe? Didn't you (pl) see them?
Násáavóómahemenonehe? Didn't you (pl) see him (obv)?
Násáavóómeshemenonehe? Didn't you (pl) see us (excl)?
Násáavóómahemenonehe? Didn't you (pl) see yourselves?
Násáavóómahemenonehe? Didn't you (pl) see them?

Násáavóómahehe? Didn't they see me?
Násáavóómahehe? Didn't they see you?
Ésáavóómahehe? Didn't they see himself?
Ésáavóómamohévohe? Didn't they see him (obv)?
Násáavóómahehemenonehe? Didn't they see us (excl)?
Násáavóómahehovoh? Didn't they see you (pl)?

Násáavóómahehemenonehe? Wasn't I seen?
Násáavóómahemenonehe? Weren't you seen?
Ésáavóómahemenonehe? Wasn't he seen?
Násáavóómahemenonehe? Weren't we (excl) seen?
Násáavóómahemenonehe? Weren't we (incl) seen?
Násáavóómahemenonehe? Weren't you (pl) seen?
Ésáavóómahemenonehe? Weren't they seen?

Some mó- prefix negative yes/no questions:

$\$RECHECK
Mónésáavóómohéhe? Didn't you see him?
Mónésáavóómohéhe? Didn't you see them?
Mónésáavóómohéhe? Didn't you (pl) see him?
Mónésáavóómohéhe? Didn't you (pl) see them?
Mónésáahénéenovóhe? Don't you know him?
Mónésáahénéenvéhe? Doesn't he know you?
Mónésamamhtótóhe? Don't you love him?
Mónésamamhtótóhe? Doesn't he love me?
Mónésahoxomohéhe? Didn't you feed him?
Mónésamahoenhónte? Didn't you choose him?
Mónésamahenóvóve? Didn't you (pl) choose him?
Mó'éésahó'ahénóteho? Doesn't he want him (obv)?
Mó'éésanéhovóheho? 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
2. Inferentials have a high-pitched ending instead of a low-pitched ending

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<th>Parse</th>
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<td>-vóom 'see (someone)'</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Mónávóomáhtsēhēhe You (pl) must have seen me</td>
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<td>Móna'ooamehehe They must have given him (obv)</td>
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<td>Móhastanohēvōhe They must have taken him (obv)</td>
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<td>Mónāhovēhehe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen me</td>
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</table>

Some other TA inferential verbs:

- Mónéhotōhehe | He must love him (obv) |
- Mónémēhotahehe | He must love you |
- Móna'monē'toehehe | He must have chosen me |
- Móna'monēhenōtse | You must have chosen him |
- Móna'hohehe | He must want him |
- Móhō'āhēhenotōhe | He must want him (obv) |
- Móhmēahēnotōhe | He must have given him (obv) |
- Móna'pēotahehe | He must hate me |
- MÓ'ooamehehe | He (obv) must have him |
- Móťahtovōhehe | He must have heard him (obv) |
- Móvěstahēmēhēhohe?? | He must have helped him (obv) |
- Móhastanohēvōhe | They must have taken him (obv) |
- Móhoxomohēvōhe | They must have fed him (obv) |
- Móšēxanohēvōhe | He must have freed him (obv) |
- Móna'hohehe | He must have killed him (obv) |
- Mótoo'ėtōhehe | He must have tied him (obv) |
- Mónēhohehe | He must have chased him (obv) |
### Transitive Animate Reportative verb 'see' /-vóom/

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<tr>
<th>Návóomáhtsémése</th>
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<th>Névéomémése</th>
<th>It's said you (pl) saw me</th>
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<td>Névéomatsémése</td>
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<td>Névéomemenése</td>
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<td>NávéoMaevósesto</td>
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### Some other TA reportative verbs:

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<th>Évóomaeséstse</th>
<th>It's said he loves him (obv)</th>
<th>Néméhtoaeséstse</th>
<th>It's said he loves you</th>
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<td>Évóoméséstse</td>
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<td>Évétéséstse</td>
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<td>It's said he (obv) told him</td>
<td>Námonétoeséstse</td>
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<td>Ného'ahénoséstse??</td>
<td>It's said he chose me</td>
<td>Ného'ahénoséstse??</td>
<td>It's said you chose him</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ého'ahénoséstse</td>
<td>It's said he wants him (obv)</td>
<td>Néménoséstse</td>
<td>It's said you gave him (away)</td>
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<td>Éménoséstse??</td>
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<td>It's said he hates me</td>
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<tr>
<td>Éoamaesesto</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) hit him</td>
<td>Éeáhtovósesto</td>
<td>It's said he heard him (obv)</td>
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<td>Évéstahémésesto</td>
<td>It's said he helped him (obv)</td>
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### Transitive Animate Negative Reportative verb 'see' /-vóom/

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### Transitive Animate Negative Reportative verb 'see' /-vóom/

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Nésáavóomóhesesto It's said you did not see him (obv)
Nésáavóoméhemenôse It's said you did not see us (excl)
Nésáavóomôhesesto 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
Ésáavóomâhtsêhêséstse It's said he did not see himself
Ésáavóomôhesesto It's said he did not see him (obv)
Násáavóomaehéneséstse It's said he did not see us (excl)
Nésáavóomaehéneséstse It's said he did not see us (incl)
Nésáavóomaehévoséstse It's said he did not see you (pl)
Násáavóomaehétsenôsesto It's said he (obv) did not see me
Nésáavóomaehétsenôsesto It's said he (obv) did not see you
Ésáavóomâhtsêhêséstse It's said he (obv) did not see himself
Ésáavóomôhesesto It's said he (obv) did not see him (obv)
Násáavóomaehétsenônêséstse It's said he (obv) did not see us (ex)
Nésáavóomaehétsenônêséstse It's said he (obv) did not see us (in)
Nésáavóomaehétsenôvôésesto It's said he (obv) did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóomâhtsêhêséstse It's said he (obv) did not see themselves
Násáavóomôhënsëstse It's said we (ex) did not see me
Nésáavóomôhënsëstse It's said we (ex) did not see you
Násáavóomamôhenësëstse It's said we (ex) did not see him (obv)
Násáavóomamôhtsêhêmânëse It's said we (ex) did not see ourselves
Nésáavóomatsêhêmânëse It's said we (ex) did not see you (pl)
Násáavóomôñësnôsesto It's said we (ex) did not see them
Nésáavóomôhënsëstse It's said we (in) did not see him
Nésáavóomamôhenësëstse It's said we (in) did not see him (obv)
Násáavóomamôhtsêhêmânëse It's said we (in) did not see ourselves
Nésáavóomôhënsëstse It's said we (in) did not see them
Násáavóomâhëmëse It's said you (pl) did not see me
Nésáavóomôhëvôsëstse It's said you (pl) did not see him
Násáavóomamôhevôsëstse It's said you (pl) did not see him (obv)
Násáavóomâhêmenôse It's said you (pl) did not see us (ex)
Násáavóomâhtsêhêmëse It's said you (pl) did not see yourselves
Nésáavóomôhevôsëstse It's said you (pl) did not see them
Násáavóomaehêsësesto It's said they did not see me
Nésáavóomaehêsësesto It's said they did not see you
Ésáavóomôhevosësto It's said they did not see him (obv)
Násáavóomaehénsëstse It's said they did not see us (ex)
Násáavóomaehësëstse It's said they did not see us (in)
Nésáavóomaehévosëstse It's said they did not see you (pl)
Ésáavóomâhtsêhêsësesto It's said they did not see themselves
Násáavóomanêhêmëse It's said I was seen
Nésáavóomanêhêmëse It's said you were seen
Ésáavómesëstse It's said he was seen
Násáavóomanêhêmânëse It's said we (ex) were seen
Nésáavóomanêhêmânëse It's said we (in) were seen
Nésáavóomanéhémése  It's said you (pl) were seen
Ésáavóoméhesesto  It's said they were seen

Some other TA negative reportative verbs:
Ésáaméhotëhesesto??  It's said he does not love him (obv)
Nésáaméhotahëhësësthëse  It's said he does not love you
Ésáahetóhëhesesto  It's said he did not tell him (obv)
Ésáahetóhevéhëesesto  It's said they did not tell him (obv)
Ésáahetahehëstëe  It's said he (obv) did not tell him
Násáamónëtohehëstëe  It's said he did not chose me
Nésáamónënohehëstëe??  It's said you did not chose him
Nésáahehëhëhëstëe??  It's said you do not want him
Ésáahehëhëhëstëe??  It's said he does not want him (obv)
Nésáaméhëhëstëe??  It's said you did not give him (away)
Ésáaménohehëstëe??  It's said he did not give him (obv) (away)
Násáapétohehësësthëse  It's said he does not hate me
Ésáa'oomahehëstëe  It's said he (obv) did not hit him
Ésáa'aahtovóhëstëe  It's said he did not hear him (obv)
Ésáavéstahëhëmohëhëstëe??  It's said he did not help him (obv)
Ésáahesanóhevéhëstëe  It's said they did not take him (obv)
Ésáahoxomóhevéhëstëe  It's said they did not feed him (obv)
Ésáašëxanóhëstëe  It's said he did not free him (obv)

Transitive Animate Preterit verbs

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

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

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

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

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

English translations of the example verbs include the words "Once upon a time" to try to show a difference in meaning between these preterit verbs in legends and regular Cheyenne indicate verbs which have the 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)
- Éxhetaeahoono: Once upon a time he (obv) told him
- Éxhetaevóhoono: Once upon a time he (obv) told them
- Éxhetóvóhoono: Once upon a time they told him (obv)
- Éhetóhoono: Surprisingly, he told him!

- Éhmévóhoono: Once upon a time he ate him (obv)
- Éhmévaehoono: Once upon a time he (obv) ate him
- Éhmévaevóhoono: Once upon a time he (obv) ate them
- Éhmévovóhoono: Once upon a time they ate him (obv)
- Émévóhoono: Surprisingly, he ate him!

- Éhnóvo'nhóono: Once upon a time he burned him (obv) up
- Éhnóvo'neehehoono: Once upon a time he (obv) burned him up
- Éhnóvo'neevóhoono: Once upon a time he (obv) burned them up
- Éhnóvo'nóvóhoono: Once upon a time they burned him (obv) up
- Évóno'nhóono: Surprisingly, he burned him (obv) up!

- Ê'a'tásóhoono: Once upon a time he accidentally cut him (obv)
- Ê'a'taxeehono: Once upon a time he (obv) accidentally cut him
- Ê'a'taxeevóhoono: Once upon a time he (obv) accidentally cut them
- Ê'a'tásóvóhoono: Once upon a time they accidentally cut him (obv)
- Êa'tásóhoono: Surprisingly, he accidentally cut him (obv)!

- Éxho'ahénóhoono: Once upon a time he wanted him (obv)
- Éxho'ahétoehono: Once upon a time he (obv) wanted him
- Éxho'ahétoevóhoono: Once upon a time he (obv) wanted them
- Éxho'ahénovóhoono: Once upon a time they wanted him (obv)
- Ého'ahénóhoono: Surprisingly, he wanted him (obv)!

- Éššexanóhoono: Once upon a time he Freed him (obv)
- Éššexanaehoono: Once upon a time he (obv) freed him
- Éššexanaevóhoono: Once upon a time he (obv) freed them
- Éššexanóvóhoono: Once upon a time they freed him (obv)
- Éššexanóhoono: 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
- Éssáavóomaevéhóhoono: Once upon a time he (obv) did not see them
- Éssáavóomóhevóhoono: Once upon a time they did not see him (obv)
- Éssáavóómóhehoono: 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'táxeehvóhoono  Once upon a time he (obv) did not accidentally cut them
Éssáa'a'tásóhevóhoono  Once upon a time they did not accidentally cut him (obv)
Transitive Animate Imperative

Immediate and delayed commands occur with TA verbs, just as they do with AI and TI verbs.

Transitive Animate Immediate Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>said to one person</th>
<th>said to more than one person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Look at me!</td>
<td>Vé’hooméstse!</td>
<td>Vé’hoome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at yourself!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomahstséstse!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomahtse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at him!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomeha!</td>
<td>Vé’hooma!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at him (obv)!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomameha!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at us!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomenemo!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomemenono!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at them!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomenáno!</td>
<td>Vé’hooma!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love me!</td>
<td>Méhoxéstse!</td>
<td>Méhoxe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love yourself!</td>
<td>Méhotahtahtséstse!</td>
<td>Méhotahtse!</td>
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<td>Love him!</td>
<td>Méhoxeha!</td>
<td>Méhota!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love him (obv)!</td>
<td>Méhotameha!</td>
<td>Méhotama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love us!</td>
<td>Méhoxemenono!</td>
<td>Méhoxemenono!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love them!</td>
<td>Méhoxenáno!</td>
<td>Méhota!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to me!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tovéstse!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tove!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Be good to yourself!</td>
<td>Pêheve'tovahtséstse!</td>
<td>Pêheve'tovahtse!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Be good to him!</td>
<td>Pêhêve'toeha!</td>
<td>Pêhêve'tova!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Be good to him (obv)!</td>
<td>Pêhêve'tovameha!</td>
<td>Pêhêve'tovama!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Be good to us!</td>
<td>Pêhêve'tovemenono!</td>
<td>Pêhêve'tovemenono!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to them!</td>
<td>Pêhêve'tovenáno!</td>
<td>Pêhêve'tova!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Measure me!</td>
<td>Taevaestse!</td>
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<td>Measure him!</td>
<td>Taeváheha!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Measure him (obv)!</td>
<td>Taeváhameha!</td>
<td>Taeváhama!</td>
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<td>Measure us!</td>
<td>Taeváhemeno!</td>
<td>Taeváhemenono!</td>
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<td>Measure them!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Take pity on me!</td>
<td>Ševátaméstse!</td>
<td>Ševátame!</td>
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<td>Take pity on yourself!</td>
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<td>Take pity on him!</td>
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<td>Ševátama!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Take pity on him (obv)!</td>
<td>Ševátamameha!</td>
<td>Ševátamama!</td>
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<td>Take pity on us!</td>
<td>Ševátamenono!</td>
<td>Ševátamenono!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on them!</td>
<td>Ševátamenáno!</td>
<td>Ševátama!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
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<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>said to one person</th>
<th>said to more than one person</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Look at me later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomeo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hooméhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at yourself later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomahtseo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomahtséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at him later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomoo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomamoo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at us later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomemenoo'o!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomemenoo'o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at them later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomóóno!</td>
<td>Vé'hoomóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love me later!</td>
<td>Méhoxeo'o!</td>
<td>Méhóxéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love yourself later!</td>
<td>Méhotaatseo'o!</td>
<td>Méhotáhtséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love him later!</td>
<td>Méhotoo'o!</td>
<td>Méhotóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Méhotamoo'o!</td>
<td>Méhotamóhéne!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Love us later!</td>
<td>Méhoxemenoo'o!</td>
<td>Méhoxemenoo'o!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Love them later!</td>
<td>Méhotóóno!</td>
<td>Méhotóhéne!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Be good to me later!</td>
<td>Pêhée'toveo'o!</td>
<td>Pêhée'tovéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to yourself later!</td>
<td>Pêhée'továhtseo'o!</td>
<td>Pêhée'továhtséhéne!</td>
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<td>Be good to him later!</td>
<td>Pêhée'tovoo'o!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Be good to him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Pêhée'tovamoo'o!</td>
<td>Pêhée'tovamóhéne!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Be good to us later!</td>
<td>Pêhée'tovemenoo'o!</td>
<td>Pêhée'tovemenoo'o!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Be good to them later!</td>
<td>Pêhée'tovóóno!</td>
<td>Pêhée'tovóhéne!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Measure me later!</td>
<td>Taevaheo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhéne!</td>
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<td>Measure yourself later!</td>
<td>Taeváhéstseo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhestséhéne!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Measure him later!</td>
<td>Taeváhnoo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhóhéne!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Measure him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Taeváhámoo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhámóhéne!</td>
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<td>Measure us later!</td>
<td>Taeváhemenoo'o!</td>
<td>Taeváhemenoo'o!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Measure them later!</td>
<td>Taeváhnóóno!</td>
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<td>Take pity on me later!</td>
<td>Ševátameo'o!</td>
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<td>Take pity on yourself later!</td>
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<td>Take pity on him (obv)!</td>
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<td>Ševátamama!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Take pity on us!</td>
<td>Ševátameneno!</td>
<td>Ševátamémeno!</td>
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<tr>
<td>Take pity on them!</td>
<td>Ševátamenánó!</td>
<td>Ševátama!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive Animate Hortative verbs

Notice that hortative suffixes –áta'e, -ата'óse, and –aētse look like conjunct order suffixes, which we will see later.

| Vé'hooma'eha! | Let him look at me! | Vé'hooma'évoha! | Let them look at me! |
| Vé'hooma'te'a!| Let him look at you!| Vé'hooma'toe'se!| Let them look at you! |
| Vé'hoomahtseha!| Let him look at himself!| Vé'hoomahtsévoha!| Let them look at themselves! |
| Vé'hoomóha! | Let him look at him (obv)!| Vé'hoomaëtse!| Let them look at us! |
| Vé'hoomata'ōse! | Let him look at you (pl)!| Vé'hoomata'ōse!| Let them look at you (pl)! |
Transitive Inanimate Independent Indicative verbs

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

/-vóohtá/ 'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1st pers sing</th>
<th>1st pers pl</th>
<th>2nd pers sing</th>
<th>2nd pers pl</th>
<th>3rd pers sing</th>
<th>3rd pers pl</th>
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<th>Obv 3rd pers pl</th>
<th>Excl 1st pers sing</th>
<th>Excl 1st pers pl</th>
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<th>Pl 2nd pers pl</th>
<th>Pl 3rd pers sing</th>
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<td>Návóóhta</td>
<td>I see it</td>
<td>Návóohtanôtse</td>
<td>I see them</td>
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<td>Névóóhta</td>
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<td>He see's them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Évóohtotse</td>
<td>He (obv) sees it</td>
<td>Évóohtotsenôtse</td>
<td>He (obv) sees them</td>
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<td>You (pl) see them</td>
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/-mése/ 'eat (something)'

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<tr>
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<th>2nd pers pl</th>
<th>3rd pers sing</th>
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<th>Obv 3rd pers sing</th>
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<th>Excl 1st pers sing</th>
<th>Excl 1st pers pl</th>
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<td>Némése</td>
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<td>You ate them</td>
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-ho'tsé 'have (something)'

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<th>2nd pers sing</th>
<th>2nd pers pl</th>
<th>3rd pers sing</th>
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<td>Náho'tsenôtse</td>
<td>I have them</td>
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-ho'ahe 'have (something)'

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103 The /-vóohtá/ and –ho’tsé passives take TA stems and II plural suffixes.
104 The /-mése/ and –ho’ahe stems take the AI /-htove/ impersonal suffix for their passive forms.
-hóxe'éná 'clean (something)'
Náhóxe’ána I cleaned it Náhóxe’ananóte I cleaned them
Néhóxe’ána You cleaned it Néhóxe’ananóte You cleaned them
Éhóxe’ána He cleaned it Éhóxe’ananóte He cleaned them
Éhóxe’anotse He (obv) cleaned it Éhóxe’anótsenóte He (obv) cleaned them
Náhóxe’anánóne We (excl) cleaned it Náhóxe’anánonéstse We (excl) cleaned them
Néhóxe’anánóne We (in) cleaned it Néhóxe’anánónestse We (in) cleaned them
Néhóxe’anánóvo You (pl) cleaned it Néhóxe’anánovóte You (pl) cleaned them
Éhóxe’anánóvo They cleaned it Éhóxe’anánovóte They cleaned them
Éhóxe'anane It was cleaned Éhóxe’anēnēstse They were cleaned

-hesta 'say (something)'
Náhésta I said it Náhestanótse I said them
Néhésta You said it Néhestanótse You said them
Éhésta He said it Éhestanótse He said them
Éhestotse He (obv) said it Éhestótsenótse He (obv) said them
Náhestánóne We (excl) said it Náhestánonéstse We (excl) said them
Nénestán none We (in) said it Nénestánonéstse We (in) said them
Néhestánov We (pl) said it Néhestánovóte You (pl) said them
Éhestánóvo They said it Éhestánovóte They said them
Éhestohe It was said Éhestóhénéstse They were said

-mane 'drink (something)'
Námane I drank it Námanenótse I drank them
Némane You drank it Némanenótse You drank them
Émane He drank it Émanenótse He drank them
Émanetse He (obv) drank it Émanétsenótse He (obv) drank them
Námanenóne We (excl) drank it Námanénonéstse We (excl) drank them
Némanenóne We (in) drank it Némanénonéstse We (in) drank them
Émanenóvo They drank it Émanénovóte They drank them
Émanéstove It was drunk Émanéstóvénéstse They were drunk

-é’e’ó’tsé 'break (something)'
Náé’e’ó’tse I broke it Náé’e’ótsenótse I broke them
Néé’e’ó’tse You broke it Néé’e’ótsenótse 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’ótsenötse He (obv) broke them
Náé’e’ó’tsénóne We (excl) broke it Náé’e’ótsenóntse We (excl) broke them
Néé’e’ó’tsenóne We (in) broke it Néé’e’ótsenóntse We (in) broke them
Néé’e’ó’tsénóvo You (pl) broke it Néé’e’ótsenóvóte You (pl) broke them
Éé’e’ó’tsénóvo They broke it Éé’e’ótsenóvóte They broke them
Éé’e’o’he It was broken Éé’e’óhénéstse They were broken

105 Námane, Némane, and Émane are identical in pronunciation to the AI verbs meaning 'I drank', 'You drank', and 'He drank', respectively.
106 This is identical in pronunciation to the impersonal verb meaning 'There is drinking'.
107 That is, 'They (some inanimate plural liquids) were drunk' not the meaning 'They (some people) were drunk'.
170
Some other TI Independent Indicative verbs

Náa'táxa.  I accidentally cut it.
Éhestána.  He took it.
Náhó'xátsésta.  I'm used to it.
Émé'a.  He found it.
Nápêhévéatsésta.  I like it.
Návon'a'ótse.  I lost it.
Návonetanó'ta.  I forgot it.

Some grammatical relationships different from English

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

-háamá’tá

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

Náháamáta na'evo.  My nose hurts. (lit., I hurt to my nose)
Náháamátanóstse na'éxánéstse.  My eyes hurt. (lit., I hurt to my eyes)

We already noted the same grammatical relationships in the corresponding TA verbs at the end of the section on Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs:

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

-táá’a 'fit (something)'

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

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

Compare corresponding TA verbs:
Nátáa’övo 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 -pêhéve’áhtá:
Nápêhévé’áhta ho'évkhítse. The meat tastes good to me. (lit. I good taste to it)

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

-vóohtomóv 'see his _'
Návóohtomóvo I see his __ Návóohtomóvonstse I see his __ (plural)
Névóohtomóvo You see his __ Névóohtomóvonstse You see his __ (plural)
Évóohtomóvo He sees his (obv) __ Évóohtomóvonstse He sees his (obv) __ (pl)
Návóohtomóvonóne We (ex) see his __ Návóohtomóvonéstse We (ex) see his __ (pl)
Névóohtomóvonóne We (in) see his __ Névóohtomóvonéstse We (in) see his __ (pl)
Névóohtomóvonóvo You (pl) see his __ Névóohtomóvonóstse You (pl) see his __ (pl)
Évóohtomóvonóvo They see his __ Évóohtomóvonóstse They see his __ (pl)
Évóometse His __ is seen Évóomenetstse His __ (pl) are seen

-hestanomóv 'take his _'
Náhestanomóvo I took his __ Náhestanomóvonstse I took his __ (pl)
Néhestanomóvo You took his __ Néhestanomóvonstse You took his __ (pl)
Éhestanomóvo He took his (obv) __ Éhestanomóvonstse He took his (obv) __ (pl)
Náhestanomóvonóne We (ex) took his __ Náhestanomóvonéstse We (ex) took his __ (pl)
Néhestanomóvonóne We (in) took his __ Néhestanomóvonéstse We (in) took his __ (pl)
Néhestanomóvonóvo You (pl) took his __ Néhestanomóvonóstse You (pl) took his __ (pl)
Éhestanomóvonóvo They took his __ Éhestanomóvonóstse They took his __ (pl)
Éhestanetse His __ was taken Éhestanetstse His __ (pl) were taken

-é’e’ó’tov ‘break his _’
Náé’e’ó’tóvo I broke his __ Náé’e’ó’tovonstse I broke his __ (pl)
Néé’e’ó’tóvo You broke his __ Néé’e’ó’tovonstse You broke his __ (pl)
Éé’e’ó’tóvo He broke his (obv) __ Éé’e’ó’tovonstse He broke his (obv) __ (pl)
Náé’e’ó’tovonóne We (ex) broke his __ Náé’e’ó’tovonéstse We (ex) broke his __ (pl)
Néé’e’ó’tovonóne We (in) broke his __ Néé’e’ó’tovonéstse We (in) broke his __ (pl)
Néé’e’ó’tovonóvo You (pl) broke his __ Néé’e’ó’tonovóstse You (pl) broke his __ (pl)
Éé’e’ó’tovonóvo They broke his __ Éé’e’ó’tovonóstse They broke his __ (pl)
Éé’e’ó’hetse His __ was broken Éé’e’ó’henetstse 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 Násáavóóhtóhenóτse I did not see them
Nésáavóóhtóhe You did not see it Nésáavóóhtóhenóte You did not see them
Ésáavóóhtóhe He did not see it Ésáavóóhtóhenóte He did not see them
Ésáavóóhtóhetse He (obv) did not see it Ésáavóóhtóhetsenóte He (obv) did not see them
Násáavóóhtóhénóne We (ex) did not see it Násáavóóhtóhénóntsé We (ex) did not see them
Nésáavóóhtóhénone We (in) did not see it Nésáavóóhtóhénóntsé We (in) did not see them
Nésáavóóhtóhénóvo You (pl) did not see it Nésáavóóhtóhénovóte You (pl) did not see them
Ésáavóóhtóhénóvo They did not see it Ésáavóóhtóhénovóte They did not see them
Ésáavóóméhane It was not seen Ésáavóóméhanehóte They were not seen

'not eat (something)'

Násáaméséhe I did not eat it Násáaméséhánte I did not eat them
Nésáaméséhe You did not eat it Nésáaméséhánte You did not eat them
Ésáaméséhe He did not eat it Ésáaméséhánte He did not eat them
Ésáaméséhetse He (obv) did not eat it Ésáaméséhetséntse He (obv) did not eat them
Násáaméséhénóne We (ex) did not eat it Násáaméséhénóntsé We (ex) did not eat them
Nésáaméséhénone We (in) did not eat it Nésáaméséhénóntsé We (in) did not eat them
Nésáaméséhénóvo You (pl) did not eat it Nésáaméséhénovóte You (pl) did not eat them
Ésáaméséhénóvo They did not eat it Ésáaméséhénovóte They did not eat them
Ésáaméséstovéhane It was not eaten Ésáaméséstovéhanehóte They were not eaten

'not have (something)'

Násáahó'tséhe I do not have it Násáahó'tséhánte I do not have them
Nésáahó'tséhe You do not have it Nésáahó'tséhánte You do not have them
Ésáahó'tséhe He does not have it Ésáahó'tséhánte He does not have them
Ésáahó'tséhetse He (obv) does not have it Ésáahó'tséhetseenóte He (obv) does not have them
Násáahó'tséhénóne We (ex) do not have it Násáahó'tséhénóntsé We (ex) do not have them
Nésáahó'tséhénone We (in) do not have it Násáahó'tséhénóntsé We (in) do not have them
Nésáahó'tséhénóvo You (pl) do not have it Násáahó'tséhénovóte You (pl) do not have them
Ésáahó'tséhénóvo They do not have it Ésáahó'tséhénovóte They do not have them
Ésáahó'héhane It is not had Ésáahó'héhanóte They are not had

'not want (something)'

Násáaho'ahéhe I don't want it Násáaho'ahéhónte I don't want them
Nésáaho'ahéhe You don't want it Nésáaho'ahéhónte You don't want them
Ésáaho'ahéhe He doesn't want it Ésáaho'ahéhónte He doesn't want them
Ésáaho'ahéhetse He (obv) doesn't want it Ésáaho'ahéhetseenóte He (obv) doesn't want them
Násáaho'ahéhénóne We (ex) don't want it Násáaho'ahéhénónte We (ex) don't want them
Nésáaho'ahéhénone We (in) don't want it Násáaho'ahéhénóntsé We (in) don't want them
Nésáaho'ahéhénóvo You (pl) don't want it Násáaho'ahéhénovóte You (pl) don't want them
Ésáaho'ahéhénóvo They don't want it Ésáaho'ahéhénovóte They don't want them
Ésáaho'ahéstovéhane It is not wanted Ésáaho'ahéstovéhánóte They are not wanted
'not clean (something)'
Násáahóxe’anóhe I didn’t clean it Násáahóxe’anóhenótse I didn’t clean them
Nésáahóxe’anóhe You didn’t clean it Nésáahóxe’anóhenótse You didn’t clean them
Ésáahóxe’anóhe He didn’t clean it Ésáahóxe’anóhenótse He didn’t clean them
Ésáahóxe’anóhetsé He (obj) didn’t clean it Ésáahóxe’anóhetsenótse He (obj) didn’t clean them
Násáahóxe’anóhénóne We (ex) didn’t clean it Násáahóxe’anóhénóstse We (ex) didn’t clean them
Nésáahóxe’anóhénóne We (in) didn’t clean it Nésáahóxe’anóhénéstse We (in) didn’t clean them
Nésáahóxe’anóhénóvo You (pl) didn’t clean it Nésáahóxe’anóhénóvotse You (pl) didn’t clean them
Ésáahóxe’anóhénóvo They didn’t clean it Ésáahóxe’anóhénóvotse They didn’t clean them
Ésáahóxe’anéhane It was not cleaned Ésáahóxe’anéhenéhótse They were not cleaned

Transitive Inanimate Independent Negative relational verbs

'not see (something)'
Násáavóohótohmóvéhó I didn’t see his ___ Násáavóohótohmóvéhóntse I didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Nésáavóohótohmóvéhó You didn’t see his ___ Nésáavóohótohmóvéhóntse You didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Ésáavóohótohmóvéhó He didn’t see his (obj) ___ Ésáavóohótohmóvéhóntse He didn’t see his (obj) ___ (pl)
Násáavóohótohmóvéhónéne We (ex) didn’t see his ___ Násáavóohótohmóvéhónénestse We (ex) didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Nésáavóohótohmóvéhónéne We (in) didn’t see his ___ Nésáavóohótohmóvéhónénestse We (in) didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Nésáavóohótohmóvéhóvévo You (pl) didn’t see his ___ Nésáavóohótohmóvéhóvévóttse You (pl) didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Ésáavóohótohmóvéhóvévo They didn’t see his ___ Ésáavóohótohmóvéhóvévóttse They didn’t see his ___ (pl)
Ésáavóoméhanéhetsé His ___ was not seen Ésáavóoméhanéhentóttse His ___ (pl) were not seen

'not take his (something)'
Násáahéstamóvóhó I didn’t take his ___ Násáahéstamóvóhóntse I didn’t take his ___ (pl)
Nésáahéstamóvóhó You didn’t take his ___ Nésáahéstamóvóhóntse You didn’t take his ___ (pl)
Ésáahéstamóvóhó He didn’t take his (obj) ___ Ésáahéstamóvóhóntse He didn’t take his (obj) ___ (pl)
Násáahéstamóvóhónéne We (ex) didn’t take his ___ Násáahéstamóvóhónénestse We (ex) took his ___ (pl)
Nésáahéstamóvóhónéne We (in) didn’t take his ___ Násáahéstamóvóhónénestse We (in) took his ___ (pl)
Nésáahéstamóvóhóvévo You (pl) didn’t take his ___ Nésáahéstamóvóhóvévóttse You (pl) took his ___ (pl)
Ésáahéstamóvóhóvévo They didn’t take his ___ Ésáahéstamóvóhóvévóttse They took his ___ (pl)
Éhestaméhanéhetsé His ___ was not taken Éhestaméhanéhentóttse His ___ (pl) were not taken

'not break his (something)'
Násá’a’é’e’ó’tóvéhó I didn’t break his ___ Násá’a’é’e’ó’tóvéhóntse I didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Nésá’a’é’e’ó’tóvéhó You didn’t break his ___ Nésá’a’é’e’ó’tóvéhóntse You didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Ésá’a’é’e’ó’tóvéhó He didn’t break his (obj) ___ Ésá’a’é’e’ó’tóvéhóntse He didn’t break his (obj) ___ (pl)
Násá’a’é’e’ó’tóvéhónéne We (ex) didn’t break his ___ Násá’a’é’e’ó’tóvéhónénestse We (ex) didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Nésá’a’é’e’ó’tóvéhónéne We (in) didn’t break his ___ Nésá’a’é’e’ó’tóvéhónénestse We (in) didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Nésá’a’é’e’ó’tóvéhóvévo You (pl) didn’t break his ___ Nésá’a’é’e’ó’tóvéhóvévóttse You (pl) didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Ésá’a’é’e’ó’tóvéhóvévo They didn’t break his ___ Ésá’a’é’e’ó’tóvéhóvévóttse They didn’t break his ___ (pl)
Ésá’a’é’e’óhehanéhetsé His ___ wasn’t broken Ésá’a’é’e’óhehanéhentóttse His ___ (pl) weren’t broken
Transitive Inanimate Interrogative verbs

TI yes/no questions are formed the same two ways as yes/no questions for AI, II, and TA verbs:

1. Add the interrogative suffix –he
2. Prefix mó- to the indicative form of the verb

As with TA verbs, if the indicative form of a verb ends in whispered -ôtse, the interrogative suffix -he combines with it so the "ô" 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?
Évéomehe? Was it seen? Évéomenevotse? Were they seen?

'want (something)'

Náho’âhehe? Do I want it? Náho’âhenotse? Do I want them?
Ného’âhehe? Do you want it? Ného’âhenotse? Do you want them?
Ého’âhehe? Does he want it? Ého’âhenotse? Does he want them?
Ého’âhetsehe? Does he (obv) want it? Ého’âhetsenotse? Does he (obv) want them?
Náho’âhenonehe? Do we (excl) want it? Náho’âhenovotse? Do we (excl) want them?
Ného’âhenonehe? Do we (incl) want it? Ného’âhenovotse? Do we (incl) want them?
Ného’âhenovohe? Do you (pl) want it? Ného’âhenovotse? Do you (pl) want them?
Ého’âhenovohe? Do they want it? Ého’âhenovotse? Do they want them?

'take (something)'

Náhestanahe? Did I take it? Náhestanotse? Did I take them?
Néhestanahe? Did you take it? Néhestanotse? Did you take them?
Éhestanahe? Did he take it? Éhestanotse? Did he take them?
Éhestanotsehe? Did he (obv) take it? Éhestanotse? Did he (obv) take them?
Náhestanonehe? Did we (excl) take it? Náhestanovotse? Did we (excl) take them?
Néhestanonehe? Did we (incl) take it? Néhestanovotse? Did we (incl) take them?
Néhestanovohe? Did you (pl) take it? Néhestanovotse? Did you (pl) take them?
Éhestanovohe? Did they take it? Néhestanovotse? Did they take them?
Éhéstanéhe? Was it taken? Éhéstanévotse? Were they taken?

Some mó- prefix TI questions

Mónévóóhta? Did you see it?
Mó’ëhestâna? Did he take it?
Mónéhestanovotse? Did you (plural) take them?
Mónémésenotse? Did you eat them?
Mó’éméséstôvénestse? Were they eaten?
Transitive Inanimate Interrogative relational verbs

'see his (something)'

Návóohtomóvohé? Did I see his __? Návóohtomóvonotse? Did I see his __ (plural)?
Névóohtomóvohé? Did you see his __? Névóohtomóvonotse? Did you see his __ (pl)?
Évóohtomóvohé? 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)?
Névóohtomóvonovohé? Did you (pl) see his __? Névóohtomóvonovotse? Did you (pl) see his __ (pl)?
Évóohtomóvonovohé? Did they see his __? Évóohtomóvonovotse? Did they see his __ (pl)?
Évóoméhanehe? Was his __ seen? Évóomenetsevotse? Were his __ (pl) seen?

'take his (something)'

Náhestanomóvohé? Did I take his __? Náhestanomóvonotse? Did I take his __ (plural)?
Néhestanomóvohé? Did you take his __? Néhestanomóvonotse? Did you take his __ (pl)?
Éhestanomóvohé? 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)?
Néhestanomóvonovohé? Did you (pl) take his __? Néhestanomóvonovotse? Did you (pl) take his __ (pl)?
Éhestanomóvonovohé? Did they take his __? Éhestanomóvonovotse? Did they take his __ (pl)?
Éhestanetsehe? Was his __ taken? Éhestanetsevotse? Were his __ (pl) taken?

Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative

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

Násáavóóthóhehe? Didn't I see it? Násáavóóthóhenotse? Didn't I see them?
Násáavóóthóhehe? Didn't you see it? Násáavóóthóhenotse? Didn't you see them?
Ésáavóóthóhehe? Didn't he see it? Ésáavóóthóhenotse? Didn't he see them?
Ésáavóóthóhteshehe? Didn't he (obv) see it? Ésáavóóthóhtesetsehe? Didn't he (obv) see them?
Násáavóóthóhenonehe? Didn't we (ex) see it? Násáavóóthóhenonevotse? Didn't we (ex) see them?
Násáavóóthóhenonehe? Didn't we (in) see it? Násáavóóthóhenonevotse? Didn't we (in) see them?
Násáavóóthóhenovohé? Didn't you (pl) see it? Násáavóóthóhenovotse? Didn't you (pl) see them?
Ésáavóóthóhenovohé? Didn't they see it? Ésáavóóthóhenovotse? Didn't they see them?
Ésáavóóméhanéhehe? Wasn't it seen? Ésáavóóméhanéhetevotse? Weren't they seen?

Some other Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative verbs

Nésáahéstáhehe? Didn't you take it?
Nésáaméséhenotse? Didn't you (plural) eat them?
Ésáaméséstovévotse? Weren't they (inanimate) eaten?
Ésáahó'áhhetovévotse? Wasn't it wanted?

Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative relational verbs

Násáavóóthóhehe? Didn't I see his __? Násáavóóthóhenotse? Didn't I see his __ (plural)?
Násáavóóthóhehe? Didn't you see his __? Násáavóóthóhenotse? Didn't you see his __ (pl)?
Ésáavóóthóhehe? Didn't he see his (obv) __? Ésáavóóthóhenotse? Didn't he see his (obv) __ (pl)?
Násáavóóthóhenonehe? Didn't we (ex) see his __? Násáavóóthóhenonevotse? Didn't we (ex) see his __ (pl)?
Násáavóóthóhenonehe? Didn't we (in) see his __? Násáavóóthóhenonevotse? Didn't we (in) see his __ (pl)?
Násáavóóthóhenovohé? Didn't you (pl) see his __? Násáavóóthóhenovotse? Didn't you (pl) see his __ (pl)?
Ésáavóóthóhenovohé? Didn't they see his __? Ésáavóóthóhenovotse? Didn't they see his __ (pl)?
Ésáavóóméhanéhetehehe? Wasn't his __ seen? Ésáavóóméhanéhetevotse? Weren't his __ (pl) seen?
Transitive Inanimate Inferential verbs

CHECK YOUNGER SPEAKER dialect: e.g. Mónávóohtēhe??

**'see (something)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Subject Pronoun</th>
<th>Object Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóohtēhe</td>
<td>I must have seen it</td>
<td>Mónávóohtēhōtse</td>
<td>I must have seen them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóohtēhe</td>
<td>You must have seen it</td>
<td>Mónévóohtēhōtse</td>
<td>You must have seen them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móvóohtēhe</td>
<td>He must have seen it</td>
<td>Móvóohtēhōtse</td>
<td>He must have seen them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móvóohtēhetsēhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have seen it</td>
<td>Móvóohtēhetsēhōtse</td>
<td>He (obv) must have seen them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávóohtēhōtēnenēhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have seen it</td>
<td>Mónávóohtēhōtēnenēhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have seen them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóohtēhōtēnenēhe</td>
<td>We (in) must have seen it</td>
<td>Mónévóohtēhōtēnenēhe</td>
<td>We (in) must have seen them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévóohtēhōtēvōhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen it</td>
<td>Mónévóohtēhōtēvōhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móvóohtēhōtēvōhe</td>
<td>They must have seen it</td>
<td>Móvóohtēhōtēvōhe</td>
<td>They must have seen them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**'take (something)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Subject Pronoun</th>
<th>Object Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónáhestanēhe</td>
<td>I must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónáhestanēhōtse</td>
<td>I must have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéhestanēhe</td>
<td>You must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónéhestanēhōtse</td>
<td>You must have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móhestanēhe</td>
<td>He must have taken it</td>
<td>Móhestanēhōtse</td>
<td>He must have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móhestanēhetsēhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have taken it</td>
<td>Móhestanēhetsēhōtse</td>
<td>He (obv) must have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónáhestanēhōtēnenēhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónáhestanēhōtēnenēhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéhestanēhōtēnenēhe</td>
<td>We (in) must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónéhestanēhōtēnenēhe</td>
<td>We (in) must have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónéhestanēhōtēvōhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónéhestanēhōtēvōhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móhestanēhōtēvōhe</td>
<td>They must have taken it</td>
<td>Móhestanēhōtēvōhe</td>
<td>They must have taken them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**'have (something)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Subject Pronoun</th>
<th>Object Pronoun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónáho' تسēhe</td>
<td>I must have it</td>
<td>Mónáho' تسēhōtse</td>
<td>I must have seen them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móného' تسēhe</td>
<td>You must have it</td>
<td>Móného' تسēhōtse</td>
<td>You must have seen them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho' تسēhetsēhe</td>
<td>He must have it</td>
<td>Móho' تسēhetsēhōtse</td>
<td>He must have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónáho' تسēhēnenēhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have it</td>
<td>Mónáho' تسēhēnenēhōtse</td>
<td>We (ex) must have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móného' تسēhēnenēhe</td>
<td>We (in) must have it</td>
<td>Móného' تسēhēnenēhōtse</td>
<td>We (in) must have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móného' تسēhēvōhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have it</td>
<td>Móného' تسēhēvōhōtse</td>
<td>You (pl) must have it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
- The verbs listed are examples of transitive inanimate inferential verbs in the dialect.
- The examples provided include different subject and object pronouns to illustrate the verb forms in various contexts.
- The phonetic symbols and orthography are specific to the language being studied.
- The meanings of the verbs are given in English for reference.
Transitive Inanimate Reportative verbs

'See (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>First Person Singular</th>
<th>Second Person Singular</th>
<th>Third Person Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóóhtánóse</td>
<td>I am said to see it</td>
<td>Návóóhtanósestótse</td>
<td>I am said to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóóhtánóse</td>
<td>You are said to see it</td>
<td>Névóóhtanósestótse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Évóóhtánóse</td>
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<td>Évóóhtanósestótse</td>
<td>He is said to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóóhtótsénóse</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to see it</td>
<td>Évóóhtotsénósestótse</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóóhtánóneńse</td>
<td>We (ex) are said to see it</td>
<td>Návóóhtanóneńsestótse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Névóóhtánóneńse</td>
<td>We (in) are said to see it</td>
<td>Névóóhtanóneńsestótse</td>
<td>We (in) are said to see them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Névóóhtánóvóse</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to see it</td>
<td>Névóóhtanóvósestótse</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to see them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Évóóhtánóvóse</td>
<td>They are said to see it</td>
<td>Évóóhtanóvósestótse</td>
<td>They are said to see them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>First Person Singular</th>
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<th>Third Person Singular</th>
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<td>Náhestanánóse</td>
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<td>Náhestanánósestótse</td>
<td>I am said to have taken them</td>
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<tr>
<td>Néhestanánóse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Éhestanótsénóse</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to have taken it</td>
<td>Éhestanótsénósestótse</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestanánóneńse</td>
<td>We (ex) are said to have taken it</td>
<td>Náhestanánóneńsestótse</td>
<td>We (ex) are said to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhestanánóneńse</td>
<td>We (in) are said to have taken it</td>
<td>Néhestanánóneńsestótse</td>
<td>We (in) are said to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhestanánóvóse</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have taken it</td>
<td>Néhestanánóvósestótse</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestanánóvóse</td>
<td>They are said to have taken it</td>
<td>Éhestanánóvósestótse</td>
<td>They are said to have taken them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>First Person Singular</th>
<th>Second Person Singular</th>
<th>Third Person Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náho'tsénóse</td>
<td>I am said to have it</td>
<td>Náho'tsénósestótse</td>
<td>I am said to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'tsénóse</td>
<td>You are said to have it</td>
<td>Ného'tsénósestótse</td>
<td>You are said to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tsénóse</td>
<td>He is said to have it</td>
<td>Ého'tsénósestótse</td>
<td>He is said to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tsétsénóse</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to have it</td>
<td>Ého'tsétsénósestótse</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náho'tsénóneńse</td>
<td>We (ex) are said to have it</td>
<td>Náho'tsénóneńsestótse</td>
<td>We (ex) are said to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'tsénóneńse</td>
<td>We (in) are said to have it</td>
<td>Ného'tsénóneńsestótse</td>
<td>We (in) are said to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'tsénóvóse</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have it</td>
<td>Ného'tsénóvósestótse</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tsénóvóse</td>
<td>They are said to have it</td>
<td>Ého'tsénóvósestótse</td>
<td>They are said to have them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some Transitive Inanimate Reportative relational verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>First Person Singular</th>
<th>Second Person Singular</th>
<th>Third Person Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóóhtomóvóńóse</td>
<td>I am said to have seen his __ (rel.))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóóhtomóvóńóse</td>
<td>He is said to have seen his (obv) __</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóóhtomóvóńósestótse</td>
<td>He is said to have seen his __ (plural)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestanomóvóńóse</td>
<td>I am said to have taken his __</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestanomóvóńóse</td>
<td>He is said to have taken his (obv) __</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestanomóvóńósestótse</td>
<td>He is said to have taken his (obv) __ (plural)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náe'ė'ottóvóńóse</td>
<td>I am said to have broken his __</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ée'ė'ottóvóńóse</td>
<td>He is said to have broken his (obv) __</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ée'ė'ottovóńósestótse</td>
<td>He is said to have broken his (obv) __ (plural)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náho'tomóvóńóse</td>
<td>I am said to have his __</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tomóvóńóse</td>
<td>He is said to have his (obv) his __</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'tomóvóńósestótse</td>
<td>He is said to have his (obv) his __ (plural)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative verbs

**'not see (something)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénóse</td>
<td>I am said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóse</td>
<td>You are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénóse</td>
<td>He is said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhésénóse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénónése</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénónése</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóvóse</td>
<td>You (plural) are not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénóvóse</td>
<td>They are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénósestóte</td>
<td>I am not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénósestóte</td>
<td>You are not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénósestóte</td>
<td>He is not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhésénósestóte</td>
<td>He (obviative) is not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénónésestóte</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénónésestóte</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóvósestóte</td>
<td>You (plural) are not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénóvósestóte</td>
<td>They are not to see them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**'not take (something)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáahestanóhénóse</td>
<td>I am said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahestanóhénóse</td>
<td>You are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahestanóhénóse</td>
<td>He is said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahestanóhésénóse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahestanóhénónése</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahestanóhénónése</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahestanóhénóvóse</td>
<td>You (plural) are not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahestanóhénóvóse</td>
<td>They are not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahestanóhénósestóte</td>
<td>I am not to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahestanóhénósestóte</td>
<td>You are not to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahestanóhénósestóte</td>
<td>He is not to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahestanóhésénósestóte</td>
<td>He (obviative) is not to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahestanóhénónésestóte</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are not to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahestanóhénónésestóte</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahestanóhénóvósestóte</td>
<td>You (plural) are not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahestanóhénóvósestóte</td>
<td>They are not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**'not have (something)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho'tséhénóse</td>
<td>I am not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho'tséhénóse</td>
<td>You are not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'tséhénóse</td>
<td>He is not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'tséhésénóse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho'tséhénónése</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho'tséhénónése</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho'tséhénóvóse</td>
<td>You (plural) are not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho'tséhénóvóse</td>
<td>They are not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho'tséhénósestóte</td>
<td>I am not to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho'tséhénósestóte</td>
<td>You are not to have them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Ésáaho'tséhenósestótse He is said not to have them
Ésáaho'tséhetsenósestótse He (obviative) is said not to have them
Násáaho'tséhénésestótse We (exclusive) are said not to have them
Nésáaho'tséhénénósestótse We (inclusive) are said not to have them
Nésáaho'tséhénóvósestótse You (plural) are said not to have them
Ésáaho'tséhénóvósestótse They are said not to have them

'not eat (something)'

Násáaméséhénósestótse I am said not to have eaten it
Nésáaméséhénésestótse You are said not to have eaten it
Ésáaméséhénésestótse He is said not to have eaten it
Ésáaméséhénéhénósestótse He (obviative) is said not to have eaten it
Násáaméséhénénósestótse We (exclusive) are said not to have eaten it
Nésáaméséhénénósestótse We (inclusive) are said not to have eaten it
Nésáaméséhénénóvósestótse You (plural) are said not to have eaten it
Ésáaméséhénénóvósestótse They are said not to have eaten it

Some Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative relational verbs

Ésáavóohtomóvóhénósestótse He is said not to have seen his __ (rel).
Ésáavóohtomóvóhénésestótse They are said not to have seen his __ (pl) (rel).
Ésáahestanóvóhénósestótse He is said not to have taken his __ (rel).
Ésáahestanóvóhénésestótse They are said not to have taken his __ (pl) (rel).

Transitive Inanimate Preterit verbs

Verbs are listed with past tense /h-/ and its allomorphs [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
Éhvóohtanoohónóhtse Once upon a time he saw them (inanimate)
Éhvóohtanovoho Once upon a time they saw it
Éhvóohtanovohónóhtse Once upon a time they saw them (inanimate)
Éxhestanánoho Once upon a time he took it
Éxhestanánóhoohónóhtse Once upon a time he took them (inanimate)
Éxhestanánovoho Once upon a time they took it
Once upon a time they took them (inanimate)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Once upon a time they did not see them (inanimate)
Transitive Inanimate Imperatives

As with the AI and TA paradigms, Cheyenne commands are for either immediate or delayed action. The same word is used to command someone to do something to one thing or more than one thing. For instance, Vé’hóóhtóhtse! can mean either 'Look at it!' or 'Look at them (inanimate)!'

Transitive Inanimate Immediate Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>said to one person</th>
<th>said to more than one person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Look at it/them!</td>
<td>Vé’hóóhtóhtse!</td>
<td>Vé’hoohtome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take it!</td>
<td>Hestänóhtse!</td>
<td>Hestanome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat it/them!</td>
<td>Meséstse!</td>
<td>Mese!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bring it/them here!</td>
<td>Néxho’eotséstészte!</td>
<td>Néxho’eotsesé!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burn it/them up!</td>
<td>Vonáho’hohtse!</td>
<td>Vonáho’home!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink it/them!</td>
<td>Manéstse!</td>
<td>Mane!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut it/them!</td>
<td>Tséhetaxóhtse!</td>
<td>Tséhetaxome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean it/them!</td>
<td>Hóxe’anóhtse!</td>
<td>Hóxe’anome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make it/them!</td>
<td>Manestéstse!</td>
<td>Manestse!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive Inanimate Delayed Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>said to one person</th>
<th>said to more than one person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Look at it/them later!</td>
<td>Vé’hoohomáheóo’o!!</td>
<td>Vé’hoohtomáhéné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take it later!</td>
<td>Hestanomáheóo’o!</td>
<td>Hestanomáhéné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat it later!</td>
<td>Mésého’o!</td>
<td>Méséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bring it/them here later!</td>
<td>Néxho’eotséstészteo’o!</td>
<td>Néxho’eotséstészhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burn it/them up later!</td>
<td>Vonáho’homeóo’o!</td>
<td>Vonáho’homáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink it/them later!</td>
<td>Maneóo’o!</td>
<td>Manéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut it/them later!</td>
<td>Tséhetaxomeóo’o!</td>
<td>Tséhetaxomáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean it/them later!</td>
<td>Hóxe’anoméóo’o!</td>
<td>Hóxe’anomáhéné!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make it/them later!</td>
<td>Manéstseóo’o!</td>
<td>Manéstséhéne!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive Inanimate Hortative verbs

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

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

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

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

Náa'ta'oo'e It acc. hit me Náa'ta'óenôte They acc. hit me
Néa'ta'oo'e It acc. hit you Néa'ta'óenôte They acc. hit you
Éa'ta'oo'e It acc. hit him Éa'ta'óenôte They acc. hit him
Éa'ta'óetse It acc. hit him (obv) Éa'ta'óetsetnôte They acc. hit him (obv)
Náa'ta'óénóne It acc. hit us (excl) Náa'ta'óonenéstse They acc. hit us (excl)
Néa'ta'óénóvo It acc. hit you (pl) Néa'ta'óenovtse They acc. hit you (pl)
Éa'ta'óénóvo It acc. hit them É'a'óenovtse They acc. hit them

-ho'ehót 'come to (someone)'

Náho'ehótaa'e It came to me Náho'ehótaenôte They came to me
Ného'ehótaa'e It came to you Ného'ehótaenôte They came to you
Ého'ehótaa'e It came to him Ého'ehótaenôte They came to him
Ého'ehótaetse It came to him (obv) Ého'ehótaetsnôte They came to him (obv)
Náho'ehótaenóne It came to us (ex) Náho'ehótaenéstse They came to us (ex)
Ného'ehótaenone It came to us (in) Ného'ehótaenéstse They came to us (in)
Ného'ehótaenóvo It came to you (pl) Ného'ehótaenovtse They came to you (pl)
Ého'ehótaenóvo It came to them Ého'ehótaenovtse They came to them

Examples in sentences
Káhámáxe éa'ta'oo'e hetane The stick accidentally hit the man
Náa'ta'óenéstse he'konótse The bones accidentally hit us
Háomóhtehostetse ého'ehótaetse 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:

'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.

Náhóonóse'ota'ee naamáho'héstotse. I miss my car. (lit., 'My car causes loneliness to me.')
Náhóonóse'otaeñotstse sénomótstse. I miss the boats. (lit., 'The boats cause loneliness to me.')

-péhéveahtáam 'like to listen to'

In Cheyenne the thing that someone likes to listen to is grammatically the subject of the TA verb –péhéveahtáam. This is a different, but logical and appropriate, grammatical method of expressing the same semantic relationship that English expresses by having the person who likes a sound be the grammatical subject of a sentence.
Épēhēveahámono. 'They like to listen to it. (lit., 'It causes good listening to them.')

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)
Néa'ta'óetsénóvo  His __ acc. hit you (pl)  Néa'ta'óetsenovótse  His __ (pl) acc. hit you (pl)
Éa'ta'óetsénóvo  His __ acc. hit them  Éa'ta'óetsenovótse  His __ (pl) acc. hit them

Náho'èhótaetse  His __ came to me  Náho'èhótaetsenótse  His __ (pl) came to me
Ného'èhótaetse  His __ came to you  Ného'èhótaetsenótse  His __ (pl) came to you
Ého'èhótaetse  His __ came to him  Ého'èhótaetsenótse  His __ (pl) came to him
Náho'èhótaetsenone  His __ came to us (ex)  Náho'èhótaetsenonéstse  His __ (pl) came to us (ex)
Ného'èhótaetsenone  His __ came to us (in)  Ného'èhótaetsenonéstse  His __ (pl) came to us (in)
Ného'èhótaetsenovo  His __ came to you (pl)  Ného'èhótaetsenovótse  His __ (pl) came to you (pl)
Ého'èhótaetsenovo  His __ came to them  Ého'èhótaetsenovótse  His __ (pl) came to them

Examples in sentences
Náa'ta'óetse hemóxe'èstónestótse  His pencil accidentally hit me
Hemóxe'èstónövétsè náho'èhótaetsenonéstse  Their books came to us

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative verbs

'not accidentally hit (someone)'

Násáa'a'ta'óo'éh  It did not acc. hit me  Násáa'a'ta'óhénótsè  They did not acc. hit me
Néásáa'a'ta'óo'éh  It did not acc. hit you  Nésááa'a'ta'óhénótsè  They did not acc. hit you
Ésáa'a'ta'óo'éh  It did not acc. hit him  Ésááa'a'ta'óhénótsè  They did not acc. hit him
Násáa'a'ta'óo'éhsetse  It did not acc. hit me (obv)  Násáásáa'a'ta'óhésenótse  They did not acc. hit him (obv)
Néásááa'a'ta'óo'éhénóne  It did not acc. hit us (ex)  Nésááásááa'a'ta'óhénónéstse  They did not acc. hit us (ex)
Nésááa'a'ta'óo'éhénóvo  It did not acc. hit you (pl)  Nésáásááa'a'ta'óhénovótse  They did not acc. hit you (pl)
Ésááa'a'ta'óo'éhénóvo  It did not acc. hit them  Ésááásááa'a'ta'óhésenovótse  They did not acc. hit them

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative relational verbs

Násáa'a'ta'óhótaetse  His __ did not acc. hit me  Násáa'a'ta'óhésenótse  His __ (pl) did not acc. hit me
Néásááa'a'ta'óhótaetse  His __ did not acc. hit you  Nésááásááa'a'ta'óhésenótse  His __ (pl) did not acc. hit you
Ésááa'a'ta'óhótaetse  His (obv) __ did not acc. hit him  Ésááásááa'a'ta'óhésenótse  His (obv) __ (pl) did not acc. hit him
Násááa'a'ta'óhésenóne  His __ did not acc. hit us (ex)  Násáásááa'a'ta'óhésenónéstse  His __ (pl) did not acc. hit us (ex)
Néásáááa'a'ta'óhésenóne  His __ did not acc. hit us (in)  Nésááásáááa'a'ta'óhésenónéstse  His __ (pl) did not acc. hit us (in)
Násáááa'a'ta'óhésenóvo  His __ did not acc. hit you (pl)  Násááásáááa'a'ta'óhésenovótse  His __ (pl) did not acc. hit you (pl)
Ésáááa'a'ta'óhésenóvo  His (obv) __ did not acc. hit them  Ésááásáááa'a'ta'óhésenovótse  His (obv) __ (pl) did not acc. hit them

Násááa'hótaehótaetse  His __ did not come to me  Násááa'hótaehésenótse  His __ (pl) did not come to me
Néásáááa'hótaehótaetse  His __ did not come to you  Nésáááááa'hótaehésenótse  His __ (pl) did not come to me
Ésáááááa'hótaehótaetse  His (obv) __ did not come to him  Ésááááááa'hótaehésenótse  His (obv) __ (pl) did not come to him
Násáááááa'hótaehésenóne  His __ did not come to us (ex)  Násááááááa'hótaehésenónéstse  His __ (pl) did not come to us (ex)
Néásáááááa'hótaehésenóne  His __ did not come to us (in)  Nésááááááa'hótaehésenónéstse  His __ (pl) did not come to us (in)
Násáááááa'hótaehésenóvo  His __ did not come to you (pl)  Násááááááa'hótaehésenovótse  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  The stick did not accidentally hit me
Ésáa'a'ta'óehétsenótse hemóxe'éstónéstotótse  His (another's) pencils did not accidentally hit him
Háomóhtáhestótse ésáaho'ehótaehetse hee'haho  Sickness didn't come to his son.
Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Interrogative verbs

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

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

-\textit{\textipa{ho'èhót} ‘come to (someone)’}

\begin{align*}
\text{Náho}'èhótaehe? & \quad \text{Did it come to me?} \quad \text{Náho}'èhótaenotse? & \quad \text{Did they come to me?} \\
\text{Ného}'èhótaehe? & \quad \text{Did it come to you?} \quad \text{Ného}'èhótaenotse? & \quad \text{Did they come to you?} \\
\text{Ého}'èhótaehe? & \quad \text{Did it come to him?} \quad \text{Ého}'èhótaenotse? & \quad \text{Did they come to him?} \\
\text{Ého}'èhótaetshe? & \quad \text{Did it come to him (obv)?} \quad \text{Ého}'èhótaetsenotse? & \quad \text{Did they come to him (obv)?} \\
\text{Náho}'èhótaenonehe? & \quad \text{Did it come to us (ex)?} \quad \text{Náho}'èhótaenonevotse? & \quad \text{Did they come to us (ex)?} \\
\text{Ného}'èhótaenonehe? & \quad \text{Did it come to us (in)?} \quad \text{Ného}'èhótaenonevotse? & \quad \text{Did they come to us (in)?} \\
\text{Ého'}èhótaenovohe? & \quad \text{Did it come to them?} \quad \text{Ého'}èhótaenovotse? & \quad \text{Did they come to them?} \\
\end{align*}

Examples in sentences

\begin{align*}
\text{Káháma'xe ná}'ta'óehe? & \quad \text{Did a stick accidentally hit you?} \\
\text{Péhévta'óehe? & \quad \text{Did happiness come to his daughter (obviative)?} \\
\text{Néa}'ta'óenovohe? & \quad \text{Did bones accidentally hit you (plural)?} \\
\text{Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Interrogative relational verbs}

\begin{align*}
\text{Náa}'ta'óetshehe? & \quad \text{Did his acc. hit me?} \quad \text{Náa}'ta'óëtsenotse? & \quad \text{Did his (pl) acc. hit me?} \\
\text{Néa}'ta'óetshehe? & \quad \text{Did his acc. hit you?} \quad \text{Néa}'ta'óëtsenotse? & \quad \text{Did his (pl) acc. hit you?} \\
\text{Éa}'ta'óetshehe? & \quad \text{Did his acc. hit him?} \quad \text{Éa}'ta'óëtsenotse? & \quad \text{Did his (pl) acc. hit him?} \\
\text{Éa}'ta'óëtsenonehe? & \quad \text{Did his acc. hit us (ex)?} \quad \text{Éa}'ta'óëtsenonevotse? & \quad \text{Did his (pl) acc. hit us (ex)?} \\
\text{Néa}'ta'óëtsenonehe? & \quad \text{Did his acc. hit us (in)?} \quad \text{Néa}'ta'óëtsenonevotse? & \quad \text{Did his (pl) acc. hit us (in)?} \\
\text{Éa}'ta'óëtsenovohe? & \quad \text{Did his acc. hit them?} \quad \text{Éa}'ta'óëtsenovotse? & \quad \text{Did his (pl) acc. hit them?} \\
\end{align*}

\begin{align*}
\text{Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Negative Interrogative verbs}

\begin{align*}
\text{Násáa}'ta'óehehe? & \quad \text{Didn't it acc. hit me?} \quad \text{Násáa}'ta'óëhenotse? & \quad \text{Didn't they acc. hit me?} \\
\text{Nésáa}'ta'óehehehe? & \quad \text{Didn't it acc. hit you?} \quad \text{Nésáa}'ta'óëhenotse? & \quad \text{Didn't they acc. hit you?} \\
\text{Ésóa}'ta'óehehehe? & \quad \text{Didn't it acc. hit him?} \quad \text{Ésóa}'ta'óëhenotse? & \quad \text{Didn't they acc. hit him?} \\
\text{Ésóa}'ta'óëhetsehe? & \quad \text{Didn't it acc. hit him (obv)?} \quad \text{Ésóa}'ta'óëhetsonotse? & \quad \text{Didn't they acc. hit him (obv)?} \\
\text{Nósóa}'ta'óëhenonehehe? & \quad \text{Didn't it acc. hit us (ex)?} \quad \text{Nósóa}'ta'óëhenotse? & \quad \text{Didn't they acc. hit us (ex)?} \\
\text{Nésóa}'ta'óëhenonehehe? & \quad \text{Didn't it acc. hit you (pl)?} \quad \text{Nésóa}'ta'óëhenotse? & \quad \text{Didn't they acc. hit you (pl)?} \\
\text{Ésóa}'ta'óëhenovohe? & \quad \text{Didn't it acc. hit them?} \quad \text{Ésóa}'ta'óëhenotse? & \quad \text{Didn't they acc. hit them?} \\
\end{align*}

Examples in sentences

\begin{align*}
\text{Hemóxé'stónestótse néa}'ta'óetshehe? & \quad \text{Did his pencil (relational) acc. hit you?} \\
\text{Káháma'xe nésáa}'ta'óëhenovohe? & \quad \text{Didn't the stick accidentally hit you (plural)?} \\
\end{align*}
Ditransitive verbs are marked for two objects. One object, called the primary object, is the person affected by the action of the subject. The other object, called the secondary object, is what or whom the subject used to relate to the primary object. For instance, if I say, in English, (1) "I gave my son a horse", "I" is the subject, "my son" is the primary object, and "a horse" is the secondary object. I can also say in English, (2) "I gave a horse to my son". In this sentence "my son" is considered an indirect object in English grammar. "A horse" is the direct object (what was given). Cheyenne does not have both options, (1) and (2), for speaking about two objects. Cheyenne only has option (1). A technical way of saying this is that Cheyenne obligatorily advances indirect objects (recipients/datives) to direct objects.

Cheyenne ditransitive verbs are marked for person, number, and animacy of their subject and primary and secondary objects. The primary object is always animate. The secondary object can be either animate or inanimate. Examples of verbs with both animate and inanimate secondary objects will be given.

Ditransitive paradigms look similar to Transitive Animate paradigms, with additional suffixes for animacy and number of secondary objects.

/-mét/ 'give (something to someone)'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Námétahtse</th>
<th>I gave it to myself</th>
<th>Émétáhtse</th>
<th>He (obv) gave it to himself</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némétátse</td>
<td>I gave it to you</td>
<td>Námétaetsenone</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméto</td>
<td>I gave it to him</td>
<td>Námétaetsené</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétamóho</td>
<td>I gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétaetsenó</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nématsénóvo</td>
<td>I gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td>Émétäenóvo</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétónóvo</td>
<td>I gave it to them</td>
<td>Némétatsemenó</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Némétóne110</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétsémenó108</td>
<td>You gave it to us (ex)</td>
<td>Némétatsemenó</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to them (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétónóvo</td>
<td>You gave it to them</td>
<td>Némétone112</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to us (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Némétone113</td>
<td>We (in) gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétta’a’e</td>
<td>He gave it to me</td>
<td>Némétamonóne</td>
<td>We (in) gave it to us (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétta’e</td>
<td>He gave it to you</td>
<td>Némétahséné</td>
<td>We (in) gave it to ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétahtsé</td>
<td>He gave it to himself</td>
<td>Némétoneo’o114</td>
<td>We (in) gave it to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétahtse</td>
<td>He gave it to him</td>
<td>Némétsené</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétaenóne109</td>
<td>He gave it to us (excl)</td>
<td>Némétóne114</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaenone</td>
<td>He gave it to us (incl)</td>
<td>Némétanoovo</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaenóvo</td>
<td>He gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némétsémenó</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Némétatshsénó</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétaetse</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaetse</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétáa’e</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

108 Also Némétsemenó
110 Also Némétóne
111 Also Némétamonóne
112 Also Némétántóne
113 Also Némétóne
114 Also Némétóne

Or Émét for some speakers because of its stem-final phonemic high pitch
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Némétónóvo</th>
<th>You (pl) gave it to them</th>
<th>Námétaenōvo</th>
<th>They gave it to me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émétónóvo</td>
<td>They gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>Némétaenōvo</td>
<td>They gave it to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétaenone</td>
<td>They gave it to us (ex)</td>
<td>Námétaenone</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaenone</td>
<td>They gave it to us (in)</td>
<td>Némétaenone</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaenōvo</td>
<td>They gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némétaenōvo</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétahtsēnōvo</td>
<td>They gave it to themselves</td>
<td>Némétaenōvo</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétanéne</td>
<td>I was given it</td>
<td>Námétanéne</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétanéne</td>
<td>You were given it</td>
<td>Némétanéne</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émetse</td>
<td>He was given it</td>
<td>Némétanénône</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétanénône</td>
<td>We (ex) were given it</td>
<td>Némétahtsēnône</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétanénôvo</td>
<td>You (pl) were given it</td>
<td>Némétatsemenôte</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétsénôvo</td>
<td>They were given it</td>
<td>Némétatsemenôte</td>
<td>We (in) gave them to him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'give (some things to someone)'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Námétatsenôte</th>
<th>I gave them to myself</th>
<th>Námétsenôte</th>
<th>You (pl) gave them to me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némétatsenôte</td>
<td>I gave them to you</td>
<td>Némétsenôte</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétatsemenôte</td>
<td>I gave them to him</td>
<td>Námétatsemenôte</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétatsēnôvo</td>
<td>I gave them to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némétahtsēnôvo</td>
<td>They gave them to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétatsemenôte</td>
<td>I gave them to us (ex)</td>
<td>Némétaenôvo</td>
<td>They gave them to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétatsemenôte</td>
<td>I gave them to us (in)</td>
<td>Námétaenôvo</td>
<td>They gave them to (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétatsemenôte</td>
<td>I gave them to us (pl)</td>
<td>Námétaenôvo</td>
<td>They gave them to themselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Námétanéte       | I was given them          | Námétanéte        | I was given them |
| Némétanéte      | You were given them       | Némétanéte        | You were given them |
| Émétsen          | He was given them         | Émétsen           | He was given them |
| Námétanémetse   | He was given them         | Námétanémetse     | We (ex) were given them |
| Némétanémetse   | He gave them to himself   | Námétanémetse     | We (in) were given them |
| Námétanénône    | He gave them to us (ex)   | Námétanénône      | You (pl) were given them |
| Némétanénône    | He gave them to us (in)   | Námétanénône      | They were given them |
| Némétanénôvo    | He gave them to you (pl)  | Námétanénôvo      | They were given them |
| Émétsenôvo       | He (obv) gave them to me  | Émétsenôvo        | They were given them |

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/-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 further obviated than than a third person (obviative).

Námétáhtsenôtse I gave him to myself
Némétatseenôtse I gave him to you
Námétatonoto I gave him (obv') to him (obv)
Námétamónoto I gave him (obv') to him (obv)
Námétatsénôvo I gave him to you (pl)
Námétetonovo I gave him (obv') to them
Némétseenôtse You gave him to me
Némétatseenôtse You gave him to yourself
Némétamónoto You gave him (obv') to him (obv)
Némétamônoto You gave him (obv') to him (obv)
Némétatamenôto You gave him to us (ex)
Némétetamenôvo You gave him (obv') to them
Námétatenôto He gave him (obv) to me
Némétatseenôto He gave him (obv) to you
Émétsenoto He gave him (obv) to himself
Émétonoto He gave him (obv') to him (obv)
Námétatamenône He gave him (obv) to us (in)
Némétatamenône He gave him (obv') to us (in)
Némétatameno He gave him (obv) to us (ex)
Némétetameno He gave him (obv') to us (ex)
Námétamono He gave him (obv) to you (pl)
Némétamono He gave him (obv') to you (pl)
Émétsenovo He gave him (obv) to them
Émétonovo He gave him (obv') to them
Námétatsemenôto We (ex) gave him to you
Némétatseenôto We (ex) gave him (obv) to him
Émétsenoto We (ex) gave him (obv) to himself
Émétonoto We (ex) gave him (obv') to him (obv)
Námétatseenône We (ex) gave him to ourselves
Némétatseenône We (ex) gave him to ourselves
Némétatamono We (ex) gave him (obv) to him
Némétatamono We (ex) gave him (obv') to him (obv)
Némétatameno We (ex) gave him to us (ex)
Némétatameno We (ex) gave him (obv') to us (ex)
Námétatamenôvo You (pl) gave him to me
Némétatamenôvo You (pl) gave him (obv) to him
Némétamono You (pl) gave him (obv) to him
Némétamono You (pl) gave him (obv') to him (obv)
Némétameno You (pl) gave him to us (ex)
Némétameno You (pl) gave him (obv') to us (ex)
Námétatamenôvo You (pl) gave him to yourself
Némétatamenôvo You (pl) gave him (obv) to yourself
Némétatamenôvo You (pl) gave him (obv') to yourself

---

115 Also Námétamônone
116 Also Némétamônone
/-mét/ 'give (plural animate objects to someone)'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Námétahsēnoto</th>
<th>I gave them to myself</th>
<th>Némétaenovo</th>
<th>You (pl) gave them to yourselves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némétatsēnoto</td>
<td>I gave them to you</td>
<td>Némétaenovo</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétonoto</td>
<td>I gave them (obv) to him (obv)</td>
<td>Némétaenovo</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétatsénovoo'o</td>
<td>I gave them to you (pl)</td>
<td>Émétatonovo</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétatonovo</td>
<td>You gave them to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némétaenóneo'o</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétenoto</td>
<td>You gave them to me</td>
<td>Némétaenóneo'o</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétahntsēnoto</td>
<td>You gave them to yourself</td>
<td>Némétanénovoo'o</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétatonoto</td>
<td>You gave them (obv) to him</td>
<td>Émétatstenovo</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamónoto</td>
<td>You gave them (obv) to (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétesemenoo'o</td>
<td>You gave them to us (ex)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétatonovo</td>
<td>You gave them (obv) to them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamono</td>
<td>You gave them to you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamono</td>
<td>You gave them (obv) to (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamono</td>
<td>You gave them to him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamono</td>
<td>You gave them (obv) to (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamono</td>
<td>You gave them to (obv) to them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamono</td>
<td>You gave them (obv) to you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamono</td>
<td>You gave them (obv) to (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamono</td>
<td>You gave them to (obv) to them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

117 This can also be translated as 'him (obv) since obviatives can be either singular or plural.
118 Also Námétamónone
119 Also Némétamónone
Some other Ditransitive Independent Indicative verbs
Návóo'séhónöstse  I showed them (inan) to him
Évóo'séhónosto  He showed them (obv’) to him (obv)
Návóo'séhaenóne  He showed it to us (exclusive)
Návóo'séhaenosto  He showed them (obv) to me
Nánomáhtséhaenöstse  He stole them (inanmate) from me
Nánomáhtséhaenosto  He stole him (obv) from me

Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs
$$RECHECK
Násáamétóhe  I didn't give it to him
Násáamétaehe  He didn't give it to me
Násáavóo'séhaehe  He didn't show it to me
Násáamétóhenöstse  I didn't give them (inanmate) to them
Ésáamétaehénóvo  He (obviative) didn't give it to them
Násáamétóhenéstse  We (exclusive) didn't give them (inanmate) to him
Násáamétóhenóne  We (inclusive) didn't give it to him
Násáamétáehénovöstse  They didn't give them (inanmate) to you
Násáamétáehénovoto  They didn't give him/them (obv) to me
Násáanomáhtséhóhenöstse  I did not steal them (inanmate) from him

Some Ditransitive Independent Interrogative verbs
Némétohe?  Did you give it to him?
Émétovóhe?  Did he give it to him (obviative)?
Némétonovóhe?  Did you (plural) give it to him?
Émétovóhe?  Did they give it to him (obv)?
Némétaenöstse?  Did he give them (inanmate) to you?
Némétaenotohe?  Did he give him (obviative) to you?
Névóo'séhónovostse??  Did you (plural) show them (inanmate) to them?

Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Interrogative verbs
Nésáamétóhénovohe?  Didn't you (plural) give it to them?
Nésáamétáehénosto?  Didn't he give them (inanmate) to you?
Ésáamétahénotohe?  Didn't he (obv) give him (obv’) to him?

Some Ditransitive Independent Inferential verbs
Mómétoheńöstse  He must have given them (inanmate) to him (obv)
Mónávóo'séhaehénostóhe??  He must have shown him (obviative) to me
Mónánomáhtséhaehéhe  He must have stolen it from me

Some Ditransitive Imperative verbs
Métsehá!  Give it to him!
Néhmetséstse!120  Give it to me!

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

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

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

Indicative

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

- tséhnéménése when/where/since he sang
- tséhmanéto when/where/since I drank
- tséhvóonā'o when/since it was morning

Potential

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

- máhméovóonā'o when it is morning
- máhnèxho'èhnèstse when he arrives

Conditional

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

- māhvé'néménéstse if he sings
- māhvé'háomóthahévñhtse if they are sick

Irrealis

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

- vé'néménéstse if he were a singer / or, if he had sung

---

121 A few Cheyenne verbs have conjunct morphology but function as independent verbs. Among them are negative inferentials, optatives, and the obligative mode. There are some conjunction indicatives which function as independent verbs, if they include an oh- preverb following the tsé- conjunct indicative prefix. This oh- preverb is obsolescing and is not well understood. $$RECHECK AND NOTE DIC'Y AND TEXT EXAMPLES??$. The few Cheyenne conjunct forms that can function as independent verbs may reflect earlier wider usage of pre-Cheyenne conjuncts functioning as independents, since some conjunct verbs still function as independent verbs in some other Algonquian languages.
122 Some speakers also say tséhnéménéstse. It is unclear what, if any, difference there is between tséhnéménése and tséhnéménéstse.
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 ōh-, but this prefix is difficult to hear and is often omitted. The habitual mode suffix /-ht/ is added after person and number suffixes.

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

Concessive

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

hó’nēšenéménéstse even if he sings, even though he sang
hó’nēšē-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'sdéohe which may cliticize to the beginning of the verb as a prefix.

Máa'séohe néménéstse. I thought he was singing (but he wasn't).
Máa séohe hámóóhtâheto. 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.
Momóxé-héné’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.

eónéménéstse whether/if he sang (e.g. I wonder if he sang)
Násáahéne’enóhe éóhoo'kôho 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.

Áhnémenesèstse

He should sing (cf. Éme'némé '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-nemeotséte, 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'.

$$TRY TO GET A CLEARER DESCRIPTION OF THE SEMANTIC DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO FORMS$$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tséhméhaevoneotsevo</th>
<th>when I was lost (removed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhméhaevoneotsévo</td>
<td>when you were lost (removed)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Infinitive**

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

éme'heše-néménèstse

how he should sing ??

**Negative Inferential**

A negative inferential functions as an independent order verb, but has the form of a conjunct order verb. A negative inferential takes an old negative prefix ho'nó-. It optionally takes the inferential prefix mó-.

(Mó)ho'nó-néménèstse

He must not have sung

Ho'nó-hoo'kóhóhanéhe

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-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsénéménèstse</th>
<th>the singer (i.e. the one who sings)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenese</td>
<td>the singers (those who sing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškese</td>
<td>the one who is his mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsétséhéstáhese (Tsitsistas)</td>
<td>Cheyennes (i.e. those who are Cheyennes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhnéšése</td>
<td>the two of you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhno'kähéto</td>
<td>I alone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néstoxétse</td>
<td>all of us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Participles are required when a verb is needed to ask Cheyenne questions about 'What?' (e.g. Hénáá'e) and 'Who?' (e.g. Névááhe): $$RECHECK$$
Névááhe tsénéménéstse? Who is singing?
Névááhe tséméseestse? ?? Who is eating?
Neváaseo'o tsénaóotsese? ?? Who (plural) are sleeping?
Névááhe tséhestănöhtse? ?? Who took it?
Névááhe tsého'aese? ?? Who wants it?
Névááhe tsého'tséstse? ?? Who has it?
Neváaseo'o tsépēhēvatsēsto___ ?? Who (plural) likes them?
Hénáá'e tsévóohtomo? ?? What do you see?
Hénáá'e tsého'āheto? ?? What do you want?
Hénová'ehótse tsémésése? ?? What (plural) did you (plural) eat?

Conjunct Order morphology summary
("tse" = /te/; "est" = /eht/; /eht/ = "est")

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

AI
-tó 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-hē 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)
aé + -s (INV-3.CJT) 3:1
átae 3:2 (INV.2.CJT) 3:2
-s' 3:3'
tsé (PL)(')::1PL
-sé 3(PL)(')::2PL
aé + -tse + -s (INV-OBV-3.CJT) 3':1
áta' + -osé 3(PL)'-2
-ae + -s (INV-3.CJT) 3':3
-aé + -vo + -s' (INV-3PL-3.CJT) 3PL:1

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

-ht 2:3
-aé + -ht 3:1
-ht’ 3:3'
ae + -ht 3’:3
-a’é + -vo + -ht’ 3PL:1

TI

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

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

**Animate Intransitive Conjunct Indicative verbs**

/⁻némené/ 'sing'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhnémenéto</td>
<td>when I sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémeneto</td>
<td>when you sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhnéménése</td>
<td>when he sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhnéménetsé</td>
<td>when he (obviative) sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhnéménétsé</td>
<td>when we sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhnéménése</td>
<td>when you (plural) sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhnéménévose</td>
<td>when they sang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/mane 'drink'

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

/⁻háóéná/ 'pray'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséxháóénáto</td>
<td>when I prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháoenato</td>
<td>when you prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháóénése</td>
<td>when he prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháoenatsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháóénátse</td>
<td>when we prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháóénése</td>
<td>when you (plural) prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxháóénavose</td>
<td>when they prayed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/mésehe 'eat'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhméséheto</td>
<td>when I ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhméséheto</td>
<td>when you ate</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

123 It is uncertain whether a penultimate pitch is mid or high when it is preceded by one or more low pitches.
124 There is no difference between exclusive and inclusive ‘we’ subjects of Cheyenne AI conjunct verbs.
tséhméese  when he ate
tséhméséhetsé  when he (obviative) ate
tséhméséhétse  when we ate
tséhméséhésé  when you (plural) ate
tséhméséhévöse  when they ate

/-sévanó/ 'ski, skate'
tséssévanóto  when I skated
tséssévanoto  when you skated
tséssévánöse  when he skated
tséssévánotsése  when he (obviative) skated
tséssévánötse  when we skated
tséssévánóse  when you (plural) skated
tséssévánóvöse  when they skated

/-ovešená/ 'go to bed'
tsé'ovéšenáto  when I went to bed
tsé'ovéšenato  when you went to bed
tsé'ovēšése  when he went to bed
tsé'ovéšenatsése  when he (obviative) went to bed
tsé'ovéšenátse  when we went to bed
tsé'ovéšenáse  when you (plural) went to bed
tsé'ovéšenáv  when they went to bed

/-néé/ 'be standing'
tséhnéeto  when I was standing
tséhnéeto  when you were standing
tséhnéé'se  when he was standing
tséhnéetsése  when he (obviative) was standing
tséhnéétse  when we were standing
tséhnéése  when you (plural) were standing
tséhnéévöse  when they were standing

-hoo'e /-hoe/ 'be at'
tséxhoēto125  when I was (here/there)
tséxhoeto  when you were (here/there)
tséxhoo'èse  when he was (here/there)
tséxhoetsése  when he (obviative) was (here/there)
tséxhoetse  when we were (here/there)
tséxhoēse  when you (plural) were (here/there)
tséxhövöse  when they were (here/there)

-éestse 'speak'
tsé'éestése  when I spoke
tsé'éestseto  when you spoke
tsé'éestše  when he spoke
tsé'éestsëse  when he (obviative) spoke
tsé'éestsetse  when we spoke
tsé'éestsése  when you (plural) spoke
tsé'éestsvöse  when they spoke

125 It is uncertain if the penultimate pitch is high or mid when it is preceded by one or more low pitches.
/-émá/ 'take a sweat'

-émáto when I took a sweat
-émato when you took a sweat
-émáse when he took a sweat
-ématsése when he (obviative) took a sweat
-émátse when we took a sweat
-émáse when you (plural) took a sweat
-émáv when they took a sweat

-néehove 'be the one'

Conjunct forms of the verb –néehove take the conjunct indicative third person suffixes and /h- marker following the tsé- prefix, but have meanings more like participles:

tséhnéehóvéto as for myself
ntséhnéehóveto as for you
ntséhnéehovése as for him/her
ntséhnéehovése?? as for him/her (obviative)
tséhnéehóvétse as for us
ntséhnéehovése as for you (plural)
tséhnéehóvévose 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'

téno'káheto I alone
téno'kaheto you alone
téno'kaese?? he/she alone
téno'káhetsése?? he/she (obviative) alone
nténo'káhétse?? we alone
téno'kahése?? you (plural) alone
téno'kahévose they alone

'both of'

ntéhnéšétse both of us
téhnéšése both of you
téhnéšévose both of them
téhnéšetsése?? Both of them (obviative)

'all of'

ntéstóxétse all of us
téstóxése all of you (plural)
téstóxévose all of them

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Potential verbs

The conjunct potential requires a phonemic /ht/ in third person suffixes which the conjunct indicative does not. This /ht/ is pronounced as [st] following the vowel /e/. Here is a full sentence illustrating how the conjunct potential can be used: Måhnémeneto náhtapéhéveto; 'When you
sing I’ll be happy’.

/-némené/ ‘sing’

máhnémenéto when I sing
máhnémeneto when you sing
máhnéménéstse when he sings
máhnéménetséstse when he (obviative) sings
máhnéménêtse when we sing
máhnéménése when you (plural) sing
máhnéménévóhtse 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
máxháóénávohtse 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
máhméséhévohtse when they eat

/-sévanó/ ‘ski, skate’

mášévanótse when I skate
mášévanoto when you skate
mášévánóhtse when he skates
mášévanotséstse when he (obviative) skates
mášévanótse when we skate
mášévanóse when you (plural) skate
mášévanóvohtse when they skate

/-oveše(ná)/ ‘go to bed’

ma’ovéšenátse when we go to bed
ma’ovéšenóse when you (plural) go to bed
ma’ovéšénávohtse when they go to bed

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

/-némené/ ‘sing’

tséssáanémenéheto when I did not sing
tséssáanémenéheto when you did not sing
tséssáanémenéese 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
tséssáanémenéhévose when they did not sing

-mésehe 'eat'
tséssáaméséhéheto when I did not eat
tséssáaméséhéheto when you did not eat
tséssáaméhéhése when he did not eat
tséssáaméséhéhetsése when he (obviative) did not eat
tséssáaméséhéhétsé when we did not eat
tséssáaméséhéhéése when you (pl) did not eat
tséssáaméséhéhévose when they did not eat

-/háóéná/ 'pray'
tséssáaháóénahéto when I did not pray
tséssáaháóenaheto when you did not pray
tséssáahóénáése when he did not pray
tséssáaháóenahetsése when he (obviative) did not pray
tséssáaháóénahétse when we did not pray
tséssáaháóénahése when you (pl) did not pray
tséssáaháóénahévose when they did not pray

-/néé/ 'be standing'
tséssáanéhéheto when I was not standing
tséssáahnéheto when you were not standing
tséssáanéhése when he was not standing
tséssáanéhetsése when he (obviative) was not standing
tséssáanéhéhése when we were not standing
tséssáanéhéhése when you (pl) were not standing
tséssáanéhéhévose when they were not standing

-hoo'e/-hoe/ 'be at'
tséssáahoehého when I was not (here/there)
tséssáahoeheto when you were not (here/there)
tséssáahoéhése when he was not (here/there)
tséssáahoehetsése when he (obviative) was not (here/there)
tséssáahoehéhése when we were not (here/there)
tséssáahoehése when you (pl) were not (here/there)
tséssáahoehévose when they were not (here/there)

---

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

/-némené/ 'sing'
- másáanémenéhéto when I do not sing
- másáanémenéheto when you do not sing
- másáanémenééstse when he does not sing
- másáanémenéhetséstse when he (obviative) does not sing
- másáanémenéhéto when we do not sing
- másáanémenéhéto when you (plural) do not sing
- másáanémenéhévohtse when they do not sing

-mésehe 'eat'
- másáaméséhéto when I do not eat
- másáaméséheto when you do not eat
- másáaméhééstse when he does not eat
- másáaméhéhéséstse when he (obviative) does not eat
- másáaméhéhéto when we do not eat
- másáaméhéhéto when you (plural) do not eat
- másáaméhéhvohtse when they do not eat

/-háóéná/ 'pray'
- másáaháóénahéto when I do not pray
- másáaháoenaheto when you do not pray
- másáaháóénáéstse when he does not pray
- másáaháoénáhéséstse when he (obviative) does not pray
- másáaháóéhéto when we do not pray
- másáaháóéhéséstse when you (plural) do not pray
- másáaháóéhvohtse when they do not pray

/-néé/ 'be standing'
- másáanéhéto when I am not standing
- másáahnéeheto when you are not standing
- másáanééstse when he is not standing
- másáanéehetséstse when he (obviative) is not standing
- másáanéhéto when we are not standing
- másáanéhéto when you (plural) are not standing
- másáanéhévohtse when they are not standing

-hoo'e /-hoe/ 'be at'
- másáahoehēto when I am not (here/there)
- másáahoheto when you are not (here/there)
- másáahoestse when he is not (here/there)
- másáahoehetséstse when he (obviative) is not (here/there)
- másáahoehēto when we are not (here/there)
- másáahoehēto when you (plural) are not (here/there)
- másáahoehēvohtse when they are not (here/there)

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Habitual verbs

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

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

-naóotse 'sleep'

(ōh)naóotsétonôhtse when I sleep
(ōh)naóótsétoséstse when you sleep
(ōh)naóótseséséstse when he sleeps
(ōh)naóótsétseséstse when he (obviative) sleeps
(ōh)naóótséteetse'estse when we sleep
(ōh)naóótsésee'estse when you (plural) sleep
(ōh)naóótsévoséstse when they sleep

-/ho'sóe/ 'dance'

xho'sóetonôhtse when I dance
xho'sóotoséstse when you dance
xho'sóeséstse when he dances
xho'sóetseséstse when he (obviative) dances
xho'sóetsee'estse when we dance
xho'sóosee'estse when you (plural) dance
xho'sóevoséstse when they dance

-mésehe 'eat'

to'semésehétonôhtse when I'm going to eat
to'semésehétoséstse when you are going to eat
to'seméseheséstse when he is going to eat
to'semésehétseséstse when he (obviative) is going to eat
to'semésehéteetse'estse when we are going to eat
to'semésehésee'estse when you (plural) are going to eat
to'semésehévoséstse when they are going to eat

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Generic

sáanaóotséhetonôhtse when I do not sleep
sáanaóótséhtoséstse when you do not sleep
sáanaóótséheséstse when he does not sleep
sáanaóótséhteséstse when he (obviative) does not sleep
sáanaóótsésee'estse when you (plural) do not sleep
sáanaóótsévoséstse when they do not sleep

Examples in sentences

- Óhnaóótséostestse néohkenésó'ename.\textsuperscript{128} When(ever) you sleep you snore.
- Xho'sóettonôtse néókhkêohátsé'tóó'e he'eo'o.\textsuperscript{129} When I dance the women laugh at me.
- Tsévêstoemo éohkêhêne'êna to'semésehétonôhtse. My wife knows when I'm going to eat.
- Ma'ho'o éohkêphéhávâtsésta óhméhosanêetsee'estse. God likes it when we love.

\textsuperscript{128} Some speakers consider the iterative mode more natural: Ho'naóotseto néohkenésó'ename 'Whenever you sleep you snore.'
\textsuperscript{129} Some speakers consider the iterative mode more natural: Ho'ho'sóéto náhkhêohátse'tóó'e he'eo'o 'Whenever I dance the women laughed at me.'
Animate Intransitive Conjunct Iterative verbs

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

/-némené/ 'sing'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hó’némenéto</td>
<td>whenever I sang/sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’némeneto</td>
<td>whenever you sang/sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’néménéstse</td>
<td>whenever he sang/sings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’néménetséstse</td>
<td>whenever he (obviative) sang/sings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’néménétse</td>
<td>whenever we sang/sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’néménése</td>
<td>whenever you (plural) sang/sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’néménévôhtse</td>
<td>whenever they sang/sing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-a’xaame 'cry'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hó’ea’xaamëto(^{130})</td>
<td>whenever I cried/cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’ea’xaameto</td>
<td>whenever you cried/cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’ea’xaâmëstse</td>
<td>whenever he cried/cries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’ea’xaametséstse</td>
<td>whenever he (obviative) cried/cries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’ea’xaamëtse</td>
<td>whenever we cried/cri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’ea’xaamëse</td>
<td>whenever you (plural) cried/cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó’ea’xaamëvôhtse</td>
<td>whenever they cried/cri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hó’némenéto éhohátseo'o he'eo'o</td>
<td>Whenever I sang, the women laughed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hó’ea’xaameto néohkevéstâhématanô'tovâtse</td>
<td>Whenever you cried, I wanted to help you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{130}\) It is uncertain whether the penultimate pitch is mid or high.
Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential verbs

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

/-némené/ 'sing'

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

-mésehe 'eat'

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

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

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

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Participles

/-némené/ 'sing'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tsénémenéto</th>
<th>I who sing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsénémeneto</td>
<td>you who sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenéstse</td>
<td>he who sings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenetse</td>
<td>he (obviative) who sings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenésese</td>
<td>we who sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenése</td>
<td>you (plural) who sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenese</td>
<td>they who sing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-hetanéve/ 'be a man'

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

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséháóénáto</td>
<td>I who pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséháoenato</td>
<td>you who pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséháoénáhtse</td>
<td>he who prays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséháoenatsese</td>
<td>he (obviative) who prays</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséháoénátse</td>
<td>we who pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséháoénáse</td>
<td>you (plural) who pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséháoenase</td>
<td>they who pray</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-tséhéstahe 'be Cheyenne'

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

-hotse'ohe 'work'

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

Examples in sentences

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

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Participles

/-nénéné/ 'sing'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáanéménéhéto</td>
<td>I who do not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáanéménéheto</td>
<td>you who do not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáanéménééstse</td>
<td>he who does not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáanéménéhetsese</td>
<td>he (obviative) who does not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáanéménéhétse</td>
<td>we who do not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáanéménéhése</td>
<td>you (plural) who do not sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáanéménéhese</td>
<td>they who do not sing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-hetanévé/ 'be a man'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáahetanévéhéto</td>
<td>I who am not a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáahetanévéheto</td>
<td>you who are not a man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáahetanévééstse??</td>
<td>he who is not a man</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tsésáahetanéhevetsese  
  she (obviative) who is not a man

tsésáahetanévehétse  
  we who are not men

tsésáahetanévhörse  
  you (plural) who are not men

tséhetanévérse  
  they who are not men

/háóéná/ 'pray'

  tsésáaháóénahéto  
  I who do not pray

tsésáaháóénahêto  
  you who do not pray

tsésáaháóénéstse??  
  he who does not pray

tsésáaháóenahetsese??  
  he (obviative) who does not pray

tsésáaháóenahéte  
  we who do not pray

tsésáaháóenahése  
  you (plural) who does not pray

tsésáaháóenahéses  
  they who do not pray

-hotse'óhe 'work'

  tsésáahots'ôhéheto  
  I who do not work

tsésáahots'ôhéheto  
  you who do not work

tsésáahots'ôhééstse??  
  he who does not work

tsésáahots'ôhéhetsese  
  he (obviative) who does not work

tsésáahots'ôhéhété  
  we who do not work

tsésáahots'ôhéhése  
  you (plural) who does not work

tsésáahots'ôhéhéses  
  they who do not work

Examples in sentences

Nánóhtsevátámo tsésáahoééstse??  
  I miss the one who isn't here
Nánéševatámo tsésáaháóénéstse  
  I pity the one who doesn't pray
Mómáta'ehehove'ohetanóho tsésáahots'ôhehetsese  
  He must be angry at the man (obviative)
  who isn't working

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

tséhvóonā'o when it was morning

tséxhoo'kóho when it rained

tséxhó'ta when it was (here/there)
tséxho'etaa'estse when they (inanimate) were (here/there)
tsé'ó'o when it was dry
tsé'ó'oo'estse when they (inanimate) were (here/there)

Examples in sentences:
Tséhvóonā'o nátatsëhe'öhtse É'ëxováhtóva This morning I went to Billings
Nátavóóhta mòxe'ëstoo'o tséxhó'ta máheöne I saw the book when/where it was in the house

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Indicative Relational verbs

tséhvóona'otse when it was morning (relational)
tséxhoo'kóhotse when it rained (relational)
tséxho'tatse when it was (here/there)
tséxho'tatsee'ëstse (ëstse??) when they (inanimate) were (here/there)

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

Móhe'këšenahëhe tséhvóona'otse He must have gotten stuck this morning (relational)
Éaseöhtse tséxhoo'kóhotse He left when it was raining (relational)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

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

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Generic verbs

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

ôhvóona'oo'estse in the mornings
ôhtonétoo'estse when it's cold
xhoo'kóhoo'estse when it rains
xho'ëetoo'estse when it snows
to'shéháoho'taa'ëstse when it's going to be hot
ôhméséhéstovee'ëstse when there is eating

Examples in sentences
Hátšëskëho ëohkëhëne'ënàno to'séhoo'kóhoo'ëstse Ants know when it's going to rain
XHáoho'taa'ëstse náoheametó'hóna When it's hot I swim

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

- xho'ëetotsee’ëstse when it snows (relational)
- to'semësëhéstovetsee’ëstse when there's going to be eating (relational)

Examples in sentences

- Xho'ëetotsee’ëstsee éohkevá’nenaoótsæ ma'háhkéso When it snows (rel) the old man just sleeps.
- Épéhétovanoo'o òhmësëhéstovetsee’ëstsee They are happy when there's eating (rel)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential verbs

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

- (Mó)ho'nóhoo'kóho It must not have rained
- (Mó)ho'nópëhéva’e It must not be good
- (Mó)ho'nópëhéva’ee’ëstse They (inanimate) must not be good
- (Mó)ho'nómësëhééstove There must not have been eating

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential relational verbs

- (Mó)ho'nópëhéva’e It (relational) must not be good
- (Mó)ho'nómësëhééstove There must not have been eating (relational)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Participles

- tséheóvo that which is yellow
- tséheóvoo’ëstse those which are yellow
- tséheóvëéstëav’ëë’ëstse yellow flower (lit., that which is yellow-headed plant)
- tséhëësëvë’ta that which boils
- tséhëësëvë’ttaa’ëstse those (inanimate) which are boiling
- tsépëhéva’ë that which is good
- tsépëhéva’ee’ëstse those (inanimate) which are good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Participles

- tséáahoo’táhëne that which is not (here/there)
- tséáahoo’táhanëe’ëstse those which are not (here/there)
- tséáahëëvëöhëne that which is not yellow
- tséáahëëvëöhanëe’ëstse those which are not yellow
- tséáapëhéva’ëhëne that which is not good
- tséáapëhéva’ëhanëe’ëstse those which are not good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Relational Participles

- tséheóvotse that (relational) which is yellow
- tséheóvotsee’ëstse those (relational) which are yellow
- tséhëësëvë’tatse that (relational) which is boiling
- tséhëësëvë’tatsee’ëstse those (relational) which are boiling
tsépēhēva'etse  that (relational) which is good
   tsépēhēva'ētsee'ēstse(??)  those (relational) which are good

**Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Relational Particiles**

  tsésáahō'táhanēhetse  that (relational) which is not (here/there)
  tsésáahō' táhanēhetsee'ēstse  those (relational) which are not (here/there)

  tsésāheóvōhanēhetse  that (relational) which is not yellow
  tsésāheóvōhanēhetsee'ēstse  those (relational) which are not yellow

  tsésāapēhēva'ēhanēhetse  that (relational) which is not good
  tsésāapēhēva'ēhanēhetsee'ēstse  those (relational) which are not good

**Examples in sentences**

   Éhestāna ho'évohkōtse tsésāapēhēva'ēhanēhetse  He must have taken the meat that (rel) isn't good.
   Nátavóóhta hemāhéō'o tsésāaheóvōhanēhetse  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, tséhvóomôtse can mean either 'when we saw him' or 'when we saw them'.

### -vóom 'see (someone)'

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<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<td>tséhvóoma'évōse</td>
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<td>when they saw you</td>
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<tr>
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<td>when I saw him</td>
<td>tséhvóomovōse</td>
<td>when they saw him (obv)</td>
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<td>tséhvóomamo</td>
<td>when I saw him (obv)</td>
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<td>tséhvóomaëse</td>
<td>when they saw you (pl)</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>tséhvóometo</td>
<td>when you saw me</td>
<td>tséhvóomanēto</td>
<td>when I was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomáhtseto</td>
<td>when you saw yourself</td>
<td>tséhvómēotaa'ëse</td>
<td>when you were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomōse</td>
<td>when you saw him</td>
<td>tséhvóomëse</td>
<td>when he was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamōse</td>
<td>when you saw him (obv)</td>
<td>tséhvóometsēse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomemenoto</td>
<td>when you saw us (ex)</td>
<td>tséhvóomanētse</td>
<td>when we were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomōse</td>
<td>when you saw them</td>
<td>tséhvóomanēse</td>
<td>when you (pl) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomāëse</td>
<td>when he saw me</td>
<td>tséhvóomēvōse</td>
<td>when they were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomāta'e</td>
<td>when he saw you</td>
<td>Other examples</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomāhtsēse</td>
<td>when he saw himself</td>
<td>tséhvéstahēmaa'ëse</td>
<td>when he (obv) helped him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomōse</td>
<td>when he saw him (obv)</td>
<td>tséhméotaatōse</td>
<td>when he (obv) fought him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomāëse</td>
<td>when he saw us</td>
<td>tséxhéne'enōétse</td>
<td>when he knew us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw me</td>
<td>tséhvovéstomōétsë</td>
<td>when he taught us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw you</td>
<td>tséhmēoneo'tse</td>
<td>when I made him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamōse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw him</td>
<td>tséhmane</td>
<td>when you made him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomahsētse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw himself</td>
<td>tséhmaneose</td>
<td>when he made him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomātsete</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw us</td>
<td>tséxho'eotsëhote</td>
<td>when I brought him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomātse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw you (pl)</td>
<td>tséxho'eotsēose</td>
<td>when you brought him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomāžsē</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw them</td>
<td>tséxho'eotsēose</td>
<td>when he brought him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw you (pl)</td>
<td>tséhnēmenē'se</td>
<td>when we brought him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw them</td>
<td>tséhnēmenē'sëose</td>
<td>when I made him sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw you (pl)</td>
<td>tséhnēmenē'seöse</td>
<td>when you made him sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamūnētse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw him (obv)</td>
<td>tséhnēmenē'seöse</td>
<td>when he made him (obv) sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw us (ex)</td>
<td>tsé'o'véstomō'ëse</td>
<td>when he taught me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw themselves</td>
<td>tsé'o'véstomōo'ëse</td>
<td>when he (obv) taught him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomēse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw me</td>
<td>tsé'o'véstomōévōse</td>
<td>when he (obv) taught them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomēse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamēse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamēse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw us (ex)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamēse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw yourselves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomēse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

133 Also pronounced as tsé'o'vestomōétse

---

211
-héne'enov 'know (someone)'

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

$$RECHECK PARADIGM$$

tséxhéne'enóváhtséto when I knew myself
tséxhéne'enováhtse when I knew you
tséxhéne'enovo when I knew him
tséxhéne'enóvéntse when he knew himself

tséxhéne'enovōno when I knew them

tséxhéne'enoveto when you knew me
tséxhéne'enováhteto when you knew yourself
tséxhéne'enóvamóse when you knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enovemenoto when you knew us (ex)

tséxhéne'enovōse when you knew (pl)

tséxhéne'enövëse when he knew me
tséxhéne'enövöse when he knew you
tséxhéne'enövöse when he knew (obv)

tséxhéne'enövëse when he knew (ex)

tséxhéne'enövëse when he knew you (pl)

tséxhéne'enövëse when he knew them

tséxhéne'enövëse when they knew me

tséxhéne'enövëse when they knew you

tséxhéne'enövëse when they knew (obv)

tséxhéne'enövëse when they knew us (ex)

tséxhéne'enövëse when they knew you (pl)

tséxhéne'enövëse when they knew them

tséxhéne'enövëse when they knew (pl)

tséxhéne'enövëse when they knew (obv)

tséxhéne'enövëse when they knew (ex)

tséxhéne'enövëse when they knew (pl)

tséxhéne'enövëse when they knew themselves

tséxhéne'enovatse when we (ex) knew you
tséxhéne'enovösë when we knew him

tséxhéne'enóvamötse when we knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enóvatsetse when we knew ourselves

tséxhéne'enóvatsemenotwhen we (ex) knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enovösë when we knew them

tséxhéne'enovösë when you (pl) knew me

tséxhéne'enovösë when you (pl) knew you

tséxhéne'enovöse?when you (pl) knew him

tséxhéne'enovomenoto when you (pl) knew us (ex)
tséxhéne'enovamenoto when you (pl) knew ourselves

tséxhéne'enovösë when you (pl) knew (ex)
tséxhéne'enovösë when you (pl) knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enovösë when you (pl) knew them

tséxhéne'enóva'évose?when they knew me

tséxhéne'enóvata'öse?when they knew you

tséxhéne'enovavöse when they knew (obv)
tséxhéne'enööte when they knew us

tséxhéne'enööte when they knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enööte when they knew (pl)
tséxhéne'enööte when they knew (obv)
tséxhéne'enööte when they knew (ex)
tséxhéne'enööte when they knew (pl)
tséxhéne'enööte when they knew themselves

tséxhéne'enova'etsëse?when he (obv) knew me

tséxhéne'enata'öse?when he (obv) knew you

tséxhéne'enoo'ëse when he (obv) knew him

tséxhéne'enövötsëse when he (obv) knew himself

tséxhéne'enööte when he (obv) knew us

tséxhéne'enööte when he (obv) knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enööte when he (obv) knew (pl)
tséxhéne'enööte when he (obv) knew (obv)
tséxhéne'enööte when he (obv) knew (ex)
tséxhéne'enööte when he (obv) knew (pl)
tséxhéne'enööte when he (obv) knew (obv)
tséxhéne'enööte when he (obv) knew (pl)
tséxhéne'enööte when he (obv) knew (obv)
tséxhéne'enööte when he (obv) knew (ex)
tséxhéne'enööte when he (obv) knew (pl)
tséxhéne'enööte when he (obv) knew (obv)
tséxhéne'enööte when he (obv) knew (pl)
Transitive Animate Conjunct Potential verbs

-vóom 'see (someone)'

máhvóomahtsēto when I see myself
máhvóomatsēse when I see you (pl)
máhvóomōno when I see them
máhvóometeto when I see him
máhvóoomamōhtse when you see him (obv)
máhvóomemenetoto when you see us (ex)
máhvóomōse when you see them
máhvóoma'estsēse when he (obv) sees me
máhvóomaa'estsēse when he (obv) sees you
máhvóomaa'estsēsē when he (obv) sees himself
máhvóomaestsēse when he (obv) sees us
máhvóomaeste when he (obv) sees you (pl)
máhvóomaevōtse when he (obv) sees them
máhvóomatsemenetoto when (ex) sees you
máhvóomōtsēse when we see him
máhvóomamōhtse when we see him (obv)
máhvóomatsētse when we see ourselves
máhvóomatmenetoto when we see you (pl)
máhvóomōtse when we see them
máhvóomaestse when you (pl) see me
máhvóomamōtse when you (pl) see him
máhvóomamōtse when you (pl) see him (obv)
máhvóomemenetoto when you (pl) see us (ex)
máhvóomamētse when you (pl) see yourselves
máhvóomāetse when you (pl) see us
máhvóomaētvōhtse when they see me
máhvóomātse when they see you
máhvóomōmētse when they see themselves
máhvóomaētse when they see you (pl)
máhvóomātsētse when they see themselves
máhvóomamētse when they see him (obv)
máhvóomamētse when they see him (obv)
máhvóomanētse when they see you (pl)
máhvóomētvōhtse when they see us
máhvóomanētse when they see us

Other examples

máhvěstahemaa'ěstse when he (obv) helps him
máhvětahemaa'ěstse when he (obv) fights him
máxhēne'ěnōtse when he knows us
máxhěne'ěnōtse when he teaches us
máxhōeotsehō when I bring him
máxhōeotsehō when you bring him
máxhōeotsehō when he brings him (obv)
máxhōeotsehō when we bring him
máxhēne'ěnōdō'ěstse when he knows me
máxhēne'ěnōo'ěstse when he (obv) knows him
máxhēnē'ěnōtse when he (obv) teaches him
máxhōeotsehō when he (obv) teaches him
máxhēne'ěnōeōtvōhtse when he (obv) teaches them
máxhōeotsehō when he (obv) teaches them
mǎ'ěetsestovo when I speak to him
mǎxheto when I tell him
mǎxhōeotsehō when I pray to him
mǎsē'ahamo when I throw him in

Examples in sentences

Máhnōhtsētvōhtse nēstsevěstahema.
When you ask him, he'll help you.

Máhmětōhtse nāhtseasēhtse.
When he fights him (obv), I'll leave.

Máhvěstahemaa'ěstse nāhntsepěhēvetāno.
When he (obv) helps him, I'll be happy.

134 Also pronounced as ma'ověstomōtse
### Transitive Animate Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

#### -vóom 'see (someone)'

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<th>Meaning</th>
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<td><strong>tséssáavóomáhtséheto</strong></td>
<td>when I did not see myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáavóomáhetse</strong></td>
<td>when I did not see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáavóomamóhevo</strong></td>
<td>when I did not see him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáavóomatséhése</strong></td>
<td>when I did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáavóomóhevo</strong></td>
<td>when I did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáavóoméheto</strong></td>
<td>when you did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáavóomahtséheto</strong></td>
<td>when you did not see yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáavóomóhevo</strong></td>
<td>when you did not see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáavóoméhése</strong></td>
<td>when you did not see (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáavóomóhevo</strong></td>
<td>when you did not see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáavóoméhevo</strong></td>
<td>when you did not see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáavóomóhevo</strong></td>
<td>when you did not see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáavóomóhétse</strong></td>
<td>when you (pl) were not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáavóomáhétése</strong></td>
<td>when we were not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáavóomamóhétse</strong></td>
<td>when you (pl) were not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáavóométse</strong></td>
<td>when we were not seen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Structure</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáavést</strong></td>
<td>when he (obv) did not help him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáaméota'ē</strong></td>
<td>when he (obv) did not fight him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáahéne'enóéhétse</strong></td>
<td>when he did not know us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáahéne'enóéhévo</strong></td>
<td>when he did not bring him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáahéne'enóéé</strong></td>
<td>when he (obv) did not know me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáahéne'enóéése??</strong></td>
<td>when he (obv) did not know them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáahéne'enóéhétse</strong></td>
<td>when he did not know me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáaa'ovéstomóhévo</strong></td>
<td>when he (obv) did not teach me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáaa'ovéstomóhévo</strong></td>
<td>when he (obv) did not teach them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáaa'ovéstomóhévo</strong></td>
<td>when he (obv) did not teach them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáaa'ovéstomóhévo</strong></td>
<td>when he (obv) did not teach them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tséssáaa'ovéstomóhévo</strong></td>
<td>when he (obv) did not teach them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

135 Also pronounced as tsésáa'ovéstomóétse
Transitive Animate Conjunct Iterative verbs

$\text{RECHECK}$

-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’vóomatsēse whenever I saw you (pl)
hó’vóomōnō whenever I saw them

hó’vóometo whenever you saw me
hó’vóomahtseto whenever you saw yourself
hó’vóomamōhtse whenever you saw him (obv)
hó’vóomemenoto whenever you saw us (ex)
hó’vóomōse whenever you saw them

hó’vóomā’estse whenever he saw me
hó’vóomāta’e whenever he saw you
hó’vóomahstsētse whenever he saw himself
hó’vóomōhtse whenever he saw him (obv)
hó’vóomāese whenever he saw us
hó’vōomaēse whenever he saw you (pl)

hó’vóoma’etsētse whenever he (obv) saw me
hó’vóomota’ōse whenever he (obv) saw you
hó’vóomamā’ā’estse whenever he (obv) saw him
hó’vóomahštsetstēse whenever he (obv) saw himself
hó’vóomaētse whenever he (obv) saw us
hó’vōomaēvōhtse whenever he (obv) saw them

hó’vóomatsemenoto whenever (ex) saw you
hó’vōomotse whenever we saw you
hó’vōomamōtse whenever we saw him
hó’vōomahstsētse whenever we saw ourselves
hó’vōomatsemenoto whenever (ex) saw you (pl)
hó’vōomōtse whenever we saw them

hó’vóomē’sē whenever you (pl) saw me
hó’vóomōse whenever you (pl) saw him
hó’vóomamōse whenever you (pl) saw him (obv)
hó’vóomemenotō whenever you (pl) saw us (ex)
hó’vóomahtsēse whenever you (pl) saw them

hó’vōoma’ēvōse whenever they saw me
hó’vōomata’ōse whenever they saw you
hó’vōomovōhtse whenever they saw us
hó’vōomaēse whenever they saw you (pl)
hó’vōomahtsēvōhtse whenever they saw themselves

hó’vōomanēto whenever I was seen
hó’vōomaneto whenever you were seen
hó’vōomēse whenever he was seen
hó’vōometsētse whenever (obv) was seen
hó’vōomanētse whenever we were seen
hó’vōomanēse whenever you (pl) were seen
hó’vōomēvōhtse whenever they were seen

hó’vō’vōmanēto whenever I was seen
hó’vōmaneto whenever you were seen
hó’vōomēse whenever he was seen
hó’vōometsētse whenever (obv) was seen
hó’vōomanētse whenever we were seen
hó’vōomanēse whenever you (pl) were seen
hó’vōomēvōhtse whenever they were seen

Other examples

hó’vēhóómōhtse whenever he looked at him (obv)
hó’méótótse whenever we fought him
hó’vōmēótā’ēstse whenever he fought me
hó’totóxemāta’e whenever he discussed you
hó’hoxomaēse whenever he fed us
hó’mé’ovo whenever I found him
hó’vōmē’ō’ō’ēstse whenever you found me
hó’vōomā’estse whenever he hit me

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Transitive Animate Conjunct Generic verbs

Conjunct generic mode verbs state a kind of generalization. These verbs have a broad time idea of 'when', similar to the meaning of English 'whenever', but without the idea of repeated action which is communicated by the conjunct iterative mode. The generic mode is similar to what has been called a generic aspect for some languages, although the Cheyenne generic need not state an action that is continuously occurring. The ōh- prefix is often omitted.

-vóom 'see (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomahtsétōnohtse</td>
<td>when I see myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomatsétsóstesetse</td>
<td>when I see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomoo'ēstse</td>
<td>when I see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamoo'ēstse</td>
<td>when I see (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomateesē'ēstse</td>
<td>when I see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomōtōnohtse</td>
<td>when I see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéométohtse</td>
<td>when you see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomāhtsētsōstesetse</td>
<td>when you see yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomōstesetse</td>
<td>when you see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamōstesetse</td>
<td>when you see (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomemenōstesetse</td>
<td>when you see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomōsē'ēstse</td>
<td>when you see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomama'toosēstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) sees me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomāhtsētōosēstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) sees you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomōstesetse</td>
<td>when he (obv) sees himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamōstesetse</td>
<td>when he (obv) sees (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomaesē'ēstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) sees us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamamēosē'ēstse</td>
<td>when he (obv) sees (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamamēohtse</td>
<td>when he (obv) sees them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamamēosē'ēstse</td>
<td>when we (ex) see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamamēohtse</td>
<td>when we see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamamēohtse</td>
<td>when we see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamamēohtse</td>
<td>when we see ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamamēohtse</td>
<td>when we (ex) see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamāmōstesetse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamamōstesetse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamamēosē'ēstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamamēohtse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamamēohtse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamamēohtse</td>
<td>when you (pl) see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamēohtse</td>
<td>when they see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomatōosē'ēstse</td>
<td>when they see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvéomamēohtse</td>
<td>when they see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhotatsētōosēstse</td>
<td>when I see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhoo'ōstse</td>
<td>when I see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhotatsētōosēstse</td>
<td>when I see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhotovonōtse</td>
<td>when I see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhoxetōosēstse</td>
<td>when you see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhotosēstse</td>
<td>when you see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhotosee'ēstse</td>
<td>when you see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhota'ēstse</td>
<td>when you see (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhotata'ēstse</td>
<td>when you see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhotosēstse</td>
<td>when you see (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhotaetsee'ēstse</td>
<td>when we see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhoxesē'ēstse</td>
<td>when we see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhotosee'ēstse</td>
<td>when we see (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhoxesē'ēstse</td>
<td>when we see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhoxenosēstse</td>
<td>when we see (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhota'ēnosēstse</td>
<td>when we see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhota'ēvosēstse</td>
<td>when they see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhota'ōsee'ēstse</td>
<td>when they see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhota'ēvōosēstse</td>
<td>when they see (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhmēhotaetsee'ēstse</td>
<td>when they see us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'$$RECHECK:'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ōhvé'tōoomoo'ēstse</td>
<td>when I look at him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōxho'otsēhoo'ēstse??</td>
<td>when I bring him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'vestomōō'ēstse??</td>
<td>when he teaches me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvovēstomōō'ēstse??</td>
<td>when he teaches us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōxhēne'enōō'ēstse??</td>
<td>when he knows me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōxhēne'ennōō'ēstse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) knows him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōhvēstāhēmaesetse</td>
<td>when he (obv) helps him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'vestomo'ōstse??</td>
<td>when he teaches them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ōxhēne'ennōēvosēstse??</td>
<td>when he (obv) teaches them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'vestomōēvosēstse??</td>
<td>when he teaches them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Transitive Animate Conjunct Participles

#### */-méhót/ 'love (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótáhtséto</td>
<td>I who love myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótátse</td>
<td>I who love you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoto</td>
<td>the one I love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotoamo</td>
<td>I who love him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaatse</td>
<td>I who love you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótóno</td>
<td>those I love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoxeto</td>
<td>you who love me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotahtseto</td>
<td>you who love yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotohótséto</td>
<td>the one you love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotamóhótse</td>
<td>you who love him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoxemenoto</td>
<td>you who love us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaatse</td>
<td>the ones you love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhóta'etsé</td>
<td>the one who loves me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhota'tate</td>
<td>the one who loves you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotahtsétséto</td>
<td>the one who loves himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaėtse</td>
<td>the one who loves him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaėse</td>
<td>the one who loves you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaëvose</td>
<td>he (obv) who loves them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotatsemenoto</td>
<td>we (ex) who love you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótóse</td>
<td>we who love him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotamótséto</td>
<td>we who love him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémého'tahtsétséetse</td>
<td>we who love ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhototo see'e</td>
<td>we who love them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoxése</td>
<td>you (pl) who love me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótöse</td>
<td>you (pl) who love him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoto'móse</td>
<td>you (pl) who love him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoxemenoto</td>
<td>you (pl) who love us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotahtsése'</td>
<td>you (pl) who love yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótsee'</td>
<td>you (pl) who love them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhota'ese</td>
<td>those who love me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhota'ta'ose</td>
<td>those who love you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhota'vose</td>
<td>the one(s) (obv) they love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaetse</td>
<td>those who love us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhota'etsee'e</td>
<td>those who love you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotaetse</td>
<td>those who love themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoto'tsee'</td>
<td>the one (obv) who loves him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotanéto</td>
<td>I who am loved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhohaneto</td>
<td>you who are loved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhooestse</td>
<td>the one who is loved</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples

- tsévóomo: the one (obv) who is loved
- tsévóomata'otsése: we who are loved
- tsévóomótsése: you (pl) who are loved
- tsévóométsése: those who are loved

- tséméoto: the one (obv) who sees someone
- tsévómo: the one (obv) who sees me
- tsévómo: the one (obv) who sees him (obv)
- tsévómo: the one (obv) who is seen

- tséhéne'enó'ëstse: the one I fight
- tsévómo: the one I see

- tsévómo: the one who teaches someone
- tsévómo: the one who teaches me
- tsévómo: the one who teaches us
- tsévómo: the one who knows someone
- tsévómo: the one who knows us

- tsévómo: the one who helps
- tsévómo: the one who helps me
- tsévómo: the one who helps you

- tsévómo: the one who feeds
- tsévómo: the one who feeds me
- tsévómo: the one who feeds you

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

Should some of these be moved to the AI Participle section, e.g. my father, etc.?

To save space and make meanings easier to understand, these participles are translated (glossed) as if they were possessed nouns. But they are actually not possessed nouns. For instance, in the earlier section of this book on possessed nouns, we saw that the possessed noun meaning 'my father' is ného'éehe. Its participle equivalent is tséhéhéto, which is glossed here as 'my father'. But a more accurate translation of the participle is 'the one who I have as father'. Tséhestónahétóse is glossed as 'your daughters', but a more accurate translation is 'those who you have as daughters'.

**father**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tséhéhéto</th>
<th>My father</th>
<th>Tséhéhetono</th>
<th>My fathers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tséhéheto</td>
<td>Your father</td>
<td>Tséhéhétóse</td>
<td>Your fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhéhése</td>
<td>His father(s)</td>
<td>Tséhéhese</td>
<td>His father(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhéhétsé</td>
<td>Our father</td>
<td>Tséhéhetsée'e</td>
<td>Our fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhéhése</td>
<td>Your (plural) father</td>
<td>Tséhéhésée'e</td>
<td>Your (plural) fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhéhevose</td>
<td>Their father(s)</td>
<td>Tséhéhevose</td>
<td>Their father(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**mother**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tséheškéto</th>
<th>My mother</th>
<th>Tséheškétono</th>
<th>My mothers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tséhešketo</td>
<td>Your mother</td>
<td>Tséheškétóse</td>
<td>Your mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséheškése</td>
<td>His/her mother(s)</td>
<td>Tséheškése</td>
<td>His/her mother(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséheškétse</td>
<td>Our mother</td>
<td>Tséheškétsee'e</td>
<td>Our mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséheškése</td>
<td>Your (plural) mother</td>
<td>Tséheškésée'e</td>
<td>Your (plural) mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséškévose</td>
<td>Their mother(s)</td>
<td>Tséškévose</td>
<td>Their mother(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**daughter**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tséhestónahéto</th>
<th>My daughter</th>
<th>Tséhestónahétono</th>
<th>My daughters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tséhestónaheto</td>
<td>Your daughter</td>
<td>Tséhestónahétóse</td>
<td>Your daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhestónahese</td>
<td>His/her daughter(s)</td>
<td>Tséhestónahese</td>
<td>His/her daughter(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhestónahétse</td>
<td>Our daughter</td>
<td>Tséhestónahetsée'e</td>
<td>Our daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhestónahése</td>
<td>Your (plural) daughter</td>
<td>Tséhestónahésée'e</td>
<td>Your (plural) daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhestónahевose</td>
<td>Their daughter(s)</td>
<td>Tséhestónahεvose</td>
<td>Their daughter(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other participle kinship term person combinations

Kinship terms exist in full TA participle paradigms, with person combinations besides those just listed. Following are some other person combinations for kinship term participles.

- Tséhešké’toveto: you who have me for a mother
- Tséhešké’tovése: you (plural) who have me for a mother
- Tséheškétó’o’estse: the one who has me for a mother
- Tséheškétoose: 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 suffix\(^{137}\) when the person referred to is absent or deceased.

- Tséhéhevoo’o: the one who is my absent father

---

\(^{137}\) It is possible that the –vo of this absentative suffix is related to the –vo suffix of the conjunct oratio oblique mode.
tséheškévo'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:
tséhéhevo'oe  the one who is your absent father
ntséhéhévótse  the one who is our absent father
ntséhéhévo'ose  the one who is your (plural) absent father
ntséhéhevoomoo'o  those who are my absent fathers
ntséheškévoomoo'o  those who are my absent mothers
**Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Indicative verbs**

TI verbs are inflected (marked) for person of their subject. Unlike TA conjunct verbs, they are not inflected for number of their objects. So, for instance, tséhvóóhto means either 'when he saw it' or 'when he saw them (inanimate)'.

Unlike with TI independent order verbs, there is no difference in pronunciation between the conjunct order TI verbs which refer to exclusive 'we' and inclusive 'we'.

Speakers differ on whether the last vowel is "e" or "o" on first and second person singular subject verbs which have a TI theme of –om. So, for instance, 'when I saw it' is pronounced both as tséhvóóhtómó and tséhvóóhtóme.

### 'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtómó / tséhvóóhtóme</td>
<td>when I saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtomó / tséhvóóhtome</td>
<td>when you saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhto</td>
<td>when he saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhhtótsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtomátse</td>
<td>when we saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtomáse</td>
<td>when you (plural) saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtomévóse</td>
<td>when they saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóome??</td>
<td>when it was seen??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóomee'estse</td>
<td>when they (inanimate) were seen??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'listen to (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé’áahtómó / tsé’áahtóme</td>
<td>when I listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé’áahtomó / tsé’áahtome</td>
<td>when you listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé’áahto</td>
<td>when he/she listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé’áahtótsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé’áahtomátse</td>
<td>when we listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé’áahtomáse</td>
<td>when you (plural) listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé’áahtomévóse</td>
<td>when they listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé’áahtohe ??</td>
<td>when it was listened to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé’áahtóhe'e'estse ??</td>
<td>when they (inanimate) were listened to</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'eat (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhméséto</td>
<td>when I ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhméseto</td>
<td>when you ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmesése</td>
<td>when he/she ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmésentsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmésétse</td>
<td>when we ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmésése</td>
<td>when you (plural) ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmésévóse</td>
<td>when they ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhméséstove</td>
<td>when it was eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhméséstove'e'estse??</td>
<td>when they (inanimate) were eaten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'tsêto</td>
<td>when I had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'tseto</td>
<td>when you had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhó'tsése</td>
<td>when he/she had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'tsetsése</td>
<td>he he/she (obviative) had it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tséxho’tsétse when we had it / them

tséxho’tsé when you (plural) had it / them

tséxho’tsévóse(évóse??) when they had it / them

'take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséxhestanōmo / tséxhestanōme</td>
<td>when I took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhestanomo / tséxhestanome</td>
<td>when you took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhestāno</td>
<td>when he took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhestanotsēse</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhestanomātse</td>
<td>when we took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhestanomáse</td>
<td>when you (plural) took it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhestanomévóse(évóse??)</td>
<td>when they took it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'want (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséxho’ahéto</td>
<td>when I wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho’aheto</td>
<td>when you wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'aese</td>
<td>when he/she wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'ahetsēse</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'ahēte</td>
<td>when we wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'ahēse</td>
<td>when you (plural) wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxho'ahēvōse</td>
<td>when they wanted it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

Tséhvóóhtóm e ho’évohkótse námese. 'When I saw the meat I ate it.'

Tsé'éšeááhto némenestötse náéestséstōvo. 'After he listened to the radio I talked to him.'

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Negative verbs

'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóóhtohémo / tséssáavóóhtoheme</td>
<td>when I did not see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóóhtohemo / tséssáavóóhtoheme</td>
<td>when you did not see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóohtoēse</td>
<td>when he did not see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóohtohetsēse</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) did not see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóohtomāhétse</td>
<td>when we did not see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóohtomáhēse</td>
<td>when you (plural) did not see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáavóohtomévōse</td>
<td>when they did not see it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséssáahestanōhéme</td>
<td>when I did not take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáahestanōheme</td>
<td>when you did not take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáahestanōnéése</td>
<td>when he did not take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáahestanōhetsēse</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) did not take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáahestanomāhétse</td>
<td>when we did not take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáahestanomāhése</td>
<td>when you (plural) did not take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséssáahestanomévōse</td>
<td>when they did not take it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Generic verbs

TI conjunct generic verbs take suffixes like those of TA conjunct generic verbs. As with other conjunct generic verbs the ôh- prefix is often omitted by Cheyenne speakers.
### 'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>òhvóóhtomonòtsee</td>
<td>when I see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òhvóóhtomosèstsee</td>
<td>when you see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òhvóóhtosèstsee</td>
<td>when he/she sees it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òhvóóhtotsesèstsee</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) sees it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òhvóóhtomátsee'èstsee</td>
<td>when we see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òhvóóhtomásee'èstsee</td>
<td>when you (plural) see it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>òhvóóhtomévosèstsee</td>
<td>when they see it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xhestanomonòhtsee</td>
<td>when I take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xhestanomosèstsee</td>
<td>when you take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xhestanosèstsee</td>
<td>when he/she takes it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xhestanòtsesèstsee</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) takes it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xhestanomátsee'èstsee</td>
<td>when we take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xhestanomásee'èstsee</td>
<td>when you (plural) take it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xhestanomomévosèstsee</td>
<td>when they take it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'cook (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>English Equivalent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>xho'oestsétónòhtsee</td>
<td>when I cook it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'oestsétosèstsee</td>
<td>when you cook it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'oestsèstsee</td>
<td>when he/she cooks it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'oestsétèsèstsee</td>
<td>when he/she (obviative) cooks it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'oesttétsèstsee</td>
<td>when we cook it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'oesttémee'èstsee</td>
<td>when you (plural) cook it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xho'oestsévosèstsee</td>
<td>when they cook it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Examples in sentences

**'see (something)'

> òhvóóhtomonòtsee vétsèshkahoonoo'o náohkevè'sepèhévéto. 'When I see frybread I get happy.'

**'take (something)'

> xhestanomosèstsee váotseváheho'évohtsee náhkemà'xémèhè. 'When she cooks deer meat I eat a lot.'**
Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Participles

Unlike with other conjunct verb modes, conjunct participles are inflected for number of their objects by some speakers. Other speakers, however, use the singular object forms to refer to both singular and plural objects.

'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tsévodōhtomó</th>
<th>Tsévodōhtomo</th>
<th>Tsévodōhtō</th>
<th>Tsévodōhtōtse</th>
<th>Tsévodōhtomáte</th>
<th>Tsévodōhtomévése</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I saw</td>
<td>tsévodōhtomó</td>
<td>tsévodōhtomo</td>
<td>tsévodōhtō</td>
<td>tsévodōhtōtse</td>
<td>tsévodōhtomáte</td>
<td>tsévodōhtomévése</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular forms</td>
<td>tsévóohтомó</td>
<td>tsévóohтомо</td>
<td>tsévóohто</td>
<td>tsévóohтóтсе</td>
<td>tsévóohтомàте</td>
<td>tsévóohтомёвзе</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you saw</td>
<td>tsévóohтомо</td>
<td>tsévóohтомо</td>
<td>tsévóohто</td>
<td>tsévóohтóтсе</td>
<td>tsévóоohтомàтее́тсе</td>
<td>tsévóоohтомёвзе</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what we saw</td>
<td>tsévóооohтомо</td>
<td>tsévóооohтомо</td>
<td>tsévóооohто</td>
<td>tsévóооohтóтсе</td>
<td>tsévóооohтомàтее́тсе</td>
<td>tsévóооohтомёвзе</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what you (pl) saw</td>
<td>tsévóооohтомо</td>
<td>tsévóооohтомо</td>
<td>tsévóооohто</td>
<td>tsévóооohтóтсе</td>
<td>tsévóооohтомàтее́тсе</td>
<td>tsévóооohтомёвзе</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'eat (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tséméseto</th>
<th>Tséméseto</th>
<th>Tsémésesetse</th>
<th>Tsémésése</th>
<th>Tsémes</th>
<th>Tsémesése</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I ate</td>
<td>tséméseto</td>
<td>tséméseto</td>
<td>tsémésesetse</td>
<td>tsémésése</td>
<td>tsémes</td>
<td>tsémesése</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular forms</td>
<td>tséméсето</td>
<td>tséméсето</td>
<td>tsémésесесетсэ</td>
<td>tsémésесе</td>
<td>tséмес</td>
<td>tséмесесе</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you ate</td>
<td>tséméсето</td>
<td>tséméсето</td>
<td>tsémёсесесетсэ</td>
<td>tsémёсесе</td>
<td>tsёмес</td>
<td>tsёмесесе</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what we ate</td>
<td>tsémёсесето</td>
<td>tsémёсесето</td>
<td>tsёмёсесесетсэ</td>
<td>tsёмёсесе</td>
<td>tsёмес</td>
<td>tsёмесесе</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what you (pl) ate</td>
<td>tsёмёсесето</td>
<td>tsёмёсесето</td>
<td>tsёмёсесесетсэ</td>
<td>tsёмёсесе</td>
<td>tsёмес</td>
<td>tsёмесесе</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tséhestanómo</th>
<th>Tséhestanomó</th>
<th>Tséhestanómohtse</th>
<th>Tséhestanómése</th>
<th>Tséhestanomá.te</th>
<th>Tséhestanomévése</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I took</td>
<td>tséhestanómo</td>
<td>tséhestanomó</td>
<td>tséhestanómohtse</td>
<td>tséhestanómése</td>
<td>tsёhestанома.те</td>
<td>tsёhestаномёвзе</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular forms</td>
<td>tsёhestаномо</td>
<td>tsёhestаномо</td>
<td>tsёhestаномёвзэ</td>
<td>tsёhestаномёвзэ</td>
<td>tsёhestанома.те</td>
<td>tsёhestаномёвзэ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you took</td>
<td>tsёhestаномо</td>
<td>tsёhestаномо</td>
<td>tsёhestаномёвзэ</td>
<td>tsёhestаномёвзэ</td>
<td>tsёhestанома.те</td>
<td>tsёhestаномёвзэ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what we took</td>
<td>tsёhestаномо</td>
<td>tsёhestаномо</td>
<td>tsёhestаномёвзэ</td>
<td>tsёhestаномёвзэ</td>
<td>tsёhestанома.те</td>
<td>tsёhestаномёвзэ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what you (pl) took</td>
<td>tsёhestаномо</td>
<td>tsёhestаномо</td>
<td>tsёhestаномёвзэ</td>
<td>tsёhestаномёвзэ</td>
<td>tsёhestанома.те</td>
<td>tsёhestаномёвзэ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'want (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tsého'ah été</th>
<th>Tsého'aheto</th>
<th>Tsého'ahæstse</th>
<th>Tsého'ahëtse</th>
<th>Tsého'ahësese</th>
<th>Tsého'ahëtsee’ëstse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I want</td>
<td>tsého'ah été</td>
<td>tsého'aheto</td>
<td>tsého'ahæstse</td>
<td>tsého'ahëtse</td>
<td>tsého'ahësese</td>
<td>tsého'ahëtsee’ëstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular forms</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхётонэйтсэ</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхётонэйтсэ</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхёсэстсэ</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхётсэ</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхёсэстсе</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхётсее’эстсэ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you want</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхётонэйтсэ</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхётонэйтсэ</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхёсэстсэ</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхётсэ</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхёсэстсе</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхётсее’эстсэ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what we want</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхётонэйтсэ</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхётонэйтсэ</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхёсэстсэ</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхётсэ</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхёсэстсе</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхётсее’эстсэ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what you (pl) want</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхётонэйтсэ</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхётонэйтсэ</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхёсэстсэ</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхётсэ</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхёсэстсе</td>
<td>tsёхо’эхётсее’эстсэ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'make (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tsémanestséto</th>
<th>Tsémanestseto</th>
<th>Tsémanestsetse</th>
<th>Tsémanestsetsesese</th>
<th>Tsémanestsetsee’ëstse</th>
<th>Tsémanestsetsee’ëstse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I made</td>
<td>tsémanestséto</td>
<td>tsémanestseto</td>
<td>tsémanestsetse</td>
<td>tsémanestsetsesese</td>
<td>tsёманестсэтсее’эстсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсэтсее’эстсэ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>singular forms</td>
<td>tsёманестсётонэйтсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсётонэйтсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсэстсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсэстсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсэтсее’эстсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсэтсее’эстсэ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you made</td>
<td>tsёманестсётонэйтсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсётонэйтсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсэстсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсэстсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсэтсее’эстсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсэтсее’эстсэ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what we made</td>
<td>tsёманестсётонэйтсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсётонэйтсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсэстсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсэстсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсэтсее’эстсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсэтсее’эстсэ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>what you (pl) made</td>
<td>tsёманестсётонэйтсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсётонэйтсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсэстсэ</td>
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<td>tsёманестсэтсее’эстсэ</td>
<td>tsёманестсэтсее’эстсэ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another pronunciation is tsévóohтомé. Similarly, other first and second person singular subject participle forms with the TI theme -om have an alternate pronunciation with a word-final "e".
Examples in sentences
Hénová’e tsévóohtomo? What did you see
Hénová’e tséméseto? What did you eat?
Hénová’ehötse tsémanétsétonôhtse? What (plural) did you make?
Nápéhévéatsésta tséhó’tséstse. I like what he had.
Tsémanéstseto épéhéva’e. What you made is good.

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Negative Participles

'see (singular object)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtémo</td>
<td>what I didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtéhemo</td>
<td>what you didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtéstse</td>
<td>what he/she didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtöhtëstse</td>
<td>what he/she (obviative) didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtomáhésëstse</td>
<td>what we didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtomáhésëstse</td>
<td>what you (plural) didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtoméhésëstse</td>
<td>those that I didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtoméhésëstse</td>
<td>those that you didn't see</td>
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<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtoméhésëstse</td>
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<td>tsésáavóóhtoméhésëstse</td>
<td>those you (plural) didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóóhtoméhésëstse</td>
<td>those they didn't see</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'see (plural object)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóohtémomonôhtse</td>
<td>those that I didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóohtémomonôhtse</td>
<td>those that you didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóohtéhëstse</td>
<td>those that he/she didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóohtéhëstse</td>
<td>those that he/she (obviative) didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóohtomáhtëstse</td>
<td>those we didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóohtomáhtëstse</td>
<td>those you (plural) didn't see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáavóohtoméhëstse</td>
<td>those they didn't see</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'make (singular object)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehëto</td>
<td>what I didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsehëto</td>
<td>what you didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsetse</td>
<td>what he/she didn't make</td>
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<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsetse</td>
<td>what we didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsetse</td>
<td>what you (plural didn't make)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsetse</td>
<td>what they didn't make</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'make (plural object)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsetsehetonôhtse</td>
<td>what I didn't make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáamanéstsetsehetonôhtse</td>
<td>what you didn't make</td>
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<td>tsésáamanéstsetsehesëstse</td>
<td>what they didn't make</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsésáahestanôhëmo</td>
<td>what I didn't take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésáahestanôhëmesëstse</td>
<td>those which he/she didn't take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésámësehëto</td>
<td>what I didn't eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésámësëhëto</td>
<td>what you didn't eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsésámësëéstse</td>
<td>what he/she didn't eat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples in sentences $\text{RECHECK/}\#3 \text{"I'm looking for those who don't have them"??}

Tsésáaméséheto oseepéhévééno‘e.  What you didn't eat tastes very good.
Tsésáahestanóéstse ésó’hó’ta.??  What he didn't take is still here. ??
Nánóhtsevóohtanótsé-tsésáahot’séhevoséstse. I’m looking for those (in) that they don’t have. ??

Ditransitive Conjunct Indicative verbs

Ditransitive conjunct indicative verbs look like Transitive Animate Conjunct Indicative verbs. ($\text{RECHECK THAT}$). Ditransitive conjunct verbs are inflected for person and number ?? of the subject of the verb as well as the indirect object (morphosyntactic primary object). Animacy and number of the semantic secondary object (the thing or person which is given) are not marked on the conjunct ditransitives, as they are on independent order ditransitive verbs. So when the thing given is translated as "it" in the following verbs, the translation could also be "him", "her", or "them" (inanimate or animate).

$\text{RECHECK??}$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tséméhótótse</th>
<th>when I gave it to myself</th>
<th>tséméhótótsemenoto when we (ex) gave it to you</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséméhtsé</td>
<td>when I gave it to you</td>
<td>tséméhtsémenoto when we (ex) gave it to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémét</td>
<td>when I gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>tsémétamótse when we gave it to him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémét</td>
<td>when I gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td>tsémétamótse when we gave it to ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétamotse when you gave it to me</td>
<td>tsémétamótse when we gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétamote when you gave it to yourself</td>
<td>tsémétamótse when we gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétamose when you gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>tsémétamótse when we gave it to ourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétametse when you gave it to us (ex)</td>
<td>tsémétamótse when we gave it to themselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétamétsé when you gave it to me</td>
<td>tsémétamétse when we gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétamétsé when he gave it to us</td>
<td>tsémétamétse when we gave it to themselves</td>
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<td>tsémétamétse when he (obv) gave it to him (obv)’</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tsémétamétsé when he (obv) gave it to me</td>
<td>tsémétamétsé when it was given to me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétamétsé when he (obv) gave it to you</td>
<td>tsémétamétsé when it was given to you</td>
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</tr>
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<td>tsémétamétsé when he (obv) gave it to him</td>
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<tr>
<td>tsémétamétsé when he (obv) gave it to himself</td>
<td>tsémétamétsé when it was given to him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tsémétamétsé when he (obv) gave it to us</td>
<td>tsémétamétsé when it was given to us</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétamétsé when he (obv) gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td>tsémétamétsé when it was given to you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétamétsé when he (obv) gave it to them</td>
<td>tsémétamétsé when it was given to them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

tsémétoto oséhótsé when I gave him a dog/dogs (obviative) $\text{ADD MAIN VERBS}$

$\text{ADD MAIN VERBS}$

Nánóhtsevóohtanótsé-tsésáahot’séhevoséstse. I’m looking for those (in) that they don’t have. ??

$\text{RECHECK}$

Ditransitive Conjunct Indicative verbs

Ditransitive conjunct indicative verbs look like Transitive Animate Conjunct Indicative verbs. ($\text{RECHECK THAT}$). Ditransitive conjunct verbs are inflected for person and number ?? of the subject of the verb as well as the indirect object (morphosyntactic primary object). Animacy and number of the semantic secondary object (the thing or person which is given) are not marked on the conjunct ditransitives, as they are on independent order ditransitive verbs. So when the thing given is translated as "it" in the following verbs, the translation could also be "him", "her", or "them" (inanimate or animate).

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<tr>
<td>tsémétamotse when you gave it to me</td>
<td>tsémétamótse when we gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétamote when you gave it to yourself</td>
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<td>tsémétamétsé when he gave it to him (obv)</td>
<td>tsémétamétse when we gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tsémétamétsé when he gave it to us</td>
<td>tsémétamétse when we gave it to themselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>tsémétamétsé when he (obv) gave it to me</td>
<td>tsémétamétsé when it was given to me</td>
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<tr>
<td>tsémétamétsé when he (obv) gave it to you</td>
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<td>tsémétamétsé when he (obv) gave it to himself</td>
<td>tsémétamétsé when it was given to him (obv)</td>
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<td>tsémétamétsé when he (obv) gave it to us</td>
<td>tsémétamétsé when it was given to us</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétamétsé when he (obv) gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td>tsémétamétsé when it was given to you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétamétsé when he (obv) gave it to them</td>
<td>tsémétamétsé when it was given to them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tséhmétóno sémonôtse  when I gave them boats (inanimate)
tséhmétose póesono  when you gave him a cat/cats (obviative)
tséhmétose sémonôtse  when you gave him boats

tséhmétsemenoto oeškeso  when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) a dog
tséhmétsemenoto oeškéseho  when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) dogs
tséhmétsemenoto sémonôtse when you (sg/pl) gave us boats

tséhmétá’ése oeškéses  when he gave me a dog/dogs (obviative)
tséhmétá’ése še’xo  when he gave him (obv) a duck/ducks (obv)
tséhmétá’ése sémon  when he gave him (obv) boats

tséhmétá’tsemenoto oeškeso  when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) a dog
tséhmétá’tsemenoto oeškéseho  when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) dogs
tséhmétá’tsemenoto sémonôtse when you (sg/pl) gave us boats

tséhmétá’ésé hee’haho  when his son (obv) gave me a duck/ducks (obv)
tséhmétá’tsemenoto sémo  when you (pl) gave his ___ to me / us (ex)
tséhmétá’tsemenoto še’xo hee’haho  when his son (obv) gave me a boat

Ditransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

tséssáamétáhtséhto sémo  when I did not give myself a boat
ntséssáamétóhevo še’xo  when I did not give him (obv) a duck/ducks (obv)

Ditransitive Conjunct Indicative relational verbs

Ditransitive Conjunct Participles

tsémétá’tse  what I gave myself
tsémétá’tse  what I gave you
tsémétá’tse  what I gave him
tsémétá’tse  what I gave him (obv)
tsémétá’tse  what I gave you (pl)
tsémétá’tse  what I gave them

tsémétatseo  what you gave me
tsémétatseo  what you gave yourself
tsémétatseo  what you gave him
tsémétatseo  what you gave him (obv)
tsémétatseo  what you gave us (ex)
tsémétatseo  what you gave them

tsémétá’tse  what you gave me
tsémétá’tse  what he gave you
tsémétá’tse  what he gave himself
tsémétatseo  what he gave us

tsémétá’tse  what he gave (pl)
tsémétá’tse  what he gave me
ntsémétá’tse  what he gave you
ntsémétatseo  what he gave him
ntsémétatseo  what he gave us (ex)
tsémétatseo  what he gave themselves
ntsémétatseo  what he gave them
ntsémétatseo  what we (ex) gave you
ntsémétatseo  what we gave him
ntsémétatseo  what we gave him (obv)
tsémétatseo  what we gave ourselves
ntsémétatseo  what we gave them
Examples of ditransitive participles in sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsémétsemenoto</td>
<td>what you (pl) gave us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétáhtsése</td>
<td>what you (pl) gave yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétöšëe</td>
<td>what you (pl) gave them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétá'esse</td>
<td>what they gave me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétata'öse</td>
<td>what they gave you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétovose</td>
<td>what they gave him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétätae??</td>
<td>what they gave us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétätae??</td>
<td>what they gave you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétähtsese</td>
<td>what they gave themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétotsese</td>
<td>what he (obv) gave him (obv')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétanëto</td>
<td>what I was given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétanëto</td>
<td>what you were given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétsestse</td>
<td>what he was given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémétanëto</td>
<td>what you were given</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tse</td>
<td>what you were given</td>
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<tr>
<td>se</td>
<td>what they were given</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of ditransitive participles in sentences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participles</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>??</td>
<td>What did you give him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>??</td>
<td>What did he give him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>??</td>
<td>What did he (obv) give him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>??</td>
<td>What (plural) did you give him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>??</td>
<td>What (animate) did you give him?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cheyennes often utter complex sentences in which there is a conjunct verb which has some kind of temporal or adverbial relationship to the main verb of a sentence:

$\text{EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS}$

Less frequently and probably much less frequently than in English, Cheyennes utter sentences in which the dependent verb is a complement of the main verb. A complement verb acts something like an object to the main verb. In English we might say, "I'm know that you've been sick." The clause "that you've been sick" is the complement to the main verb "know." This complement acts as an object to "know", tell us what it is that the speaker knows.

Here are some examples of sentences with complement verbs found in Cheyenne texts:

$\text{EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS, INCLUDING FROM THE BROTHERS-IN-LAW TEXT}$

If you are studying Cheyenne, trying to obtain complex sentences with complements, be cautious in your study. Try not to ask Cheyenne speakers to directly translate English sentences with complements to Cheyenne. It may be possible to get literal translations of such English sentences, but there is a good chance that they will 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.

- Námésèhétánó. I want to eat.
- Nánaáotsétánó. I want to sleep.

**Transitive complex verbs**

Transitivizing suffixes can be added to the –tanó final creating a kind of transitive semantically dependent verb within the complex verb structure:

- Návóomátanó’tóvo. I want to see him.
- Návóomátanó’tova. He wants to see me.
- Návóohtatánó’ta. I want to see it.
- Návóomáhtsétánó. I want to be seen.
- Évóomáhtsétanoo’ó. They want to be seen.
- Návéstähmáhtsétánó. I want to be helped.
- Návéstähmáhtsétanó’tóvo. I want to be helped by him.
- Véstähmáhtsétanó’toveha! Want to be helped by him!
- Návóo’séhátanó’tóvo. I want to show it to him.
- Náhestanátanó’ta. I want to take it.
- Námésetánó’ta. I want to eat it.
- Námésetánó’tanótse. I want to eat them (inanimate).

**Word order**

It is important to know what order words should appear in in any language. In some languages, such as English, word order can tell us who is doing what to whom, as in the sentence "John kissed Mary." In this English sentence we can tell from the word order that John is the one who did the kissing and Mary is the who who was kissed. In a language like English we say that word order is syntactically determined, that is, the grammar (syntax) of the language determines the order of words such as subjects, objects, and verbs in a sentence.

Many languages, including Cheyenne, do not have word order that is determined by grammatical relationships such as subjects and direct objects. Instead, word order of subject and object nouns in Cheyenne sentences is determined by how speakers organize information in their speech context. For such languages we say that word order is pragmatically determined.

So two different systems determine word order in English and Cheyenne. This is why it is very important that sentences not be translated from English to Cheyenne using the same word order that the sentence had in English. Instead, it is important to follow the Cheyenne rules for word order, which have to do with matters such as what is in focus in a Cheyenne speaker’s mind. If you are a Cheyenne speaker, try not to think about the words of an English sentence if you are translating something from English to Cheyenne. Instead, just try to think about the meaning of the Cheyenne sentence and what you have already said in Cheyenne that is related to that sentence. Then try to say
the sentence "the Indian way", saying it as naturally as if you did not know any English and were just talking in Cheyenne.

**Fixed word orders**

There are some fixed word orders in Cheyenne. Quantifiers precede the nouns they modify, as do demonstrative pronouns:

- haesto ka'ēškóneho 'many children'
- na'ēstse amáho'hestôte 'one car'
- neše he'e'o 'two women'

Question words (interrogative pronouns) occur as the first element in a sentence:

- Hénová'e tséméseto? 'What did you eat?'
- Névááhe tsévhénonévéstse? 'Who is the boss?'
- Tóne'še néévahō'ēhōo'ohtse? 'When did you get back home?'
- Tósa'e néhoo'e? 'Where do you live?'

**$\text{STUDY NATURAL TEXTS TO SEE IF THERE MIGHT BE A PREDOMINANT ORDER OF CONJUNCT VERBS PRECEDING INDEPENDENT VERBS}$

**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. $$ (\text{GIVE EXAMPLES FROM HER BOOK}) $$ She discovered that a word that is "newsworthy"\(^{139}\) occurs as the first element\(^{140}\) in a Cheyenne sentence. A word is newsworthy if it receives some special attention such as if it is emphasized or contrastive. $$ (\text{RECHECK THAT SENTENCE}) $$ The newsworthy word in a sentence may be a subject or object noun, a verb, or some other sentence element. The first word in each of the following sentences is newsworthy:

- Mé'ėstse néohkenėheto'eétahē! 'Always you're doing that!'
- Naa móšéškānetsēnoonāhe móšťosevéseëtsēhē'ōhtsēhēhē tsēhomoheeohstsēstovetse. 'And the bat (in contrast to the animals and birds mentioned in the preceding sentences in this story) was also going to go to where there was a meeting.' (The Bat story, in the Texts section of this book)

$$ (\text{OTHER EXAMPLES?}) $$

If you are a Cheyenne speaker and someone asks you how to translate an English sentence to Cheyenne, do not copy the order of words in the English sentence. Cheyenne word order is different from English word order in sentences. English sentences usually have a required word order based on English syntax (grammar), namely, subject nouns come before their verbs and object nouns follow them. 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.

\(^{139}\) The "newsworthiness" concept has been described by Mithun (1987).

\(^{140}\) Or it can be the second position if the first position is a discourse connector such as naa 'and'.

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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 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'ameohstéhehe '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
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vého</th>
<th>tséxhénöhtsevóomóse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>věho</td>
<td>tsé-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chief</td>
<td>CNJ- OBL- PURP-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>pfx- tns- pv- vta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

kásóvááheho
kásóvááhíh
young man
na

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tséto'séhevéxahese</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé-</td>
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<tr>
<td>PROS-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have-</td>
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<tr>
<td>have.child-in-law</td>
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<tr>
<th>pfx- pv- r- vai</th>
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<tr>
<th>héstónahoh</th>
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<tr>
<td>he-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>htónah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PS-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>num</td>
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<th>tséto'sévéstoemótse</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé-</td>
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<td>PROS-</td>
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<tr>
<td>married.to</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pfx- pv- vta</th>
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</table>

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
There were many tepees.

A Man Who Looked for a Son -in-law.003
naa hō’óxe táháóhe tséstaénoneo’tséstove māhtamāhááhe
naa ho’oxé táháóhe tsé h ta- énoneo’tsé -htóve māhtamāháahé
and end there CNJ OBL TRL end.camp -IMPRS old.woman
p p p pfx tns dir vai -fii na

éhvéesestse
e- 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
hevéxahó
éhnëshe’enásesto
he- véxah -o é h- nēshe’éná -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
ehxoháeanáhtóvénëse
é- h- ho- háeaná -htóve -né -s
3- PST- very- hungry -IMPRS -FI -RPT
pro tns REDUP vai -fii -sfx -mode
There was great hunger.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.006

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.007
Apparently he would go to hunt.
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.008

é'òhkého'ôxeséstse
é- h- ohke- ho'o'xe - sest
3- PST- HABIT- arrive.carrying.game - RPT
pro- tns- pv- vai - mode
taa'e
taa'ë -vá
ni -sfx

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

é'òhkeó'êsóvaséstse
é- h- ohke- o'êsóvá - sest máhtamáhááhe
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

éxhoháeesenéhésesto
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

nêhë'se ame
nêhe'sé ame
then pemmican
p ni

mó'òhkemanéstshëhëhe
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'òhkeméshenovëhe
mó- h- ohke- mése -hé -nó -vo -hé
INF- PST- HABIT- eat -NEG.SFX -FTI -3PL -INF.SFX
mode- tns- pv- vti -sfx -sfx -num -sfx -sfx
hevéxaho
he- véxah -o
3PS- grandchild -OBV
pro- na -num

héknësévôse
nêh- nêsê -vô -s
INF- PST- eat -NEG.SFX -FTI -3PL -INF.SFX
mode- tns- pv- vti -sfx -sfx -num -sfx -num
pfx- vai -num -pro
They would eat it, the two of them, her grandson (and her).

And then a man was announcing.

Along the edge of camp he walked.

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

... is going to be looked for, someone to marry her," he said.

He announced that way.

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A tepee was there in the place-of-honor.

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

Then they gathered, young men, men.

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

The young lady was in the place-of-honor.

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

Many men gathered-came inside.
Then this young man said to his grandmother.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.024

Go to find out who is going to be son-in-law!" he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.025

"Go to listen!"

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.026

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
"This pemmican, take it along!" he told her.

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

"Just a little one, make a package!"

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

And there was great hunger.

A Man Who Looked for a Son -in-law.030

And there was great hunger.

A Man Who Looked for a Son -in-law.031
Then that old lady also went there.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.032

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

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.033

When the talking was about over, she came out.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.034

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

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.035
She got up.

She came out.

She dropped that (thing).

When she was about to go outside, "Hey!" she said.

"Oh! My grandson's ointment, I dropped it," she said.
She turned around.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

She quickly picked back up that pemmican.

"Wait!" this chief told her.

"Let's see, pass that around!" that chief said.
It was passed around, behold, (it was) pemmican!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.045

nóonoéphéhévéénoénése
nóonoéphéhévéénoénése
wow! 3-PST-loose -by.hand -FTI -RPT
ppro- tns-vti -fti -theme -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'enänosé
éph'éh'évenänoénése
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

éhmésénosé
éph'éh'évenänoé-nosé
3-PST-eat -FTI -RPT
pro- tns-vti -sfx -mode
He ate it.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.048

néhé'sè
néhé'sè
then
p

éstsehetõéhesto
éph'tse-het -ó-s
3-PST-CAT-tell -DIR -RPT -OBV
pro- tns-pv-vta -voice -mode -num

Then he told that old lady,
"Let's see, your grandson, I'm going to talk to him."

A Man Who Looked for a Son

"I'm going to see him," he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

"Let him come over!" he told her.

When the old lady returned, she told her grandson. (Does māhtamāhāhe go with the preceding or following verb??)

A Man Who Looked for a Son

"I have done what you told me."

A Man Who Looked for a Son

"Let's see, your grandson, I'm going to talk to him."
You are invited," she told him.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.054

éstaosáanénéhe'ohtseséstse
é- h- ta- osáane- néhe'ohtse- sest
3- PST- TRL- so- go there -RPT
pro- tns- dir- pv- vai -mode

néhe kásovááhe
néhe kásováahéh
that young man
pro na
That young man went there.

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

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

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

éhnóhtséstóesesto vého
é- h- nóhtsést- -óe -sesh -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

néhoháeesenéhmése
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

néhééseeheo'o
néhé hé- éseehe -o
CIS- PURP- move.in -IMPV.DEL
dir- pv- vai -mode
tséhéóhe
tséhéóhe
here
Move in here!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.060

nénéehove nétavóomátse
né- néhéhove né- ta- vóom -atse
2- be the one 2- HORT- choose -1:2
pro- vai pro- pv- vta -voice
tséto'ovéstsoémōhtse
tsé- to'se- véstsoem -ó -ht
CNJ- PROS- married.to -DIR -3
pxf- pv- vta -voice -pro
náhtona
na- htónah
1PS- daughter
pro- na

éxhetéesesto
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

'éoseepéhétvetanóotséstse
é- h- osee- pahétvetanóotse -sest
3- PST- very- happy quickly - become -RPT
pro- tns- pv- vai -mode

néhe kásowááhe
néhe kásowáahéh
that young man
pro na
That young man became very happy.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.062

héehe'e éxheséstse
héehe'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 káše'ëéhe éhmo'ónátamaahaséstse
naa néhe káše'ëéheh é- h- mo'ónátamahe -sest
and that young woman 3- PST- beautiful.appearance -RPT
p pro na pro- tns- vai -mode
And that young lady was beautiful.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.064

éstaévahóó'õhtseséstse
He went back home.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

He told that to his grandmother.

He went with the one who announced.

That man announced.

"Come after it!

Walk toward (me)!

A Man Who Looked for a Son
Come after your food!" the chief was told.

A Man Who Looked for a Son.

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

A Man Who Looked for a Son.

That's all.

Word formation

Cheyenne words are often made up of smaller parts (morphemes). These parts are like building blocks.

Noun formation

A noun may consist of a single morpheme. The following nouns cannot be divided into any smaller meaning parts:

ame 'pemmican'
he'e 'woman'
hetane 'man'
hohpe 'soup'
še'še '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’óhtáe-vé’ho'e 'Negro' (literally, black-non-Indian)

A noun may consist of a noun which acts as a prenoun plus another noun:

he’é-ka’èškóne 'girl' (literally, woman-child)
hetané-ka’èškóne '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:

mõxe'estóne-mâheò'o 'school' (literally, writing-house)
amo'ha-ve'ho'e 'pilot' (literally, flying-non-Indian)
homose-ve'ho'e 'cook' (literally, cooking-non-Indian)

A noun may consist of an initial, an optional medial, plus a noun final:

éškôse-esè-hotame⁴⁴ 'pig' (literally, sharp-nose-domesticated.animal)
ka’-èné-hôtame 'bulldog, cat'¹⁴² (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal)
võhp-ō'ha 'white horse' (literally, white-horse)¹⁴³
to-ōm-âšé’še-stôtse 'soda pop, cold drink' (lit., cool-liquid-drink-NOM)
Mo'óhtáv-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-htōtte 'airplane' (literally, flying-thing)¹⁴⁴

---

¹⁴¹ Historically, hótame referred to a dog. Later, the word oéškēse was used to mean 'dog'. When that happened, hótame narrowed in meaning to refer to a special kind of dog, such as a 'hound' (e.g. greyhounds and rottweilers). But it also broadened in meaning to refer, more generally, to a domesticated animal.

¹⁴² Southern Cheyennes have used the word ka’ènéhôtame 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’ènéhôtame and ka’eeséhotame for a cat.

¹⁴³ The Cheyenne noun final /-ø’há/ descends from a PA final that originally meant 'dog'. Over time, the final came to mean 'horse' in Cheyenne.

²⁴⁷
mészēhe-stōtse 'food' (literally, eating-thing)
éškōs-éné-hé 'greyhound' (literally, sharp-face-being)
tsēhe'ése-ésē-he 'elephant' (literally, long-nose-being)
vovēstōmōsānē-he 'teacher' (literally, teaching-being)
hoēstōnē-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**

- nāhtse- first person + future tense
- nēstse- second person + future tense
- tse- third person + future tense

**Tense**

Cheyenne marks two tenses: h- 'past' and –htse 'future' on its verbs. Verbs which are unmarked for tense refer to the present or recent past. Preterit, which is a tense in some languages, is not a tense in Cheyenne. Instead, the Cheyenne preterit is a mode.

**Unmarked tense**

The following verbs are unmarked for tense. They may refer either to the present or recent past.

- Nāvōómo. 'I see him', or 'I saw him'.
- Énēmēné. 'He's singing', or 'He sang'.
- Ého'sōeo'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]

---

144 This is the most general of the Cheyenne nominalizers. It is phonemically /-htot/. It can create either animate or inanimate nouns from verbs.
145 The suffix /-hé/ is another animate nominalizer. It seems to have a more specialized meaning than /-htot/ that is difficult to characterize semantically, perhaps something like 'being'. It often acts as a personifier, as in the common word vovēstōmōsānēhe 'teacher', literally 'teaching-being' or 'teaching-person'.
146 The pronominal prefix é- is omitted with future tense.
5. [h] before any other sounds

Past tense is farther past in time than recent past. But it need not be distant past. Whether or not a verb is marked with past tense depends on the relative time frame in the mind of the speaker. There is no simple rule that says, for instance, that a verb will be marked with past tense if it refers to a time more than a month ago or more than a year ago.

Notice the past tense markers immediately following the person prefixes ná-, né-, and é- in the following verbs:

Ná-h-vóómo. I saw him.
Né-s-tchéh'késtahe. You were short.
É-h-néméne. He sang.
É-’-a’xaame. He cried.
É-s-séváno. He skied.
É-x-ho’soo’e. He danced.
É-s-tchéhetósesto. He is said to have said this to him (reportative mode).
É-š-kóká’a’xeséstse. He is said to have danced (reportative mode).
É-x-hétóhoono. He said that to him (preterit mode).

**Far past tense**

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

Ná-néh-vóómo. I saw him a long time ago.
É-néh-mésehe. He ate a long time ago.
É-néx-ho’soo’e. He danced a long time ago.

**Future tense**

Future tense is marked by htse-. Instead of their usual high pitch, pronominal prefixes are pronounced with low-pitched vowels preceding future tense. Because the low-pitched vowel precedes /h/, the vowel is also whispered (devoiced). The third person prefix /é/- is omitted before the future tense marker and then the future tense marker is shortened to tse-. Examples of verbs with the future tense follow:

Ná-htse-mésehe. I shall eat.
Nè-stse-vé’néhešévé! Don’t do that (in the future)!
Tse-névéóhta. (The cow) will have four legs. (said by Sweet Medicine)

**Future tense plus translocative**

If the future tense marker precedes the ta- translocative directional, the two morphemes combine as /hta-/> which retains both the future tense and translocative meanings.

Ná-hhta-vé’háhtse. I will go along.
Nè-sta-évahósevóomátse. I will see you again.

**Directionals**

Directionals occur after the tense slot in the verb and before preverbs. Directionals indicate whether action is coming toward or away from a speaker.
Cislocative

The directional that indicates action toward a speaker is called a cislocative. It is phonemically spelled /neh-. The /h/ has various alternates depending on the sound that follows it. The cislocative has high pitch in imperatives and low pitch in all other orders.

Non-imperative cislocatives
É-néx-ho’ehne. He's coming.
É-ne'-amoo’kōho. Rain is approaching.
É-nës-tsêheta’hâhtse. He threw it toward here (that is, toward the speaker).

Imperative cislocatives
Néh-mëtsëstse! Give it to me!
Néx-héstânöhtse! Bring it to me!
Nës-tsêhe’ooestse! Come here quickly!

Translocative
The directional that indicates action away from a speaker is called a translocative. It is spelled ta-.

É-tä-hëmanohe. He went for water.
É-ta-ëšeta’ëhne ėšë’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
   2-FUT-TRL-back-again-see-AOAM-INV:1
   I will see you again.

2. Ná-ohké-sáa-’oné'séome-pêhëve-tsëhést-o’anë-he.
   1-HAB-not-EP-truly-well-Cheyenne-pronounce-NEG
   I truly do not pronounce Cheyenne well.

   Q-HAB-why-about-bury-lie-NEG-INF\(^{147}\)
   That must be why he lies around buried hiding. (The Bat)

4. Tse-nës-sáa-’-évâ-ho'e-anõhe-ohtsë-he.

\(^{147}\)Glossing with Q for the inferential prefix and INF for the inferential suffix comes from Sarah Murray (p.c.).
He won't come back down. (The Whiteman and the Indian)

5. É-sta-néšé-hétóse-ame-néhov-ó-sest-o.
   3-FUT-TRL-continue-continually-chase-DIR-RPT-OBV
   It's said he kept on following them.

   2-CIS-going.to-PURP-scare-INV
   He is going to come to scare you.

   2-going.to-only-try-scare-INV
   He is only going to try to scare you.

8. É-h-ne'-osáane-ée-néšé-to-táha'há-htsé-nó-se.
   3-PST-CIS-commence-about-continue-REDUP-throw.on-FTI-IOAM-RPT
   It's said he began to throw it on.

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

10. É-s-ta-éva-né-hešè-ho'-hóo'-ohtsé-sest-o.
    3-PST-TRL-back-ANA-manner-arrive-home-go-RPT-3PL
    It's said they arrived back home that way.

11. Tse-méo-hóe-évo'soo'e.
    FUT-morning-out-play
    He will come out to play early in the morning.

12. tsé-s-tà-hóšé-hé-manoe-se
    CNJ-PST-TRL-again-PURP-fetch.water-3
    when she went again to get water

    Q-CIS-how-again-through-roll-motion-FII-NEG.II-INF
    Somehow it must have rolled through again.

14. Ná-to'se-vá'ne-tšéške'-mé'íst-á.
    3-going.to-just-little-explain-IOAM
    I'm just going to explain it a little.

15. tsé-ohke-ée-méhæ-ne'étam-ése
    CNJ-HAB-about-used.to-depend.on-2PL
    what you (plural) used to depend on
   3-PST-TRL-already-big-explain-DETRANS-RPT
   It's said he was constantly explaining a lot. (Sweet Medicine)

17. É-h-ne'-osáane-másó-ame-méhé-pest-o.
   3-PST-CIS-commence-all.group-along-run-RPT-3PL
   It's said they all started running.

   3-PST-TRL-simply-all.group-in-pile-FTA-RECIP-RPT-3PL
   It's said they simply all piled in on each other.

19. É-x-he'ké-hešé-hosó-hnè-hoo'o.
   3-PST-slowly-REL-backwards-walk-PRET
   Once upon a time he slowly went backwards.

   3-PST-TRL-already-necessarily(??)-complete-by.heat-IOAM-IOAM-PRET
   Once upon a time he had to finish cooking it.

   3-PST-TRL-HAB-out-PURP-play-PRET
   Once upon a time he used to go out to play.

22. É'-óhké-sáa-sé'hove-évá-ho'-óhne-he-hoo'o.
   3-PST-HAB-suddenly-back-arrive-walk-NEG-PRET
   Once upon a time he would suddenly not come back.

23. Ná-ta-móne-éva-asé-hóo'-óhtsé-me.
   1-TRL-soon-back-start-home-go-1PL
   We soon started to go back home.

**Preverbs list**

Here are some of the most commonly occurring preverbs. In this list a vowel which is in parentheses ( ) will occur if the next morpheme begins with a vowel.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>áahtse'</td>
<td>simultaneously</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhane-</td>
<td>extremely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'ene-</td>
<td>forever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ame-</td>
<td>along</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anóhe-</td>
<td>down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ase-</td>
<td>start</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'(e)-</td>
<td>upward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'se-</td>
<td>afraid to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>émoose-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éne-</td>
<td>end, stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ése-</td>
<td>in, into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éše-</td>
<td>already</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éva-</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>háanae-</td>
<td>heavy, respected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>háe-</td>
<td>much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hávėsēve-</td>
<td>badly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he-</td>
<td>have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé-</td>
<td>for the purpose of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Preverb</td>
<td>Gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ase-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éne-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Aspectual preverbs**

Some preverbs are primarily aspectual in nature, including:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Preverb</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ase-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éne-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
éšé-
méhae-
hetóse-
móne-
néšé-
ohke-
osáane-
má’se-
nonáháxe- / onáháxe- / onáxe-
to’se-

Examples with aspectual preverbs
Máheameóestse nēhéno é-méhae-’éeo’estanéheve. All Runner used to live there. (1987:182)
Tse-nonáháxe-pe’pe’eotse. There might be trouble. (1987:27)
É’-osáane-asénoovósesto. He began to sing to them. (1980:45:18)

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

anòhe-
e’(e)-
ésé-
he’ame-
hóe-
no’hé-
sé’e-
sé’hove-
sóhpe-
só’(e)-
táxe-
tóxe-

Examples with path preverbs

Quantity preverbs
Some preverbs communicate information about quantity and intensity:

áhane-
háe-
hehpe-
heóme-
máhe-
ma’xe-
osee-
Examples with quantity preverbs

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

- hávéséve-
- hóxe'e-
- pēhéve-
- véhône-
- xae-, xamae-

Examples with quality preverbs

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

- a'ene-
- hetôeve-
- méo-
- taa'éve-

Examples with temporal preverbs

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

- Ta- + to'se- > tao'se-
  Tšéške'e né-tao'se-vá'nehôhta'haovatsénôvo namęšéme. 'I'm going to tell you (pl) a little about my (great) grandfather.' (1987:17)

Certain combinations of preverbs communicate unique information about aspect and modality:

- éšé-hó'ko-: of necessity
  É-éšé-hó'ko-méšehe. 'He HAD to eat.' (for example, he said he wasn't going to eat, but I told him to stay and eat, so he had to eat).

- éšé-to'se-: on the verge of
  Mó-éšé-to'sé-hestsevéšéhéhe. 'He's about to grow horns.' (fig. =he's "crazy")

- me'-hé-: emphatic
  Né-me'-hé-vonetanó'tovätse! 'I would NEVER forget you!'

- me'-hó'ke-: should have
  Né-me'-hó'ke-mé'ëstomeve. 'You should have told me.'

- oh-to'se-: almost but failed
Ná-oh-to'sé-hovánee'e. 'I almost died.'

sáa-tóněše-: cannot, unable to
Ná-sáa-tóněše-tséhe'ôhtéše. 'I am not able to go (there).'
És-sáa-tóněše-éne-e'kóö'ôheséstse. 'It's said he just couldn't stop looking out.' (1987:298)

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

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

	tó'-tæ-
	tóněšé-hé-
	vé'-hé-
$$OTHERS??
$$FULL VERB EXAMPLES??

**Verb stem formation**

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

**Roots**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-a'xaame</td>
<td>cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ase</td>
<td>leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-émá/</td>
<td>take a sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-émohóne</td>
<td>hunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-he'ke</td>
<td>be tender</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-hoe/</td>
<td>be at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ho'ahé</td>
<td>want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-ho'sóe/</td>
<td>dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-homosé/</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-hotse'óhe/</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-mae/</td>
<td>bark (of a dog)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mane</td>
<td>drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mésehe</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-mó'é/</td>
<td>invite to a meal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-naa'é/</td>
<td>doctor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
/-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)
/-vée/  |  camp

Examples of verb stems with roots

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éa’xaame.</td>
<td>He's crying.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-éma.</td>
<td>He's having a sweat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ná-ho'ahe.</td>
<td>I want (it).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ná-hoo’e.</td>
<td>I'm (here).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-mane.</td>
<td>He's drinking.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-mésehe.</td>
<td>He's eating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-mó’e.</td>
<td>He's inviting to a meal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-née’e.</td>
<td>He's standing.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Initials

Initials are the first meaning part of many Cheyenne verb stems. An initial requires at least a medial or final to be a complete verb stem. Here are some of the most commonly used Cheyenne initials:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Cheyenne Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a'(k)av-</td>
<td>droop</td>
<td>én-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhan-</td>
<td>extreme</td>
<td>ést-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áv-</td>
<td>fall over</td>
<td>éstov-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'e'</td>
<td>separate (be)</td>
<td>ésh-/éx-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'enó'n-</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>éskos-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'k-</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>év-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'kón-</td>
<td>squat</td>
<td>éxov-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a't-/a's-</td>
<td>accidentally</td>
<td>e'(k)os-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ae'ta'é-</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>e'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áestom-</td>
<td>false</td>
<td>e's-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahko'-</td>
<td>roll</td>
<td>e't-/e's-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahto(h)-</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>e'xov-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am-</td>
<td>along</td>
<td>há-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ames(t)-</td>
<td>crosswise</td>
<td>háahk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-</td>
<td>down</td>
<td>háahp-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ane'k-</td>
<td>prick</td>
<td>hánoht-/hános-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ase(t)-</td>
<td>away/start</td>
<td>hávésév-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axe-</td>
<td>scratch</td>
<td>hahé-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é'(k)om-</td>
<td>oily</td>
<td>hahp-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é'-</td>
<td>break</td>
<td>hé'hév-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ém(ooh't)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
<td>hé'he(šk)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hahé-</td>
<td>much</td>
<td>end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hahp-</td>
<td>much</td>
<td>into</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>háh-</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>blow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>háahk-</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>already/finish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>háahp-</td>
<td>pointed</td>
<td>pointed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hánoht-/hános-</td>
<td>about</td>
<td>about</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hávésév-</td>
<td>warm</td>
<td>warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hahé-</td>
<td>turn over</td>
<td>warm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hahp-</td>
<td>dress</td>
<td>up</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'hév-</td>
<td>fear</td>
<td>fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'he(šk)-</td>
<td>peel</td>
<td>peel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'hév-</td>
<td>much</td>
<td>much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'he(šk)-</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'he(šk)-</td>
<td>small (very)</td>
<td>small (very)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'hév-</td>
<td>back (head posture)</td>
<td>back (head posture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'hév-</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>bad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'hév-</td>
<td>rub</td>
<td>rub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'hév-</td>
<td>fasten</td>
<td>fasten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'hév-</td>
<td>suck</td>
<td>suck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'hév-</td>
<td>wrinkled</td>
<td>wrinkled</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

257
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mandarin Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lump/knob/hump</td>
<td>pa'(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat on top</td>
<td>páchon-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spread on</td>
<td>pano'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grind</td>
<td>pé(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loose/shaggy</td>
<td>péhp-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>pèhév-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rough/troubled</td>
<td>pe'pe'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gray</td>
<td>pó'(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>explode/pop</td>
<td>pó'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hit/slap</td>
<td>pó(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swell</td>
<td>póh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uncovered</td>
<td>pónoma'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>off of</td>
<td>po'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rough</td>
<td>popé'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>into/center</td>
<td>sé'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>awake</td>
<td>sé'h-/sé's-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stake in</td>
<td>sé'ho'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scrape</td>
<td>sé'se(n)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stretch</td>
<td>sé(hp)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>same</td>
<td>séet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>remain</td>
<td>sét-/séš-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>sétov-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slender</td>
<td>sóhkom-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>through</td>
<td>sóhp-</td>
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<tr>
<td>diminish</td>
<td>sóv-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>free</td>
<td>ŝé(š)-/šé(x)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>top</td>
<td>táh-/táx-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antagonize</td>
<td>tátse-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goofy</td>
<td>táv-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disappear</td>
<td>ta'-</td>
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<tr>
<td>angry</td>
<td>ta'ov-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weak</td>
<td>ta'p-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open/unlock</td>
<td>ta'ta'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>measure</td>
<td>taeváh-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>big</td>
<td>táhpe'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stubby</td>
<td>tam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>long</td>
<td>tó'ęs(t)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>tó'h-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>between</td>
<td>tó'hov-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>short</td>
<td>tó'kes(t)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>steady/firm</td>
<td>tó'om-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for good</td>
<td>tó'ov-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thick</td>
<td>tó(n)ov-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poke</td>
<td>tóhp-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flat</td>
<td>tóhto(n)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aimless</td>
<td>tóhtom-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how?</td>
<td>tónet-/tónéš-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>copy</td>
<td>tóoxide'-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stubborn</td>
<td>tóv-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imitate/pattern</td>
<td>tóva-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>edge/around</td>
<td>tóx-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gap (cf. slit)</td>
<td>tôhovó-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cold</td>
<td>to(n)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hold</td>
<td>toést-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>few</td>
<td>toe(n)-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raise</td>
<td>tôhkom-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| tomoht-/tomös- |(285,184),(711,510)
| low | toox- |
| slit (cf. gap) | tovó'k- |
| sprawl | tséo'- |
| dusty | tséva(n)- |
| Cheyenne | tséhés(t)- |
| long | tséhe'ès(t)- |
| small | tséhe'kés(t)- |
| complete | tšéške'- |
| contain | vá'oht-/vá'ós- |
| sweet | vé'h- |
| bitter/sting/pain | vé'ke- |
| rapid | vé'ohk- |
| chiefly | vé's- |
| empty/hollow | véhon- |
| disagreeable/cross | véhp- |
| with | vén- |
| concave | vés(t)- |
| white | ve'ev- |
| light/shine | vó'(k)om- |
| light | vó'ho'- |
| all night | vó'n- |
| light (color) | vó(hp)- |
| rejoice | vóeše- |
| bend | vóhk- |
| discard | vóho'oes- |
| strict | vóhpon- |
| hole/depression | vóon- |
| nakéd | vó's- |
| remove | vóvo'k- |
| lift | von- |
| scarred | vonó- |
| spotted (white) | vovéh- |
| first/ahead | vovó- |
| massage | xá'xán- |
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-nèše’x-ahtse. He gargled. (lit., he-wash-mouth)
É-pèhèvé-éxáne. He has nice eyes. (lit., he-good-eye)

Initials and finals
We will also study finals more thoroughly shortly. A verb stem may consist of an initial plus a final:

É-ém-óéna. He's praying secretly. (lit., he-secret-pray)
É-he’kon-ose. He's frozen hard. (lit., he-hard-cold)
É-pèhévé-o’o’e. It's a good field. (lit., it-good-vegetation)

Initials, medials, and finals
A verb stem may consist of an initial, medial, and final:

É-háahpe’-éen-o’o’e. The snow is deep. (lit., it-deep-snow-lie)
É-am-óov-ā’a. He moved the water with his foot. (lit., he-along-water-by-foot)
Ná-to-óom-ān-a. I cooled the liquid by hand. (lit., I-cool-water-by-hand-IOAM)

Medials
Medials are noun-like meaning parts that are included in some verbs. Many body parts have medial forms in Cheyenne. Sometimes the spelling of a body part medial is unrelated to the spelling of the noun for that same body part. Some other things have medial forms, as well. Some medials have no noun counterpart.

Body part medials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>medial</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ankle</td>
<td>-noná</td>
<td>honono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
<td>-na’evá</td>
<td>ma’ahtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>-’pa’oná</td>
<td>ma’pa’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belly</td>
<td>-asé</td>
<td>matonèše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>-ma’emá</td>
<td>ma’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breast, udder</td>
<td>-tanahá</td>
<td>matåna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calf</td>
<td>-sevá</td>
<td>hésevo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>-’está</td>
<td>máhtovoo’otse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elbow</td>
<td>-htsé’ooná</td>
<td>máhtsé’oo’o’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>-’éxané</td>
<td>ma’exa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>face</td>
<td>-éné</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td>-(hk)osé</td>
<td>mo’èško</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foot / feet</td>
<td>-hahtá</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair</td>
<td>-ovésé, -a’é</td>
<td>me’ko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

148 Ma’ahtse includes the hand and forearm.
Examples of verbs with body part medials

Body part medials are boldfaced in the following verbs:

Nánémo-**noná**-otse. I twisted my ankle.
Náé’è-**škóhtá**-xe. I fell and broke my leg.
Énëxoós-*éne*. He has a cute face.
Éma’e-**esé**-vose. He has a red nose from the cold.
Néše’šè-**he’ōná**-htse! Wash your hands!
Éhese-**na’éva**-otse. He has cramps in his arms.
Éhese-**nomá**-otse. He has cramps in his thigh.
Éókökheve-**notóva**. He has a black dirty neck. (lit., he-crowlike-neck)
Étsëhe’se-**na’éva**. He has long arms.
Étotšëshe’è-’**ēsta**. His ears stick out.
Évohpe-**tanëva**. He has thrush. (lit., he-white-tongue)
Nápóe-**stséá**-hno. I punched him in the head.
Étahpe’-**ase**. He has a big belly.
Éó’-**óhta**. He is constipated. (lit., he-dry-bowels)
Éhévoe-**tanahá**-no’hāme. He’s milking. (lit., he-squeeze-udder-livestock).
Náéxové-**hahtá**-ho’he. I’m warming my feet. (lit., I-warm-foot-by.heat)
Éhéšk-**onené’o**. He (especially a dog) is showing his teeth (for example, when snarling at someone).

Néstsevé’hetséhëhno éše’he! Néstsematse-**ōse**. 'Don't point at the sun (or moon)! You’ll get an infected finger.'
Taa’ëva néstsevé’novoe'hitsëme! Méstaa’e néstseném-**ahsená**-o’haëvo. 'Don't eat outside at night! A ghost will give you Bell's palsy (lit., crooked mouth).'

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149 Rarely used as a noun.
Other medials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>medial</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ground, land</td>
<td>-óma'</td>
<td>ho'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband</td>
<td>-éhamá</td>
<td>naéhame⁵⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snow</td>
<td>-éen</td>
<td>hésta’se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strand</td>
<td>-ón(e)</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water, liquid</td>
<td>-óom</td>
<td>mahpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wood</td>
<td>-ó'(e)</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wife</td>
<td>-'evá</td>
<td>nåhtse’eme⁵¹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of verbs with other medials

Ée’-óma’-o’e. It's upward sloped ground.
Évóhp-éen-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>by foot</td>
<td>-a'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by hand</td>
<td>-an, -en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by cutting</td>
<td>-as (TA), -es (TA), -ax (TI), -ex (TI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by mouth</td>
<td>-óm (TA), -óht (TI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by tool</td>
<td>-oh(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by heat</td>
<td>-(a)ho’h(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by cold</td>
<td>-ose (AI), -ohta (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by liquid</td>
<td>-óová</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by speaking</td>
<td>-em</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹⁵⁰ Naéhame 'my husband' is obsolescent. Today Cheyennes usually say tsévéstoemo 'the one who is my spouse' for either a husband or wife.
¹⁵¹ Literally, 'my woman'. This word is obsolescent, replaced by tsévéstoemo. Today nåhtse’eme sounds vulgar since the related verb stem -hestse’eme is so close in pronunciation and means 'to have sex' (lit., to have a woman).
by thinking, regard -átam (TA), -átsest (TI)
by hearing -aht

Examples of verbs with instrumental finals

Nápo'-ōhn-o. I broke him off with a tool. (lit., I-off-by.tool-him)
Nápo'-ēs-o. I cut him off. (litl, I-off-by.cutting-him)
Éa't-āx-a. He accidentally cut it. (lit., I-accidentally-by.cutting-it)
Nápēhév-átám-o. I like him (lit., I-good-regard-him)
Étšēške'-óóva. It shrunk from washing. (lit., it-small-by.water)
Éta'p'-ose. He gets cold easily. (lit., he-weak-by.cold)
Éhe'kon-ōhta. It’s frozen. (lit., it-hard.by.cold)
Návon-ahō'h-a. I burned it up. (lit., I-remove-by.heat)
Énomon-e'hāna. He fell asleep eating (lit., he-drowsy-eat)
Nápēhév-ém-o. I spoke well of him. (lit., I-well-by.speaking-him)

Positional finals

Positional finals indicate a position or posture in which the action of a verb is performed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hang</td>
<td>-oése(ná) (AI), -oéstá (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lie</td>
<td>-eše(ná) (AI), -eha (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>/-oe/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>/-óé/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of verbs with positional finals

Ésétov-óésta. It's noon. (lit., it-middle-hang)
Éov-ēše. He went to bed. (lit., he-prostrate-lie)
Návéhp-ēš-mo. I emptied him. (e.g. a jug; lit., I-empty-lie-him)
Éháóéná-óó'e. He prayed standing up. (lit., he-pray-stand)
Énomon-oo'e. He fell asleep sitting. (lit., he-drowsy-sit)

Action finals

Action finals tell what kind of general action was done. An initial with an action final further describes the kind or path of the action:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>carry on back</td>
<td>-o'xe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dance</td>
<td>-ohomó'he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>-asé'se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>-e'haná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall</td>
<td>-a'ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flow</td>
<td>'-sevó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>-e'há</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>-ohtsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housework</td>
<td>-mosé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jerk</td>
<td>-a'xe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
rapid movement - ohe
ride horseback - a’hasó’he
roll - ó(e)
run - o’áhéotse
sew - nő’é
sing - noné
sleep - énó’me
sound - évó’ne
walk - (e)hné

Examples of verbs with action finals
É-én-o’xe. He unburdened. (lit., he-stop-carry.on.back)
Éam-ó’-éna. He hauled it by wagon. (lit., he-along-roll-FTI-it)
Éhosó-hne. He walked backwards. (lit., he-backwards-walk)
Énēhe-mōse. She does housework quickly. (lit. he-quickly-do.housework)
Éanōhe-’sēvo. It’s flowing down. (lit., it-down-flow)
Éhahpe-nó’e. She’s sewing. (lit., she-fasten-sew)
Námá’s-énome. I got enough sleep. (lit., I-complete-sleep)

Abstract finals
Abstract finals convey less specific information than do concrete finals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AI characteristic</td>
<td>-ahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II characteristic</td>
<td>-a’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II marker</td>
<td>-ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AI action final</td>
<td>-sané</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AI physical condition</td>
<td>-omóhtahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>detransitivizer</td>
<td>-ósané</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impersonal</td>
<td>-stove / -htove / -nove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mental state</td>
<td>-tanó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>resultative</td>
<td>-otse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>slow process</td>
<td>-ohtsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA object agreement (TAOM)</td>
<td>-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TI object agreement (TIOM)</td>
<td>-ht</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA object agreement (TAOM)</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA final</td>
<td>-ov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>transitivizer (TR)</td>
<td>-’tov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA causative</td>
<td>-seh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of verbs with abstract finals
The abstract finals in the following verbs are preceded by hyphens and boldfaced:

Épēhév-ahe. He is good.
Épēhév-’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-ósáné. He's teaching
Éáaht-ósáné. He listens (to people).
Émásetsést-ósáné. He welcomes (people).
Éháoen-h'tove. There is praying.
Éméhó-sáne. He loves.
Évovéstom-ósáné. He's teaching
Éhéso-ósáne. He listens (to people).
Émásetsést-ósáné. He welcomes (people).
Nápethé-omóhtahe. I feel good (physically).
Náhá-omohtahe. I'm sick.
Návehé-omóhtahe. I'm happy (lit., I-good-mental.state)
Návóó-m-o-o. I saw him (lit., I-see-TAOM-him)
Épéhévé-ťov-óho. He was good to him (obviative) (lit., he-good-TR-obv)

Relative roots

In Algonquian language relative roots, preverbs, and initials relate the verb they are in to something preceding or following in the speech context. Cheyenne heše- functions as a relative preverb and as a complementizer in dependent verbs of complex sentences, which is a kind of relative function. The initial heš-/het-152 performs the same anaphoric discourse function as does the heše-relative preverb. The preverb né- can precede a relative root or initial to further specify that it refers back to something preceding in the speech context. That is, it is an anaphoric marker. The preverb tsé- can precede a relative root or initial to specify that it refers forward to something yet to be said. So, tsé- is a cataphoric marker. Relative roots, preverbs, and initials are boldfaced in the following examples:

$\$EXAMPLES

Examples with relative roots

Oóxésta ná-heša. 'Same as always, that's how I am.'
Névé'-né-hešéve!'Don't do that!'
"Nápêhévomóhtahe," é-hevoo'o.153 'I'm feeling good,' that's what he said.
é-héso 'it's that way'

Examples with the relative preverb

Kovááhe ná-hešé-véhe. 'Youngman, that's how I am called (named).'
Táháohé hákó’e tósa’e hoháá’èšé móstá-hešé-hétoo’èhehvóhe. 'Far away somewhere that's where they were taken to prison.' (1987:185)

Examples with the relative initial

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

152 The pronunciation heš- is used before the "e" vowel; het- is used before "a" and "o".
153 The verb of saying in quote margins functions as a relative root.
that's what I ate.'

ná-**het**-áhtomóne 'I heard (it) that way'

é-**het**-óhta'hāne 'he told the story that way.'

'have' stems

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

Instrumentals

Instrumentals are language forms that indicate the tools or means used to do actions. Cheyenne has two ways of expressing that someone is doing something "with" or "by means of" something:

1. Instrumental preverb vé'se-
2. Instrumental suffix –vá

Ná-vé'se-mésehe ane'kohomó'hestótse. I ate with a fork.

Námésehe ane'kohomó'héstó-vá. I ate with a fork.

**$ARE THE EXAMPLES FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF THE BOOK NATURAL ENOUGH TO INCLUDE?? TRY TO INCLUDE SOME NATURAL EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS BELOW.**

**Instrumental preverb vé'se-**

The preverb vé'se- is used to indicate that the action or state of a verb was accomplished or reached by means of something.

Návé'se-ooma káhámáxe. ?? He hit me with a stick.

Ho'évohkótse ná-vé'se-háomóhtahéotsé. The meat made me sick.

Kokóhéáxa ná-vé'se-háomóhtahéotsenótse. The chicken (animate) made me sick. **$IS THIS A NATURAL EXAMPLE??**

**Instrumental suffix –vá**

The suffix /–vá/154 marks a noun which is used to perform some action.

Náaooma káhamáxéhé-vá. He hit me with a stick.

Náa'táxestse mótséské-vá. I accidentally cut myself with a knife.

**Use of both the instrumental preverb and suffix**

It is possible for both the instrumental preverb and instrumental suffix to be used in the same sentence: **$HOW NATURAL IS THIS??**

Ná-vé'se-oó'xoemaháne hóhkoxé-vá. I chopped wood with an ax. **$RECHECK**

**Other examples**

Náóó'xoemaháne hóhkoxéva. I chopped wood with an ax.

Náv'é'seoó'xoemaháne hóhkoxé. I chopped wood with an ax.

154 Because of word-final devoicing, the high pitch on this suffix is not heard when a word on which it occurs is pronounced. But the high pitch does cause the preceding syllable to be pronounced higher than a low pitch.
Hé’tóhe ná-vé’šé-hetótaetāno. ?? This makes me happy.

Ho’évohkótse nápénóha ho’honáéva. I ground ?? meat with a rock.
Máhaemenótse nápenóhanótse ho’honáéva. I ground corn\(^{155}\) with a rock.
Máhaemenótse návé’šepénóhanótse 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náháóéna</td>
<td>I prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náháoenavomotáho</td>
<td>I prayed for him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néháoenavomotaahtse</td>
<td>I prayed for you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néháoenavomotatsemeno</td>
<td>We (exclusive) prayed for you (sg/pl)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-vomotah can also express a substitutive meaning, which is a kind of benefactive meaning. A substitutive meaning communicates the idea that someone does something in place of someone else.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhotse’óhevomotáho</td>
<td>I worked for him (that is, I worked in his place).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The English sentence "I worked for him" is ambiguous in that it can mean that I worked in his place. Or, it can also mean that I worked for someone to would earn money. Cheyenne uses a different ending on its verb for 'work' to express the idea of working for someone as employment:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhotse’ota</td>
<td>I worked for him (that is, he employed me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhotse’óto</td>
<td>He worked for me (that is, I employed him)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nátotse’ótoo'o</td>
<td>They worked for me (that is, I employed them)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other benefactive finals**

Some abstract TA finals can express a benefactive meaning with certain verb stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nánéméne.</td>
<td>I sang.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nánéméövo.</td>
<td>I sang for him (benefactive).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nánémeova.</td>
<td>He sang for me (benefactive).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhonóhta.</td>
<td>I baked it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhonóhtomévo.</td>
<td>I baked it for him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhonóhtomevonótse.</td>
<td>I baked them (inan) for him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhonóhtomóenótse.</td>
<td>He baked them (inan) for me.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Causatives**

Some TA verb endings express the idea of causing someone to do something.

**-‘seh**

The TA final –‘seh can be added to many TA verb stems to create causatives:

\(^{155}\) Corn is referred to as a grammatical plural in Cheyenne.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nánémené'sého.</th>
<th>I made him sing. (without the final, Énémé = He sang)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nánémené'seha.</td>
<td>He made me sing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námésèhè'sého.</td>
<td>I made him eat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náovèsènà'sého.</td>
<td>I made him go to bed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nánaótse'sého.</td>
<td>I made him sleep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhotse'óhè'sého.??</td>
<td>I made him work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhomosè'sého.</td>
<td>I made him cook.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námésèhè'sehatsenòtse.??</td>
<td>I made you eat him (e.g. a duck).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námésèhè'séhatsènòto.??</td>
<td>I made you eat them (animate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésèhè'sèhòno.??</td>
<td>He made him (obv) eat him (obv).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némésèhè'sèsèòtse.??</td>
<td>You made me eat him.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóó'sého.</td>
<td>I showed it to him (lit. I caused him to see it).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóó'sèhonòtse</td>
<td>I showed them (inan) to him.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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.
- Éhástáhémóho. He angered him (obv).

**Particles**

In this book we consider any part of speech other than nouns and verbs to be particles. We introduced particles at the beginning of this book. We mentioned that possible subtypes of particles are demonstratives, indefinite pronouns, interrogative particles, numbers, conjunctions (connectives), exclamations (??), epistemic particles (??), and location particles.**REVISE AND COORDINATE THIS LIST WITH THE LIST IN THE PARTS OF SPEECH SECTION**

**Conjunctions**

Conjunctions, also known as connectives, are words which connect other words or longer stretches of speech together:

- naa and
- máto also
- oha only

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néhe'šé then
nonohpa so that

Some connectives occur in combinations:

naa māto and also
naa oha but

GIVE EXAMPLES. INCLUDE DESCRIPTION AND EXAMPLES OF DISCOURSE USE OF naa to mark discourse "episodes" (paragraphs?).

Demonstratives

Demonstratives are particles which point to things in the speech context. Demonstratives are marked for animacy and distance from a speaker. They are not marked for number (singular or plural):

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

Demonstratives can modify a noun which they precede:

tsé'tóhe ka'ēškóné this child
hé'tóhe máheonőtse these houses
tá'tóhe mo'ēhno'ha that horse
há'tóhe máheñó'ó that house

Demonstratives can stand alone, referring to something which is not overtly mentioned by name:

tsé'tóhe this one (animate)
hé'tóhe this one (inanimate)
tá'tóhe that one (animate)
há'tóhe that one (inanimate)

Discourse demonstratives

Another set of demonstratives refers to things which have already been spoken about in some speech context. We call these discourse demonstratives. Discourse demonstratives can modify a following noun or stand alone.

néhe this one referred to in the more recent discourse (animate)
héne this one referred to in the more recent discourse (inanimate)
náhe that one which speaker assumes hearer knows about (animate)
háne that one which speaker assumes hearer knows about (inanimate)

Indefinite pronouns

hová'ēhe something, nothing
hovánee'e no one
nevá'esēstse someone
nevá'esesto
néséhoo'o
néséhoono
nésévooho
hénáá'énése

hénése
hénésehe
Móhenéséhanehe

$\text{OTHERS}$

**Interrogative particles**

Interrogative particles ask questions: $\text{GLOSSTHESEPARTICLES}$

néváâhe
néváâso
neváaseo’o
neváasóho
hénová’e
hénová’ehótse
hénová’éto
hénová’etotse
hénová’etse
hénová’etsénése
hénová’etotsénése
hénáá’e
hénáá’énése
tóne’sêe
tósa’e

$\text{ADD OTHERS}$

**Command particles**

Some particles function as commands:

Nóheto! Let's go!
Nóxa’e! Wait!
Ótahe! Listen!
Táaxa’e! Let's see! ($\text{FUNCTIONS AS COMMAND??}$)

**Location particles**

Location particles refer to locations:

áhtóno’e under
anôheto below
he’ama up
heama side
táxeto top
tóxeha edge
Epistemic particles

Epistemic particles are important for communicating how Cheyenne speakers relate to what they are saying. They are especially useful in conversation as Cheyenne interact with each other. They are to a dialogue something like what seasoning is to food. Without these particles Cheyenne utterances would be less flavorful. Following are a number of these particles, with attempts to translate them to English. The late linguist Robert Longacre referred to particles like these as "mystery particles". That is an good label for particles which are so important to a discourse, yet are sometimes mysteriously difficult to analyze and define.

Éóotáma especially
hotâhtse unexpectedly, lo and behold
aose right?
ta'se like
hámó'ôhtse for instance
mé'tô'ë on the other hand
ônétáhtse instead
ótséhámóhe oops
hé Oh, I made a mistake
ta'sótse I mistakenly thought (contracted from ta'se hótâhtse)
héva maybe
hēa'e maybe
hēá'ëháma maybe
tá'séháma maybe
nóháse anything, whatever
nóháséháma just any way
hévámohe I guess, apparently

Exclamatory particles

Exclamatory particles express strong feelings, typically of surprise or amazement. Cheyenne exclamatory particles traditionally have different pronunciations for females and males. Cheyenne exclamatory particles function like English interjections.

Šaa! / Éaa! Wow! (traditionally said by males, but said today by some females also)
Náoo! / Nóoo! Wow! (said only by females)
Emphatic particles

Some particles are created by adding the suffix -to to a preverb. These particles have a more emphatic meaning than the preverbs they are created from.$$$RECHECK CLAIM

ameto as time goes on
anòheto down
hehpeto later
hóseto again
oné'séómeto truly
sóhpeto through
táxeto on top

Examples with emphatic particles

hehpeto tsé'éšeméoese Tséhe'ėsta'ėhe 'after the battle with Long Hair (Custer)' (1987:59)

Naa nèhe'še hóseto, "Amèške nèstseó'komatsénoho vóohe." 'And then again (he would say), "Fat, I'll take a small bite of you, stop."' (Croft 1988:18)

Numbers

Cheyenne numbers are expressed through several well developed systems. One set of numbers is used for counting how many things there are. Another set of numbers is used for counting how many times some action is done. Another set of numbers is used for counting groups. Some numbers are particles. Others are parts of verbs. Let’s examine the various number systems. $$REVISE
(include nó'kóve, number preverbs, how many overnights, numbers of days: néšéé'èstse, etc.)

Cheyennes usually teach children Cheyenne numbers in bilingual school programs. They teach children to count in Cheyenne, since they, the teachers, were taught to count in English when they were in school. But it is likely that number counting was never a natural Cheyenne activity--and it probably is not a natural activity for learning to speak English, either. And it is questionable how useful reciting numbers is for learning to converse in Cheyenne.

If you are a Cheyenne language teacher, I would encourage you to teach children numbers in natural ways, rather than teaching them a list of numbers and asking them to recite them. For instance, you might show them three balls and ask them, in Cheyenne, of course, how many balls there are. Ask them how many times they have played hand games. Teach them to ask how many months old a baby is and teach them how to give right answers to such a question.

Try to avoid teaching any lists of words, whether they are lists of number, colors, or animals. Speakers of any language do not normally recite lists of words. Instead, people naturally use words as they experience life. Try to remember how you were taught to understand and speak Cheyenne, and then try to teach that same way to children in Cheyenne language programs. The main point is: Make language teaching natural. Just keep speaking in Cheyenne to children, just as parents speak any language to their children. Parents keep talking to their children even though their children don’t understand every word right away. But by repeating words and sentences over and over when it is the right time to say them in natural speech contexts, children begin to understand the words, whether it is "Don't do that!" in English or its equivalent "Névé'nèhešééve!" or thousands of other words in
Whatever language you speak.

Even though learning to recite a list of Cheyenne numbers may not help children very much to learn to understand and speak Cheyenne, it is important, eventually, to learn the various ways that Cheyennes organize numbers and use them in natural speaking. Always, however, Cheyenne language needs to take place in natural speech contexts. While children are walking, eating, or playing, talk with them in Cheyenne about what they are doing and what you are doing. No one can learn to understand and speak Cheyenne by learning lists of words, looking up words in a Cheyenne dictionary, or even reading this grammar book. Cheyenne dictionaries and grammar books can be helpful resources. They just should not be used as patterns for teaching Cheyenne to others. Let’s now learn about Cheyenne numbers, even though we encourage you not to simply memorize the lists that are written in this section about numbers.

**Number particles**
Numbers which indicate how many things and how many times can be considered particles. Number particles are not inflected for animacy of a noun that they modify.

**Cardinal numbers**
Cardinal numbers tell how many things there are. Things counted can be anything, such as trees, cars, tepees, babies, men, women, dogs, cats, deer, books, or chokers. The pronunciation of a number does not change if the noun it modifies is animate or inanimate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na'èstse</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neše</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'he</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neve</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noho</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nesohto</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésohto</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nohto</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sóohto</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhtohto</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóhtô)hóhtáhna'èstse</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóhtô)hóhtáhnešè</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésó’è</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésó'è hóhtáhna'èstse</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésó'è hóhtáhnešè</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésó'è hóhtáhna'he</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nó'è</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nó'è hóhtáhnoho</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névó'è</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóhóno'è</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>næsóhtóhnó'è</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésóhtóhnó'è</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nóhtóhnó'è</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sóohtóhnó'è</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no'ka máhtóhtóhnó’è ??</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of numbers of things

- na’éstse hetane: one man
- na’éstse kahámáxe: one stick
- neše máheonótse: two houses
- neve he’e’e’o: four women
- noho ka’eskóneho: five children
- naesohto póeso: six cats
- nésó’e mo’kéhanótse: twenty shoes

Multiplicative numbers

Multiplicative numbers tell how many times some action was done. This set of numbers end with -a for 1-5 and -ha for 6-10.

- no’ka: once
- nexa: twice
- na’ha: 3 times
- neva: 4 times
- nólona: 5 times
- náasóhto: 6 times
- nésóhto: 7 times
- na’nóhto: 8 times
- sóohto: 9 times
- máhtóhto: 10 times
- (mahtóhtoh)hohtahno’ka: 11 times
- (mahtóhtoh)hohtahnexa: 12 times
- nésó’e: 20 times (same pronunciation as for 20 things)
- no’ka máhtóhtochno’e: 100 times (same pronunciation as for 100 things)
- no’ka vonoéstónestóva: 1000 times (lit., once lost-count)

Examples of numbers of times

1. Nó’ka nénæoetse. 'You fainted one time.'
2. no’ka ho’nénéstóva ‘one step length’ (lit., ‘once by step’; this is approximately one yard)
3. nexa hámohtséhnéstóva tsénéhe’esévoënéstse ‘twice tepee raising that’s how long his face is’ (This is a funny phrase said by a lady related to a man who had a long face, whom she wished to shame for having beaten his wife. It can be paraphrased as something like "his face is so long he could pitch two tepees on it").
4. Neva náhoxéhéšéva.?? 'Four times I pledged to put on a Sun Dance.'

Numbers of groups

These numbers tell how many groups there are. A group can be a pair, a band, etc. A group number is composed of a number stem plus the group suffix /-óvé/.

- nó’kóvé: one group
- nésóvé: two groups
- ná’nóvé: three groups
- névóvé: four groups
- nóhónóvé: five groups
- naesóhtóhnóvé: six groups
nésóhtóhnóvé  seven groups
na'ňóhtóhnóvé  eight groups
sóóhtóhnóvé  nine groups
máhtóhtóhnóvé  ten groups

Examples of numbers of groups
nésóvé mo'kéhanótse  two pairs of shoes
névévé xamaevō'estaneo'o  four tribes of Indians
nóhónóvé nóta'xeo'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'kē'éšė  one day\(^{156}\)
- néšéé'éšė  two days
- na'he'he'šė  three days
- névéé'éšė  four days
- nóhonéé'éšė  five days

Examples in sentences:

Névé'šė náévahoe'éhtse. 'I returned four days ago.'
Névéé'šė mónnéma'méóhehevéhé. 'For four days they ran around.' (The Great Race, W. Leman, 1987:245)

**Numbers in verbs**

Cheyenne numbers appear in several verb constructions. They can occur as preverbs, initials, and roots of verbs.

**Number preverbs**

Here are some number preverbs:

- no'ke-  one
- néše-  two
- na'he-  three
- néve-  four
- nóhone-  five

Examples with number preverbs

Ná-no'ke-ene.  I stayed one night.
Ná-néšé-ene.  I stayed two nights.
É-névé-éno'ë.  It's the second day of the week.
Nána'he-enó'tše.  I camped three nights.
É-na'he-némeneo'o.  There are three of them singing.
É-névé-éno'ë.  It was four overnights ago.
Vé'ho'éotóë tse-névé-óhta.  The cow will have four legs. (Sweet Medicine's prophecy)
É-nóhone-aénáma.  He is five years old.

\(^{156}\) That is, an overnight.
Number initials

Here are some number initials:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no’k-</td>
<td>one</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nés-</td>
<td>two</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na’n-</td>
<td>three</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>név-</td>
<td>four</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóhon-</td>
<td>five</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples with number initials

- É-nésoeme. He/It costs two (dollars).
- É-na’noéséne. Three hang. (e.g., of three stars in a constellation)
- É-névanène. He did it four times.
- É-nóhon-oeme. He/It costs five (dollars).

Number roots

Number roots occur with both animate and inanimate subjects. Animate subjects can be of any person, first, second, third, or obviated:

Animate subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root Pattern</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>É-no’kahe.</td>
<td>There is one of him/her.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-néseo’o.</td>
<td>There are two of them (animate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ná-nésséme.</td>
<td>There are two of us (exclusive).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-na’heo’o.</td>
<td>There are three of them (animate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-néveo’o.</td>
<td>There are four of them (animate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-nóhoneo’o.</td>
<td>There are five of them (animate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-naesóhtóxeo’o.</td>
<td>There are six of them (animate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-na’nóhtóxeo’o.</td>
<td>There are eight of them (animate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-sóohtóxeo’o.</td>
<td>There are nine of them (animate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-máhtóhtóxeo’o.</td>
<td>There are ten of them (animate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-néso’oheo’o.</td>
<td>There are twenty of them (animate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-néso’oënéstse.</td>
<td>There are twenty of them (animate).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inanimate subjects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root Pattern</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>É-nó’ka’e.</td>
<td>There is one of it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-néxánéstse.</td>
<td>There are two of them (inanimate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-na’hánéstse.</td>
<td>There are three of them (inanimate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-névánéstse.</td>
<td>There are four of them (inanimate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-nóhonáñéstse.</td>
<td>There are five of them (inanimate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-naesóhtóhnéstse.</td>
<td>There are six of them (inanimate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-nésóhtóhnéstse.</td>
<td>There are seven of them (inanimate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-na’nóhtóhnéstse.</td>
<td>There are eight of them (inanimate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-sóohtóhnéstse.</td>
<td>There are nine of them (inanimate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-máhtóhtóhnéstse.</td>
<td>There are ten of them (inanimate).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'káhe'tó: by myself, I alone $$CONTRAST WITH THE NEXT ONE
- néh-no'káhe'tó: I alone
- néh-néshése: both of you (plural)
- tsé-néshése: the two of them (animate)
- tsé-na'hése: the three of them (animate)
- tsé-névése: the four of them (animate)
- tsé-nóhonese: the five of them (animate)
- tsé-naesóhtoxése: the six of them (animate)
- hotóhkeo'o tsé-nésóhtoxése: the seven stars (Cheyenne for the Pleiades constellation)
- tsé-na'nóhtoxése: the eight of them (animate)
- tsé-sóohtoxése: the nine of them (animate)
- tsé-mahtóhtoxése: 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

Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers tell what place something has in sequential order. The Cheyenne final /-a'ónétó/ indicates number sequence. Ordinal numbers can be expressed in either the independent or conjunct orders, as shown in the following examples (the conjunct order examples begin with tsé-):

- É-no'ka'ónéto: It is the first one.
- É-néxa'ónéto: It is the second one
- tsé-néxa'ónéto: the second one
- tsé-na'ha'ónéto: the third one
- É-néva'ónéto: It is the fourth one.
- tsé-nóhoná'ónéto: the fifth one
- tsé-naesóhto'na'ónéto: the sixth one
- tsé-nésóhto'na'ónéto: the seventh one
- tsé-na'nóhto'na'ónéto: the eighth one
- tsé-sóohto'na'ónéto: the ninth one

$$CHECK FOR EXAMPLES WITH ANIMATE SUBJECTS, e.g. 'he is the second one'

Group number verbs

Cheyenne verbs can take a number initial plus an AI /-óvahe/ or II /-óvátó/ final indicating a group. This final is related to the /-óvé/ suffix we saw on particles for numbers of groups.

- É-nésováhe'oo: There are three groups (animate).
- É-névováhe'oo: There are four groups (animate).
- É-névovátó'néstse: There are four groups (inanimate).
**Numbers in days of the week**

Numbers are used in names for some of the Cheyenne days of the week. Note that in Oklahoma the first day begins on Tuesday, while in Montana the first day begins on Monday. Here are some of the ways to say the Cheyenne days of the week. For other ways, see the later section of this book on Days of the week in the larger section on words for Time in Cheyenne. To make them easier to see, numbers in the names for days of the week are highlighted here:

**Oklahoma days of the week**

Here are days of the week for Oklahoma, as listed by Cheyenne language teacher Lenora Holliman:

- **Éno'keéno'e.** Tuesday (lit., 'It's the first day.'
- **Énéšééno'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.'
- **Étšēške'ma'heónéešeeve.** It's Saturday (lit., 'It's the little holy day.'
- **Éma'heónéešeeve.** It's Sunday (lit., 'It's the holy day.'
- **Éénema'heónéešeeve.** It's Monday (lit., 'It's the end of the holy day.'

**Montana days of the week**

- **No'ka éšēeva** Monday (lit., 'on the first day')
- **Nexa éšēeva** Tuesday (lit., 'on the second day')
- **Na'ha éšēeva** Wednesday (lit., 'on the third day')
- **Neva éšēeva** Thursday (lit., 'on the fourth day')
- **Nóhona éšēeva** Friday (lit., 'on the fifth day')
- **Tšēške'ma'heónéešēeva** Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day')
- **Ma'heónéešēeva** Sunday (lit., 'on the holy day')

**Language change**

Changes occur over time in every language. Sounds and meanings of Cheyenne words have experienced such historical changes.

Cheyenne has descended from Proto-Algonquian (PA), the ancestor of all the Algonquian languages. Through careful study linguists are able to observe changes which have occurred in the sounds and grammar between Proto-Algonquian and each of its descendant languages, including Cheyenne.

We have also been able to observe further changes taking place in the Cheyenne language in the past few decades. Let's outline some of the main changes which have occurred in the long history that has led to the current sounds and grammar of Cheyenne.

**Proto-Algonquian to Cheyenne changes**

Following are some Cheyenne words with their Proto-Algonquian (PA) source words (etyma). Proto-words are marked with the asterisk (*), following standard practice.

---

157 From Internet webpage: http://www.swosu.edu/academics/catc/dictionary/c04.aspx
ame (PA *pemyi, "grease")
he'e (cf. PA *weθkweni, "his liver")
hē'e (PA **eθkwē·wa, "woman")
hetane (PA *er*$ßenyiwa, "man")
matana (PA *mēθenyi, "milk")
šé'se
sémo
xōó'o
pe'e
netse
hotōá'e
nēše
na'he

RECHECK PA AND ADD MORE EXAMPLES

PA: Cheyenne correspondences
Common Cheyenne reflexes of PA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PA</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$others</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More recent Cheyenne sound changes
We can observe some changes in Cheyenne from published records. Other changes have been personally observed.

h-addition
We have noted that PA nouns that began with a vowel now begin with the letter "h" in Cheyenne. Most of this change occurred before the end of the 1800s when Petter began his study of Cheyenne. However, Petter (1915) did record some Cheyenne nouns which he heard beginning with a vowel, which later began with "h":

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>Petter</th>
<th>modern Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>azesc</td>
<td>hátseške</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
<td>oxzem</td>
<td>hóhtséme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sioux</td>
<td>Ohoomoheo</td>
<td>Ho'óhomo'eo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>oxooxzz</td>
<td>cf. hoxo'ohtsévō'èstse 'grass' $DELETE EXAMPLE??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Simplification
Simplification of sound sequences and regularization of grammatical patterns commonly occur in languages. We observe both forms of language change in Cheyenne.
Loss of voiceless syllables

Younger Cheyenne speakers simplify the sounds of some words. They drop the sounds of some words, especially some voiceless syllables which are difficult to hear. Here are some words with their traditional pronunciation and pronunciations by many younger speakers today:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>traditional pronunciation</th>
<th>younger speaker pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>máhtamáhááhe</td>
<td>tamáháahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book</td>
<td>móxe’éstoo’o</td>
<td>xe’éstoo’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I asked him</td>
<td>nánóhtéstéstóvo</td>
<td>nánéstóvo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berries</td>
<td>menótse</td>
<td>menéstse ??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your pet</td>
<td>néstótse</td>
<td>stótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kills On The Water</td>
<td>Máhpevana’háne</td>
<td>Pevana’háne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I see you</td>
<td>névóomátse</td>
<td>névóoméstse ??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regularization

Cheyennes have been regularizing some irregular grammatical patterns.

Obviation regularization

Cheyenne obviatives have been undergoing some regularization. Remember that Cheyenne, like other Algonquian languages, allows only one third person to be in focus at any one time. Any other third person is moved out of focus. It is called an obviative. A third person which remains in focus is called a proximate. Obviated nouns take an obviative suffix. Verbs which have obviated objects take obviative suffixes, as well.

Some proximate and obviative nouns, along with the phonemic spelling of the proximate, are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>phonemic</th>
<th>proximate</th>
<th>obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>/he’é/</td>
<td>hē’e</td>
<td>he’óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>/hetane/</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetanóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clock</td>
<td>/éše’he/</td>
<td>éše’he</td>
<td>éše’hóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sioux</td>
<td>/ho’óho’mo’é/</td>
<td>Ho’óhomö’e</td>
<td>Ho’óhomo’óho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see that the obviative suffix on these nouns is –óho. However, if a noun ended with a phonemic high pitch, it traditionally would take a low pitched suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>phonemic</th>
<th>proximate</th>
<th>obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fly (insect)</td>
<td>/hésé/</td>
<td>hése</td>
<td>heso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>/ho’honáé/</td>
<td>ho’honáá’e</td>
<td>ho’honaa’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>/nóte/</td>
<td>notse</td>
<td>noto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nighthawk</td>
<td>/pé’e/</td>
<td>pe’e</td>
<td>pe’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>/šéšé/</td>
<td>šéšé</td>
<td>šé’xo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pitches of obviatives and their suffixes alternated between high and low depending on the phonemic pitch of the penultimate (next-to-the-last) vowel.\(^{158}\) For several decades many fluent speakers have


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been regularizing these alternations so that obviatives take only the single suffix /-óho/. So, the obviative nouns in the preceding list are increasingly pronounced as in the following list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>phonemic</th>
<th>proximate</th>
<th>obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fly (insect)</td>
<td>/hésé/</td>
<td>hésé</td>
<td>hésóho ($$ RECHECK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>/ho'honáé/</td>
<td>ho'honáá'e</td>
<td>ho'honáóho($$ RECHECK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>/note/</td>
<td>notse</td>
<td>nótoho($$ RECHECK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nighthawk</td>
<td>/pě'e/</td>
<td>pe'e</td>
<td>pě'óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>/šéšé/</td>
<td>šéšé</td>
<td>šé'xóho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same regularization is occurring with verbs which are marked for obviation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>phonemic stem</th>
<th>older</th>
<th>newer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>he (obv) is praying</td>
<td>/-háóéná/</td>
<td>éháoenaho??</td>
<td>éháóénáho ??$$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he loves her (obv)</td>
<td>/-méhót/</td>
<td>éméhoto</td>
<td>éméhótóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he fought him (obv)</td>
<td>/-méót/</td>
<td>éméoto</td>
<td>éméótóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he ate him (obv)</td>
<td>/-mév/</td>
<td>émevo</td>
<td>émévóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he (obv) invited to feast</td>
<td>/-mó'é/</td>
<td>émo'o</td>
<td>émó'óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she suckled him (obv)</td>
<td>/-néh/</td>
<td>éneho</td>
<td>énéhóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he (obv) is nursing</td>
<td>/-néne/</td>
<td>énexo</td>
<td>énéxóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there are two of them (obv)</td>
<td>/-néše/</td>
<td>énexo</td>
<td>énéxóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there are four of them (obv)</td>
<td>/-néve/</td>
<td>énevo</td>
<td>énévóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he hates him (obv)</td>
<td>/-péót/</td>
<td>épéoto</td>
<td>épótóho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The older pronunciation has a low-pitched ending if the stem-final vowel is high-pitched. The regularized pronunciation has a high pitch on the first vowel of the obviative suffix, regardless of the pitch of the stem-final vowel.

Regularization of the TI theme sign

A increasing number of speakers regularize the TI theme sign to /á/ instead of retaining the older /ó/ theme sign which occurred in TI negative verbs. The theme sign vowels are underlined in these examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>positive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>older negative</th>
<th>newer negative</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>návóóhta</td>
<td>I saw it</td>
<td>násáavóóhtóhe</td>
<td>násáavóóhtáhe</td>
<td>I did not see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhestána</td>
<td>he took it</td>
<td>ésáahestáñgéhe</td>
<td>ésáahestáníhe</td>
<td>he did not take it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'éna</td>
<td>I know it</td>
<td>násáahéne'éñóhe</td>
<td>násáahéne'énáhe</td>
<td>I do not know it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regularization of irregular possessives

We previously mentioned that Cheyennes have been changing irregular possessive prefixes so that they are regular. We repeat a few examples here:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>irregular</th>
<th>regular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nénove 'my home'$$RECHECK</td>
<td>navénove ??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Idiolectal changes
Some changes in Cheyenne are focused more in the speech of

Semantic change
Not only do sounds change over time, but meanings of word 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 tôhévetse, phonetically [thô'vɪc]. 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 Vášētaēno. 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'
Pévehetóéva 'Good evening'
Pévetaa'ëva 'Good night'

These greetings have been adapted to be pronounced as verbs, creating more natural sounding greetings used by some speakers:

Épévevóonā'o 'It's a good morning'
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 today. Cheyennes have adapted this borrowing to be pronounced as a fully inflected verb:

Néstaéváhósevómátse '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 $$?? toóneho' o! You hit the nail on the head!
We're scraping the bottom of the barrel.$$During one work session an elder and I literally translated an English idiom to Cheyenne:

É-ma' xemené-he'anátó 'It's plum easy'
The Cheyenne word for 'plum' is má'xeme. We used it as a preverb along with the Cheyenne verb stem /-he'anátó/ meaning. We then had fun combining this new preverb with other verbs, such as É'ma'xenéhotoanátó '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. Some created words have been used for so long that they are no longer thought of a new words. Others are more recently minted. Some have been created recently but are not in common usage.

Older created words
Here are some words which were created when Cheyennes encountered new things and needed names for them. These words have been a regular part of the Cheyenne language for many years: $$
cow
stable
coffee
tea
airplane
buggy
car
battery
tire
schoolbus
school
post office
desk
pencil
chair
basketball
newspaper
tribal office
tribal council
casino
movie theater
policeman
doctor
soldier
diabetes
pneumonia
tuberculosis
cancer
venereal disease
Thanksgiving

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’čševótse 'baby', ka’čškóne 'child', oeškése 'dog', mahpe 'water', hoohtséstse 'tree', and mé’čstse '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’čškóne, 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’čškóne"? Hopefully, you will answer that neither one is better. Both are good, appropriate ways to say the same thing in each language.

With that understanding, that each way of saying something is good, let us compare some monomials (single words) and binomials (double words) of Cheyenne and English:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>monomial</th>
<th>binomial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mé’čševótse</td>
<td>kásovááhe, hetané-ka’čškóne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka’čškóne</td>
<td>oeškése</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oeškése</td>
<td>mahpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahpe</td>
<td>hoohtséstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoohtséstse</td>
<td>mé’čstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé’čstse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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words or sentences
Sometimes a language can say something with a single word that is said by an entire sentence in another language. Cheyenne verbs are single words (monomials), often with several smaller parts (morphemes). But Cheyenne single word verbs usually must be translated as entire sentences in English. Neither way is better than the other. Both ways of saying the same thing are good:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>monomial</th>
<th>sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éméšehe.</td>
<td>He (or She) is eating (or He, or She, ate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ékóká'axe.</td>
<td>He (or She) is jumping. (or He, or She, was jumping.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náháéána.</td>
<td>I'm hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nééšemésehéhe?</td>
<td>Did you already eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épéhéva'e.</td>
<td>It's good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'o'kóho.</td>
<td>It's raining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáatséhe'ševóomatséhe.</td>
<td>I never see you. ??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Semantic ranges
Sometimes a word in one language does not exactly match a word (or words) in another language. The words in the different languages might have slightly different meanings. Or they might share some of the same meanings, but have some meanings that are not the same. Again, this does not mean that one of the languages is better than the other language. It just means that the languages have different ways of saying things.

The set of meanings that a word has is called its semantic range. Often the semantic ranges of words between languages do not match up exactly. This makes the job of translating between these language more difficult, but not impossible.

Cheyenne and English have different semantic ranges for words having to do with siblings. For instance, in the Cheyenne language there are several words that refer to sibling relationships: older sibling, younger sibling, older brother, younger brother, sibling/cousin, etc. $$DESCRIBE THE DETAILS, TRY TO SHOW THEM WITH SEMANTIC RANGE CIRCLES$$

$$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.?? (He lies. (lit., he is two-tongued)).
- Éhéšto'kehe. (He is duplicitous. (lit., he is dual-natured)).
- Ého'néhevéhóhtse. (She outsmarts men. (lit., she has wolf footprints)).
- Épéeēse. (He is a hellraiser. (lit., he has a ground up nose)).
- Éhesó'xotoote'sta.?? (Éhesó'xo'ësta??) (He doesn't listen. (lit., he has slippery ears)).
- Énéhestáha. (He's gets angry easily. (lit., he is quick-hearted)).
- ó'kóhóme (sly, conniving person (lit., coyote)).
- Éó'köhoméhevéxáne. (He is sly/he cheats. (lit., he has coyote eyes)).
- Énéhpoése ma'ëno. (It's foggy. (lit., the turtle is hanging shrouded)).
- Námēvá'ë. (They gossiped about me. (lit., they ate me)).
- Heávohe nétáxe'hátova. (You are in a bad mood. (lit., the devil is hanging over you)).
Hesevávónő'e a'e hestonovónő'e! Wow, that's amazing! (lit., wow, close to a drymeat rack)
Vó'kéme éhonóva. It has snowed and snow is hanging on tree branches. (lit.,
Old Man Winter is hanging drymeat)
onahá'e máxhevéesëvóhtse never (lit., when frogs have teeth)
Móéšëto'séchëstsevévéshëhëhe. He's "crazy". (lit., he's about to have horns)
Ého'ehëtôó'e hâvëzëvévëhanëhëho. He's angry. (lit. The mad drummer came to him)
Náto'semahéto ho'honáá'e. I'm going to be stubborn. (lit., I'm going to swallow a rock)
Náno'ee'ëha'onótse vouhe. I got up really early. (lit., I put on my shoes with the
morning star)
Névááhe tséheaxáxévonéstse? Who is the boss? (lit., Who has the bell? This idiom is
based on the image of the lead cow wearing a bell)
Éhonë'a vé'ho'émahpe. He drinks all the time. (lit., he is clothed with whiskey)
Émaa'e. He's courting. (lit., he's barking)
Étaoméhótsenóhtvévenestse napápóneéhéhame. My stomach is growling. (lit., my tapeworm
can almost talk by itself)

Semantic domains

Semantic domains are how speakers of a language group words according to how they belong
together in topics. Speakers of a language group words together as they view that they belong together.
The culture of the speakers determines how the groupings of words are made. Groups of words that
belong together, according to speakers of a language, are called semantic domains. Some Cheyenne
semantic domains have been influenced by interaction between traditional Cheyenne culture and
other cultures, especially those of the vé'hó'e (white people) and their educational, business, and
entertainment cultural patterns. Following are some of the semantic domains of Cheyenne language
and culture. Many others can be found in the Cheyenne Topical Dictionary (Glenmore and W. Leman,
19??), as well as online copies of the Cheyenne Dictionary.

Numbers

The Cheyenne language has words for various numbers. Cheyennes have traditionally spoken
about how many deer they shot or how many children they have. Cheyennes tell how many times they
have done some action. Cheyenne speakers knew their numbers as fluent speakers of the language. It
is probable, however, that Cheyennes never traditionally counted as an exercise in itself, as in done
today in Cheyenne bilingual education programs. But counting is now considered a important part of
Cheyenne language learning. Many Cheyenne children have learned to count from 1 to 10, using one
or both of the two traditional Cheyenne number systems, numbers for how many things and numbers
for how many times something is done:

Numbers of things

Numbers of times

Animals

Horses

Cheyenne life changed significantly after Cheyennes moved to the Great Plains and acquired
horses. A horse culture developed. Words about horses became one of the most developed semantic
domains of the Cheyenne language.
Fluent Cheyenne speakers have traditionally referred to various colors. Some of the words for colors can be used about almost any object. Other words are only used for certain purposes, such as the various colors of horses.

For several decades Cheyenne children have been taught Cheyenne colors in bilingual education programs.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>&quot;It is __.&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;He is __.&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>émo?ǒhtávo</td>
<td>émo?ǒhtávaha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>émo?kǒhtávo</td>
<td>émo?kǒhtávaha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>éctá?távo</td>
<td>éctá?tavahe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, tan</td>
<td>émōsēškáno</td>
<td>émōsēškanehe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, tan</td>
<td>énōno</td>
<td>énōnaha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gray</td>
<td>épō?o</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green</td>
<td>éhoxo?ōhtsévo</td>
<td>éhoxo?ōhtsévaha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>éma?éhaovo</td>
<td>éma?éheóvaha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purple</td>
<td>éhoxo?kóho?so</td>
<td>éhoxo?kóho?saha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>éma?o</td>
<td>éma?o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>évō?ómo</td>
<td>évō?omahe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>évō?kómo</td>
<td>évō?komaha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, light</td>
<td>évō?ho</td>
<td>évō?phahe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>éheóvo</td>
<td>éheóvaha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheóvóva</td>
<td>He is yellow-furred.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épēhévóva</td>
<td>He has nice fur.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évō?néóva</td>
<td>He (e.g. a horse) is bay-colored.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhokó?sóva</td>
<td>He is chestnut-colored.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émo?ǒhtáxamanóva</td>
<td>He is brown-black-colored.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émōsēškanehe</td>
<td>He is buckskin.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énōnóva</td>
<td>He is tan-colored.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évovó?hase</td>
<td>He is pinto.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COLOR PARTICIPLES:**
- tséhaovo
- tséhévóo?éstse
- tséheóvoestse
- tséheóváhese
- tséma?tase
- tsévó?komoo?éstse

**COLORS AS "ADJECTIVES":**
- heóve-ma?e: yellow feather
- heóve-máheó?o: yellow house
- otá?tave-amáho?nestótsé: blue car
- vóhpé-náhkóhe: polar bear (white-bear)

**COLORS IN VERB CONSTRUCTIONS:**
- éheóvóvése: He has yellow hair.
- éma?ése: He has a red nose.
- émo?ōsēškané?šaxáne: He has brown eyes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinship terms</th>
<th>the one who is ___</th>
<th>the one who is my ___</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhéhėto</td>
<td>father, paternal uncle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhešástovéstse</td>
<td>tséhešáketo</td>
<td>mother, maternal aunt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhemėšaméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhemėšémaeto</td>
<td>grandfather, fa-in-law</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevėškenéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhevėškenéto</td>
<td>grandmother, mo-in-law</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?he?hahóstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?he?hahóto</td>
<td>son</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?estónahéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?estónahéto</td>
<td>daughter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?evahéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?evahéto</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?ataméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?ataméto</td>
<td>brother (of female)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?ataménėstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?ataméno</td>
<td>older sister</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?ataméšvésteméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?ataméšvéteméto</td>
<td>younger sibling</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?ataméšnéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?ataméšného</td>
<td>older brother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?ataméšsénéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?ataméšsénéto</td>
<td>sibling (incl. cousin)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?estovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?estóto</td>
<td>maternal uncle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?haméhéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?haméhóto</td>
<td>maternal aunt, stepmother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?alámostovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?alámohtó</td>
<td>paternal aunt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?améstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?améto</td>
<td>cross sibling-in-law</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?améšvésteméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?améšvéteméto</td>
<td>brother-in-law (man's)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?améšnéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?améšného</td>
<td>cross niece</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?améšsénéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?améšsénéto</td>
<td>cross nephew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?améstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?améto</td>
<td>wife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?amésméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?amésméto</td>
<td>husband</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?améšaméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?améšaméto</td>
<td>niece, stepdaughter</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?améšónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?améšónéto</td>
<td>nephew, stepson</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?améšónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?améšónéto</td>
<td>paternal uncle, stepfather</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?améšónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?améšónéto</td>
<td>child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note: see other material on kinship terms under TRANSITIVE ANIMATE CONJUNCT PARTICIPLES.)
Medical terms

Näto'sev'hoomátse.
Tósa' a néhâmama' ta?
Tósa' e nénmâseotsse?
Néhamám' çahe metonêhe?
Néhôse'ehe?
Nëtônbóe'ëhama'?
Nënomôseotshe he'tseôhe?
Nësëpôe'ëhotehse, OR,
  Nëanëtânhe?
Në'seetshe' henëtse!
Në'tôca' hôntvahëtse!
Në'a'xemomôstse!
Enëomômôotsëstse!
Näto'sev'hôôta nästovoo'ôtsë.
Nëto'ssônmoomâne.
Nëhoveô'ôstse!
Hâmëstco'ôstse!
Nëto'ssëahëta nästësta.
Nësëststa épëhëva'ë.
Nëtônëstôhësëänâma?
Étôntôhësëehëhama?
Nëtôtône'ëhâmëhömtahë?
Nëto'nomôntahe?
Nëhëvësëvomôntahehë?
Nëhe'ë, nähëvësëvomôntahe.
Nëhâmëmôntahe.
Nëtôntônësthùnoôhe?
Nëhâmëm' tovântsëhë?
Nëtône' xo'vehâmëmôntahe?
Nëtëëêhe' hâmëmôntahe.
Nënahëhëmôntahe.
Nëvë'keemëhpevomôntahehë?
Nëvë'keemëhpevomôntahe.
Nënëëhë'hëhë?
Nënëkëpëhëhëvenoôtsëhë, OR,
  Nënhëkëpëhëhëvenomâhe?
Nëo'ôhtahe?
Nënomôntôhtahe?
Nëmënomôntahta.
He'tôce hesëeco'ôtsë amëhëstânôme'o! Take this medicine!
He'tôce hesëeco'ôtsë amêmane'o!
No'ka hëstanôme'o
  màsää'ëßemëshëhëto!
Nësa hëstanôme'o
  màsää'ëßemëshëhëto!
Na'ôstse hëstanôme'o nava
  no'ka-eësevëa!
Évë'ôhkehôntsëhë?
Nënhëkëhëhôntsëhë?
Nàhtse'm'ëmë éhe'amoêsta.
Nëhë'hâhehë?
Nëhë'hâaa'ë.

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 am 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'še ého'oése éše'he? ?? What time is it? (lit., When has the sun arrived hanging?)
Tóne'še ého'oésta? What time is it? (lit., When has it arrived hanging?)
Étöne'ého'oése (éš'ehhe)? What time is it? [lit. How high is he (the sun) hanging?]
Étöne'ého'oésta? What time is it? (lit., How high is it hanging?)

Times of the day

Independent order verbs can be used to refer to times of a day:

Éasevónéóhtse. It's daybreak. (lit. it's starting to get light)
Éhosóvoománo'e. It's dawn.
Éhosóvoomaeóhtse. It's dawning.
Émévónā'o. It's early morning.
Évónā'o It's morning.
Émeséhévoésta. It's noon. (lit., it's eating time)
Ésétovoésta. It's noon.
Ééšē(hehpē)sétovoésta. It's afternoon. [lit., it's already (past) noon]
Éhomoése. It's almost sunset time.
Ékāhoése. It's close to evening [lit., he (the sun) is hanging close]
Éhetóéve. It's evening.
Étaa'eeve. It's night.
Ésétôhtaa'eeve. It's midnight. (lit., it's middle-night)

Past times

Conjunct indicative verbs are used to refer to time which is already past:

tséhméovónā'o when it was early morning
-tséhvónā'o when it was morning
-tséssétovoésta when it was noon
-tséxhetóéve when it was evening
tséstaa'eve when it was night
tséssétóhta'eve when it was midnight

**Future times**

Conjunct potential verbs are used to refer to time which has not yet occurred:

máhméovóoná'o when it is early morning
máhvóoná'o when it is morning, when it is tomorrow
másétovóo'sta when it is noon
máxhetóe'eye when it is evening
?? when it is night
mássétóhta'eye 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:

éšééva in the daytime, yesterday
hetóéva in the evening
taa'ėva at night
sétóhta'aa'ėva at midnight, in the middle of the night
oéšééva daily
tota'aa'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'köxe'ohe. It's 1 o'clock.
Ééšenésöxe'ohe. It's 2 o'clock.
Ééšena'nöxe'ohe. It's 3 o'clock.
Ééšenévéxöxe'ohe. It's 4 o'clock.
Ééšenóhónöxe'ohe. It's 5 o'clock.
Ééšenásaöhtöxe'ohe. It's 6 o'clock.
Ééšenésóhtóhönöxe'ohe. It's 7 o'clock.
Ééšena'nóhtöxe'ohe. It's 8 o'clock.
Ééšésóohtöxe'ohe. It's 9 o'clock.
Ééšemáhóhtöxe'ohe. It's 10 o'clock.
Ééšehóhtáhño'köxe'ohe. It's 11 o'clock.
Ééšehóhtáhnésöxe'ohe. It's 12 o'clock.
Ééšenésôxe'ohe tséhvóonā'o. It's 2 o'clock in the morning.
Ééšemahtóhtôxe'ohe tséstaa'eve.?? It's 10 o'clock at night.
Neva o'xe ééšéhehoésta. It's 4:30.

Past hours
- tséhno'kôxe'ohe when it was 1 o'clock
- tséhnésôxe'ohe when it was 2 o'clock
- tséhna'nôxe'ohe when it was 3 o'clock
- tséhnévôxe'ohe when it was 4 o'clock
- tséhnóhonôxe'ohe when it was 5 o'clock
- tséhnaesóhtôxe'ohe when it was 6 o'clock
- tséhnésôhtôhnôxe'ohe when it was 7 o'clock
- tséhna'nóhtôxe'ohe when it was 8 o'clock
- tséshôhtôxe'ohe when it was 9 o'clock
- tséhmáhtôhtôxe'ohe when it was 10 o'clock
- tséxhôhtáhno'kôxe'ohe when it was 11 o'clock
- máxhóhtáhnésôxe'ohe when it was 12 o'clock

Future hours
- máhno'kôxe'ohe when it's 1 o'clock
- máhnésôxe'ohe when it's 2 o'clock
- máhna'nôxe'ohe when it's 3 o'clock
- máhnévôxe'ohe when it's 4 o'clock
- máhnóhonôxe'ohe when it's 5 o'clock
- máhnaesóhtôxe'ohe when it's 6 o'clock
- máhnésôhtôhnôxe'ohe when it's 7 o'clock
- máhna'nóhtôxe'ohe when it's 8 o'clock
- máxsoóhtôxe'ohe when it's 9 o'clock
- máhmahtôhtôxe'ohe when it's 10 o'clock
- máxhóhtáhno'kôxe'ohe when it's 11 o'clock
- máxhóhtáhnésôxe'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
- mëeanéva 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:

- Hohtseéšé'he, Hoop Moon: January
- Ma'xéhohtseéšé'he, Big Hoop Moon: February
- Pónoma'a'éhasenéešé'he, Drying Up Moon: March
- Véhpotseéšé'he, Leaf Moon: April

- Énano'eéšé'he, Planting Moon: June
- Méanéešé'he, Summer Moon: July
- Oenenéešé'he, Harvest Moon: August
- Tonóešé'he, Cool Moon: September
- Sé'énéhe, Facing Into: October (This name refers to when thin ice begins to form on ponds and rivers.)
- He'koneneéšé'he, Hard Face Moon: November
- Ma'xèhe'koneneéšé'he, Big Hard Face Moon: December

Some alternative names are:
- He'koneneéšé'he, Hard Face Moon: January (instead of November)
- Tšèške'hohtseéšé'he, Little Hoop Moon: February
- Pónoma'a'éhasenéhe, Drying Up: March (or April)
- Heše'kévénéhe, Dusty Face: March (also, variant Heše'évenéhe)
- Heše'évenéheéšé'he, Dusty Face Moon: March (or April)
- Véhpotseéšé'he, Leaf Moon: May (perhaps part of April also)
- É'omeéšé'he, Fattening Up Moon: latter part of June and first part of July
Sétoveméanéeše’he, Midsummer Moon: July
Hémotséeše’he, Breeding Moon: latter part of August and first part of September
Tonóeveéše’he, Cool Moon: September
Sé’eneeše’he, Facing Into Moon: October
Se’ma’omeveéše’he, Starting To Freeze Moon: October
Heše’kévénéstse, Dirt In the Face (Moon): October
Sétoveaéneéše’he, Midwinter Moon: December

Days of the week
In Oklahoma the first day of the week begins on Tuesday, while in Montana the first day begins on Monday. Following are Cheyenne names for days of the week.

**Montana days of the week**
- No’ka éšéeva (Monday, lit., 'on the first day')
- Nexa éšéeva (Tuesday, lit., 'on the second day')
- Na’ha éšéeva (Wednesday, lit., 'on the third day')
- Neva éšéeva (Thursday, lit., 'on the fourth day')
- Nóhona éšéeva (Friday, lit., 'on the fifth day')
- Tšēške’má’heóneéšēeva (Saturday, lit., 'on the little holy day')
- Ma’heóneéšēeva (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:159
- Éno’keéno’e. (Tuesday, lit., 'It’s the first day.')
- Énéšééno’e. (Wednesday, lit., 'It’s the second day.')
- Éna’heéno’e. (It’s Thursday, lit., 'It’s the third day.')
- Énévééno’e. (It’s Friday, lit., 'It’s the fourth day.')
- Étsēške’má’heóneéšēeve. (It’s Saturday, lit., 'It’s the little holy day.')
- Éma’heóneéšēeve. (It’s Sunday, lit., 'It’s the holy day.')
- Éénema’heóneéšēeve. (It’s Monday, lit., 'It’s the end of the holy day.')

**Montana past days of the week**
- No’ka tsé’éšēeve when it was Monday
- Nexa tsé’éšēeve when it was Tuesday
- Na’ha tsé’éšēeve when it was Wednesday
- Neva tsé’éšēeve when it was Thursday
- Nóhona tsé’éšēeve when it was Friday
- Tséstšēške’má’heóneéšēeve?? when it was Saturday
- Tséhma’heóneéšēeve when it was Sunday

**Montana future days of the week**
- No’ka ma’éšēeve when it is Monday
- Nexa ma’éšēeve when it is Tuesday
- Na’ha ma’éšēeve when it is Wednesday

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159 From Internet webpage: http://www.swosu.edu/academics/catc/dictionary/c04.aspx
Neva ma'éséeve when it is Thursday
Nóhona ma'éséeve when it is Friday
Mahtšêske'ma'heóneéséeve?? when it is Saturday
Máhma'heóneéséeve?? 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'ë refers to how many overnights have gone by:

Étanéšééno'ë. 
It was two days (lit., overnights) ago.

É-améstóheéno'ë. 
It is a week.

ma'taaméstóheéno'ë in the coming "days" (lit., overnights)

ma'tahóseaméstóheéno'ë next week

-éno'tse final
The verb final –eno'tse refers to how many nights of camping:

Éno'keenô'tse. 
He camped one night.

Énéšeenô'tse. 
He camped two nights.

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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'keé'éšë one day
néšée'éšë two days
na'heé'éšë three days
névéé'éšë four days
néhonéé'éšë five days
naesóhtôhéé'éšë six days
nésóhtôhéé'éšë seven days
na'nóhtôhéé'éšë eight days
sóhtôhéé'éšë nine days
mahtôhtôhéé'éšë ten days

Numbers of weeks

Numbers of months

A number preverb plus the verb stem -éšë'hamá refers to how many months old someone is or how many months have transpired: ??

300
Éno’keéšė’hāma.??  He's one month old.
Énéveéšė’hāma. ??  He's four months old.

Other preverbs can occur with this verb stem:

Étónéstoné-éšē’hāma? How many months old is he/? How many months
pregnant is she?
Énēhevęstoné-éšē’hāma. That's how many months she has (= her months are up;
she is due to deliver her child).

Numbers of years

He's so many years old, etc.

Éno’keáánáma.  He's one year old.
Énéšeaénáma.  He's two years old.

A number plus the noun stem –aa’e ‘year’ tells how many years something occurred or how
many years ago something occurred:

no’keāā’e  for one year
néšeāā’e  for two years
na’heāā’e  for three years

No’keāā’e étanéhe’xove.  It’s been one year ago.

Temporal particles

Some particles refer to time:

á’e  soon\(^{160}\)
ta’e  until
hehpeto  later
nenóvéto  shortly, a little while later
maato  in the future\(^{161}\)
hákó’e  far in the past\(^{162}\)
tótseha  long ago
évaveto  back then
nómóse  a long time
séetó’e’se  at the same time
vétséno  right then

Temporal suffix particles

Some time particles referring to the length of time have the temporal / locative suffix /-vá/:

káse’xóvéva  for a short time
háe’xóvéva  for a long time

\(^{160}\) Á’e can also refer to being physically close.
\(^{161}\) Maato can also refer to being physically ahead.
\(^{162}\) Hákó’e can also refer to far distance.
hehpe'xóvéva  
later

nenóvé'xóvéva  
a little while later

móne'xóvéva??

hó'ótóva  
sometime

háne aénéva  
last year

Temporal preverbs

Some preverbs refer to time in relation to the action of the verb stem which they precede:

háa'éše-  
for a long time, late

nenóve-  
for a short while

he'ěše-  
as long as

he'še-  
during

eše-  
already

móne-  
recently

nésta-  
previously

vone'še-  
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.

- šéšeno: rattle
- šéšenovótse: snake
- Évávahe: 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.
- kokóhéaxa: chicken
- kó’ko’ñoxe’estónestótse: typewriter (lit., pecking thing)
- kó’ko’ehaseo’o: clock (lit., ticking thing; an Oklahoma Cheyenne word)
- hevovetásío: whirlwind, dragonfly

Translation

DEVELOP THIS SECTION ON TRANSLATION TO AND FROM CHEYENNE. Describe literal and idiomatic translation. (Include mention of the late Tom Gardner's stating that we needed "thought translation", which would be a good way of referring to idiomatic translation.) Include translation of figures of speech. Address the issue that some things said in one language sometimes do not have a translation equivalent in another language, e.g. Merry Christmas, Happy Birthday. Address the difference between: (1) Can this be said? vs. (2) Is this actually said? Discuss the CAN(A) acronym standard for acceptable translation: Clear, Accurate, Natural, (Acceptable). DEFINE SOURCE AND TARGET LANGUAGES.

Literal translation

A literal translation translates the form of the individual parts of an expression in the source language (the language you are translating from). All around the world many people assume that a literal translation is the best and most accurate kind of translation. But literal translation often are not adequate. Often they communicate a different meaning from the meaning of the original source language expression. And one of the most basic principles to follow for accuracy in translation is not to change the meaning during translation.

Cheyennes find great humor in literal translations which have some translations have made which do not communicate the right meaning. INCLUDE EXAMPLES FROM PAPER ON CHEYENNE TRANSLATION HUMOR, INCLUDING THE STORY OF "slide home" Cheyennes laugh at these stories because they recognize that the literal translation was not adequate to translate the intended meaning. So what principles should be followed to make a translation that is adequate? We try to answer this important question in the next section.
Translation equivalence

Literal translations are often not adequate because they sound unnatural. And they often do not communicate the original meaning very well. Instead of translating literally, better translation may be found by using translation equivalents which are already in use in the language and function as close as possible to how an expression functions in the translation source language.

When translating from one language to another, it is helpful to try to find the closest natural translation equivalent as possible. By this we mean that a translation should be natural in the target language and also has the same meaning as what you are translating from in the source language. Translation equivalence is a complicated topic that deserves much more attention that we can give it here.

We can find some guidance in the search for natural translation equivalents by looking at how Cheyennes have created new words in the past. You might want to review the preceding section titled "Creation of new words". Cheyennes created a fine word for an airplane. They could have tried to literally translate the English word "airplane" so that the translation would include the Cheyenne word for air, omotome. But that is not what Cheyennes did. Instead, they created a word that describes what an airplane does. They used the verb stem –ame’há ‘fly’, already widely used by Cheyenne speakers, and turned it into a noun, ame’hahtȯtse, literally ‘flying thing’. The Cheyennes did the same thing when they created the word for 'car, automobile'. They took a verb already widely used by Cheyennes, -amaho’he ‘to go along by heat’ and turned it into nouns, animate amáho’héhe and inanimate amáho’héstȯtse, 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 êmôna'e, pevetano! Sound natural in Cheyenne. I think it would. Does it include the idea of happiness? Yes. Does it include the idea of a new year. Yes, it does. It is worth testing this new translation to see how acceptable it is to other Cheyenne speakers.

**Translation adequacy**

Here are two of the most important principles to follow when translating.

**Accurate**

Does the translation have the same meaning as the original? Accuracy is not a matter of keeping the form of the original, but, rather translating the original meaning however it is actually said in the translation language.

Translation of Ó'kôhomôxháaheta to English as Little Wolf was clear and natural, but not accurate. Its meaning was actually Little Coyote.

**Natural**

The literal translation of "Hang around!" to Cheyenne was perhaps accurate, but it was not natural. It is not how Cheyennes would actually express the meaning of the English expression.

In order for a translation to be both clear and natural, it must respect the grammatical patterns of the both the source and target languages. Every language is different from every other language. If you are translating from English to Cheyenne, or from Cheyenne to English, it is important not to try to force either language to use the grammatical patterns of the other language.

**Some grammatical relationships different from English**

In this section we describe some ways that the grammatical patterns of English and Cheyenne do not match, yet it is possible to translate accurately and naturally between these languages, while respecting these differences.

There are many interesting differences between how the grammars of Cheyenne and English express some semantic relationships. By pointing out these differences, we are not suggesting that either language is inferior, non-standard, or "backwards". On the contrary, both languages are grammatically logical and beautiful in how they express the intended meanings. For examples of other Cheyenne verbs which have different grammatical relationships from English to express the same semantic relationships, see the end of the next major section of this book, Transitive Inanimate Independent Indicative verbs.

' hôama'tov 'hurt (to someone)'

The Cheyenne TA verb -hôama'tov grammatically treats an animate body part that hurts as its direct object:

Nâhâama'tóvo namo'éško. My finger hurts.
Nâhâama'tovoo'o namo'éškono. 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’éstse. The caps fit me. (lit., I fit to the caps)

Compare corresponding TA verbs:

Nátáá’ōvo éstse’hé. The shirt fits me. (lit., I fit to the shirt)
Nátáa’ovoo’o éstse’heno. The shirts fit me. (lit., I fit to the shirts)

'(something) taste good'
In Cheyenne the food which gives the sensation of good taste is grammatically the object of the TI verb –pèhévé’áhtá:

Nápèhévé’ahtá ho’évohktse. 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.')
Nápèhévoemmēho. He thinks well of me. ( = 'I am of good value to me.')

The translation process
If you are asked to translation something from English to Cheyenne, here are the steps we recommend that you follow to make the translation as natural as possible while communicating the same meaning:

1. Figure out what the meaning of the English is. This is often always easy. You need to find out if the English expression is figurative or not. If it is figurative, you should try to translate its figurative meaning, not its literal meaning. You can use an English dictionary if you are not sure what the English expression means. For instance, if someone asks you to translate "He blew a fuse," ask yourself if you know what meaning is intended by that English sentence. If it is referring to blowing a fuse in a fuse box, it should not be too difficult to translation the
sentence to Cheyenne. But if the sentence is not really referring to blowing a fuse but to something else, you need to know what that something else is, and translate meaning, so that the Cheyenne will mean the same thing as the English expression does.

2. Figure out how the meaning is actually expressed in Cheyenne. Do not try to find a literal way to say the same thing in Cheyenne, since literal translations often turn out sounding strange or even humorous instead of communicating the same meaning. Often people want to know how to say something in Cheyenne. For people all over the world, the first reaction when there is a request to translate something is to try to say it the same way in their own language. But saying it the same way may not be how it is actually said in Cheyenne. So, if you are asked "How do you say ___ in Cheyenne?" stop and think a while before answering. Ask yourself: "What do Cheyennes actually say to communicate that same meaning?" Another way of getting at this point is to avoid answering the question "Can you say ___ in Cheyenne?" Instead, try to change the question to: "How is actually it said in Cheyenne?" Try to focus on what fluent Cheyenne speakers actually say to communicate the same meaning.

3. Test your translation with other Cheyenne speakers. Ask them what it means. Ask them if fluent speakers would actually use the translation expression. If the translation does not pass these tests, try a different way to express the translation. Keep trying until you find a way to say something in Cheyenne that has the same meaning, including emotional connotations, and also sounds like what a fluent Cheyenne speaker would actually say.

The common temptation is to translation literally whenever you are asked to translate from English to Cheyenne. But a literal translation is often not the most accurate translation. And most of the time a literal translation is not how fluent Cheyenne speakers would actually say something with the meaning of the English expression you are trying to translate. Of course, if enough Cheyenne speakers prefer a literal translation and they can, in time, get the same meaning from it that the English expression has, it is fine to use a literal translation. But a literal translation should only be used if it comes to be accepted and used by a good number of Cheyenne speakers.

**Language and social interaction**

Like every other language, Cheyenne is used for a variety of social purposes. Some of the most common uses for language is to inform, question, command, exclaim, entertain, and rebuke.

Cheyennes speak their language following the norms of Cheyenne culture. These cultural norms influence which Cheyenne language forms are used.

One traditional Cheyenne cultural norm is that a woman must not speak to her son-in-law. She should not even say his name, especially in front of him. And a man must not speak to his sister after she has reached puberty. And he should not speak to his daughter-in-law either.

If a woman wants to communicate something to her son-in-law, she can do so through her daughter, the wife of her son-in-law. Or she can speak indirectly to her son-in-law in his hearing (and usually the hearing of someone else also) using third person verbs, rather than direct speech with second person verbs.

A humorous story is told about a woman who unwittingly said her son-in-law's name, breaking the cultural norm:
Frogs Say "Kovaahe", by Josephine Glenmore (Montana)

Na'èstse kàsê'éhe éhñohtséstovóstesto heške,
One young woman asked her mother,

“Éohkeóxóhevoóne oonåhá’e öhmónenéstoothévoséstse?”
“What do they say, frogs, when they first croak (in the spring)?”

“Héméhe, naa kováááhe, éohkèhevoōne, éxheséstse.
“Oh, well, 'kovaaahe,' they say," she said.

naa éxhohátse'tøheséstse màhtamåhááhe,
And she was laughed at, the old lady, (because)

Kovááhe móxheševéhehevóhe hevéxaho.
Kovaahe he was named, her son-in-law.

If a woman wants her son-in-law to fetch some water or firewood, she can speak about him, in his hearing, with words like these:

Tell that lazy husband of yours to get some water. $$

Brothers-in-law are expected to tease each other within Cheyenne culture. Such teasing has become an art form. Language forms and quality of speech are influenced by the effort to tease, sometimes close to the point of shaming, a brother-in-law in front of others.

The following story illustrates brother-in-law teasing. Notice all the direct in-your-face kind of speech in this text. This is characteristic of teasing speech. $$TRY TO FIND SPECIFIC LANGUAGE FORMS TO COMMENT ABOUT IN THIS TEXT

The Brothers-in-law

Tsèhéno he'ameo'hé'e éhéstahe hetane. Aènõhenéstoohe éohkèhestohe.
There up the river he is from, a man. Hawk Howler he is called.

Naa náohkeévená'so'eémáhtséme164. Nèhesto ha ohvóomoo'èstse tséhóhe máhoéve'ho'eno,
And we always tease each other. Every time whenever I see him here in town,
he always comes to me. "My brother-in-law," he says to me. "Give him a drink!

É'tóve ééveota'hoháoéne," náohkèheta. "Nèsáa'aéstomevé'ëvé'tove'tovatséhe,
Your brother-in-law is very thirsty," he says to me. "You are not my brother-in-law for nothing,
náohkèheta.
he tells me.

---

163 This text was first recorded and transcribed by linguist Kenneth Croft, in 1949, in Oklahoma. His fieldnotes label this as "Text 56". The Cheyenne narrator is not given in the fieldnotes. We have updated Croft’s spelling. We have stayed close to his English translations. The editor (Leman) has added paragraphing.

164 This text illustrates Cheyenne humor of joking relationships. Cheyenne culture encourages brother-in-law joking.
"Nétónêševéhev'é tove' továtsé néheʼše?" náheto.
"How am I a brother-in-law to you then?" I told him.

"Heé, naa némâhevéstoomoo' o naaxaa' éhemo, néhéne' enovátsé," náheta.
"Yes, and you married all my sisters, I know you," he told me.

"No, you are lying," I told him. "You must just think of me that way," I told him.

"No, I know you very well. You married all my sisters," he told me.

"Hurry give a drink to your brother-in-law!" he told me. "I am very thirsty," he said.

Naa vo'éstane ohtsévëho' éhótaetsée' estse tséohkeévëhëse' smëno' é' estwave
And whenever a person comes to us where they always stand in bunches
tséhëőhe máhoéve' ho' eno náohkëhósema,  "Tsé' tóhe né’ tóvé," náohkëheta,
here in town, he always tells about me, "This one, my brother-in-law," he says about me,

"émâhevëstoomóho naaxaa' éhemno. Hená' hanetsëhe / nánehësëhevë' tovenóto,“ náohkëheta.
"he married all my sisters. That's how I am a brother-in-law to him," he says about me.

Naa néhe’še hó’ótóva tâhâóhe Nomá' heo' hé’ mótaëetsëhe’ Œhtsëhëhe.
And then all of a sudden over there to Kingfisher he must have gone.

Násánahaxéevávóomohe. Étanësëhá’a' xóvetse.
I had not seen him for awhile. Quite a while went by.

Naa hó’ótóva náhoştëevávóomo. Tsehëno éne' amëohxte háp'o' e
And all of a sudden I saw him again. Here he was coming along just

-tséstaamehótsëve. Sé' eë' éne' éexaëmëné' o. Naa náho' éhóto.
when I was going along. Right away he was smiling. And I went to him.

"Éaa! Tósa' néa' enëháse?" náheto.  "Nésáatxéhe' ševóomëshe,“ náheto.
"My! Where have you been all the time?" I said to him. "I never see you," I said to him.

"Naa tâháóhe Nomá' heo' hé' nátaëetsëhe' Œhtse. Náhâ' ohe / návé' a'enoo' e," náheto.
"Well, over there to Kingfisher I went. There I stayed all this time," he told me.

"Hénáá' e néhâóhe tsétohëse' enëto? Hee' néhâóhe nëtâhë' étáno tósa' e
"Why there did you stay so long? Maybe there you wanted a woman somewhere at
Nomá' heo' hé',” náheto.
Kingfisher," I told him.

"Heé, ovánëhoo’ éstse! Hee' néhéne' eno' Këhaëné' e. Náhâóhe náho' éhóto,
"Hey, keep quiet! Maybe you know Squint Eye Woman. There I came to her.

165 Literally, ‘Fish River’.
náhó'xatamáots'é'tóvo," náheta //
I got used to her," he told me.

"Hééhe'e," náheto. "Naa néohkého'é'éšenoto neaxaa'èhemo. Néhe Kéha'ené'e
"Yes," I told him. "And you always accuse me of your sisters. That Squint Eye Woman

náhe'haméhenötse, mónétaéséhevéxahé'tovatséhéhe," náheto. "Né'tóve,
is my niece, you must (therefore) already be my son-in-law," I told him. "Brother-in-law,
néohkevé'ééváheše. Naméšéme né'óhkehešéstse néhe'se.
don't again call me that. Father-in-law, always call me from now on.

Nétaéséhevéxahé'tovatsémohó!166" náheto.
You are already now my son-in-law!" I told him.

"Hová'áháne," éhevoo'o. "Nééšetá'hóxéhevé'tove'továtse,
"No," he said. "I am so used to being a brother-in-law to you,
ésáatónéšëév'anetáhévéo'tsehane," náheta.
it cannot be made different," he said to me.

"Heé, hé'tóhe émóná'é, nétaésémónenóho'øve," náheto.
"Hey, this is brand new, this is the first time you’ve been married," I told him.

"Néstatséenésevéxahé'továtse. 'É'tóve, hëmanóxéha!'
"You are just going to be my son-in-law. Your brother-in-law, give him a drink!

néohkeheše," náheto." Naa néhe'se háp'o'é hétsetseha, 'Hëmanóxéha
you always tell me," I told him. "And from now on likewise now, 'Give a drink to
neméšéme!' nétahtátase," náheto. "Nenátséhe'óhtsešéstse téshéóhe
your father-in-law!' let me tell you," I told him. "Come take me here
pó'ëho'hé-máhpé-máheóné néhe'se néhama'xéhënoxo'ëstse!" náheto.
to the saloon167 then give me a big drink!" I told him.

Éhohatse. "He'e, táxó'e néstsésá'aénenéhëhe, vo'ëstane
He laughed. "Hey, again and again don't keep repeating that, someone
nétsenéstova. Néstaée'avó'estomo'he (?),
will hear you. You will have them all start thinking that way,
náhtsenóhpaohkeéemaenésétamáne. Nává'neohkevééëestéstóvo tsé'tóhe Kéhaéné'e,"
I will be thought of that way. I always just talk to this Squint Eye Woman,"

éhevoo'o.
he said.

166 This appears to be a mirative usage of a preterit. Usually preterits occur with third person arguments, but this verb shows that a local verb can be marked as a preterit as well.
167 Literally, 'popping-water-house-LOCATIVE'.
"Heé, néešetaomevé'nēhetóhta'haove naa," náhéto.
"Hey, you had already told me that story yourself and," I told him.

"Náhtaémaenéhetoo'o tsé'tóhe tséohkeévéévëhnese vo'estaneo'o," náhéto, "I'm going to tell all these who go around, people," I told him,

"tsetamáhehéne'enohe  tséhešehevéxahé'továtse," náhéto.
"so then it will all be known that you are my son-in-law," I told him.

"Nésáatónëshonaháxé'tanóhe," náhéto. "Ohkeépehévé'tovéstse, ohkeéhémanóxéváenéstse "You have no way to get out of it," I told him. "Always treat me good, always give me a drink

má'öhevóométo  nonópa néstánéhešépépévéxahé'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'ávó'estomo'he (?)
He laughed. "Again and again you will have them start thinking that way.

nèsenó'ka  nèhešeha!" náheta // Not even once again say it!" he told me.

"Heé, nésáahotómenéhetatséhe  neaxaa'ëhemo tséhmáhehévéstoemo
náhéto.
nevé téno'kášo ni'ëhéno'kášo, it is all known," he said.

"Heé, nèvéáhe tséhmahëheénéño? Névéëëhëkëhënekënehevé
náhéto. "Hey, who is it that knows all of it? You are the only one who says that


Nátaënéëseameoö'évótahséme.  Hená'hanéhe héne
We went along quarreling with each other. That's it, that's

náohkeëènëheëná'so'ëëmbëtséme tsé'tóhe hetane, Aënohënëstoøhe how we always tease each other, this man, Hawk Howler,
tséohkëheéstoeöstse.
as he is called.

168 These two words form a complex sentence in Cheyenne. There is an independent order verb of knowing followed by its complement in the conjunct order. The conjunct verb takes the complementizer preverb heșe-.
169 The preferred order of morphemes in this word would be néohkevá'neëeno'kenëheve.
Speech styles

Baby talk

Some words are simplified and used as baby talk. These words have traditionally been said by and to young children. Ke’éehe 'grandma' and méméehe 'grandpa' are also affectionally used by older people speaking about their grandparents.

- keeso 'puppy'
- ke’éehe 'grandma'
- kókó’e 'bread'
- mánóóhe 'I want a drink'
- méméehe 'grandpa'
- nénéhe 'bottle, nurse'
- pápáâhe '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')
Névááâhë? 'Who?!' (this lengthened version of Névááhe typically indicates that the speaker emphatically does not know who someone is)
Néváááso? 'Who?! (emphasized form of Névááso?)
Náoóo! ?? Wow! (emphasized form of Náoo! 'Wow!')
Véetsëno! Exactly! (emphasized form of vétsëno 'right then')

Tight mouth ?? speech

Sometimes speakers, especially women, tighten their mouths and make them rounder to pronounce some words. This creates a special effect that indicates ____ ??

Cheyenne dialects

CHEYENNE 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'ėhaseo'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'xemenötse 'apples'
   md: má'xeme (animate); ma'xemen'ótse 'apples'
3. watermelon: od: máhoo'o (in md, as well as od, this also has the more general meaning of 'melon')
   md: néxó'mévéhe (lit. raw eating thing)
4. cucumber: od: heškóve-máhoo'o (lit. thorny-melon)
   md: mata (the same word used for 'peyote'; some md speakers may use heškóve-máhoo'o for 'cucumber', also ??)
5. 25 cents: od: thóhóvetse (loan translation from English 'two bits')
   md: tséháónóto (lit. that (coin) which is thick)
6. cat: od: ka'ënè-hótame (lit. short-nosed-dog; the literal meaning may initially sound odd, but historically hótame seems to have been semantically extended beyond orig. 'dog', to something like 'small domesticated animal'; cf. éškósee-sé-hotame 'pig' (lit. sharp-nosed-dog); for md speakers, and perhaps for some od speakers, too, this means 'bulldog')
   md: póésó (we suspect this s a sound translation from an English word for cat, 'pussy')
7. pay: od: éhóoetsésane 'he got paid' (lit. he's bringing (something) out; refers to bringing money out of the office)
md: éonénéxōhemohe he got paid' (lit. it was destroyed to him; perhaps refers to destroying an indebtedness)
8. crackers: od: tōhkonave-kōhkonōheonōtse (lit. skinny little breads; it is said that od speakers call crackers this, in teasing imitation of the md word)
    md: mo'ōhkonave-kōhkonōheonōtse (lit. dried little breads)
9. potatoes: od: aéstome-mésēhéstoto (lit. false eating things)
    md: mésēhéstoto (lit. eating things)
10. washboard: od: nēška'ōséo'o or hahéhaseo'o (lit. rubbing-thing)
    md: nēškēhásé'o
11. He's really a strong Christian (typically said with derision):
    od: éhoháestaahe (lit. he-very.much-baptized(?))
    md: éhoháema'heónévēho'eve (lit. he-very.much-holy-whiteman-be)
12. car: It is said that Oklahoma speakers call a car amāho'héhe (animate), while the most common term in Montana is inanimate amāho'héstōte, but I have heard some Montana speakers refer to a car as amāho'héhe (animate), and I would not be surprised to discover that some Oklahoma speakers have used the inanimate word for car.
13. days of the week: When saying days of the week, Oklahoma speakers begin counting of the 'first day' with Tuesday (and calling Monday the 'end of the holy day'), while Montana speakers start the 'first day' with Monday. The words for 'Saturday' and 'Sunday' are the same in Montana and Oklahoma, so Montana speakers pronounce five days with a number in the term for the day of the week, while Oklahoma speakers only have four such days.

In each case of a dialect word difference which we have listed, speakers from one area understand what speakers from the other area mean when they say one of the words. Much good-natured joking takes place over such words. For instance, a Northern Cheyenne speaker may teasingly ask a Southern Cheyenne speaker how he pronounces the word for 'cat'. If the answer is given as ka'éné-hótame, the Northern Cheyenne speaker may laugh and say, "Oh, but that means 'short nosed dog'!" Then the Southern Cheyenne speaker might ask (already knowing the answer) what the Northern Cheyenne word for 'cat' is. When he gets the response póéso, he, in turn, has a good laugh.

It has been claimed by Moore (1987:99) that Montana speakers refer to a horse as mo'éhno'ha while Oklahoma speakers refer to a horse as náhtotse, literally, 'my pet'. But this claim is incorrect. There is abundant evidence in the fieldnotes of several researchers, whose work spans numerous decades, that both Oklahoma and Montana speakers refer to a horse as mo'éhno'ha and, likewise, speakers in both areas will sometimes refer to their own horse (or, less generally, a dog or cat) calling it 'my pet'. Which term will be used is not a matter of a geographical difference but rather a difference in a speaker's personal intentions when they are speaking. That is, when a Cheyenne speaker, regardless of where they live, refers to their horse, do they intend to indicate a pet relationship with their horse?
MISCELLANEOUS

DON’T INCLUDE THE ORIGINAL SCANNED PAGED IN THE REVISED EDITION, BUT DO MAKE SURE THAT SOME OF THE DATA IS INCLUDED IN EARLIER SECTIONS, SUCH AS THE indefinite pronouns nevá’eséstse and nevá’ésesto with reportative suffixes

Cheyenne discourse

Discussion is ___ $FILL OUT THIS SECTION; INCLUDE TYPICAL BEGINNINGS OF DISCOURSE MONOLOGUES (náto’séh’sómo, etc.), DISCOURSE-FINAL SAYINGS: Who would add tie on anything? That’s the way it lies, hena’hóanéhe, etc., PREPONDERANCE OF POST-QUOTE MARGINS, DISCOURSE STATUS OF OVERT NOUNS, ETC.

Dialogue

Dialogue are conversations that occur between two or more people. It is essential for anyone wishing to speak Cheyenne to learn to converse in Cheyenne. Cheyenne dialogues follow rules for what grammatical forms are appropriate to use for each turn of a conversation. It is also essential that conversation follow these rules so that each turn will sound natural. Conversations turns must not be literal translations from English dialogues. SEE IF ANYTHING NATURAL ENOUGH CAN BE IMPORTED FROM "LET'S TALK CHEYENNE"

Topic continuity

Questions and answers

$AVOID COPYING "ELICITATION" PAIRS FROM ENGLISH

Single word utterances

Common utterances and responses ($copy from dictionary, etc.)

$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 monologues 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’estanéhevéhevóhe
\m hoóma mó- h- vo’estanéheve -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

315
They lived across somewhere.

And there were some Indians near there.

They did not visit them.

And one day they visited them.

Then all of a sudden they heard them.

They were talking Cheyenne as they talked.
And they found out about (those) near (them), that they were (just like) them.

They moved together.

And they made rafts (lit. things by which one moves on water, which are small, however they wove them).
"We'll turn over.

They quit making them.

And then one day, the big river, they say, was frozen solid.

It was frozen thick.
They moved across.

And when half of them had moved across, there was an exploding sound.

It was terrible.

The ice broke up.

Some turned back.
And some had already come across.

They did not know where those others were.

Maybe they drowned.

And those kept moving across.
That's how the old men tell the story.

The end.

Sweet Medicine, by Mrs. Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

1) Hé'tóhe hóhta'heo'o, éhóhta'heóneve.
   This story, it is a story.

2) Vé'hó'e tséssáa'éšého'ëhnéhévóse hákó'e móxhésóhanéhe.
   Whitemen, before they came, it (the story) from long ago must be from.

3) Naa násáapéhévéhéné'enóhe.
   And I do not know it well.

4) naa tséohkeéevá'nëhetáhtomónéto náhtanéhéšeme'esta.
   And just the way I heard it, I'll tell it like that.

5) éohkemaetotóxeme oha násáahéné'enovóhe / -héne'enóhe /
   He's discussed all over, but I do not know him, -do not know it.

6) Mots'é'évevé3, éohkèhevoöine, mó'ohkeéevééestséstóéhevovóhe, vé'hó'e
   Sweet Medicine, they say, used to talk to them, whitemen
   tséssáa'éšého'ëhnéhévóse.
   before they came.

7) Naa mó'ohkeéemé'ëstomóehenovóhe hová'ëhe, héva tsésto'sého'ëhnétotse,
   And he used to explain to them something maybe that was going to come,
   hová'ëhe.
   something.

8) naa hétsetseha náto'vá'ne/=ta'se=tšéške'mé'ësta4 // hetoo //
   And now I'm just going to tell, like, a little. Uh,

9) néto'sého'a'ôtóévo // vo'estane éxhesanesëstse //
   "He'll come to you, a person," (Sweet Medicine) said.
10) tsemáhevé'šenohe 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'šenóhéhe, tsé'tóhe vo'éstane
Nowhere will he not be sewed up, this person

tséto'sëho'a'ó'tóése.
who is going to come to you.

13) néto'vonéano'táe'vo / netao'o hová'éhe / tséméhae/'ôhkeéene' étamése ///
He'll destroy for you everything that you used to depend on.

14) "Éto'semáhevonénóhtse," éxhetósesto.
"He'll destroy everything," he told them.

15) "Naa / máto / néto'sëho'a'ó'tóévo mo'éhno'ha /
"And also it will come to you, the horse.

16) "Mo'éhno'ha," néstseohkéhetóvo éxheséstse, "hóva."
"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'èše
You'll ride him very far away.

21) néstseohketséhe'ôhtséháévo,
He will take you there,

22) tsé'tóhe mo'ehno'ha / néstseohkéhetóvo ///
this horse, you will call him that.

23) tséohkësó'tó'ome'êho'oése éše'he
It will still hang firm (in the sky), the sun (during your travels)
24) nėstseohkêho'eohéme hákó'e / éxhesanesêstse / 
you will arrive far away," he said.

25) nėstsenêheše/vō'ęstanêhêvéme
"You will live like that.

26) nēstsenēhešeéva'xéme / tsē'tóhe mo'èhno'ha tsēhešeévoa'xése / exhesanesêstse /
You will be on the go the way this horse rolls his eyes," he said.

27) naa // máto vé'ho'ėtótá'e nēstseohkêhetóvo
And also (will come), (the cow) 'whiteman-buffalo', you will call it that.

28) máto tsenévéóhta //
Also it will have four legs.

29) tsenéše'ēsta
It will have two ears.

30) naa / mátō=he'ėxánêstse tsenéxanetotse /
And also his ears, there will be two.

31) hestsêhévá'xe / tseohkemâhexóneehatse / ho'ēva /
His tail will reach all the way to the ground.

32) tsenêsôhkonâvêhâhta // hestóohvono tsenêsôhkonaho / éxhesêstse /
It will have split hooves, his hooves will be split," he said.

33) naa hoto / tsē'tóhe hóva nēstseohkemévóvo /
And, uh, this animal (cow), you will eat it.

34) Vē'ho'ėtótá'e nēstseohkêhetóvo /
Ve'ho'ėtota'e you will call it.

35) hohá'ā'ēse tseohkêhešeméa'xe éxhesêstse /
From very far away he'll be smelled," he said.

36) Éxhetósesto néhe hovâhne, "Vē'ho'ėtótá'e," tsêohkêhetôse.
He told them (about) this animal, "Cow," as you'll call it.

37) naa tsē'tóhe tsēto'sêho'á'ō'tóése
And this one who will come to you

tsemâhetaeotsê'ta ho'e    tsêxhetaa'ôma'ô'e /
will take over all the land throughout the world.

38) Totôsa'e nēstseohkeevenê'a'ééme.
Here and there your heads will appear (in various places).

39) "Néstseohkemo'kohtávéstséámé," éxhesaneséstse /
   "You will have black hair," he said.

40) Naa móhma- / má’tamáséhánéeše / mášáa’évatóxetanó’tomáhése / nésta  "But if you are
crazy, if you do not think about the way previously
tséheševo’éstanéhévése, néstamóhkévóhpá’éme," éxhesaneséstse.
how you used to live, you'll have gray hair," he said.

41) náa máto mé’éševótse tséhóehevéese7 /
   And also a baby will come out (be born) with teeth."

42) Éstaéšéhetósema’xemé’éstomósaneséstse.
   He was constantly explaining a lot.

43) Nává’néhetaa’mé’éstomóvo.
   I am just telling this much about him.

44) Néhe’še
   The end.

FOOTNOTES:

1This text was first collected by Donald Olson during 1963-1964 in Oklahoma. It appeared in print
in a previous collection of Cheyenne texts (W. Leman 1980b). It appears here with spelling slightly
updated. Some slight changes to bring the transcription closer in line with the taped recording have
been made. Original clause numbers are retained.

2Usually, this word would indicate that something is "just a story". The word hóhta’heo’o 'story'
should not be applied to accounts of history. On the whole, Cheyennes regard the story of Sweet
Medicine to be of more credible historicity than the usual legend or folktale, for which the label
hóhta’heo’o is appropriate. However, here it is probable that the narrator is not casting doubt on the
historicity of the account. Hesitation on the tape may indicate that the narrator wasn't quite sure what
to say at this point but used a word which fit grammatically here.

3Sweet Medicine is the most important prophet in Cheyenne history. For other accounts of Sweet
Medicine's prophecy, see the following:

Powell, Sweet Medicine, Vol. II, p. 466.
Standsintimber and Liberty, Cheyenne Memories, p. 40.

4The condensed preverb to'- here is pronounced to'se- by most other Cheyennes. It is said that
the pronunciation here is a characteristic of (some) Southern Cheyenne speech. It can be seen, as in the
next clause, 9), that this narrator also uses the full form of the preverb, to'\texttt{s}e-.

5The usual order of preverbs here, probably preferred by this narrator also, is ohkeem\texttt{e}h\texttt{a}e.

6The historical etymology of this word is something like 'elk-dog' with the 'dog' final /-o'h[am] itself undergoing historical extension to refer to a 'domesticated animal'.

7The motif of a baby being born with teeth is well known in Cheyenne folklore. Note it in another text in this volume, "The Baby With Teeth".

\textbf{The Corn and Meat}, by Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

\begin{verbatim}
\name The Corn and Meat \ref The Corn and Meat 001
\t éxho'hooné'tánése taa'ēva.
\m é- h- ho'hooné'tá -né -s taa'ēva
\g 3- PST- be\textunderscore in\textunderscore a\textunderscore circle -FII -REPORT at\textunderscore 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'ahkóheohtsésesto
\m naa tsé - h- vóona'ó é- h- ahkóheohtsé -sest -o
\g and REAL - PST- be\textunderscore morning 3- PST- play\textunderscore hoop\textunderscore game -REPORT -PL
\p p pfx\textunderscore cj\textunderscore tns- vii pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx
\f And the next morning young men were playing the hoop game.

\ref The Corn and Meat 004
\t netao'o éxhoháetanevoo'énése.
\m netao'o é- h- ho- háetanevoo'e -né -s
\g everywhere 3- PST- very- be\textunderscore big\textunderscore crowd -FII -REPORT
\p p pro- tns- RED- vii -sfx -sfx
\f Everywhere there was a big crowd.

\ref The Corn and Meat 005
\t naa néhe'še éhváxeésesto.
\end{verbatim}
And then they were dressing fancy.

One who was on (from?) the south side (of the camp) who had dreamed came to the center.

He was painted yellow; a feather stood on his head.

And from the north side one who had dreamed came to the center.

He was dressed the same (as the other one).
When the one from the south looked at that one from the north, (he said,)

"Maybe you are copying me," (he said).

"And I was thinking the same about you," (the other one said to him).

"Well, I dreamed," (said the first man).

"And likewise I dreamd," (said the second man).

"Look at our people, they are very hungry," (he said).
"What did you dream?" (asked the first man).

Well, this, where water came out, an old woman called me," he said.

"And I dreamed the same," (answered the second man). (More modern word, nánéhešeováxe.)

Well, let's go there!" they said.

And they stopped playing the hoop game.

They suddenly sat down.
They went to where that water ran down.

They went in.

Here, the old woman was there.

"I have called you, my grandchildren. Sit down!" she told them.

They sat down.
"Eat this, meat and corn," she told them.

They were in a hurry (to eat).

They got full.
\[t \text{é’áahtse’só'nèhetaa’ónèse.}\]
\[m \text{é- h- ãáhtse}- só- nèhetaa’ó -né -s}\n\[g 3- \text{PST- simultaneously- still- be_so_big -FII -REPORT}\]
\[p \text{pro- tns- pv- pv- vii -sfx -sfx}\]

\f It stayed the same amount.

\ref The Corn and Meat 033
\[t \text{nàa nèhe’sè, "tatséhetóó’o!" éxhetaevósesto.}\]
\[m \text{nàa nèhe’sè tâte- tséhetóó’ó ê- h- het -ae -vó -sest -o}\n\[g \text{and then away- look_yonder COMP- PST- tell -INV -3PL -REPORT -OBV}\]
\[p \text{p p -pv- vai -pfx-cjt- tns- vta -fta-sfx -sfx -sfx}\]

\f And then, "Look over there!" she told them.

\ref The Corn and Meat 034
\[t \text{éstatséhetóó’ósesto.}\]
\[m \text{é- h- tate- tséhetóó’ó -sest -o}\n\[g 3- \text{PST- away- look_yonder -REPORT -PL}\]
\[p \text{pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx}\]

\f They looked over there.

\ref The Corn and Meat 035
\[t \text{máhaemenótse éxxaetséhetó’a’hánésestótse.}\]
\[m \text{máhaemén -ot é- h- xae- tséhetó’a’há -né -sest -ot}\n\[g \text{corn_kernel -PL 3- PST- simply- wave -FII -REPORT -PL}\]
\[p \text{ni -sfx pro- tns- pv- vii -sfx -sfx -sfx}\]

\f Corn was simply waving.

\ref The Corn and Meat 036
\[t \text{é’éséhema’óhkeenétóneséstótse.}\]
\[m \text{é- h- éše- he- ma’óhkeenétó -né -sest -ot}\n\[g 3- \text{PST- already- have- tassel -FII -REPORT -PL}\]
\[p \text{pro- tns- pv- pv- vii -sfx -sfx -sfx}\]

\f It was already tasseled.

\ref The Corn and Meat 037
\[t \text{nàa nèhe’sè, "tséhéóhe hósètséhetóó’o!"}\]
\[m \text{nàa nèhe’sè tséhéóhe hósé- tséhetóó’ó}\n\[g \text{and then here again- look_yonder}\]
\[p \text{p p p -pv- vai}\]

\f And then, "Here, look again!" she told them.

\ref The Corn and Meat 038
They looked again.

A buffalo herd was standing.

And take this out!

Feel (the herd) first!

Call (the herd)!

An old man will announce.
The old men will eat first.

And then these (others) according to their ages will eat next," that's how she called the old men.

All the old men came to the center.

They ate.

And step-by-step according to their ages.
And the children ate next.

This meat and corn suddenly got smaller.

Children who had just learned to eat ate it all up.

And babies who did not yet know how to eat, that grease was put on their heads.
"And look toward here early in the morning!

A calf will come out to play," she told them.

And then maybe the next one who will be one year old," she told them.
And then a buffalo will appear as it comes out," she told them.

And they told the story that way.

And then in the morning they looked.

A calf appeared playing.

And then the next sized one.

And then buffalo recently last emerge -REPORT
And then a buffalo came out last.

And then in the morning a buffalo herd was standing.

And there they all chased (buffalos).

In this way they had plenty to eat.

That's all that I know of (the story).

The Whiteman and the Indian, by Leonard Yelloweagle (Oklahoma)

Vé'ho'ë naa xaevó'estane é'éenéšeohtséesto.
Whiteman and Indian were going along together.

Naa hetóéva éxhonótovóesto še'xo ho'éstáva.
And in the evening they roasted a duck in the fire.

Naa ts'ëšééxáho'hetsése é'àhto'hohnóvóesto páéva.
And when it was done cooking they buried it in the ashes.

Naa mósto'seovéšenahevóhe.
And they were going to lie down.

Naa néhe'se vé'ho'e éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe xaovo'éstanóho.
And then the whiteman told this Indian,

“Tsépéhévéováxéstse hésetseha taa'eva tsetamevo tsé'tóhe še'xo,"
"He who dreams well now at night will eat this duck,"
éxheséstse.
he said.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaovo'éstané é'amáhtovósesto tsé'tóhe vé'hó'e.
And this Indian agreed with this whiteman.

Naa néhe'se é'ovéšenásésto.
And then they lay down.

Naa tséhvóona'otse vé'ho'e é'oseméoto'eséstse.
And when it was morning the whiteman got up really early.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaovo'éstané é'éšéáhtse'tótoéšenáséstse.
But this Indian was already lying with his eyes open.

Naa vé'ho'e é'osehéóhta'hanétanoséstse.
And the whiteman really wanted to tell his story.

Éhnéhetóséasto tsé'tóhe xaovo'éstanóho, “Nátavovóehósésta
He told this Indian, "Let me be first to tell
naováxéstôse!" éxhetósesto.
my dream!" he told him.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaovo'éstané éhpéhévátséstánóse.
And this Indian thought well of that.

Naa néhe vé'ho'e é'aséstóhta'haneséstse.
And that whiteman started telling his story.

Éhnéhetóséasto tsé'tóhe xaovo'éstanóho.
He told this Indian,

"Tsé'ováxenáto vé'ho'á'eo'o tséhetsénoonese éhne'anóheéséne.
"When I dreamed white women who had wings (= angels) were coming down.

"Naa tséhéóhe tsé'ésého'óšenávóse e'vevonóhó'o éhne'anóheneeotse,"
"And here where they were a ladder came down,"
éxheséstse.
he said.

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"Naa néhe'še nátaase'eoh'tse,"
"And then I started to go up,"

éxhetóhta'haneséstse tsé'tóhe vé'ho'e.
That's how he told the story, this whiteman.

Naa néhéohe tséstae'shého'óhta'hanése tsé'tóhe
And there when he got to that point in the story this

xaevő'estane éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe vé'hó'e,
Indian told this whiteman,

"Hee, hápó'e náto'éstó'néheto'ováxe
"Hee, likewise I dreamed about the same

tséheto'ováxenáto," éxheséstse.
the way I dreamed," he said.

"Naa hápó'e vétséóhe tó'néhe'xóvéva
"And likewise then at exactly the same time

móñáováxenáhe,e," éxheséstse tsé'tóhe xaevő'estane.
I must have dreamed," said this Indian.

"Hénéhéohe nétavóomáte. E'evonóho'óne
"There I saw you On a ladder

nétaamee'eohtse," éxhetósesto.
you were going up," he told him.

"'Naa tsenésáa'éváho'eanóheohtséhe,' néhóov'éhésétámáte,"
"'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 hápó'e móhmóheeohtséheevóhe vé'késeho tséohkéhetaa'eame'hávóse
   And also likewise they met, birds those who fly.
   And also likewise birds, those who fly, met.
3. naa móséškanetsénoonáhe mósésto'sevéséeets'ôhtséhëhe
   And bat was also going to go to
   And a bat was also going to go to

4. tséhmóheeohstséetse
   where there was a meeting.
   the meeting.

5. éstatsëhe'ôhtsëhoo'o hovâhne tséhmóheeohstsetsëse
   He went to animals where they were meeting.
   He went to where the animals were meeting.

6. hovâhne éstsehetaesesto nésâahovâhévéhe névé'kësëheve
   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. tatsëhe'ôhtséetse vë'këseho tséhmóheeohstvëse
   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 épëhéva'e éxhetóhoono
   And, "That's good," he told them.
   "Well, that's good," he told them.

10. nâhtaévsëhe'ôhtse vë'këseho tséhmóheeohstvëse 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. éstsehëhe'ôhtsëhoo'o móséškanetsénoonáhe tséhmóheeohstsetsëse
    He went to, bat, where they were meeting,
    The bat went to where the birds were meeting.

    vë'këseho
    birds.

12. naa hânâhâohe tséstâho'eôhtsëse énëxhôsepéohehoo'o
    And over there when he arrived he was again rejected.
And when he arrived there he was rejected again.

13. tatséhe'ohstséstse hováhe tséhmóhe ohtsévose
   "Go over to animals where they are meeting!
   "Go to where the animals are meeting!

14. nésávé'késévéhe 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. éhéne'evaasootséhoo'o
   He came away.
   He left.

16. naa námé'tatónéstévévé
   And "What should I do?
   "Well, what in the world should I do?

17. tósa'e náho'xéstahémáse éxhešetanóohoo'o
   Where do I belong?" he thought.
   Where do I belong?" he wondered.

18. tás'ó=ho'tóhtse náho'váheve
   "I thought I was an animal,
   "I thought I was an animal,

19. naa vé'késó nahetane
   and 'bird' I am called.
   but I am called a bird.

20. naa tséhešésáavé'késéhévéhétó
   And since I am not a bird,
   But since I am not a bird,

21. tósa'e náho'xéstahémáse
   where do I belong?
   where in the world do I belong?

22. násáaxahéné'enóhe
   I just do not know."
   I just don't know."  

23. tsé'tóhe hóhta'ahő'o éhešenéhetósésé
   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'óhkéhéssévéeahtoešenáhèhe éšeëva
That must be why he hides in daytime.
That must be why he hides in the daytime.

26. tósa'e heva ma'tää'e heva véhpotsëva éohkeãhtoešenaséstse
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'nóhkeéamhèhestse táhta
Someplace he doesn't go around in open.
He doesn't go around anywhere in the open.

28. naa hena'háanehe énéhe'éstóšëse
And that's all. It is thusly told.
And that's how the story is told.

Text Information:
Original Transcriber: Olson
Location: Oklahoma
Date: ca. 1965

The Frog and Her Brothers, by Ed Riggs (Oklahoma)

\ref FROG2 clause 1
\tx Tótseha éstáho'kónoehoo'o oonáha'ë'hëhe
\mr tótseha é-h -táho'kónoe-hoon oonáha'ë'hëhe
\mg long.ago 3-PST-sit.upon -PRET frog:FEM

\tx ma'xèho'honáeva.
\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 Ehñémenéehoo'o.
\mr é-h -némoné-e -hoon
\mg 3-PST-sing -sit-PRET

\ft She sat singing.

\ref FROG2 clause 3
She would say,

"When my brothers look nice (dancing) I am happy,"

The two young men danced.

Both of those who danced had tailfeathers stuck in their hair on their heads.
While they danced, the frog spoke,

"Nahtatanemo őhpéhévenooöhéševoséstse
na -htataném-o oh -péhev-nenooöhéšé-vó -s-et
1POSS-brother -PL whenever-good -appear(?) -3PL-3-ITER"

"When my brothers look nice (dancing) I am happy,"

she said.

Apparently these young men who danced, these who danced together, were jackrabbits.
The rabbits were the brothers of the frog.

The Geese, by Maude Fightingbear (Montana)

1. Éxhóhta'hane tséméhaevéstoemo.  
   He told a story, the one who was my spouse.

2. Éxhósemóho henä'e.  
   He told about geese.

3. “Éhma’xeame’hao’o,”  
   “They were a lot of them flying,”

4. exhetóhta’häne.  
   he told the story that way.

5. “Nêhe’sê ma’aetano’e náxhéseváéna.  
   “Then the rifle, I grabbed it.

6. Náhtae’eamo’o tséhnéšema’xametónove’hávose.  
   I shot up at them while they were thickly flying.

7. Hôtâhtse na’èstse náhtaa’táno.  
   Here, one I accidentally shot.

   I shot him stiff.

9. Éhne’ameană’o.  
   He was falling down.

10. Nêhe’sê ēhma’xepe’pe’e’háooheo’o nêhe henä’e.  
    Then they were really hollering flying, those geese.

11. Éhne’évanôhenëheohë’tovovo nêhe na’èstse tséméhaetó’omemáxamoo’o.  
    They followed him down, that one that I shot stiff.

12. É’évanâha’enovo.  
    They caught him.

13. Éstaévaasëhe’ame’hao’o.  
    They started to fly back up.
14. Éstaéváhe’amenó’ase’hánovo.  
   They took off upward with him.

15. Éstaévató’néseasevéseame’ha néhe tséméhaetó’omemaso,”  
   Right then he also started flying again, that one that I shot stiff,”

16. éxhetóhta’háne.  
   he told the story that way.

I’m Beading Moccasins, by Jeanette Howlingcrane (Oklahoma)

1. Tséxho’ëhneta náoxa’ohēne.  
   When you came I was beading.

2. Mo’kēhanótse nánexétsenótse.  
   Moccasins, I was making them.

3. A’e náhtaéxananótse.  
   Soon I’ll finish them.

4. Hé’tóhe mo’kēhanótse nánaméxtootáhtsenótse.  
   These moccasins I’m making for myself.

5. Náto’setaomēhemo’kēhanenótse,  
   They are going to be my own moccasins,

6. naa mátō=héva vo’éstane máxho’aestse náhtanéšéhohtóvanótse.  
   or someone if he wants (them), I’ll sell them.

7. Móme’héhaomēnēstse.  
   They surely won’t be expensive.

8. Éohkevá’nemáhtóhtohanoemēnēstse.  
   They just cost ten (dollars).

How Birney Got the Name Oevemanaheno, by Elaine Strange Owl (Montana)

   Naa tséheškéto nánóhtsétóvo hé’tóhe tséhmano’éevo Oévemanahéno  
   And my mother I asked her (about) this where they have a village, Scabby Place,  

tséhestohe. Hénova’e tséohkéhésenéhestohe 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’ésesmano’éehévose vo’éstaneo’o,  
    “Well, long ago here when the people did not yet have a village,"  

evévo’o, netao’o háá’eše móméhaenonó’kevo’éstanéhevéhevóhe tsé’tóhe Oévemanaho,  
   she said, "all over far away they used to live by themselves, these Scabbies,  

tseoikhéhestóhese hétsetseha, naa tséssáa’ésesmano’éehévose, évëvo’o.  
   as they are called now, and when they did not yet have a village," she said.
Mó’öhkméhae'ovóenéhestóhehanéhe Tó’èséhahtámáhoéve'ho'éno, "It first used to be called Longfoot Town,
mó’öhkméhaehstóhehanéhe. Hetane néhéóhe móhvo’ëstanéhevéhéhe. it used to be called that. A man lived there.
Móxhoháa’estáhehéhe naa móhtó'èséhahtáhehé. Tó'èséhahtámáhoéve'ho'éno, He was tall and he had long feet. Longfoot Town,
éöhkméhae'ovóehstohe, éhevoo'o. Naa tsé'tóhe hetane móhnehéševéhéhéhe it first used to be called," she said. "And this man was named
Oévemana. Naa héstsetseha Oévemanáhéno tsétaohkéhóséhestohe, éhevoo'o. Naa Scabby. And now Scabby Place as it is again called," she said. "And
néhe'xovéva ésáa'éšemáhoöstovéhane héstéhóhe, 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 hátšéške.
\mr háhkota naa hátšéške
\mg grasshopper and ant
\ft The grasshopper and the ant.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 2
\tx Háštšéške éhma'xéhotse'óheséstse.
\mr hátšéške é-h -ma'xe-hotsé'óhe-sést
\mg ant 3-PST-big -work -REPORT
\ft An ant worked hard.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 3
\tx éhnéšema'xeéstovóhtsénóse héstáme hemáheóne.
\mr é-h -nésé-ma'xe-éstovohtsé - nó -s hé -htamé he -máheó'n-é
\mg 3-PST-CONT-big -put.in.s.t.-FTI-REPORT 3POSS-food 3POSS-house -LOC
\ft She brought in her food, lots, to her house.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 4
\tx Méanéva hová'èhe mó'éeho'tse'héhe
\mr méane-vá hová'èhe mó-h -ée -ho'tsé -hé -hé
\mg summer-OBL something DUB-PST-about-have.s.t.-NEG -NONAFFIRM
In the summer she had something where she had her house.

And this grasshopper sang.

He would just dance during summer.

"Likewise you should work.

Likewise something should be put in your house so that when it's cold you'll eat something,"
He was told by the ant.

"Hová'aháne,"

"No,"

said the grasshopper.

"I'm gonna dance.

and also I'm gonna sing.

I don't want to work.

It's too sunny."
Then when it was cold, he wanted to eat.

"Oh yes,

the ant stored a lot (of) her food in her house.

I want to go eat,"

he said.

He went to eat.
ref GRASSHOP clause 22
\tx E’ěseméhaenèhetaesesto,
\mr é-h -ēše -méhae -né -het -ae -sest -o
\mg 3-PST-already-previous-ANAPH-say.to.s.o.-INV-REPORT-OBV
\ft She had already told him,

ref GRASSHOP clause 23
\tx "Nėstsêsáahoxomatséhe 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 éstanèšèševátamósesto hátšeške
\mr naa é-h -ta -nèše-ševátam-ó -sest -o hátšeške
\mg but 3-PST-TRANSLOC-CONT-pity -DIR-REPORT-OBV ant
\tx háhkotaho
\mr háhkotah -o
\mg grasshopper-OBV
\ft But the ant had pity on the grasshopper.

ref GRASSHOP clause 25
\tx éxhoxomósesto.
\mr é-h -hoxom -ó -sest -o
\mg 3-PST-feed.s.o.-DIR-REPORT-OBV
\ft She fed him.
The Snake and Mice, by James Shoulderblade (Montana)

1) nētato?sēhōsēstomēvatsēnōvo šē?šēnovōtse naa hōkéehesono
I'm going to tell you about a snake and little mice.

2) šē?šēnovōtse ēstaamevonēhēnoo?o 3) ēstāho?avenēhōntanche vōxe
A snake was crawling along. He came upon a hole (den).

4) naa ēstāsēvonēhēnoo?o 5) ēxōtse ēxōhehoono hōkéehesono
And it crawled inside. Behold, there were little mice (there).

6) ēxōxēsētsētōeheono 7) ve?ōhtama tsēsetehnēste ēxētōhoono
They really welcomed him. "In place of honor go sit!" they told him.

8) hōkéehesono ēstāsēhetōhoono henēsono tse?tohe nēmēsēmēvo
The mouse said to her children, "This (is) your grandfather.

9) nēhō?nāhō?chétsāvēvo ēxētōhoono 10) nēhē?ēse tēstāsēsenēnōvo?xōvetse
He came to visit you," she told them. Then after a little while
ēstāsēhetōhoono na?ēstse henēsono nēxēhēstomēhono kāhāxēnēste
she told one (of) her children, "Go fetch firewood!

11) nāhtahomōntōchō?tōvo nēmēsēmēvo ēxētōhoono
I'll cook for your grandfather," she told him.

12) ēstaosānēhōvā?xēhoo?o 13) tēstāsēsēsenēnōvo?ēhōntāse
He went outside. After he had been gone a little while
ēxōsēnēhetōhoono na?ēstse nēxēhōchomēhono mahpe
she told one (child), "Go fetch water!

14) nāhtahomōntōchō?tōvo nēmēsēmēvo 15) tēstamēsēhōctse ēxētōhoono
I'll cook for your grandfather. He'll eat," she told him.

16) ēstaosānēhōsēhōvā?xēhoo?o 17) tēstāsēsēhōsenēnōvo?ēhōntāse
He went outside. After he had been gone for a little while
ēxōsētsēsetōhoono tēsēnēsēhe?osētsetse he nēsono tēhēhōntsevōma
she said to the two remaining (of) her children, "Go look for them!

What are they doing? They have been gone a long time. Go help them!
ēxētōhoono 21) ēstaosānēhōsēhōvā?xēhoo?o 22) tēstāsēhōse
They went outside. Again after a
little while she said to the snake, "It's taking them too long!
tāxēnētāhēntsēvōmāono?o ēxētōhoono 23) ēstaosānēhōsēhōvā?xēhoo?o
Let's see, I go look for them," she told him. She went outside.

24) tēstāsēsēhēhēnēse he nēsono ēstaasevēno?ochtshēono 25) naa nēhē?ēse
*When she got outside, her children she began moving from danger. And then
šē?šēnovōtse hēpōâvēta tēsēsēhōvēvēhōvēvēhēnēntsēsā ēnē?ēvēhōvonēhēnoo?o
the snake likewise when they did not return crawled back out.

26) tēstāsēsēhēvōnehēnēse tsē?ôtsētōô?ōse ēxâsamaahôvânehehōhoono
After crawling outside, upon looking around, they were simply gone.

27) hēnâhâanehe hēpōâvētse tēsēhkēhēsēhēsēsētōmo?o htēhōtââheono
That is it, likewise, what was told to me, this story,
tēstāsēkēhēsē 28) hēnâhâanehe
when I was young. That is all.
**Corn Pemmican**, by Elva Killsontop (Montana)

1) nahko'eehe emanestse ho’xèstoha

2) mâheemenôtse eesçtahonohtanôtse hononestova

3) tse'esexâho'tatse eevoanonanôtse

4) epeenanôtse

5) naa nêhe’sê ehohpe’ha amêške

6) eaesto'enanôtse mâheemenôtse ve'kee-mahpe naa nêhe’šê amêške

7) eova'kanenêstse
   
   Nahko'eehe emanestse ho’xèstoha.
   Mymother made corn penrnican.

Eesetahonohtanotse
Sheput
   mahaemenotse hononestova. corn intheoven.
Tse' geexaho'tatse
   men shetook itout.
   Epeenanotse. Naanehe'ge ehohpe’ha arnegke. She ground it. And then she melted grease.

Eaesto’enanotse
Shemixed together
   mahaemenotse, ve'kee-mahpe, naanehe’ge amegke. corn, sugar, and then grease.

Eova'kanenestse.
They were formed into balls.

**The Bear, the Coyote, and the Skunk**, by Jeanette Howlingcrane (Oklahoma)

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

2. Nâhkohe éstaamenéheohtsé’tanoho meo’o.
   bear followed it path
   A bear was following a path.

3. Háp'ó’e naháóhe ó'kohóme mîhnêhnehóhtsé'tôhéhe.
   Likewise there coyote followed it
   Likewise there a coyote was following it.

4. Nêhe’šê éstóò’e'ováhtséhoono.
   Then they met
Then they met.

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

6. "No'héhnéstse!
   Move aside
   "Move aside!

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

8. éxhetóhoono.
   he told him
   he told him.

9. "Hova'āhane,
   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'éšeó'evotâhtsevóšé éxhe'kemé'ēhnéhoo'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'evonēhnéhoo'o.
    he slowly turned around
    He slowly turned around.
18. Exhe'kéhešéhosóhnéhoo'o.
   he slowly backed up
   He slowly backed up.

19. Tséhvóomovóse estánéséhe'névo'ahéotséhoono.
   when they saw him they took off in two directions
   When they saw him they took off in two different directions.

20. Essáánáha'ómóhesesto tósa'ę tséhešaseita'xevóse.
    they were not caught sight of wherever they took off to
    No one ever saw them again, wherever they took off to.

Making Chokecherry Patties, by ElvaKillsontop (Montana)

1) to'seo'éšemee'éstse menótse

2) eohkeovoheo'enenéstse

3) naa eohkéhoxe'anenéstse

4) eohkepenenéstse naa mátó=héva eohkepenóhenéstse

5) eohkeova'kanenéstse

6) hešeeše eohkeo'éšemenéstse

7) naa eohkeonee'osenenéstse kokahkése

8) (naa eohkene'evavoomeo'o ve'késeho) naa óhtšešeo'otsee'éstse
   hoo'henova eohkeeto'ehenéstse

9) tosa'ę tse'o'o eohkého'henéstse

$$_$REVISE TEXT AND DELETE FOLLOWING DEFECTIVE SCAN

To'seo'eMemee'üstse menotse eohkeovoheo'enenestse
   When they are going to be dried, chokecherries, they are first picked
naa eohkehóxe'anenéstse.  Eohkepenenéstse naa mato eohkepenóhenéstse.
   and they are cleaned.       They are ground or they are pounded (with a tool).
Eohkeova'kanenestse.  HeMeeMee
They are made into patties.

The folklore trickster in stories is usually translated by 'white man', as it is in the preceding texts.

Some people say that the term 'v ε'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 "v ε'ho'e". Today I8 speakers know that v ε'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 tsemâhevē’s enohe ('he will be all sewed up'). A related word is eve’hoo’e 'he is all wrapped up (as a baby in a blanket)', which is close to eve'ho'ove. Because of the similarity in sounds between the verb roots for 'wrapped up' and 'be a white man', some say that the word ve’ho’e is a shortened form of the terminology that Sweet Medicine used.

This is perhaps as good a place as any to point out that Cheyennes divide the human world into three basic types of peoples:

1. Tsêtsêhéstâhese 'Cheyennes', (2) nótsêo'o 'other tribes' and (3) vé’hō’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), mé’ges -v ’hb’e Mexicans' (hairy-nosed (moustached)-v ’hb’e), and mo’ohtae-ve’hō’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 v’ého’e, today, as something like 'non-Indian'.

Now, for some comments on specific texts.

The recipe "Making Chokecherry Patties" is interesting in that the verbs use passives. There are some Generic conjunct verbs, e.g. to’se’o’egemee’estse 'when they are going to be dried' and ohtge eo’eotsee’estse 'when they become dry'.

"The Trek from Oklahoma" is a brief summary of an important historical event for the Cheyenne people. Note that the predominant verbal mode used is the Inferential. The Inferential is commonly used to pass along information that is known to have occurred but which was not viewed first-hand. Note that the first verbs are Impersonals. Describing a situation with an Impersonal verb is one way of generalizing it, enabling the speaker to leave out reference to specific subjects. This can be done particularly when the participants involved are well-known to the speaker and hearers. In this case, there is no mistaking that the speaker is referring to Cheyennes (not, for example, Crows or Sioux!). There are some Conjunct Intensive Negative verbs, e.g.

ho’noamahtavotse and ho’nonexhohtamaevotse.

The story about Sweet Medicine and his prophecies is a very important one to
The present text describes the coming of the white man, the horse, and the cow. There are some reportative verb forms, e.g. éhéséstse 'he is said to have said' and éhétoséstso 'he is said to have told them'. There are some verb forms with body-part medials, e.g. tsenéveohta 'he will have four legs' and tsene!ée1 esta (??) 'he will have t, To (??) There are some conjunct potential verb forms toward the end of the text, ma'tamásañeése 'if, when you (pl) are crazy' and másaá'évatóxetanó'tomáhése 'if, when you (pl) do not want to discuss it'.

The story about "The Geese" has an interesting verb form, tséméhaeto’omemáxamoo'o. This appears to be an example of an "absentative" conjunct participles.
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'ëhe nael'ta would mean I am afraid of something but if "le" add hova'ëhe to the verb nasaa'ë tohe I am not afraid of it. "Ye get hova'ëhe nasaa'ëtohe 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 forwardness and "pushiness" of the white man in the text "The!Jhiteman and the Indian." But, in the end, the cleverness and intelligence of the Indian wins out.

The story of "The Grasshopper and the Ant" is a familiar one from Aesop's Fables. But the Cheyenne version puts a strong cultural statement on the conclusion. In the English version, the grasshopper is not fed, but he is, in the end, in the Cheyenne version. It is very much against Cheyenne tradition to turn a needy person out, even if much of their trouble is self-inflicted.

"The Snake and Hice" shows how cunning can rescue one from danger. It is another story of the victory of the "underdog" over the oppressor.

The last two texts are self-explanatory. "Corn Pemmican" is a kind of recipe, told in an eyewitness form. "The Bear, the Coyote, and the Skunk" always brings a laugh from those who hear it.

(Note: the "Oklahoma" texts were first transcribed by Donald Olson, the text by James Shoulderblade was first transcribed by Danny Alford.)
Phonological rules

This section of the book describes the sound system of Cheyenne and how the sounds and tones interact with each other when words are pronounced. Much of this section will be quite technical. Feel free to skip reading anything that is confusing to you. But it would be good to at least try to understand what is described in the example words. It is necessary to learn the technical explanations about the sound changes, but it is necessary to learn how to correctly pronounce words which have experienced the sound changes.

Although there are fourteen letters in the Cheyenne alphabet, there are only thirteen phonemes. The letter "x" is always phonologically derived from some other sound.

The Cheyenne alphabet is mostly phonemic, but not entirely so. It is intended to be a "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 → ts / __ e

   nótá’e /nótɑ́́/ 'woman from another tribe'
   notse /nótɛ/ 'person from another tribe'

2. h-Assimilation (h-Assim)
   Phonemic /h/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a following voiceless fricative:

   h → [α PLACE] / __ [α PLACE]
       [-voiced]

   éssõhpeohtsèsèstse /é-h-sõhpeohté-seht/ 'it is said he walked through'
   tséssáanénemèhèto /té-h-saán-nëmènè-hé-tó/ 'when I did not sing'
   tséssësèssé /té-h-sësësè-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 → s / e __ t

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170 As noted earlier, orthographic "e" is typically pronounced as phonetic [i]. For practical purposes, however, we will symbolize the orthographic letter "e" as phonemic /e/ even though it is never pronounced as phonetic [e].
Néhmetséstse! /néh-méteht/ 'Give it to me!'
Néstse'hooestse! /néh-tehe'ooeht/ 'Come here quickly!'

náhtona /na-htónah/ 'my daughter'
néstonah /ne-htónah/ 'your daughter'

The same rule (with a minor revision) accounts for the following assimilation: Phonemic /h/ of the directional /néh-/ is fronted to [s] preceding /p/ by some speakers.

néspáháveameotšéšemeno! ~ néhpáháveameotšéšemeno! 'Lead us well!'

All speakers pronounce the sequence [sp] in words with the morpheme ho'esp- 'rare, not done'. It is unclear whether this morpheme is phonemically /ho'ehp- / or /ho'esp-/. If it is /ho'ehp-/, this would be another example of h to s Fronting. If it is /ho'esp-/, it would be the only form in Cheyenne with a phonemic /sp/ sequence.

ého'espáhō'ta 'it's not done'
ého'espemásóho 'he shot him but only wounded him'

4. **h to š Fronting (HŠF)**
   Phonemic /h/ is pronounced as [š] when it occurs between "e" and "k":
   
   $h \rightarrow š / e ___ k$
   
   náhko'éehe /ná-hko'éehe/ 'my mother'
   neško /ne-hko/ 'your mother'

5. **š-Backing (š-Back)**
   Phonemic /š/ is pronounced as [x] when it precedes a back vowel, /a/ or /o/:
   
   $š \rightarrow x / ___ V$
   $[+\text{back}]$
   
   še'xo /šé's-o/ 'duck (obviative)' (cf. še'se 'duck')
   néxahe /néšahe/ 'my grandchild' [cf. néše /néšé/ 'Grandchild! (vocative)]
   éháóénáxe /éháóénášé/ 'he’s lying praying'
   énéše'xahtse /éneše'Sahté/ 'he gargled (lit., he washed his mouth; cf. énéše'sévóéne 'he washed his face')
   énéxánéstse /énéšánét/ 'there are two of them (inanimate)' [cf. énéšeo'o 'there are two of them (animate)']

6. **s to š Assimilation**
   Phonic /s/ assimilates to [š] preceding /š/:
   
   $š \rightarrow š / ___ e š$
   
   Note: This rule is optional when the /e/ is voiced, but obligatory when it is voiceless.
hátšeske /hátseške/ 'ant'
éameošesemeno /néameotešemeno/ 'you led us'
háhtseške /hátehke/ 'he has a knife'
éhemótšeske /néhemótehke/ 'he has a knife'
mótšeske /mótehke/ 'knife'
hétšeske /hétseške/ 'knife'
hátšeske /hátseške/ 'ant'
éameošesemeno /néameotešemeno/ 'you led us'

7. **h-Dissimilation (h-Diss)**
   A phonemic /h/ is pronounced as phonetic [x] preceding another phonemic /h/:

   h → x / __ h

   nánexhółhtse /ná-neh-hóhté/ 1-CIS-there.come.from 'I came from there'
néxhéstánóhtse! /nénhestan-ó-hť/ CIS-take-IOAM-IMP 'Bring it to me!'
tséxhońónévôse /tê-h-honóňe-vôs/ CJT-PST-bake-3PL 'when they baked'
náchéne'êna /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'
   émá'ó [í mɔ́ ō o] 'it's red'
   hestónaho [hɪ s tɔnɔ h] 'his/her daughter'
   pāhoešéstotse /pahoëšéstotse/ [pʰɔ ŋ s t ō 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 i'y á n á] 'I'm hungry'
   Néá'éna [n í'y á 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'ěn 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'ěna the "y" would
   make it more difficult to see that this verb has the usual né- second person prefix, the verb
   stem –á'ěn, 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 ? î] 'buffalo'
    Nóávóse [n ów á w ōs] 'Bear Butte'
Énóahešévé [í n ó vow h ɪ sh f] 'he is giving away'

Sometimes it is difficult to hear the difference between a non-phonemic [v] glide and the [w] sound of a phonemic /v/ that appears between "o" and "a". But it is often possible to tell whether a "w" sound is phonemic or not by listening to morphological alternations. For instance, we can tell that énóvahe 'he is slow' has a phonemic /v/, rather than the phonetic [w] glide, when the word is pluralized, énóváheo'o [í n ófθ o v ʔ o] 'they are slow'. The phonetic [f] in this plural can only exist because it is the voiceless pronunciation of phonemic /v/ in the complex syllable of this word.

11. Phrase-Final Devoicing (PFD)
All word-final vowels devoice before a pause:

\[ V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / \_ \_ \_ & \]

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/:

\[
\begin{align*}
C & \quad V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / C _ {-}\text{[voiced]} & C _ o V \_ V \\
[-\text{high}] & \quad [+\text{cont}] 
\end{align*}
\]

PPD applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

táhpeno /tahpenon/ 'flute'
kósáne /kosáné/ 'sheep (plural)'
mòxe'ëstoo'o /moše'ëhtóon/ 'paper, book'
namëšëmé /namešëmé/ 'my grandfather'
máhnöhtëstovótse /mahnohtehtovot/ 'if you ask him'

13. Penultimate Devoicing (PD)

\[ V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / C _ {-(h)} C _ # \]

Penultimate vowels devoice if they are followed by an obstruct which, in turn, is followed by a word-final "e". The word-final "e" is inserted by the following rule of e-Epenthesis.

hohköxe /höhkoš/ 'ax'
tsétahpetáhtse /tétahpetáht/ 'the one who is big'
tsexhonônëvéso /tëhxonônëvoš/ 'when they baked'
ëshënéstse /ëshëné/ 'days'
vóhpoma'öhtse /vóhpoma'oht/ 'salt'
éheóváheséstse /éheóvaheseht/ 'he is said to be yellow'
motšëške /mótehk/ 'knife'

14. Consonant Devoicing (CD)
A consonant is devoiced if it precedes a voiceless segment:

\[ C \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / \_ [-\text{voiced}] \]

Naturally, if a consonant is intrinsically voiceless, this rule applies vacuously.

émane [í m a h í] 'he drank'
máhtamáhááhe [má t a mʰ áː h] 'old woman'
ehéóvo [í h  newPathó ʃ ʃ] '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
\[ V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / V \_ h C \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ h \]

This special devoicing is indicated in the examples below, although it would not normally be noted.

náohkëho'soo'e 'I regularly dance'
émóheeóhtseo'o 'they are gathering'
nápóáhtsenáhno 'I punched him in the mouth'

16. Preverb Devoicing
Vowels often devoice following a preverb and immediately preceding a voiceless stop:

\[ V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / + \_ \_ \_ \_ C \_ \_ \_ \_ [-\text{voiced}] \]

ééšëpëhëva'e ~ ééšëpëhëva'e /ééše+pehéva'e/ 'it's already good'
énëšëpëhëva'e ~ énëšëpëhëva'e /énëše+pehéva'e/ 'it's okay'

The same rule applies at the boundary between an initial and a following voiceless stop: ($$\text{COMBINE RULES}??$$)

éasëta'xe ~ éaseta'xe /éase+ta'se/ 'he started to run'
asëtånohtse ~ asëtånohtse /ase+ta'noht/ 'Pass it!'
nánëšëtåno ~ nánëhešetåno '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:

364
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:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow e \ / \ C \_ \_ \_ \# \]

See examples of e-Epenthesis under the preceding rule, PPD.

19. Non-obstruent Deletion (ND)
Nasals are deleted when they are phonemically word-final:

\[ C \rightarrow \emptyset / \_ \_ \_ \# \]
[-obs]

mée’e /méen/ 'feather' (cf. méeno /méeno/ 'feathers')
mo’keha /mó’kehan/ 'moccasin, shoe' (cf. mo’kéhanótse /mókehanot/ 'moccasins, shoes'
mo’éhno’ha /mo’éhno’ham/ 'horse' (cf. mo’éhno’hâme /mo’éhno’hamé/ 'horses'

20. s-Epenthesis (e-Ep)
/h/ is inserted between /e/ and a phonemic word-final /t/. This /h/ is pronounced as [s] according to the preceding HSA rule:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow h / e \_ \_ \_ t \# \]

PPD (Prepenultimate Devoicing) follows, causing the "e" added by e-Ep to be voiceless.

hóhkéhá’èstse /hóhkeha’ét/ 'hats'
ého’tánëstse /ého’tánét/ 'They (inanimate) are here/there'

21. Complex Syllable Formation (CSF)
A complex syllable is formed when a consonant is followed by a voiceless vowel, /h/, then a voiced vowel. The /h/ becomes aspiration on the consonant.

\[ C \rightarrow C^b / \_ \_ \_ V \_ \_ \_ h \_ \_ \_ V \]

tóhohko /tohohkon/ [tʰ o h k õ] 'hammer'
máheó’o /maheó’n/ [mʰ ā’ō’ õ] 'house'
énóváheó’o /énóváheó/ [i nóf h a’v o’ õ] 'they are slow'

\[ V\] stands for a voiceless vowel here.
páhosestotse /pahoešéstot/ [pʰ ɔ̂ː ʃ ɪ s t ɔ c] 'cradleboard'

22. Diphthongization
The two vowels of a complex syllable form a diphthong:

\[
V \rightarrow [-\text{syl}] / \_ \_ V
\]

mo'kēkəhtse [m ə kʰ ʌ a n ɔ c] 'mocasins, shoes'
náohkéhomōse [ná o kʰ o m ɔ s] 'I regularly cook'
páhosestotse [pʰ ɔ̂ː ʃ ɪ s t ɔ c] 'cradleboard'
ńátahéovēše [n á tʰ áv o w ɪ ŋ ʃ] 'I'm going to lie down'
mahē'ō [mʰ āv ɔ ɔ] 'house'
Náhkohá'e [n á h kʰ á i] 'Bear Woman'
énahahkahe [ɪ 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:

\[
h \rightarrow 0 / V
\]

tséenâhéstse [c iː n a s c] 'the one who is old'
tséháoénahstse [c i h aː n ā c] 'the one who is praying'
Hestānōhtse! [h ɪstānəc] 'Take it!'
Vonâhō'hōhtse! [v o nʰ ɔ ɔ c] 'Burn it up!'

24. High-Raising (HR)
High-Raising is one of several rules which adjust the pitches (tones) of Cheyenne. Pitch marks used in these rules are: ́ (high), ˆ (raised high), ¯ (mid), and ` (low)\(^{172}\).

A high is pronounced as a raised high when it is followed by a word-final high and not preceded by another high:

\[
\acute{\prime} \rightarrow \hat{\prime} / \{\#\} \_ \_ \acute{\prime} #
\]

šēšē /šēšē/ 'duck'
sēmo /sémón/ 'boat'
éməovēse /éma'ovēse/

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:

\[
\acute{\prime} \rightarrow ˈ / ˈ \_ \_ ˈ #
\]

méšēne /méšené/ 'ticks'
návōōmo /návōomó/ 'I see him'

\(^{172}\) The grave accent low pitch mark is only used in the pitch rules themselves when it is needed. Otherwise, low pitches are left unmarked.
póéso /póesón/ 'cat'
éméhósáne /éméhósané/ 'he loves'
ésáasé'sévéhe /ésáašé'sévéhe/ '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:

```
→ ́/́ __ (Y) ($) ́ #
```

One or more voiceless syllables can occur between the pitch that is raised and a following high pitch. It appears that this rule only applies when the word-final pitch is phonemically high. This rule is closely related to the preceding rule of LHR and may be part of a single natural rule of pitch assimilation that includes both LHR and HL.

éávóónése /éávoonešé/ 'he's lying fasting'
éstséněhé'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.)

```
→ −/ __ ʿ #
```

kôsa /kosán/ 'sheep (singular)'
he'ě /he'ě/ 'woman'
éhomöse /éhomosé/ 'he is cooking'
étahpe'āse /étahpe'asé/ 'he has a big belly'

28. Word-Medial High-Raising (WMHR)
A high is raised if it follows a high (which is not a trigger for the High Push-Over rule) and precedes a phonetic low:

```
→ ^/́ ((C V [-voiced] C_o )o ́ __ ́ C_o V [-high] [+cont])
```

One or more voiceless syllables may come between the two highs. (A devoiced vowel in this process must be phonemically low, not a phonemic high vowel which has been devoiced by the HPO rule.) Many verbal prefixes and preverbs are affected by WMHR.

éhâmêsto'o/ehâmêhtoe/ 'he sat down'
émêsehe /émêsehe/ 'he is eating'
émôna'e /émôna'e/ 'it's new'
tséhnèmenéto /téhnémenétó/ 'when I sang'
násâamétôhénôto /násâamétôhénôto/ 'I did not give him (obv) to him'
éssâmêshêhéo'o /éssâmêséhêhé'o/ 'they did not eat'
tsêhevêvësônëto /téhevêvësesônëto/ 'the one who is your cousin'
mônësô'haëanâmë /mônësô'haëanâmë 'Are you (plural) still hungry?'
nëvé'e'a'xaâme! /nëvé'e'a'xaamë/ 'Don't cry!'

29. Stem-final Raising (SFR)
A stem-final low pitch is raised to a high pitch word-medially (i.e. antepenultimate or before in a word):

V → ′ / __ ]stem $s_2$

As written, SFR applies to any stem-final vowel that is antepenultimate or earlier in a word. It applies vacuously to a stem-final vowel which is already high-pitched. Here are examples of words in which SFR applies to stem-final vowels which have underlying low pitches.

émané-stove 'there is drinking' (cf. émane 'he is drinking')
éta'posé-stove 'there is getting cold easily (éta'pose 'he gets cold easily')
námêséhê-otse 'I ate quickly' (cf. námîsehe 'he ate')
mêséhê-stoto 'potatoes'
amâho'hé-stotâse 'cars' (cf. éamâho'he 'he's going along by car')
ésâanaâotse-hé-o 'they are not sleeping' (cf. énaâotse 'he is sleeping')
ésâapëhëva'é-hane 'it is not good' (cf. épëhëva'e 'it is good')
tsépëhëva'é-tseë'estse 'those (things) which are not good'
èhe'kotähê-sësto 'they are said to be quiet (reportative mode) (cf. èhe'kotahê 'he is quiet)
é'mëohë-hëoo 'Wow, he quickly walked!' (preterit mode) (cf. é'mëohe 'he quickly walked')
ésâapëhëvenôohë-hehoono 'Wow, they do not look good!' (cf. épëhëvenôohe 'he looks good')

30. High Push-Over (HPO)
A high is realized as a low if it is preceded by a high and followed by a phonetic low:

′ → ′ / ′ __ ′

As formulated, HPO must be preceded by HR (High-Raising). HPO applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

néhâoënamaha /néhâóënàma/ 'we (incl) prayed'
némêhotone /némëhótóne/ 'we (incl) love him'
nâmëhòañèmá /nâmëhósanëmë/ 'we (excl) love'

31. High-Lowering (HL)
A high is pronounced as a low preceding a word-final low:

---

173 I perceived this as a "hanging low" pitch (between a mid and low) in my 1981 article on Cheyenne pitch rules and the first editions of this book. Since then, however, I have concluded that there is insufficient evidence to say that there is such a pitch. Most, if not all, speakers pronounce a lowered high as a phonetic low pitch.
pe’e /pé’e/ 'nighthawk'
mene /méne/ 'berry'
motšéške /mótehk/ 'knife'
éhe’ève /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).

\[ V \rightarrow \prime / \_ \_ \_ \_ \# \]

návôomo#náhkohe 'I saw a bear'
evôolta#mahöö'o 'he saw a house'

33. Glottal Raising (GR)
A glottal stop can raise the pitch of a preceding vowel. The amount of elevation in pitch, if there is any, varies depending on the word and the speaker.

\[ \prime \rightarrow \{ \prime \} / \_ \_ ? \]
\[ \{ \_ \} \]

ó’óésöö'o /ó’óéseon/ 'clothesline'
óová’hasöö'o /óova’haseon/ 'pump'
éhestó'tonónhóo. /éhehto'tonohnóho/ 'he braided his (someone else's) hair.'
tsévéhestá'amañceso /tévéhehta'amañceso/ 'who had gunshot wounds' (1987:107)

34. Vowel-Stretching (VS)
Cheyenne does not permit word-final vowel sequences for pronunciation. If there is a phonemic word-final vowel sequence, a glottal stop and a copy of the last phonemic vowel will be inserted.174

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow \begin{array}{ccc} V & V & V \\ [\alpha \text{ back}] & [\gamma \text{ PITCH}] & [\alpha \text{ back}] \\ [\beta \text{ high}] & [\beta \text{ high}] & ( [+\text{obs} ] ) \# \\ [\gamma \text{ PITCH}] \end{array} \]

VS applies if a voiceless obstruent (/s/, /ʃ/, or /t/) follows the phonemic word-final vowel sequence. Subsequent to Vowel-Stretching, a rule of Vowel Assimilation assimilates /e/ to an immediately preceding vowel.

meo’o /méón/ 'road, trail'
honoo’o /honónm/ 'roast'
vee’e /véen/ 'lodge, tepee'
xäö’o /šaón/ 'skunk'

174 This process was first observed in Cheyenne by Algonquianist Ives Goddard and described in a slightly different formulation (1978).
néshéé'éshe /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
émee’a /éměa/ '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’ëse /véées/ 'tooth', instead of expected vee’ëse
séo’otse /séot/ 'ghost, corpse', instead of expected seo’otse

$\text{IS THERE ANY INTERACTION WITH / INFLUENCE FROM IAH (IMPERMANENT ANTEPENULTIMATE HIGH)?}$

Note: not all surface (pronounceable) forms which end with two vowels, a glottal stop, and a word-final vowel have undergone Vowel-Stretching. Such forms which have not undergone VS are:

énaā'e /énnaé'/ 'he doctored (cf. énaa'e /énae/ 'he died')
náné’póó'o /náné’póo’ó/ 'I peeked over'
éméó'e /éméó'é/ 'he fought'

35. Vowel Assimilation

An "e" assimilates to take on the phonetic value of an immediately preceding vowel when that "e" is followed by a consonant:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
V & V & V \\
[-\text{back}] & [\alpha \text{ back}] & [\alpha \text{ back}] \\
& [\beta \text{ high}] & [\beta \text{ high}] \\
\end{array}
\]

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:ʔɪ] 'they saw me'
névéomoaene [níwóomaːɾɪ] 'he saw us (incl)'
èho'oëstse [íhoʔoːsc] 'he cooked it'
36. h-Loss
Phrase-medially, an /h/ which is preceded by a vowel and followed by a word-final vowel is lost by syncope:

\[ h \rightarrow \emptyset / V \_ \_ \_ \_ V \# X \]

Vowel Assimilation applies to the vowel sequence produced by h-Loss. Vowel-Stretching does not, hence it must be ordered before the rule of h-Loss.

Námoxe'oha mòxe'ës too'o. [nàmò n xwî t o õ ã # mò n xwî t o s t o : õ t o] 'I wrote a book.'
Násáaxómohe nábókhe. [nàsáaxwâ:mó: # nábókhe] 'I did not see the bear.'

h-Loss also occurs with some word-medial sequences in natural rapid speech:

éméhaemane [í mì a: ma ŋi] 'he used to drink'
étsêhe'këhâhe [êchë k í ah] 'he is young'
éhóháetonëto [í'oh á ton í tô] 'it's very cold (weather)'

37. Labialization
The consonants "x" and "h" take on the labial quality of a preceding /o/ if they are followed by /e/ or /a/:

\[ C V \rightarrow w / o [+back] \_ \_ [+high] [+cont] \]

oha [ohwâ] 'only'
namòxe'ës too'o [nàmò m õ xwî t o s t o: õ t o] 'my book'

38. Palatalization
Cheyenne /h/ is palatalized if it is preceded by /e/ and followed by /a/ (??) or /o/:

\[ C V \rightarrow y / e h \_ \_ [+high] [+cont] \]

eho /ého/ ['í h y õ] 'your father'

39. h-Metathesis (h-Met)
A phonemic /h/ and a vowel exchange places when they are preceded by a vowel and followed by a word-final /ht/:

\[ V_1 h V_2 \rightarrow V_1 V_2 h / \_ \_ h t \# \]

Méseestse! /mésehe-h/ 'Eat!'
Né'esto'hahtse! /néêhto'hahtse/ 'Take your gloves off!'
Po'óhtse! /po'oh-ô-h/ 'Break it off (by tool)'
tsénóvaestse /tê-nóvahe-h/ '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:

Ø → = / ___ # X

hévé=móhe 'apparently, maybe'
hévé=hméméstanéhevóhe 'maybe they drowned' (1987:4:23)

Enclitics attach to the ends of words:

Ø → = / # X___

tá'ëhé=háma 'Isn't that right?'
nóhásë=háma 'any way'
heá'ë=háma 'I guess, maybe'

If a particle ends with "he", this syllable is lost during cliticization:

{h e} → = / ___ # 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'éševótse 'this baby'
hé'tóhe 'this one (animate)'; hé'tó=máhéó'o 'this house'
néhe 'that one (referred to; animate); né=ka'éškóne 'that (referred to) child'
móhe 'True?, Really?'; mó=néháiána? 'Are you hungry?'; mó=héva 'maybe'; mó=néhe 'You mean that one (animate)'

41. Glottal Stop Epenthesis (GSEp)
A glottal stop is inserted between a clitic and a following vowel:

Ø → ? / = ___ V

tsé'tó=éstse'he 'this shirt'
mó='éháohó'ta 'Is it hot?'
mó='éšépèhéva'e 'Is it good already?'

42. Contraction
We have referred several times in this book to a rule of contraction which affects some Transitive Animate (TA) verbs. If a TA stem ends with either of two abstract TA finals, -ov or –ev, these finals contract in the inverse voice if anything follows these finals:
\{ov\} \rightarrow \ddot{\text{o}}e / \_\ X
\{ev\}

The /o/ of the final becomes high-pitched during contraction. Cheyenne contraction reflects vowel coalescence which occurred in Proto-Algonquian and continues to occur in other Algonquian languages. Examples of Cheyene contraction follow:

náhéné’enóó’é ‘they know me’ (cf. náhéné’enova ‘he knows me’)
nánéhóó’é ‘they chased me’ (cf. nánehova ‘he chased me’)
nénéhoehe? ‘Did he chase you?’
néhéne’enohe? ?? Does he know you?
návovéstomóéne ‘he taught us (excl)’ (cf. návovéstomeva ‘he taught me’)  
énévéstomóene ‘he taught us (incl)’
téhévéstomóó’ése ‘when he taught me’
tséhxéné’enoétse ‘when he knew us’

$$Suggestions from Rich Rhodes:

h \rightarrow s /\_\ [+obs, -lab] \ (i.e., t, s, k, š)
s \rightarrow ŝ /\_\ [+obs, +back] \ (i.e., k, š)

with a codicil that for the speakers who assibilate before p the first rule is:

h \rightarrow s /\_\ [+obs]

But there is also an /x/, which should get swept up in the first rule, and writing /x/ out isn’t straightforward.

However, the dictionary examples make it look like there is also a rule, h \rightarrow O /\_\ 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 \rightarrow xx
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