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

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The Cheyenne Language

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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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. Somtimes 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

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Ma'xéhohtsee'he, Big Hoop Moon: February 298
Pónoma'a'éhasnééhe, Drying Up Moon: March 298
Véhpotseéše'he, Leaf Moon: April 298
Énano'éeše'he, Planting Moon: June 298
Méanéeše'he, Summer Moon: July 298
Oenenéeše'he, Harvest Moon: August 298
Tonóeše'he, Cool Moon: September 298
Sé’énéhe, 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'xèhe'koneneéše'he, Big Hard Face Moon: December 298
Some alternative names are: 298
He'koneneéše'he, Hard Face Moon: January (instead of November) 298
Tšèške'hohstseéše'he, Little Hoop Moon: February 298
Pónoma'a'èhasenéhe, Drying Up: March (or April) 298
Heše'kévénéhe, Dusty Face: March (also, variant Heše'évenéhe) 298
Heše'évenéheéše'he, Dusty Face Moon: March (or April) 298
Sétoveméanéeše'he, Midsummer Moon: July 299
Hémotséeše'he, Breeding Moon: latter part of August and first part of September 299
Tonóeveéše'he, Cool Moon: September 299
Sé'eneeše'he, Facing Into Moon: October 299
Se'ma'omeveeše'he, Starting To Freeze Moon: October 299
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I'm Beading Moccasins 346
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38. h-Metathesis (h-Met) 371
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Abbreviations and symbols

Person abbreviations

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

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

Pitch symbols

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

Other symbols

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

Other abbreviations

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

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

Oklahoma Cheyenne Country:
http://www.cheyennelanguage.org/maps/OklahomaCheyenneCountry.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.
<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>hápóse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for example</td>
<td>hámó'ohtse</td>
<td>hómó'ohtse</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>

### 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>k pronunciation</th>
<th>old man pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hat</td>
<td>hóhkéha'e</td>
<td>hóhtšéha'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>hóhkéehe</td>
<td>hóhtšeehe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>female twin</td>
<td>héstáhkéhá'e</td>
<td>héstáhkéhá'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>regularly</td>
<td>ohke-</td>
<td>ohtše-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### The Suhtai dialect

Many years ago Cheyennes were about to fight a band of people called the Suhtai. But they stopped when they could understand what the Suhtai 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 ___$

---

6 This pronunciation is the same as for the preverb hóse- meaning 'again'.
7 Spelled So'taeo'o in the official orthography used in this book.
8 Mutual understanding between the Cheyennes and Suhtai is mentioned by Mrs. Albert Hoffman in her Cheyenne story, "When Cheyennes Crossed the Ice", found in the Texts section near the end of this book. Mrs. Hoffman refers to the Suhtai as xaevo'ëstaneo'o 'Indians' in sentence 3 of the story.
9 Spelled as Issiwun by Grinnell.
Cheyenne sounds

There are 14 letters in the Cheyenne alphabet:

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

Cheyenne vowels

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

Cheyenne a

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

Cheyenne e

The letter "e" usually has the so-called short "i" English sound, written with the phonetic symbol [ɪ] or [ɨ]. 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'e. However, it usually sounds more like ipeva'i, phonetically [ɪpʰe̞vaʔɪ], 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.

---

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

mahpe 'water'
póhkésó 'kitten'
évóhko 'it's bent'
méhne 'water serpent'
séhpato'óhēō'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:

émame [ím añ i] 'he drank'
máhpēva [fnt p i f á] 'in the water'
máhtamáhāāhe [fnt 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\(^{11}\) 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', nahkho'eo'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 aspirated (having a puff of air after them) when they are the first letter of a word, as in "poor", "ten", and "kill". English p, t, and k are unaspirated, without this puff of air, when they are not the first letter of a word, as in "spot", "stick", "skip", and "letter". English b, d, and g are actually different from what is perceived as b, d, and g in Cheyenne in that the English letters are voiced, that is, our vocal cords vibrate when we say them, as in the English words "bird", "dog", and "girl". Our vocal cords never vibrate when we say Cheyenne p, t, and k (which are perceived as b, d, and g).

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

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

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

Cheyenne š

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

---

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

Authors who write books about Cheyennes often like to include some Cheyenne words. You may be asked to help them spell some Cheyenne words for their book. If their book is for a popular (non-technical) audience, spell the Cheyenne words with "sh" instead of "š". For instance, if an author asks you to spell the word for 'snake' for a novel, consider spelling it as shi'shinofots instead of the official spelling še'šenov Otse. Do not give a Cheyenne name with the letter "š" to a newspaper for an obituary if the newspaper will substitute the letter "s". Here are some Cheyenne names which have the š sound, with suggestions for simplified newspaper spellings. The "/" symbol indicates another option. And you may be able to think of other spellings when it is necessary to avoid the symbol "š".

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>official spelling</th>
<th>newspaper spelling</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Day Walking Woman</td>
<td>Ešeamēhe’e</td>
<td>Ishiamhi’i / Ishiamhi’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Day Woman</td>
<td>Ešeeva’e</td>
<td>Ishiiva’i / Ishiiva’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rising Sun</td>
<td>Eš’ehe Ōhme’ehnēéstse</td>
<td>Ishi’ Ōhmī’ihnsts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Moon</td>
<td>Eš’ehe Ōhnešesēéstse</td>
<td>Ishi’ Ohnishists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dusty Nose</td>
<td>Heše’eveesehe</td>
<td>Hishi’iviisih</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porcupine</td>
<td>Heškovēstse</td>
<td>Hishkovsts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alights On the Clouds</td>
<td>Ho’evāhtoešēstse</td>
<td>Ho’ivahtoishsts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lying Wolf</td>
<td>Ho’nehešeeše</td>
<td>Ho’nihishiish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden Thigh</td>
<td>Kamāxevēše’o’o</td>
<td>Kamaxivshio / Kamaxivshio’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raccoon</td>
<td>Matšēškome</td>
<td>Machgom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mint Woman</td>
<td>Moxēšeha’e</td>
<td>Moxshiha’i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two Crows</td>
<td>Okōhkeo’o Ōhnešese</td>
<td>Okohkeo’o Ohnishis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little Snowbird</td>
<td>Šeheso</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>Tšēške’eo’he’e</td>
<td>Chki’io’hi’i / Chki’io’hi’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some other Cheyenne words with the "š" sound are: amēške 'grease' (simpler spelling amshk), eš’ehe 'sun' (simpler spelling ishi’), meškeso 'bug' (simpler spelling mishkis), neše 'two' (simpler spelling nish), nāčesméšehe 'I already ate' (simpler spelling naishimisih), and ēovēše 'he went to bed' (simpler spelling iowish).

**Glottal stop**

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

\textsuperscript{12} Some linguists transcribe this sound with the IPA system $[ʃ]$ symbol.
Some pairs of Cheyenne words are different only by the presence or absence of a glottal stop:\(^{13}\):

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

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

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

**Cheyenne x**

Cheyenne "x" has the same sound as the German letter "x". It is a voiceless velar fricative, 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>vetšēške</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for four days</td>
<td>névéé’ēše</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He's on the go</td>
<td>ééva’xe</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fan</td>
<td>vá’vanohē’o</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>vo’e</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bald eagle</td>
<td>vóaxá’e</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deer</td>
<td>váótséva</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He fell over</td>
<td>éává’o</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I dreamed</td>
<td>náovaxe</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It's white</td>
<td>évó’komo</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He went to bed</td>
<td>éovēše</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{13}\) 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 vetšēške 'fat'.

When we pronounce sounds but our vocal cords are not vibrating, these sounds are called voiceless. We can make any sounds, or even entire words, voiceless by whispering them. Place your fingers on your Adam's apple and pronounce the word 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: ā, ē, ĭ. In some earlier publications, when a dot was not available, whispered vowels were marked with the circumflex symbol: â, ê, ô. It's best not to copy the circumflex symbol from the earlier publications.

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

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

- máhpēva in the water
- ka’ēškone child
- semonôte boats
- tāhpenco 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 mahe 'arrow' 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 [māp̥iʃ a]. Notice that the word-final final syllable is also whispered, making the "v" sound like English "f". The "n" is whispered in the first syllable of the word for 'diaper', nēhpē’ēhestōtse, because the "e" that
follows it is whispered.

_Singing and voicelessness_

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

Compare the spoken and sung versions of the following song:

**Northern Cheyenne Flag Song, Busby version, as spoken:**
Kásovaaheséstse, nèstooheonane, nèsto’ane, nemehohtanone.
Young men, our (incl) flag, our (incl) land, we love it.

**Northern Cheyenne Flag Song, Busby version, as sung:**
Kásovaaheséstse, nestooheonane, nesto'ane, nemehohtanone.

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

**Pitch marks**

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

A vowel in the penultimate (next-to-the-last) syllable of a word can have a mid pitch14. Mid pitch vowels are marked with a macron: 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>he’e</th>
<th>liver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hé’e</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóoma</td>
<td>mosquito (or blanket)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoóma</td>
<td>on the other side</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoéstótse</td>
<td>dress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoéstótse</td>
<td>Read it!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé’ho’e</td>
<td>whiteman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé’hó’e</td>
<td>whiteman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenése</td>
<td>you who are singers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenese</td>
<td>those who are singers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

14 Mid pitches occur on a penultimate syllable if there is no preceding high pitch and the word-final vowel is phonemically high pitched. This high pitch is no longer heard when the word-final vowel is whispered.
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'è '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 [ɔː] while English "oo" is phonetically [ʊ]. Cheyenne "ee" is phonetically [ɪː] while English "ee" is phonetically [iː].

**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:

\[ C \cup h V > C^h V / _$ \]

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>word</th>
<th>phonetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It's good</td>
<td>épêhêva'e</td>
<td>[i pʰ ê v a ? i ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They (an.) are good</td>
<td>épêhêvâhe'o</td>
<td>[i pʰ ê v h o ? ô]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cradleboard</td>
<td>pâhoešestôte</td>
<td>[pʰ a : š i š t ô c]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hammer</td>
<td>tôohko</td>
<td>[tʰ o h k ô]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Go to bed! tähéovéšéstse [t⁰ n ə v o w t s c]
I’m tired nákāhanoeı́sêse [n ë k á n ë v o c]
shoes mo’kéhanötse [m o k’ł h ë n c]
They are proper éon’išhe’o [í o n ó pʰ o ʔ ū]
house māheö’ō [m b ʔ y ū ū ʔ]
then néhe’śe [n b ʔ ź]
I caught it nànhaña’ēna [n ë n h k b o v o ū]
bears náhkóheö’o [n ë h k b o v o ū]
they are eating éméséheö’o [í m i s b ʔ ū ū]

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>étapáheö’o 'they are weak'</td>
<td>étapahe 'he is weak'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éno’káhehe 'Is he single?'</td>
<td>éno’kahe 'he is single'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésanétahêhe '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 –nétahe means 'be other' whether or not we turn it into a negative verb as we did in the list.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspirated</th>
<th>Unaspirated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>māheö’o</td>
<td>[m b ʔ y ū ū ʔ ū]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhe’šê</td>
<td>[n b ʔ ź]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nánáha’ēna</td>
<td>[n ë n h k b o v o ū]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aspirated nasals sound unusual to anyone who has never heard them before. They are pronounced
more through your nose. Notice the difference in the letter "m", the first letter of these two words:

Ma'heo'o\(^{15}\) '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'
énóvāheo'o 'they are slow'

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

**Phonemes**

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

The phoneme /š/ becomes [x] when it precedes /a/ or /o/\(^{16}\):

néše 'Grandchild! (vocative)', nēxahe 'my grandchild'
énēšešévéne 'he washed his (own) face', énēše'xāhtse 'he gargled'
énēšeo'o 'there are two of them (an.), énēgânéstse 'there are two of them (inan.)
šéšé 'duck', še'xo 'duck' (obviative)

The phoneme /h-/ becomes [x] when it precedes /h/\(^{17}\):

Éhneméne 'he sang', Éxho'soo'e 'he danced'
Néhmetséstse! 'Give it to me!, Néhxéstánōhtse! '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>hòhp</td>
<td>hohpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>nāko</td>
<td>nahkohe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>māp</td>
<td>mahpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>God</td>
<td>Maheo</td>
<td>Ma'heo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>mhayo</td>
<td>måhe'o'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gopher</td>
<td>eszemae</td>
<td>estsema'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>móesz</td>
<td>mo'e'estse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one</td>
<td>nasz</td>
<td>na'estse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>noz</td>
<td>notse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whiteman</td>
<td>vého</td>
<td>ve'ho'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white woman</td>
<td>véhoa</td>
<td>ve'ho'a'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>voe</td>
<td>vo'e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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>nesa</td>
<td>ni khi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>three</td>
<td>na'ha</td>
<td>na ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year</td>
<td>aa'e</td>
<td>ah i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>taa'eva</td>
<td>dii i vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>evening</td>
<td>hetoeva</td>
<td>hi doi vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my child</td>
<td>naneso</td>
<td>nii niss sso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your child</td>
<td>neneso</td>
<td>ni niss sso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>nahkohe</td>
<td>na go</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bears</td>
<td>nahkohe'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>aenohe'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>eše'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>šešenovôte</td>
<td>sshi no vo zi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>máheo'o</td>
<td>mha yoo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phonetic spelling

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

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

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\(^{18}\) This is different from what linguists call phonetic spelling, which uses international phonetic alphabets. The word Cheyennes call themselves can be spelled like this using international phonetic symbols: [t͡sɪtsʰɪstʰəs] or [cɪcʰɪstʰəs]. 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 Tsetsēhestahēse, or with pitch marks, Tsétséhestahēse. 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 Tsetsehestahēse, that is very inaccurate. No one would pronounce this very word correctly if it is spelled as Tsetsehestahēse. 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 namēšeme. It is better to spell with "sh" instead of "s" if a newspaper or other publisher will not print the "s" letter and, instead, changes it to a regular "s". That would really be inaccurate. In the Cheyenne Dictionary we include phonetic ("simplified") spellings for many words, along with the official spellings.

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

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

51
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>um (or am)</th>
<th>am (or am)</th>
<th>ame</th>
<th>pemmican</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>amsk</td>
<td>amēške</td>
<td>grease</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boyso (or boiso)</td>
<td>poeso</td>
<td>cat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gashgon</td>
<td>ka'ēškone</td>
<td>child</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi'iih</td>
<td>ke'eehe</td>
<td>grandma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipiya.</td>
<td>Epēheva’e.</td>
<td>It's good.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idonit.</td>
<td>Etoneto.</td>
<td>Its cold (weather).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itsisinists.</td>
<td>Etsēhesenestse.</td>
<td>He (or She) speaks Cheyenne.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itsisd.</td>
<td>Etsēhestahe.</td>
<td>He (or She) is a Cheyenne.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hiss</td>
<td>hese</td>
<td>fly</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hochk</td>
<td>ho’tšēške</td>
<td>sinew</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khao</td>
<td>xao'o</td>
<td>skunk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>machk</td>
<td>ma'tšēške</td>
<td>bow</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maheo</td>
<td>Ma'heo'o</td>
<td>God</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhayo</td>
<td>máheo'o</td>
<td>house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mochk</td>
<td>motšēške</td>
<td>knife</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nahgo</td>
<td>nahkohe</td>
<td>bear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nahkoyo</td>
<td>nahkōhe'o</td>
<td>bears</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahka</td>
<td>Nahkōha'e</td>
<td>Bear Woman</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahkoso</td>
<td>Nahkōheso</td>
<td>Littlebear</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nahgo'iih</td>
<td>nahko'eehe</td>
<td>my mother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namshim</td>
<td>namēšeše</td>
<td>my grandfather</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natsisdah.</td>
<td>Natsēhestahe.</td>
<td>I'm Cheyenne.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niho'iih</td>
<td>neho'eehe</td>
<td>my father</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nish</td>
<td>neše</td>
<td>two</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nishg'iih</td>
<td>neške'eehe</td>
<td>my grandmother</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nits</td>
<td>netse</td>
<td>eagle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nidonshif?</td>
<td>Netonēševe?</td>
<td>What are you doing?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nidonshivih?</td>
<td>Netonēševehe?</td>
<td>What is your name?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nitsistahe?</td>
<td>Netsēhestāhehe?</td>
<td>Are you Cheyenne?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niya'ish</td>
<td>Nea'ēše</td>
<td>Thank you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okom</td>
<td>o'kohome</td>
<td>coyote</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oishkis</td>
<td>oeškese</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shi'sh</td>
<td>še'se</td>
<td>duck</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsitsistaists</td>
<td>Tsetsēhestaestse</td>
<td>Cheyenne (person)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsitsistas</td>
<td>Tsetsēhestāhese</td>
<td>Cheyennes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tsisinistsitsots</td>
<td>Tsēhesenēstestōtse</td>
<td>Cheyenne language</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vichk</td>
<td>vetšēške</td>
<td>fat</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waodzif</td>
<td>vaotseva</td>
<td>deer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wohihif</td>
<td>Vooheheve¹⁹</td>
<td>Morning Star</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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).

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

- šēšé /šēšé/ 'duck'
- émēsehe /émēsehe/ 'he is eating'
- émōna'e /émōna'e/ 'it’s new'
- mónésó'hāeanáme /mónésó'háeanámé '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 /mótehk/ '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:

- hóma'e /homa'e/ 'beaver' (cf. homa'e 'beavers')
- ma'hāhko'e /ma'hahko'e/ 'badger' (cf. ma'hahko'e 'badgers')
- tšēške'e /tehke'e/ 'a little' (cf. étšēškê'o 'it’s little')

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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.
It's important (cf. éne'ta'e 'Is it important?')
hotame /hotame/ 'dog' (cf. hotame 'dogs')
koohkova'ë /koohkova'e/ 'quail, bobwhite' (cf. koohkova'ë 'quails, bobwhites')
hésta'se /hehta'se/ 'snow' (cf. hesta'sóho 'snow (obv); éhesta'ese 'it is snow, there is snow')
nóma'ne /nomá'ne/ 'fish (singular)' [cf. nomá'ne 'fish (plural)']
hexóva'ë /hešova'e/ 'bedbug' (cf. hexóva'ë 'bedbugs')
héta'e /heta'e/ 'gland' (cf. hetā'e 'glands')
hó'nehe /ho'néhe/ 'wolf' (cf. ho'néheo'o 'wolves')
hésta'he /hehta'he/ 'umbilical cord'
oohna'he /oonaha'he/ 'frog' (cf. oóna'hā'e 'frogs')
hóema /hoema/ 'blanket/mosquito' (cf. hoemaho 'blankets/mosquitos')
má'ome /ma'ome/ 'ice' (cf. ma'oméva 'on the ice')
o'hé'e /o'hé'e/ 'river' (cf. o'hé'e 'at the river', o'hé'estse 'rivers')
má'xeme /ma'xemeno 'apples (Northern Cheyenne), ma'xemenȯtse 'corn kernels')
héstahke /hestahkeh/ 'twin' (cf. hestahke 'twins')
mogóhta'ë /mo'ghta'en/ 'turnip', (cf. mo'ghtá'éne 'turnips')
mónošeh /mónošeh 'bean' (cf. mónošeh 'beans')
onónošenëse /onónošenëse 'prairie dog' (cf. onónošenëse 'prairie dogs')
séavonëškeh /séavonëškeh) 'woodchuck' (cf. séavonëške 'woodchucks')
naháhë /nahaeh/ 'my auntie/auntie (voc.)' (cf. náhehaehen 'she is my aunt')
vóhe'ë /vohe'ë/ 'shoestring' (cf. vôhe'ëstse 'shoestrings')
mó'oë /mo'oë/ 'blade of grass' (cf. mó'oëstse 'grass')
náhtsemá'ëmé /nahtema'ëmé 'my blood', hestsema'emëvë their blood, ma'ëva 'in the blood'
ho'hâmë'e /ho'hamë'e 'spring (of water)' (cf. ho'hamë'éva 'at the spring')
émo'ona'ë /émo'ona'ë/ 'it's beautiful' (cf. émo'ona'ëhe 'Is it beautiful?', émo'onahe 'she's beautiful', éssamo'ona'ëháne it's not beautiful
épëhëvatamánoë /épëhëvatamánoë 'it's nice weather (cf. éápëhëhvätamáno'ëháne 'it's not nice weather', épëhëvatamáno'ëhe 'Is it nice weather?')
épëhëveno'ë /épëhëveno'ë 'it looks nice' (cf. épëhëveno'ëhe 'Does it look nice?')
enó'ka'ë /éno'ka'ë/ 'there is one (inan.)' (cf. éno'ka'ëhe 'Is there one (inan.)?', éno'kahe 'there one (an.)'

At this point we are unable to account for which words receive an antepenultimate high pitch.

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21 This is an older Cheyenne word for 'dog'. For several decades the most commonly most commonly used word for has been oeškēsē. Since it was displaced by oeškēse, hotame has largely shifted in meaning to something like 'domesticated animal'. It is mostly used in compound nouns today, such as éskōseesé-hotame 'pig (lit., sharp-nosed-domesticated animal).
22 The singular is also pronounced as nóma'he.
We can note that if an antepenultimate high occurs on a verb, it only occurs on inanimate intransitive (II) verbs, and only on II verbs with singular subjects and in the indicative mode. Nouns which receive antepenultimate high pitches are old, typically with known Proto-Algonquian source words (etyma).

**Proper name high pitches**

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

Námoséstse 'Lefty' (cf. henamósésto 'on the left side')
Tâhpeta 'Bigman' (cf. étâhpéta 'he is big')
Tâhpe'ee'ēse 'Big Nose'
Má'ee'ēse 'Red Nose' (cf. éma'ëëse 'he has a red nose')
Pá'ee'ēse 'Lump Nose' (cf. épa'ëēse 'he has a lump nose')
Á'ee'ēse 'Pug Nose' (cf. éa'ëēse 'he has a pug nose')
Mámahke 'Curly' (cf. émamáhkā'e 'he has curly hair')

**Parts of speech**

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

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

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

tse'tohe and he'tohe words

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

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

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

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

**Animacy**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Animate nouns**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vo’éstane</td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hē’e</td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka’ēškóne</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>póéso</td>
<td>cat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>váótséva</td>
<td>deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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>méstaeo’o</td>
<td>spooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoohtséstse</td>
<td>tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maxe</td>
<td>log</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mésēhéstoto</td>
<td>potatoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>henene</td>
<td>tomato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éše’he</td>
<td>sun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taa’e-éše’he</td>
<td>moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hotohke</td>
<td>star</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho’honáeo’o</td>
<td>rocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestahpe</td>
<td>brain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestsétato</td>
<td>kidneys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo’ēškono</td>
<td>fingers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héta’e</td>
<td>gland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heévaho</td>
<td>rope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éstse’he</td>
<td>shirt, coat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóoma</td>
<td>blanket, mosquito</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoestoto</td>
<td>dresses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>héva’kéehéstötse</td>
<td>scarf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēhe’ehéstötse</td>
<td>diaper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tseene’éheono</td>
<td>combs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hone’kōmo</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’xemenötse in Oklahoma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mòxe’eotséstötse</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’évohkótse</td>
<td>meat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mésēhéstötse</td>
<td>food</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menötse</td>
<td>berries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma’xemenötse</td>
<td>apples (in Oklahoma, but animate ma’xemeneno in Montana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetanémenō’e</td>
<td>juneberry bush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo’ē’estse</td>
<td>hay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heséovó’e</td>
<td>sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo’kéhanötse</td>
<td>shoes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhkéha’e</td>
<td>hat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoestáto</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 neuter, genders. Some languages classify their nouns according to whether they are human or non-human. Other languages classify their nouns according to their shapes. Other languages classify their nouns according to whether or not they are grammatically animate or inanimate. Cheyenne is one of these languages. Linguists consider animate and inanimate to be classes of grammatical gender.

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

**Plurals**

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

### Animate plural nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>hátseške</td>
<td>hátšeskeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mé’ēševòtse</td>
<td>mé’ēševoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkohé</td>
<td>náhkohe’o’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>háhnomaha</td>
<td>háhnomaha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vé’késeho</td>
<td>vé’késeho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póésopo</td>
<td>póesono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka’ēškóneho</td>
<td>ka’ēškóneho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clam</td>
<td>hexovo</td>
<td>hexovono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comb</td>
<td>tseene’ēheono</td>
<td>tseene’ēheono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oeškese</td>
<td>oeškéseho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghost²⁴</td>
<td>seo’ọtse</td>
<td>sëoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dress</td>
<td>hoestòtse</td>
<td>hoestoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šě’šo’o</td>
<td>šě’šo’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finger</td>
<td>mee’e</td>
<td>mééno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feather</td>
<td>mo’ēškono</td>
<td>mo’ēškono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>hése</td>
<td>hése’o’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetaneo’o</td>
<td>hetaneo’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monster</td>
<td>méhne</td>
<td>méhne’o’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nighthawk</td>
<td>pe’e</td>
<td>pé’e’o’o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

²⁴ The word seo’ọtse refers to the spirit of a dead person.
How many plural suffixes are there?

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

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’èhno’ha 'horse' and mo’èhno’hàme 'horses' that some spelling changes
are required to make some plurals. And there are pitch changes that make some nouns plural, as with hóma'e 'badger' and homā'e 'badger'.

It looks like a difficult job to learn how to make Cheyenne noun plurals from singulars, doesn't it? But the job becomes less confusing if we do it in a different way. Instead of starting with singular nouns and adding to them to make plurals, let's start with plurals and derive singulars from them. If we do this, we can reduce the number of Cheyenne plural suffixes to two for animate nouns and two for inanimate nouns.25

The two animate pluralizers are -o and -é. The two inanimate pluralizers are -ot and -ét. (Because of a phonological rule of Cheyenne, these last two will actually be pronounced as -ȯtse and -ėstse.) If we create an "abstract" spelling for a noun "stem" we can get by with just these four pluralizers. The abstract spelling is either the same as the singular spelling or else halfway between the singular and plural spellings. The abstract spellings can be supported on technical grounds, especially from how the noun stems are spelled in some other words such as equative verbs. We will not discuss the technical issues further now, but it is enough to point out that there are good reasons from a study of the patterns (morphology) of Cheyenne to believe the abstract noun stems allow us to view pluralization of Cheyenne nouns as being simpler than it at first appears. Let's see how this works in 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>hátššéskeho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mó‘eševótse</td>
<td>mé‘eševot26</td>
<td>mé‘eševoto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bean</td>
<td>mόnegke</td>
<td>móneskeh</td>
<td>móneskeho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkohé</td>
<td>náhkohéo</td>
<td>náhkóheo’o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>háhmoma</td>
<td>háhnomah</td>
<td>háhnomaho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vé’kése</td>
<td>vé’keséh</td>
<td>vé’késeho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póeso</td>
<td>póesón</td>
<td>póesono</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka’eskóne</td>
<td>ka’eskónéh</td>
<td>ka’eskóneho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comb</td>
<td>tseeene’ëheo’o</td>
<td>tseeene’ëheono</td>
<td>tseeene’ëheono</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>hetane</td>
<td>hetaneo’o</td>
<td>hetaneo’o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šé’še</td>
<td>šé’šé</td>
<td>šé’šeo’o</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>vóhkóóhe</td>
<td>vóhkoóhél</td>
<td>vóhkoóheho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plurals ending in -ė</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>hováhn</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).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inanimate noun stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plurals ending in -ótse</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>meaning</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Plurals ending in -éstse** |
| belt | hoestátó | hoestátón | hoestátónéstse |
| coin | ma'kaata | ma'kaatan | ma'kaatánéstse |
| hat | hóhkéhe'a | hóhkhe'a | hóhkéhá'óstse |

**Deriving singulars and plurals from noun stems**

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

**Deriving animate singulars and plurals**

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

Including the -h at the end of the stem for 'bird' is not simply an ad hoc solution to derive the singular and plural pronunciations easily. There is additional support from Cheyenne grammar for the spellings of the noun stems.\(^{28}\) The presence of the stem-final -h for 'bird' is found in so-called equative verbs. In the story of The Bat (included in the texts section of this book), a bat is told, "Névé'késeheve," meaning 'You are a bird.' In this verb the pronominal prefix is né- 'you' and the equative suffix is -éve meaning 'be'. The remaining part of this verb is the noun stem we have listed for 'bird', vé'keséh-. Equative verbs support the spelling of other animate and inanimate noun stems also.

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

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

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\(^{27}\) Some speakers pronounce 'bird' as vé'kése.

\(^{28}\) Historical and comparative evidence from Proto-Algonquian and other Algonquian languages should also support Cheyenne noun stem spellings.
pluralizer –o to the stem we get šé’šéo. But the plural is actually pronounced as šé’šeo’o.29

Vowel-stretching

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

Deriving inanimate singulars and plurals

We have stated that there are two pluralizers for inanimate nouns, -ot and –ét. But inanimate noun plurals actually end with "phonetic" spellings -ótse and –éstse, as seen in the preceding list. (The two letters –se are added to these pluralizers by phonological rules31 described at the end of this book. An "s" is inserted between the /é/ and /t/ of the /-ét/ pluralizer by another phonological rule.)

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

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

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

29 A High Push-Over rule lowers the second high pitch. This rule is described in the Phonological rules section of this book.
30 Because of this important observation by Goddard, I called this process Goddard’s Law in my early publications. Later I used the descriptive term, vowel-stretching.
31 The rule of e-Epenthesis adds "e" to the end of any word that ends in a consonant, such as /t/ of the inanimate pluralizers. Then the rule of t-Assibilation changes the /t/ to –ts before the vowel /e/.
32 Dropping of word-final sounds (called apocope) has been part of historical phonological changes in Cheyenne and other Algonquian languages for a long time.
33 Phonemic /-ét/, with a pronunciation spelling of –éstse.
### 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>nótse</td>
<td>nótseo?o</td>
<td>nóte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>háteseške</td>
<td>háteššeškeho</td>
<td>hátehkán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antelope</td>
<td>voʔkaʔaʔa</td>
<td>voʔkaʔahe</td>
<td>voʔkaʔh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apple</td>
<td>maʔxemen</td>
<td>maʔxemen</td>
<td>maʔxemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baby</td>
<td>méʔeševotse</td>
<td>méʔeševoto</td>
<td>méʔeševot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
<td>hóhtáme</td>
<td>hóhtsemóno</td>
<td>hóhtamón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bandit</td>
<td>šéneňvéhe</td>
<td>šéneňvéhe?o</td>
<td>šéneňvéhé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bean</td>
<td>móneška</td>
<td>móneškeho</td>
<td>móneškén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bear</td>
<td>nákhohe</td>
<td>nákkohe?o</td>
<td>nákkohe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bee</td>
<td>háhomama</td>
<td>háhomamho</td>
<td>háhomomah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beetle</td>
<td>hámeško</td>
<td>hámeškono</td>
<td>hámeškón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bird</td>
<td>véʔkésaco</td>
<td>véʔkésaho</td>
<td>véʔkésah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blanket</td>
<td>hoema</td>
<td>hoemaho</td>
<td>hoemah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bride</td>
<td>móneʔa</td>
<td>móneʔeco?o</td>
<td>móneʔé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buffalo</td>
<td>hotőʔa</td>
<td>hotőseo?o</td>
<td>hotőd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bullsnake</td>
<td>neʔeʔa</td>
<td>neʔeʔeco?o</td>
<td>neʔeʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butterfly</td>
<td>hevávahkama</td>
<td>hevávahkemaho</td>
<td>hevávahkemah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>button</td>
<td>honεʔkómno</td>
<td>honεʔkomóno</td>
<td>honεʔkomón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buzzard</td>
<td>ooʔhe</td>
<td>ooʔhe?o</td>
<td>ooʔhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>playing card</td>
<td>mónešemy</td>
<td>mónešemy?o</td>
<td>mónešemón</td>
</tr>
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<td>cat</td>
<td>póésco</td>
<td>póesono</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póésco</td>
<td>póesoneho</td>
<td>póesoneh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitten</td>
<td>póhkésaco</td>
<td>póhkésono</td>
<td>póhkésón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chief</td>
<td>váno</td>
<td>váhoo?o</td>
<td>váhón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>kaʔéškóne</td>
<td>kaʔéškóneho</td>
<td>kaʔéškóneh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clam</td>
<td>hexővo</td>
<td>hexovono</td>
<td>hexovón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cockle-burrs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comb</td>
<td>tséneʔéhe?o</td>
<td>tséneʔéheono</td>
<td>teňneʔéheon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corpse</td>
<td>séőʔôtse</td>
<td>séőto</td>
<td>séot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coyote</td>
<td>oʔkóhome</td>
<td>oʔkóhomeho</td>
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(Note: Forms preceded by a plus sign (+) have special complications with the vowels -e and -o.)
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<td>sēavonēškehō</td>
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PLURALIZATION: ANIMATE NOUNS having é in pluralizer

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

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<th>noun</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>underlying stem</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animal</td>
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<td>hovâhe</td>
<td>hovâah</td>
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<td>blackbird</td>
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<td>he?heenô</td>
<td>he?heenôn</td>
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<td>kokôheâxéne</td>
<td>kokôheaxân</td>
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<td>nêâke?éstâhe</td>
<td>nêâke?éstâhn</td>
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<td>váotsévâhe</td>
<td>váotsévâhn</td>
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<td>kôsâne</td>
<td>kosân</td>
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<td>méâse</td>
<td>méâseâne</td>
<td>méâsen</td>
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<td>mo?óhtâéne</td>
<td>mo?óhtâen</td>
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Nouns which retain -n word-internally:

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<th>underlying stem</th>
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<tr>
<td>gourd</td>
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<td>maho?ôko</td>
<td>maho?ôkon</td>
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<td>maho?ôkon</td>
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<td>salamander</td>
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<td>heo?ôhtâtône</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>skunk</td>
<td>xao?ô</td>
<td>xao?ône</td>
<td>xaoùn</td>
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Nouns with pitch change:

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<tr>
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<td>ma?hahkô?e</td>
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<tr>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>hóma?e</td>
<td>homô?e</td>
<td>homa?</td>
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<td>hexovâ?</td>
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<td>hênô?e</td>
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<td>hêskô?e</td>
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Nouns which retain -m word-internally:

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<th>underlying stem</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
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<td>nanôsé?hame</td>
<td>nanôsé?hâm</td>
<td>nanôsé?ham</td>
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## INANIMATE Nouns taking pluralizer -ot

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<th>plural</th>
<th>underlying stem</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>ame?háhtotótse</td>
<td>ame?háhtot</td>
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<td>mätëtvóo?óótse</td>
<td>mätëtvóotótse</td>
<td>mätëtvóot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earring</td>
<td>hôse?ése</td>
<td>hôsesésótse</td>
<td>hôsesés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elbow</td>
<td>mähtësë?oo?o</td>
<td>mähtësëoonótse</td>
<td>mähtësëoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flute</td>
<td>tëhpeno</td>
<td>tëhpenonótse</td>
<td>tëhpenon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hammer</td>
<td>tënhko</td>
<td>tënhkóntse</td>
<td>tënhkon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair/head</td>
<td>më?ko</td>
<td>më?konótse</td>
<td>më?kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>hësta</td>
<td>hëstahótsé</td>
<td>hëstaháh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>mëheo?o</td>
<td>mëheðnótse</td>
<td>mëheðn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shed</td>
<td>mänheško</td>
<td>mänheškónótse</td>
<td>mänheškóon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>knife</td>
<td>mëtšëške</td>
<td>mëtšëškehótsé</td>
<td>mëtšëškehóh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lance</td>
<td>xomöco?o</td>
<td>xomöconótse</td>
<td>xomöcon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lung</td>
<td>hë?po</td>
<td>hë?pönótse</td>
<td>hë?pön</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cigarette</td>
<td>he?póotótse</td>
<td>he?póototótse</td>
<td>he?póotot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dry meat</td>
<td>honóvóho</td>
<td>honóvókótotse</td>
<td>honóvókó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>véhestótse</td>
<td>véhestotótse</td>
<td>véhénót</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neck</td>
<td>he?ótse</td>
<td>he?ótótse</td>
<td>he?ót</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>ma?ëvo</td>
<td>ma?ëvotótse</td>
<td>ma?ëvot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>ma?avëvo</td>
<td>ma?avonótse</td>
<td>ma?avon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purse</td>
<td>ka?mëmééstótse</td>
<td>ka?mëméstotótse</td>
<td>ka?mëméhtót</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ring</td>
<td>mo?ëško</td>
<td>mo?ëškonótse</td>
<td>mo?ëshkon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>road</td>
<td>mëño?o</td>
<td>mënóntse</td>
<td>mënëon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>roast</td>
<td>honóó?o</td>
<td>honóóntse</td>
<td>honóon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shoe</td>
<td>mëfëkëha</td>
<td>mëfëkëhénótse</td>
<td>mëfëkëhlen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year, winter</td>
<td>aë?ë</td>
<td>aëñótse</td>
<td>aëñ</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>hohkoxestse</td>
<td>hohkox(eh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bead</td>
<td>onéhavo?ke</td>
<td>onéhavó?késtse</td>
<td>onéhavo?k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belt</td>
<td>hoestâto</td>
<td>hoestátônéstse</td>
<td>hoestátôn(eh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bow</td>
<td>ma?tšêške</td>
<td>ma?tšêskestse</td>
<td>ma?tehk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowstring</td>
<td>ma?tão</td>
<td>ma?tánônéstse</td>
<td>ma?tánón</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>branch (tree)</td>
<td>hestââe</td>
<td>hestââéstse</td>
<td>hestââ(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cloud</td>
<td>vo?e</td>
<td>vôtêtse</td>
<td>vo?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coin</td>
<td>ma?kæta</td>
<td>ma?kætanéstse</td>
<td>ma?kætan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raw corn</td>
<td>hoóhtse</td>
<td>hoóhtséstse</td>
<td>hoóht</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>éšen</td>
<td>éšenéstse</td>
<td>éšen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ma?éxa</td>
<td>ma?éxânéstse</td>
<td>ma?éxán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fishhook</td>
<td>nonónô?e</td>
<td>nonónô?éstse</td>
<td>nonónôé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hat</td>
<td>hóhkêha?e</td>
<td>hóhkêhéstse</td>
<td>hóhkêha?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hay</td>
<td>mo?e?e</td>
<td>mo?ééstse</td>
<td>mo?e?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lake</td>
<td>ne?hané</td>
<td>ne?hanénéstse</td>
<td>ne?hanén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land</td>
<td>ho?e</td>
<td>ho?éstse</td>
<td>ho?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>hê?e</td>
<td>hê?éstse</td>
<td>hê?(é)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liver</td>
<td>hê?e</td>
<td>hê?éstse</td>
<td>hê?én</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>medicine</td>
<td>heséec?ôtse</td>
<td>heséec?ôtéstse</td>
<td>heséecot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>tae?e</td>
<td>tae?éstse</td>
<td>tae?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>tae?e</td>
<td>tae?ânéstse</td>
<td>tae?en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rib</td>
<td>hê?pe</td>
<td>hê?péstse</td>
<td>hê?p(eh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>river</td>
<td>ó?he?e</td>
<td>ó?he?éstse</td>
<td>ó?he?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skin</td>
<td>vóhtââne</td>
<td>vóhtânéstse</td>
<td>vóhtan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forest</td>
<td>ma?tææ?e</td>
<td>ma?tææ?éstse</td>
<td>ma?tææ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>year, winter</td>
<td>ææ?e</td>
<td>ææ?éstse</td>
<td>æ(n)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
<th>obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>póéso</td>
<td>póesono</td>
<td>póesono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oeškēse</td>
<td>oeškēseho</td>
<td>oeškēseho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'ėskóne</td>
<td>ka'ėskóneho</td>
<td>ka'ėskóneho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree</td>
<td>hoohtséste</td>
<td>hoóhtseto</td>
<td>hoóhtseto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>séšenovótse</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'heono34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apple</td>
<td>má'xeme</td>
<td>má'xemeno35</td>
<td>má'xemeno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my daughter</td>
<td>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>xāō'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>hetanéo'o</td>
<td>hetanóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>woman</td>
<td>hé'e</td>
<td>he'eo'o</td>
<td>he'óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šé'se</td>
<td>šé'şeo'o</td>
<td>šé'só36</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>náhkóheo</td>
<td>náhkóhóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>ho'honáá'e</td>
<td>ho'honáeo'o</td>
<td>ho'honaa'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white woman</td>
<td>vé'ho'á'e</td>
<td>vé'ho'há'eo'o</td>
<td>vé'ho'a'o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

Examples of obviatives in sentences:

Hetane évóomóho še'xo. The man saw a duck/ducks (obv).
Éñóomaevóho henésónehewóho. Their children (obv) called them.
Oeškēso ématómóho xaóne. The dog smelled a skunk/skunks (obv).
Oeškēseho ématómovó xaóne. The dogs smelled a skunk/skunks (obv).

34 Or ma'heóneva
35 This is the animate Montana pronunciation. Oklahoma pronunciation is inanimate ma'xemenótse.
36 An alternate pronunciation is šé'xóho.
Éméhótóho37 náhtónaho. He loves my daughter/daughters (obv).
Ka’èskóne évéstahémóho heške. The child helped his mother (obv).
Henésono évéstahémáá’e. Her child(ren) (obv) helped her.

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

namâhēō’o ‘my house’
nevāhēō’o ‘your house’
hesâhēō’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. ')

Possessive 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>sémonôte 'boats'</td>
<td>hesémonôte 'his boats'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo’keha 'shoe'</td>
<td>namo’keha 'my shoe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo’kénéhontse 'shoes'</td>
<td>namo’kénéhontse '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>namâhēō’o 'my house'</td>
<td>namâheóntné 'our (excl) house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevéve ‘your tepee’</td>
<td>nevévéνōvo ‘your (pl) tepee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesto’e ‘his land’</td>
<td>hesto’ééstse ‘their lands’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nenése ‘your child’</td>
<td>nenéseνnéhóvo ‘your (pl) child’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>inclusive 'our'</strong></th>
<th><strong>exclusive 'our'</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nevéenane 'our (incl) tepee</td>
<td>navéenâne 'our (excl) tepee'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neamáho'héstonane 'our (incl) car'</td>
<td>namáho'héstónâne 'our (excl) car'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nenésônéhane 'our (incl) child'</td>
<td>nánésônéhâne 'our (excl) child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nêstotséhane 'our (incl) pet'</td>
<td>nâhtotséhâne '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><strong>inclusive 'our'</strong></th>
<th><strong>exclusive 'our'</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nénémenema 'we (incl) sang'</td>
<td>nánémenēme 'we (excl) sang'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névóomone 'we (incl) saw him'</td>
<td>návóomóne 'we (excl) saw him'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néhetaene 'he told us (incl)'</td>
<td>náhetaēne 'he told us (excl)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

**Obviated possessives**

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

nanéso 'my child'
neñéso '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)**

|        | my house | namāheō’o | my houses | namāheō’o | your house | namāheō’o | your houses | hemāheō’o | his house | hemāheō’o | his houses | namāheōnáne | our (excl) house | namāheōnáne | our (excl) houses | namāheōnáne | our (incl) house | namāheōnáne | our (incl) houses | namāheōnévo | your (pl) house | namāheōnévo | your (pl) houses | hemāheōnévo | their house | hemāheōnévo | their houses |
|--------|----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|------------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|

**vee’e ‘tepee, dwelling’ (possessed)**

|        | my tepee | navee’e | my tepees | navee’e | your tepee | nevee’e | your tepees | hevee’e | his tepee | hevéen | his tepees | navéen | our (excl) tepee | nevéen | our (incl) tepee | nevéénévo | your (pl) tepee | navéénévo | your (pl) tepees | hevéénévo | their tepee | hevéénévo | their tepees |
|--------|----------|---------|-----------|---------|------------|---------|-------------|---------|-----------|--------|------------|---------|----------------|---------|----------------|---------|---------------|---------|---------------|---------|--------------|---------|------------|---------|----------|

**mo’keha ‘shoe’ (possessed)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>my shoe</th>
<th>namo’keha</th>
<th>my shoes</th>
<th>nemo’keha</th>
<th>your shoe</th>
<th>nemo’keha</th>
<th>your shoes</th>
<th>hemo’keha</th>
<th>his shoe</th>
<th>hemo’keha</th>
<th>his shoes</th>
<th>namo’kéhanáne</th>
<th>our (excl) shoe</th>
<th>nemo’kéhanane</th>
<th>our (incl) shoe</th>
<th>nemo’kéhanévo</th>
<th>your (pl) shoe</th>
<th>nemo’kéhanévo</th>
<th>your (pl) shoes</th>
<th>hemo’kéhanévo</th>
<th>their shoe</th>
<th>hemo’kéhanévo</th>
<th>their shoes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**amāho’héstótse ‘car’ (possessed)**

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

|        | my car | naämāho’héstótse | my cars | naämāho’héstótótse | my cars | neämāho’héstótse | your cars | neämāho’héstótótse | your cars | heämāho’héstótse | his cars | heämāho’héstótótse | his cars | naämāho’héstóñáne | our (excl) car | naämāho’héstóñatótse | our (excl) cars | neämāho’héstóñane | our (incl) car | neämāho’héstóñatótse | our (incl) cars | neämāho’héstóbévo | your (pl) car | neämāho’héstóbévótse | your (pl) cars | heämāho’héstóbvévo | their car | neämāho’héstóbévótse | their cars |

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

### Dependent stems

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

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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', nañahto'e 'my land', nésto'e 'your land', hesto'e 'his/her land'
-htōtse 'pet', nañhtōtse 'my pet', nēstōtse 'your pet', hestotseho 'his/her pet(s)'
-éxa 'eye', naéxa 'my eye', naéxanéstse 'my eyes', heéxanéstse 'his/her eyes'
-evo 'nose', na'evo 'my nose', ne'evo 'your nose', he'evo 'his/her nose'
-me 'older sister', name 'my older sister', hemeho 'his/her older sister'

**Dependent stem ma- prefix**

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

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

ma'evo 'nose'
ma'ahhtse 'arm'
manēstāne 'knee'
māhtāme '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>māhtse'ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brain</td>
<td>hestahpe</td>
<td>māhtsēstahpe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gland</td>
<td>hēta'e</td>
<td>māhtsēta'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>hēsta</td>
<td>māhtsēsta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thigh</td>
<td>hēnōme</td>
<td>māhtsēnōme</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 ma'ëxānēstse eyes
- māhtsēsta heart māhtsēstahōtse hearts

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

amāhō'hē-māhtse'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'ěškóne 'child', maka'ěškónēhame⁴² 'my child'
ma’hēo’o 'god', nama'heōname 'my god'
mē'ěševōtse 'baby', namē'ěševotame 'my baby'

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

motšēške 'knife', namotšēške 'my knife', namōtšēškame 'my knife'

**Inanimate dependent stem possessives**

Here are some possessed inanimate nouns which have dependent stems:

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

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></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’āne</td>
<td>our (excl) hat</td>
<td>navóhkéha’anótse</td>
<td>our (excl) hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névóhkéha’āne</td>
<td>our (incl) hat</td>
<td>nevóhkéha’anótse</td>
<td>our (incl) hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevóhkéha’ēvo</td>
<td>your (pl) hat</td>
<td>nevóhkéha’evótse</td>
<td>your (pl) hats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevóhkéha’ēvo</td>
<td>their hat</td>
<td>nevóhkéha’evótse</td>
<td>their hats</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ho’e 'land' (possessive stem –hto’e)

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhto’e</td>
<td>my land</td>
<td>náhto’estse</td>
<td>my lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésto’e</td>
<td>your land</td>
<td>nésto’estse</td>
<td>your lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesto’e</td>
<td>his land</td>
<td>hesto’estse</td>
<td>his lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhto’āne</td>
<td>our (excl) land</td>
<td>náhto’anótse</td>
<td>our (excl) lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésto’āne</td>
<td>our (incl) land</td>
<td>nésto’anótse</td>
<td>our (incl) lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésto’ēvo</td>
<td>your (pl) land</td>
<td>nésto’evótse</td>
<td>your (pl) lands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesto’ēvo</td>
<td>their land</td>
<td>hesto’evótse</td>
<td>their lands</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ma’exa 'eye' (possessive stem –exa)

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ma’exa</td>
<td>eye</td>
<td>ma’ēxānēstse</td>
<td>eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na’exa</td>
<td>my eye</td>
<td>na’ēxānēstse</td>
<td>my eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he’exa</td>
<td>his eye</td>
<td>he’ēxānēstse</td>
<td>his eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na’ēxáéne</td>
<td>our (excl) eye</td>
<td>na’ēxāenēstse</td>
<td>our (excl) eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne’ēxāene</td>
<td>our (incl) eye</td>
<td>ne’ēxāenēstse</td>
<td>our (incl) eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>né’ēxáévo</td>
<td>your (pl) eye</td>
<td>né’ēxāevótse</td>
<td>your (pl) eyes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé’ēxáévo</td>
<td>their eye</td>
<td>he’ēxāevótse</td>
<td>their eyes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></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>náhtámánótse</td>
<td>our (excl) foods</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁴¹ Cheyenne–em is a reflex of the PA possessive suffix *-am.

⁴² The letter “e” is added to this suffix if the suffix is at the end of a word.

⁴³ The word for 'hat' is hóhkéha’e. It can be pronounced as a word by itself. When it is possessed, it changes to a bound stem that begins with "v", -vóhkéha’e. Bound noun stems can only be pronounced as words by themselves if possessor prefixes are included with them.

⁴⁴ The plural could refer to corn which is plural in Cheyenne, because there are individual kernels. Perhaps a more accurate gloss of this plural would be 'my pieces of food'. $\$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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>oeškēse46 ‘dog’ (possessed)</th>
<th>veho 'chief' (possessed)</th>
<th>ma’hēō’o 'god, sacred power’ (possessed)</th>
<th>child (biological; possessed)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nāoeškēséhame</td>
<td>nāvehōname</td>
<td>nāma’heōname</td>
<td>nanėso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāoeškēséhame</td>
<td>nāvehōname</td>
<td>nāma’heōname</td>
<td>nenėso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēoeškēséhame</td>
<td>hēvehōname</td>
<td>hēma’heōname</td>
<td>henėsono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāoeškēséhamāne</td>
<td>nāvehōnamāne</td>
<td>nāma’heōnamāne</td>
<td>nanėsonėhāne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāoeškēséhamāne</td>
<td>nāvehōnamāne</td>
<td>nāma’heōnamāne</td>
<td>nenėsonėhāne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hēoeškēsėhamevōho</td>
<td>hēvehōnamevōho</td>
<td>hēma’heōnamevōho</td>
<td>nenėsonėhāne</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 oeškēsō.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yawanawá</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yawanawá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>your (pl) child</td>
<td>nenésónéhévo</td>
<td>your (pl) children</td>
<td>nenésónéhevo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (pl) child(ren)</td>
<td>henésónéhevóho</td>
<td>your (pl) child(ren)</td>
<td>henésónéhevóho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**child (possessed)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yawanawá</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yawanawá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my child</td>
<td>naka'ěškónéhamo</td>
<td>my children</td>
<td>naka'ěškónéhamo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your child</td>
<td>neka'ěškónéhamo</td>
<td>your children</td>
<td>neka'ěškónéhamo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his child(ren)</td>
<td>heka'ěškónéhamo</td>
<td>his child(ren)</td>
<td>heka'ěškónéhamo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (ex) child</td>
<td>naka'ěškónéhamane</td>
<td>our (ex) children</td>
<td>naka'ěškónéhamaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (in) child</td>
<td>neka'ěškónéhamévo</td>
<td>your (pl) children</td>
<td>neka'ěškónéhamévo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their child(ren)</td>
<td>heka'ěškónéhamevóho</td>
<td>their child(ren)</td>
<td>heka'ěškónéhamevóho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**mòxe'èotséstó 'picture' (possessed)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yawanawá</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yawanawá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my picture</td>
<td>namòxe'eotséstoto</td>
<td>my pictures</td>
<td>namòxe'eotséstoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your picture</td>
<td>nemòxe'eotséstoto</td>
<td>your pictures</td>
<td>nemòxe'eotséstoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his picture(s)</td>
<td>hemòxe'eotséstoto</td>
<td>his picture(s)</td>
<td>hemòxe'eotséstoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (excl) picture</td>
<td>namòxe'eotséstóvévo</td>
<td>our (excl) pictures</td>
<td>namòxe'eotséstóvévo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (incl) picture</td>
<td>nemòxe'eotséstónahane</td>
<td>our (incl) pictures</td>
<td>nemòxe'eotséstónahane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (pl) picture</td>
<td>nekòxe'eotséstóvévo</td>
<td>your (pl) pictures</td>
<td>nekòxe'eotséstóvévo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their picture(s)</td>
<td>hemòxe'eotséstóvévo</td>
<td>their picture(s)</td>
<td>hemòxe'eotséstóvévo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Animate dependent stem possessives**

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

**son (possessed)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yawanawá</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yawanawá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my son</td>
<td>nāe'ha</td>
<td>my sons</td>
<td>nāe'hahaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your son</td>
<td>nee'ha</td>
<td>your sons</td>
<td>nee'hahaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his son(s)</td>
<td>hee'haha</td>
<td>his son(s)</td>
<td>hee'hahaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (excl) son</td>
<td>nae'hahehévo</td>
<td>our (excl) sons</td>
<td>nae'hahehévo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (incl) son</td>
<td>nee'hahevéo</td>
<td>our (incl) sons</td>
<td>nee'hahevéo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their son(s)</td>
<td>hee'hahevóho</td>
<td>their son(s)</td>
<td>hee'hahevóho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**daughter (possessed)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yawanawá</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yawanawá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my daughter</td>
<td>nāhtona</td>
<td>my daughters</td>
<td>nāhtónahane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your daughter</td>
<td>nēstona</td>
<td>your daughters</td>
<td>nēstónahane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his daughter(s)</td>
<td>hestónahoe</td>
<td>his daughter(s)</td>
<td>hestónahaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (excl) daughter</td>
<td>nāhtónaháne</td>
<td>our (excl) daughters</td>
<td>nāhtónaháne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (incl) daughter</td>
<td>nēstónáhane</td>
<td>our (incl) daughters</td>
<td>nēstónáhane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (pl) daughter</td>
<td>nēstónáhevéo</td>
<td>your (pl) daughters</td>
<td>nēstónáhevéo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their daughter(s)</td>
<td>hestónáhevého</td>
<td>their daughter(s)</td>
<td>hestónáhevého</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**pet (possessed)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yawanawá</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Yawanawá</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>my pet</td>
<td>nāhtotse</td>
<td>my pets</td>
<td>nāhtotse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your pet</td>
<td>nēstotse</td>
<td>your pets</td>
<td>nēstotse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his pet(s)</td>
<td>hestotse</td>
<td>his pet(s)</td>
<td>hestotse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (excl) pet</td>
<td>nāhtotséháne</td>
<td>our (excl) pets</td>
<td>nāhtotséháne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (incl) pet</td>
<td>nēstotséhane</td>
<td>our (incl) pets</td>
<td>nēstotséhane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

47 The difference between –néso and –ka'ěškónéhame is that –néso refers to a child born to you, that is your biological child, while –ka'ěškónéhame refers to any person that you consider your child. A chief can call any of his people, naka'ěškónéhamo 'my children', but he could only call his biological child(ren) nanésoneho 'my children'.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nêstotsêhévo</td>
<td>your (pl) pet</td>
<td>nêstotsêhevoo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) pets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestotsêhevehôho</td>
<td>their pet(s)</td>
<td>hestotsêhevehôho</td>
<td>their pet(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**brother (possessed by female)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhtatanéme</td>
<td>my brother</td>
<td>náhtatanemo</td>
<td>my brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nêstatanéme</td>
<td>your brother</td>
<td>nêstatanemo</td>
<td>your brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestatanemo</td>
<td>her brother(s)</td>
<td>hestatanemo</td>
<td>her brother(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhtatanémâne</td>
<td>our (ex) brother</td>
<td>náhtatanémane'o ??</td>
<td>our (ex) brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nêstatanémâne</td>
<td>our (in) brother</td>
<td>nêstatanémane'o ??</td>
<td>our (in) brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nêstatanémêvo</td>
<td>your (pl) brother</td>
<td>nêstatanévevo'o ??</td>
<td>your (pl) brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hestatanémêvo</td>
<td>their brother(s)</td>
<td>hestatanémêvo'o ??</td>
<td>their brother(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**grandfather (possessed)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namêséme</td>
<td>my grandfather</td>
<td>namêsêmo</td>
<td>my grandfathers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemêséme</td>
<td>your grandfather</td>
<td>nemêsêmo</td>
<td>your grandfathers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemêsémo</td>
<td>his grandfather(s)</td>
<td>hemêsêmo</td>
<td>his grandfather(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namêsémane</td>
<td>our (ex) grandfather</td>
<td>namêsémane'o</td>
<td>our (ex) grandfathers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemêsémane</td>
<td>our (in) grandfather</td>
<td>nemêsémane'o</td>
<td>our (in) grandfathers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemêsêmévo</td>
<td>your (pl) grandfather</td>
<td>nemêsêmevoo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) grandfathers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemêsêmévo</td>
<td>their grandfather(s)</td>
<td>hemêsêmevoo'o</td>
<td>their grandfather(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**older brother (possessed)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nâ'ne</td>
<td>my older brother</td>
<td>na'nêho</td>
<td>my older brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nê'ne</td>
<td>your older brother</td>
<td>ne'nêho</td>
<td>your older brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'nêho</td>
<td>his older brother(s)</td>
<td>he'nêho</td>
<td>his older brother(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nêhânâe</td>
<td>our (ex) older brother</td>
<td>na'nêhane'o</td>
<td>our (ex) older brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne'nêhânæe</td>
<td>our (in) older brother</td>
<td>ne'nêhane'o</td>
<td>our (in) older brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ne'nêhêvo</td>
<td>your (pl) older brother</td>
<td>ne'nêhevoo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) older brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'nêhevóho</td>
<td>their older brother(s)</td>
<td>he'nêhevóho</td>
<td>their older brother(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**older sister (possessed)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>name</td>
<td>my older sister</td>
<td>nameho</td>
<td>my older sisters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nême</td>
<td>your older sister</td>
<td>nêmeho</td>
<td>your older sisters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemêhe</td>
<td>his older sister(s)</td>
<td>hemêho</td>
<td>his older sister(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namêhânæe</td>
<td>our (ex) older sister</td>
<td>namêhane'o</td>
<td>our (ex) o. sisters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemêhânæe</td>
<td>our (in) older sister</td>
<td>nemêhane'o</td>
<td>our (in) o. sisters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nemêhêvo</td>
<td>your (pl) older sister</td>
<td>nemêhevoo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) o. sisters</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hemêhevóho</td>
<td>their o. sister(s)</td>
<td>hemêhevóho</td>
<td>their o. sister(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**mother (possessed)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nâhko'éehe</td>
<td>my mother</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neško</td>
<td>your mother</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heške</td>
<td>his mother</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neškane</td>
<td>our (incl) mother</td>
<td>nêškane'o</td>
<td>our (incl) mothers</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neškêvo</td>
<td>your (pl) mother</td>
<td>nêškevoo'o</td>
<td>your (pl) mothers</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heškevóho</td>
<td>their mother(s)</td>
<td>heškevóho</td>
<td>their mother(s)</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**relative (possessed)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Dene</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>navóohéstótse</td>
<td>my relative</td>
<td>navóohéstoto</td>
<td>my relatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevôohéstótse</td>
<td>your relative</td>
<td>nevôohéstoto</td>
<td>your relatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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

49 No form has been found meaning 'our (exclusive) mother'. **RECHECK**
hevóohestoto  
navóohestonāne  
nevóohestonane  
nevóohestovēvo  
hevóohestovevōho  
his relative(s)  
our (excl) relative  
your (incl) relative  
your (pl) relative  
their relative(s)  
hevóohestoto  
nevóohestonaneo'o  
nevóohestovevoo'o  
hevóohestovevōho  
his relative(s)  
our (excl) relatives  
your (incl) relatives  
your (pl) relatives  
their relative(s)  

Irregular possessives

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

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

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>né'tóve</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étóve</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevétovo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>né'tóvane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étóveo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevétovevōho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my (masc) brother-in-law</td>
<td>my (masc) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (masc) brother-in-law</td>
<td>your (masc) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his (masc) brother-in-law</td>
<td>his (masc) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (masc excl) brothers-in-law</td>
<td>our (masc excl) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (masc pl) brothers-in-law</td>
<td>your (masc pl) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their (masc) bro(s)-in-law</td>
<td>their (masc) bro(s)-in-law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nétame</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étame</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevétáme</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>né'tamane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>étamane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevétamevōho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my (fem) brother-in-law</td>
<td>my (fem) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (fem) brother-in-law</td>
<td>your (fem) brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>her brother(s)-in-law</td>
<td>her brother(s)-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (fem excl) brother(s)-in-law</td>
<td>our (fem excl) brother(s)-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (fem incl) brother(s)-in-law</td>
<td>our (fem incl) brother(s)-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (fem pl) brother(s)-in-law</td>
<td>your (fem pl) brother(s)-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their (fem) bro(s)-in-law</td>
<td>their (fem) bro(s)-in-law</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

friend (male friend of a male; possessed)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nésēne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésēne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevésenóho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>né'senēhane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésenēhēvo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevésenēhēvōho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my (masc) friend</td>
<td>my (masc) friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your friend</td>
<td>your friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>his (masc) friend(s)</td>
<td>his (masc) friend(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (masc excl) friend</td>
<td>our (masc excl) friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (masc incl) friend</td>
<td>our (masc incl) friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (masc pl) friend</td>
<td>you (masc pl) friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>their (masc) friends(s)</td>
<td>their (masc) friends(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

friend (female friend of a female; possessed)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nésé'e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésé'e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevésé'ōho</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>né'sé'ane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ése'ane</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my (fem) friend</td>
<td>my (fem) friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>your (fem) friend</td>
<td>your (fem) friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>her (fem) friend(s)</td>
<td>her (fem) friend(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (fem excl) friend</td>
<td>our (fem excl) friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>our (fem incl) friend</td>
<td>our (fem incl) friends</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

50 These brother-in-law words can only have male possessors.
51 These words are traditionally said only about friendship between males. But in recent years some Cheyenne women have been saying these words also, perhaps due to influence from English where the word "friend" can be used about friends who are not of the same gender.
52 Said only between females.
53 Alternate forms are nése'ēhāne and navése'āne.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>My Possessive</th>
<th>Your Possessive</th>
<th>Their Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>father (possessed)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ného'éhee</td>
<td>my father</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eho</td>
<td>your father</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heho</td>
<td>his father</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néháne</td>
<td>our (excl) father</td>
<td>něhaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhane</td>
<td>our (incl) father</td>
<td>éhaneo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhévo</td>
<td>your (pl) father</td>
<td>éhevoo'o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| héhevóho | their father(s) | héhevóho | thei

grandmother (possessed)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>My Possessive</th>
<th>Your Possessive</th>
<th>Their Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>něške'éhee</td>
<td>my grandmother</td>
<td>navěškemo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éškeme</td>
<td>your grandmother</td>
<td>éškemo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevéškemo</td>
<td>his grandmother(s)</td>
<td>hevéškemo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něškemáne</td>
<td>our (ex) grandmo.</td>
<td>něškemanoe'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éškemane</td>
<td>our (in) grandmo.</td>
<td>éškemanoe'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éškeměvo</td>
<td>your (pl) grandmo.</td>
<td>éškemevoo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevéškemevóho</td>
<td>their grandmother(s)</td>
<td>hevéškemevóho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

grandchild (possessed)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>My Possessive</th>
<th>Your Possessive</th>
<th>Their Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>něxahe</td>
<td>my grandchild</td>
<td>něxaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éxahe</td>
<td>your grandchild</td>
<td>éxaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevéxahe</td>
<td>his grandchild(ren)</td>
<td>hevéxahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>něxáháne</td>
<td>our (ex) grandchild</td>
<td>něxahanoe'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éxahane</td>
<td>our (in) grandchild</td>
<td>éxahanoe'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éxáhévo</td>
<td>your (pl) grandchild</td>
<td>éxahevoo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevéxahévo</td>
<td>their grandchild(ren)</td>
<td>hevéxahévo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

younger sibling (possessed)$$RECHECK
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>My Possessive</th>
<th>Your Possessive</th>
<th>Their Possessive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>násemáhe</td>
<td>my younger sibling</td>
<td>násemaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésemáhe</td>
<td>your younger sibling</td>
<td>ésemaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevéásemáhe</td>
<td>his younger sibling(s)</td>
<td>hevéásemaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násemáháne</td>
<td>our (excl) younger sibling</td>
<td>násemáhanoe'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésemáhane</td>
<td>our (incl) younger sibling</td>
<td>ésemáhanoe'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ésemáhévo</td>
<td>your (pl) younger sibling</td>
<td>ésemáhevoo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevéásemáháne</td>
<td>their younger sibling(s)</td>
<td>hevéásemáháne</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 possessors.
56 The words for 'grandchild' are also used to mean 'child-in-law'. For example, néxahe means 'my grandchild', 'my son-in-law', or 'my daughter-in-law'.
57 Alternate pronunciation, éxávo
regularizing irregular possessives, creating new paradigms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>older word</th>
<th>newer word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| my lodge/home   | nénóve     | navénove 58 | $\$
| my body??       | nétove     | navétove   |
| your brother-in-law | é'tóve     | nevé'tove  |
| my sibling 59  | néséso     | navéséso   |
| your sibling   | éséso      | nevé'séso  |

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

**Diminutives**

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

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

/-{h}k/ diminutives

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>diminutive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>améstó’eesí'o</td>
<td>travois</td>
<td>améstó’keesí'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’ésíeto</td>
<td>hailstone</td>
<td>ao’kësesíeto</td>
<td>little hailstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hássoö'o</td>
<td>crowbar</td>
<td>hássohko</td>
<td>lance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hesó’xo’énéë’o'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>kásso’ëe’e</td>
<td>kettle</td>
<td>kásso’ëške</td>
<td>jug</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhëë’o</td>
<td>house</td>
<td>máhëško</td>
<td>shed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhóhö’o</td>
<td>melon 61</td>
<td>máhóhöko</td>
<td>small melon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé’ëšëvëtöse</td>
<td>baby</td>
<td>mé’ëšëvëtöse</td>
<td>baby (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mésta’a’ë</td>
<td>owl, spook</td>
<td>mésta’ke</td>
<td>screech owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mó’ësá’ë</td>
<td>calf</td>
<td>mó’kësá’ë</td>
<td>calf (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóhoo’o</td>
<td>club</td>
<td>tóhohko</td>
<td>hammer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó’he’e</td>
<td>river</td>
<td>ó’he’ke</td>
<td>creek</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

58 An even newer word, used today by many Cheyennes, is nåhtó’öhtsestöte 'my home'.
59 The Cheyenne words for 'sibling' refer to a cousin, brother, sister, step-brother, or step-sister.
60 Phonemic /hk/ is pronounced as [šk] following the vowel "e".
61 This refers to a larger melon. In Oklahoma it specifically refers to a watermelon.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>diminutive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>oónáha'ẽe</td>
<td>frog</td>
<td>oónáha'ẽeso</td>
<td>little frog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho' honáa'ẽe</td>
<td>rock</td>
<td>ho' honáa'ẽe</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sásóóvéta</td>
<td>watersnake</td>
<td>sásóóvéta</td>
<td>watersnake (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šéštótó'e</td>
<td>pine</td>
<td>šéštótó'ẽe</td>
<td>little pine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tse' némoo'o</td>
<td>tobacco</td>
<td>tsé' némoo'ẽe</td>
<td>tobacco (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vástvéva</td>
<td>deer</td>
<td>vástvéva</td>
<td>little deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé' ho'ẽe</td>
<td>whiteman</td>
<td>vé' ho'ẽe</td>
<td>little white boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé' ho'séõ'ẽo</td>
<td>suitcase</td>
<td>vé' ho'séõ'ẽe</td>
<td>purse, small suitcase</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-só(n)/ diminutives

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>regular word</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>diminutive</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>É' ometaa'ẽe</td>
<td>Greasy River</td>
<td>É' ometa'ẽeso</td>
<td>Little Greasy River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heávohe</td>
<td>devil</td>
<td>heávohe</td>
<td>little devil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'ẽhe</td>
<td>maggot</td>
<td>he'ẽhe</td>
<td>rice (kernel)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhkeehẽe</td>
<td>mouse</td>
<td>hóhkeehẽe</td>
<td>little mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hóhkõxe</td>
<td>ax</td>
<td>hóhkõxe</td>
<td>little ax</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hó'nehe</td>
<td>wolf</td>
<td>hó'nehe</td>
<td>little wolf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ẽkõné</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>ka'ẽkõné</td>
<td>little child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káse'ẽehe</td>
<td>young lady</td>
<td>káse'ẽehe</td>
<td>young teenage girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásováahẽe</td>
<td>young man</td>
<td>kásováahẽe</td>
<td>young teenage boy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kóhkõñõõ'o</td>
<td>bread</td>
<td>kóhkõñõõ'ẽo</td>
<td>cracker (od), little bread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokõhéaxa</td>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>kokõhéaxa</td>
<td>chick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ãháhe</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'ãháhe</td>
<td>old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gméstaa'ẽe</td>
<td>owl</td>
<td>gméstaa'ẽe</td>
<td>little owl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'ẽhno'ha</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>mo'ẽhno'ha</td>
<td>colt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhkohe</td>
<td>bear</td>
<td>náhkohe</td>
<td>little bear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóma'he</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>nóma'he</td>
<td>little fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oeškõse</td>
<td>dog</td>
<td>oeškõse</td>
<td>pup</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé'kõse</td>
<td>bird</td>
<td>vé'kõse</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'ẽe</td>
<td>beaver</td>
<td>hóma'ẽe</td>
<td>little beaver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ẽno</td>
<td>turtle</td>
<td>ma'ẽno'ẽe</td>
<td>small turtle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ãháhe</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'ãháhe</td>
<td>old man (dim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ãháhe</td>
<td>old man</td>
<td>ma'ãháhe</td>
<td>little old man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mo'ẽhno'ha</td>
<td>horse</td>
<td>mo'ẽhno'hamẽo</td>
<td>colt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóma'he</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>nóma'he</td>
<td>minnow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šé'ẽe</td>
<td>duck</td>
<td>šé'ẽe</td>
<td>duckling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vé'ho'ẽe</td>
<td>whiteman</td>
<td>vé'ho'ẽe</td>
<td>little white boy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

83
Vocatives

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>vocative</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhko'éehe</td>
<td>my mother</td>
<td>Náhko'e</td>
<td>Mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ného'éehe</td>
<td>my father</td>
<td>Ného'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>naméséme</td>
<td>my grandfather</td>
<td>Náméšeme</td>
<td>My grandfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>namésémo</td>
<td>my grandparents</td>
<td>Namésémaséstse</td>
<td>My grandfathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navéškemo</td>
<td>my grandmothers</td>
<td>Néške’eehéhaséstse</td>
<td>My grandmothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ěškóneho</td>
<td>children</td>
<td>Ka'ěškónéhaséstse</td>
<td>Children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanésoneho</td>
<td>my children</td>
<td>Nésoneháséstse</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>Náhtónaháséstse</td>
<td>My daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>néxahe</td>
<td>my grandchild</td>
<td>Néše</td>
<td>My grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he'eo'o</td>
<td>women</td>
<td>He'eséstse</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hetaneo'o</td>
<td>men</td>
<td>Hetaneséstse</td>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kásováaheho</td>
<td>young men</td>
<td>Kásováaháséstse</td>
<td>Young men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káse'ééheho</td>
<td>young women</td>
<td>Káse'ééhéhaséstse</td>
<td>Young women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>né'tóvé</td>
<td>my brother-in-law</td>
<td>Né'továséstse</td>
<td>My brothers-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>véhoo'o</td>
<td>chiefs</td>
<td>Véhonáséstse</td>
<td>Chiefs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ho'konáe'o</td>
<td>rocks</td>
<td>Ho'konáeséstse</td>
<td>Rocks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhtamáhaáheho</td>
<td>old women</td>
<td>Máhtamáháaháséstse</td>
<td>Old women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma'ánhkéseho</td>
<td>old men</td>
<td>Ma'ánhkéséhéhaséstse</td>
<td>Old men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésésono</td>
<td>my siblings</td>
<td>Nésésónaháséstse</td>
<td>Siblings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navó'éstanemo</td>
<td>my people</td>
<td>Navó'éstanémaséstse</td>
<td>My people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>navóohestoto</td>
<td>my relatives</td>
<td>Navóohestonáséstse</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>
Another form of nouns are the names Cheyennes have given to places:

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

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

Noun phrases

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

Quantifier noun phrases

Quantifiers

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

- na'éstse hetane 'one man'
- neše he'eo'o 'two women'
- háesto ka'ěškóneho 'many children'
- tůhkomo kahámáxěstse 'a few sticks'

Demonstratives

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

- tsé'tóhe póéso 'this cat'
- tá'tóhe mo'éhno'ha 'that horse'
- hé'tóhe möxe'ėstoo'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 möxe'ėstoo'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'ňhtávé-hohpe 'coffee' (literally, black-broth)
- ma'ě-ho'ěvohkótse 'corned beef' (literally, red-meat)
- ma'xè-háhnmóma 'bumblebee' (literally, big-bee)
- heóve-amáhō'hestôtse 'schoolbus' (literally, yellow-car)
- táxe-méséhestôtse 'table' (literally, top-eating.thing)

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

- ma'aatae-meo'o 'railroad' (literally, iron-road)
- matanaé-ve'ho'e 'policeman' [literally, (badge on) chest-whiteman])
- mõxe'ëstônë-màhëó'o 'post office' (literally, letter-house)
- séots-àmàhò'hëstòtsë 'hearst' (literally, corpse-car)
- vë'hoé-òtòá'e 'buffalo' (literally, whiteman-buffalo)
- vë'hoé-mahpe 'whiskey' (literally, whiteman-water)
- véhpotsë-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)
- hòhtóva-màhëó'o 'store' (literally, buying-house)
- mõxe'éstônë-màhëó'o 'school' (literally, writing-house)
- ôhtaëné-màhëó'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 tséhëné'ënoaéstëse 'educated man' (lit., man who is educated)
- kàsovááhe tséhàá'ëstàëstëse 'tall young man' (lit., young man who is tall)
- ma'hàhkësò tséhe'këomëstëse 'fat old man' (lit., old man who is fat)
- amàhò'hëstòtsë tséháoëme '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. Nétàhóhta'haovátse.
   Let me tell you a story.
   Let me tell you a story.

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

3. Hápö'è nàhàóhe ó'kohóme mòhnèhëheohtsë'töhéhe.
Likewise there a coyote was following it.

4. Néhe'sé 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. ëxhetóhoono.
he told him
he told him.

9. "Hova'ãhane,
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. ëxhetapahoono.
he told him
he told him.

13. Tséxe'éseéo'evotáhtsevöse 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. ëxhetóhoono.
he told them.
he told them.

17. Exhe'keněma'evonèhnéhoo'o.
he slowly turned around
He slowly turned around.

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

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

20. Essáanáha’öméhesesto tósa’e tséhešaseta’xevóse.
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.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstratives</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsé'tóhe</td>
<td>this, these (animate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tó'tóhe</td>
<td>that, those (animate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé'tóhe</td>
<td>this, these (inanimate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>há'tóhe</td>
<td>that, those (inanimate)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Discourse demonstratives

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

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

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

**Currently used locative particles**
- tséhéóhe here (proximal; new location in discourse?)
- hétséhéóhe over here
- néhéóhe there (previously mentioned location)
- hénhéóhe over there (previously mentioned)
- tåháóhe farther?? there (distal; new location in discourse)
- hátåháóhe over there (previously mentioned)
- nåháóhe farther?? there (distal; previously mentioned location)
- hánåháóhe over there (previously mentioned)

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

- tséhénó here (proximal; new location in discourse?)
- hétséhénó over here
- néhénó there (previously mentioned location)
- hénhéhénó over there (previously mentioned)
- tåhénó farther?? there (distal; new location in discourse)
- hátåhénó over there (new location)
- nåhénó farther?? there (distal; previously mentioned location)
- hánåhénó over there (previously mentioned)

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

**ENPLACE GLOSSES FROM PRONOUNS PAPER**
Inanimate predicative pronouns

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

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

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

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

Animate predicative pronouns

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

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

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

- naa’háanéhe: he's the one (distal anaphoric)
- náa’hanéhe: (contracted form)
- naa’háanevóhe: they are the ones

- nevá’hanéhe: he is the one (only about a hero)

Predicative pronouns in sentences

Inclusive 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).

- nëhe’še: then (marks temporal sequence)
Deictic preverbs
The deictic preverbs nē- and tsē- point back (anaphorically) or forward (cataphorically) within discourse. Deictic preverbs must be immediately followed by a relative preverb, initial, or root.

nē- examples
é-nē-hetóhoono he said it that way to him (obv) (preterit mode)
é-nē-hetóhta’hāne that's how he told the story
eé-nē-hešénéméne that's the way he sang
nē-he’xóvéva at that time

tsē- examples
és-tsē-hetóhoono he told like this (preceding a quote) (preterit mode)
é-tsē-hešénéméne63 he sang like this
tsē-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.

---

63 The cataphoric preverb tsē- is pronounced as tšē- preceding /š/ of the relative preverb hešé-.
particles héehe’e 'yes' and hová’áháne 'no' can serve as complete statements in answer to some questions. A significant part of this grammar will describe Cheyenne verbs which are used to inform. As a preview, they are verbs which are in the indicative, inferential, reportative, and preterit modes.

Questions

There are two kinds of questions which can be asked in Cheyenne:
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>Émane-he?</td>
<td>Did he drink?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého’éeto.</td>
<td>It’s snowing.</td>
<td>Ého’éeto-he?</td>
<td>Is it snowing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého’okóho.</td>
<td>It’s raining.</td>
<td>Ého’okóho-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>Néhestána.</td>
<td>You took it.</td>
<td>Néhestána-he?</td>
<td>Did you take it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméhótáéne.</td>
<td>He loves us (ex).</td>
<td>Náméhotaene-he?</td>
<td>Does he love us (ex)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. étónéšévéñésto 'What in the world are they doing?', from Bat Story: námé'tatónéšévémáse, 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hetanéka'ěškóne</th>
<th>boy</th>
<th>Mó-hetanéka'ěškóne?</th>
<th>The boy?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nééšého'soo'e.</td>
<td>You've already danced. Mó-nééšého'soo'e?</td>
<td>You've already danced?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméhótáéne.</td>
<td>He loves us (ex). Mó-náméhótáéne?</td>
<td>He loves us?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo'kóho.</td>
<td>It's raining. Mó'-'éhoo'kóho?(^{66})</td>
<td>It's raining?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhéxé'āna.</td>
<td>You cleaned it. Mó-néhéxé'āna?</td>
<td>You cleaned it?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**mó- questions and evidential modes**

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

- Mó'-'éhoo'kóhónése? Given what you heard (reportative), did it rain?
- Mó'-'éxhó'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 tsého'aheto? What do you want?
- Hénová’e tsého’aestse? What does he want?
- Hénová’e tsého’tseto? What do you have?
- Hénová’e tsého'oestseto? What are you cooking / boiling?
- Hénová’e tséhoñóhtomo? What are you baking / roasting?
- Hénová’e tsépéénomo? What are you grinding?
- Hénová’e tsémanéstseto? What are you making?
- Hénová’e tsémoxe’ohomo? What are you writing?
- Hénová’e tsétoenomo? What are you holding?
- Hénová’e tsévé’hoohomámáse? What are you (plural) looking at?
- Hénová’e'hótse tsétoenomo? 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 tsémétohtse? What did you give him?
Hénová’etotse tsémétohtse? What (relational) did he give him (obv)?
Hénová’etotse tséno’ēñeheséstse? 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 tséháóénáňhtse? Who is praying?
Neváaseo’o tséháóenáse? Who (plural) are praying?
Névááhe tsévéstoemóhtse? Who is your spouse? (lit., Who is the one you sit with?)
Neváasóho tsévéstoemose? Who (obviative) is his spouse?
Neváasóho tsévéhotovose? Who (obviative) do they love?
Névááhe tsémanestséstse? Who made it?
Névááhe tséhóxe’ânóhtse? Who cleaned it?
Névááhe tsévéstoem? Who is your spouse? (lit., Who is the one you sit with?)
Neváasóho tsévéstoemos? 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-vóhke’āňhtse? Whose hat is this? / Who has on the hat?
Névááhe tsé-he-mó’kēhāňéstse? Whose shoe is this? / Who has on the shoe?
Névááhe tsé-he-voestóvěstse? 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 vôhpo’mα’ohtse? Which one is the salt?
Táasévoonéstse nemótšēškēhōtse? Which are your knives?
Táasévooe tsévéstoemóhtse? Which is your spouse?
Táasévoone tséoomatα’ōse? Which ones (animate) hit you?
Táasévoone hoemaho tsémanēhōse? 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, tôáse, and tôaso.
Hénová'e tsé-**hésé**-háóénáhtse?  Why is he praying?
Hénová'éto tsé-**hést**-a'xaneto?  Why are you crying?
Hénáá'e tsé-**hése**-aseohtsése?  Why did you (plural) leave?

**When questions**

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

Tóne'še ého'eöhtse?  When did he arrive?
Tóne'še néváho'eohe?  When did you return?
Tóne'še néto'aseohtsése?  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-háomóhtahe?  How long have you been sick?
Étaohke-tóne'éšé-ohénove He'konemáhoéve'ho'éno?  How long does it take to get to Hardin?

**Where questions**

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

Tósa'é néto'sétho'ëhtse?  Where are you going to go?
Tósa'é néohkhétse'ohe?  Where do you work?
Tósa'é ého'o'ë?  Where is he?
Tósa'é néhohtóva?  Where did you buy it?
Tósa'é névóómo?  Where did you see him?
Tósa'é éhó'ëa namóxé'estoo'o?  Where is my book?
Tósa'é éto'semóheohtsétóve?  Where is the meeting going to be?
Tósa'é nénéxhéstahë?  Where are you from?

**How questions**

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

Né-**tónëše**-véhe?  What's your name? (lit., How are you called?)
Né-**tónëše**-ho'ëhne?  How did you come?
Né-**tónëše**-héne'enovo'o'o?  How do you know them?
Né-**tónëše**-táno?  How do you feel (mentally/emotionally)?
Né-**tónet**-omóhtahe?  How are you (in terms of wellness)? $$RECHECK\ GLOSS$$
Né-**tónës**-étséstá?  What do you think of it?
Né-**tónës**-étámo?  What do you think of him?
É-**tónet**-áho'ëa?  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-ónóto?  How thick is it?
É-tón-e´tame? ??  How deep is it? (e.g. water)
É-tón-e’ehotoo’e?  How deep is it? (e.g. a hole or cave)
É-tón-e’eho’oésta?  How high is it hanging?
É-tón-e’eho’oése?  How high is he hanging?
É-tón-e’èstahe?  ??  How tall is he?
É-tón-e’èhahe?  How old is he?
É-tón-exóv-anāno?  How much does it weigh?
É-tón-exóv-aneta?  How much does he weigh?
É-tónet-aa’ene’hō’ta?  How much room is there?
É-tón-e’ehoo’e?  How long is he staying / How long did he stay?
É-tónet-ots’e’ohe?  What is his work?
É-tón-e’ehoma’ō’e?  How far away it it?
É-tónet-ohtāheve?  What color / design is it/he?
É-tón-e’éno’e?  How does it taste?
É-tón-e’énéhe?  How does he taste?
É-tónet-ātamáno’e?  How is the environment?
É-tónet-oéstomo’he?  What kind of personality does he have?
É-tónést-ahe’vónō’e?  What kind (or type) is it?
É-tónést-á’e?  How long is his hair?
É-tónēs-ē’a’e?  How does it feel (in texture)?
É-tónēs-ē’šeme?  What sound does he make?
É-tónēs-évone?  What sound does it make?

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

É-tónēso?  What is its condition?
É-tónesta?  What is his condition?
É-tónēs'é'tovóho?  What did he do to him?

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

Ná-tónēséve?  What did I do?
Né-tónēséve?  What did you do?
É-tónēséve?  What did he/she do?
É-tónēsévéoho?  What did he/she (obv) do?
Ná-tónēsévéme?  What did we (exclusive) do?
Né-tónēsévéma?  What did we (inclusive) do?
Né-tónēsévéme?  What did you (plural) do?
É-tónēsévéo'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 tónêst-.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tónesto néó’hamoo’o?</th>
<th>How many (fish) did you catch?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Né-tónéstôhe-aénáma?</td>
<td>How old are you? (lit., How many are you yeared?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-tónéstôhe-éše’hama?</td>
<td>How many months old is he?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né-tónéstôhe-enó’tse?</td>
<td>How many nights did you camp?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-tónéstôhe-éno’e?</td>
<td>What day of the week is it? (lit., how many days is it?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-tónést-óxeo’o?</td>
<td>How many of them (an.) are there?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-tónést-óhánéstse?</td>
<td>How many of them (inan.) are there?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tónéstoha ného’soo’e?</th>
<th>How many times did you dance?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tónéstoha éamo’ahoêtseo’o?</td>
<td>How many times did they run?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>É-tóne’xóve-háomóhtahe?</th>
<th>How sick is he?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Né-tóne’xóve-méhóto?</td>
<td>How much do you love her?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nénéevá’eve?</th>
<th>Who are you?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éhová’eve?</td>
<td>What gender is he/she?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhová’évéhne?</td>
<td>What child did she bear?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhová’ešeenotsve?</td>
<td>What kind of a tree (bush) is it?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhová’évenotsve?</td>
<td>What kind of tribe is he?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhová’évé’ho’eve?</td>
<td>What non-Indian nationality is he?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhová’éé’eeve?</td>
<td>What kind of a day is it? (cf. -tónëšëé’eeve, with the same meaning)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'What say' questions  
Verbs of saying can take a preverb óxô- which questions what someone said:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ná-óxô-heve?</th>
<th>What did I say?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Né-óxô-heve?</td>
<td>What did you say?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-óxô-hevoo’o?</td>
<td>What did he/she say?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-óxô-hevó’ne?</td>
<td>What did they say?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-óxô-henove?</td>
<td>What is said?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nê-óxô-hétó?</td>
<td>What did you say to him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-óxô-hetóho?</td>
<td>What did he say to him (obviative)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**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’héstótse?  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’she 'sometime', tósa’e 'somewhere', tónéše- 'somehow' (include Rolling Head sentence). 'something', hénáá’énése 'something', etc.

-Tóne’she móho’eohtséhéhe. 'He must have come sometime.'
-Tósa’e nóháso móstanéšema’xetónéšéhe'ame-pónenenéhéhe. 'He just shot in any direction up in the air.' (1987:277)
-Naa oha tónéstoto tséhetaa’he’konahétsé hédshéhóhe náho’mañétsénníne. 'But however many of us who were healthy, we made it back here.' (1987:37)
-Naa héná’hanéhe nálésho’htá’háhene tónetáa’e tóshhéenímo. 'And I have told however much I know.' (1987:97) $$CAN tónétáa’e FUNCTION AS A QUESTION WORD??

Héá’e éto’sé-tónéstáotse. 'Maybe something is going to be wrong (with him).' (1987:195)
Móhmóne-tónéstopóheáénamáhéhe. 'She was sometime in early age.' (1987:21)
-Naa mós-tónéstopóxéhevóhe mótsaaséhéttó’óhehevóhe. 'And however many (suspects) there were, they were taken away to prison.' (1987:185)
-Naa néhë’she me’ko móhnés-tónéše’sóhpo’eohétóhanáhéhe. 'And then the (rolling) head came through somehow.' (1980:54)
-Naa vé’ho’e mósta-tónéšenénomónéhéhe. 'And the whiteman must have heard it somehow.' (Croft 1988:20:4)

**How forms and negatives**

How forms have an indefinite negative meaning in negative verbs:

-Násáa-tónéšévéhe.  I’m not doing anything.
-Násáa-tónéšétanóhe.  I’m not feeling anything.
-Násáa-tóné’xóvomóstahéhe.  I’m not feeling anything.
-Ésáa-tónéstháhe.  There’s nothing wrong with him.
-Ésáa-tónésóháhe.  There’s something wrong with it. (??)
-Násáa-tónéstå’tovéhe.  I didn’t do anything to him.

**Content of saying questions and negatives**

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

-Násáa’-óxóhéhe.  I didn’t say anything.
hová́’éhe and negatives

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

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

\begin{align*}
\text{Násáahó’áhóe hová’éhe.} & \quad \text{I don't want anything.} \\
\text{Násáavóóhtóhe hová’éhe.} & \quad \text{I didn't see anything.}
\end{align*}

'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.

\begin{align*}
\text{Hovánee’e ésáahoéhe.} & \quad \text{No one was there.}
\end{align*}

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

Rhetorical questions

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

\begin{align*}
\text{Nésáahe’évéhehe!} & \quad \text{Are you not a woman!} \\
\text{Névé’hétónéchéve!} & \quad \text{Why did you do that!} \\
\text{Névé’hénéméne! ??} & \quad \text{Why did you sing! $$\text{RH Q??}$$} \\
\text{Névé’héoxóhetoo’o!} & \quad \text{Why did you say that to them!} \\
\text{Mónáme’hétone’otse! ??} & \quad \text{Nothing would happen to me!} \\
\text{Mónéme’hé-tone’oèeto.} & \quad \text{You won’t be able to do anything to him. (e.g., he's more powerful than you)} \\
\text{Ésáatónéšeéno’étôhane!} & \quad \text{How does it not stop snowing!}
\end{align*}

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:

- Háméstoo‘èstse! Sit down!
- He’kotoo‘èstse! Be quiet! / Sit still!
- Méseeestse! Eat!
- Né‘éstséhnèstse! Come in!
- Né’tòhkéhé‘ähtse! Take your hat off!
- E’séestse’hènàhtse! Put your coat on!
- Né’séestse’hènàhtse! Take your coat off!
- E’èhá’öhtse! Put your shoes on!
- Né’tò‘èstse! Take your shoes off!
- Tàhèovëëstse! Go to bed!
- Áahtovëstse! Listen to me!
- Néhmanoxëstse! Give me a drink!
- Nèšë’sëvõènèstse! Wash your face!
- Nèšë’šëhe‘önàhtse! Wash your hands!
- Vé’hóòhtöhtse! Look at it!

**Plural addressees**

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

- Hámëstoo’e! Sit down!
- He’kotoo’e! Be quiet! / Sit still!
- Méseehè! Eat!
- Né‘éstséhne! Come in!
- E’tòhkéhé’a! Put your hat on!
- Né’tòhkéhé’a! Take your hat off!
- E’séestse’hèñà! Put your coat on!
- Né’séestse’hèña! Take your coat off!
- E’èhá’ö! Put your shoes on!
- Né’tò’e! Take your shoes off!
- Tàhèovëšë! Go to bed!
- Áahtôve! Listen to me!
- Nèhmanoxë! Give me a drink!
- Nèšë’sëhe’öña! Wash your hands!
- Vé’hootome! Look at it!

**Delayed imperatives**

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Háméstoo'o!</td>
<td>Sit down later! (singular addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Háméstoohéne!</td>
<td>Sit down later! (plural addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhméto'oo!</td>
<td>Give it to me later! (singular addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhmétohéne!</td>
<td>Give it to me later! (plural addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né'évahósého'óhneo'o!</td>
<td>Come again later! (singular addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né'évahósého'óhnéhéne!</td>
<td>Come again later! (plural addressee)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'should' commands

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Né-mé'-mésehe.</td>
<td>You should eat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né-mé'-méséhéme.</td>
<td>You (plural) should eat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né-mé'-hestâna.</td>
<td>You should take it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né-mé'-méhótahtséme.</td>
<td>You should love each other (or, yourselves).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>É-mé'-méséhé-stove.</td>
<td>There should be eating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É-mé'-méhótahtsé-stove.</td>
<td>There should be love for one another.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Né-vé'-néhešéve!</td>
<td>Don't do that! (said to one person, a singular addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né-vé'-néhešévéme!</td>
<td>Don't do that! (said to more than one person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né-vé'e-a'xaame!</td>
<td>Don't cry! (singular addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né-vé'e-a'xaamême!</td>
<td>Don't cry! (plural addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né-vé'e-oome!</td>
<td>Don't hit me! (singular addressee)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né-vé'-vé'hóóhta!</td>
<td>Don't look at it! (singular addressee)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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- mê'-sáa-néhešévé. You (singular) shouldn't do that.
Né- mê'-sáa-néhešévéme. You (plural) shouldn't do that.
Né- mê'-sáa-tsêhe'óhtse. 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- mê'-sáa-néhešévé-stové-hane. That shouldn't be done.
É- mê'-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-mésêhe-he-he?! Aren't you eating?!
Né- sáa-’-ovêšenâ-he-he?! Didn't you go to bed?!
Né- sáa-náóotsê-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:

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

**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:

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

**First person hortatives**

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

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

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

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

**Command particles**

Some short words called particles function as commands:

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

**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 Tahéovēšėstse!'Go to bed!' We must note, however, that, unlike in some other languages, including English, more direct commands are not impolite or rude to use in Cheyenne. It is culturally appropriate to use a direct command with an elderly parent, for instance. Instead of degree of politeness determining the degree of mitigation of a command, it appears that degree of mitigation of Cheyenne commands is determined by degree of social closeness, how familiar a speaker is to the person being addressed by a command.
So, if you are not a Cheyenne and someone tells you Méseestse! 'Eat!', understand this use of the most direct command to be a kind of compliment. It means that you have gained a good level of acceptance within the social circle of that Cheyenne speaker.

In constrast, if someone says the mitigated command, Émé'mésêhéstove '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 Éohkésáa’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>Émésēhe.</td>
<td>Émese.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóósáne.</td>
<td>Návóóhta ame.</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 (TransitiveAnimate)
- TI (Transitive Inanimate)

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

\(^*\)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 verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Épéhévahe.</td>
<td>'He's good.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étähpéta.</td>
<td>'He's big.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénémenhehe?</td>
<td>'Did you sing?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma'ovése.</td>
<td>'He has red hair.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náováxe.</td>
<td>'I dreamed.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenéseone.</td>
<td>'She had a child.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émésehe.</td>
<td>'He's eating.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Épéhéva'e.</td>
<td>'It's good.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étähpé'o.</td>
<td>'It's big.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo'kóho.</td>
<td>'It's raining.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma'oce.</td>
<td>'Is it red?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésétovoéstà.</td>
<td>'It's noon.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éháohó'ta.</td>
<td>'It's hot.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméséhéstove.</td>
<td>'There is eating.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nápéhéváno.</td>
<td>'I fixed him up.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóómo.</td>
<td>'I saw him.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhoxomoho?</td>
<td>'Did you feed him?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméhota.</td>
<td>'He loves me.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Áahtovéstes!</td>
<td>'Listen to me!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáa'oomóhe.</td>
<td>'I didn't hit him.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émevo.</td>
<td>'He ate him (obv).'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nápéhévána.</td>
<td>'I fixed it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóohtae.</td>
<td>'Did you see it?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahestanóhe.</td>
<td>'I didn't take it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhótse.</td>
<td>'He has it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náááhta.</td>
<td>'I'm listening to it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáa'oohtóhe.</td>
<td>'I didn't hit it.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émes.</td>
<td>'He ate it.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne verb</th>
<th>Meaning</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>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<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>Cheyenne verb</th>
<th>Meaning</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>Náhestàna.</td>
<td>I took it.</td>
<td>Néhestanahe?</td>
<td>Did you take it?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>statement</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>imperative</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Émésehe.</td>
<td>He is eating.</td>
<td>Méseestse!</td>
<td>Eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>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 indendent verbs:

| Énaóotse. | He's sleeping. |
| Námese. | I'm eating it. |
| Éoseepēhēvééno'e. | It tastes really good. |
| Nátsēhēsenēstsēme. | We speak Cheyenne. |
| Nésāatšēhe'sevōomatsēhe. | 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:

| tsēhnaóotsēse | when he was sleeping |
| tsēhvōōnā'o | when it was morning |
| ma'énēsētovoésta | 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. |
| Némésēhehe? | Did you eat? |
| Móxháeanāhevōhe. | They must have been hungry. |
Ésáavé’hoohóhe. He didn't look at it.

**Conjunct order verbs**

Some examples of conjunct order verbs are:

- tséhméseese  
  when he ate
- tsénémenese  
  those who are singing
- éóháoénávóhtse  
  whether they were hungry
- máxhoéhnéstse  
  when he comes

**Imperative order verbs**

Some examples of imperative order verbs are:

- Háméstoééstse!  
  Sit down!
- Táhéovéséstse!  
  Go to bed!
- Néééváhóseoéhoéhneo’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.
- Nehósema. He told about you.
- Ého'ééto. It's snowing.
- Êpêhévévéno'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 ___".
Némanémâse.  It is said that you drank.
Éhnêševátamósesto.  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'kóhóhanéhe  It must have rained
Mónéméséhehéhe  You must have eaten

**Preterit mode**

Another mode is the preterit (called mediate mode by Petter 1951 and I used Petter's term in earlier editions of this book). Petter (1951:68) wrote that "The expression Mediate denotes here a separation by time or distance or mind not direct or present." I remember an elder telling me that 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, "Noo, étséhësenësts'éhoo'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:

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

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

**INDEPENDENT VERBS**

náho'sooc'á
nóméháha
móhmóhoenévóó (hetaneo'o)
ésávě'hoohčé

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

**CONJUNCT (DEPENDENT) VERBS**

tséhnehché Nacional
tséhnehché National
śáhóhoč'hóo
méhó'hoónóo

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

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

Modes are very important in Cheyens. 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: émáseehe 'It is said that he drank,'' and édóoséséeto 'It is said that he hit him.'

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

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

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

To start out, we need to know that the basic first-person verb prefix is ná-, the basic second-person prefix is nē-, 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:

námēsēhe I ate.
némēsēhe you (singular) ate.
ámēsēhe 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,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{énénene} & \quad 3 \quad \text{he sang} \\
\text{hee'haho énâmenôho} & \quad 4 \quad \text{his son sang}
\end{align*}
\]

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

Obvation 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 hetâne and he'e, respectively. Their obviative forms are hetamôho and he'ôho, respectively. Notice what happens in the following sentences when there are two third-persons. Look for obvation changes on the nouns and on the verbs.

1-3 Nëvôômo hetâne. \hspace{2cm} I saw a man.
1-3 Nëvôômo he'e. \hspace{2cm} I saw a woman.
2-3 Nëvôômo hetâne. \hspace{2cm} You saw a man.
3-4 Hetâne évôomóho he'ôho. \hspace{2cm} The man saw a woman.
3-4 He'e évôomóho hetamôho. \hspace{2cm} The woman saw a man.

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

4-3 Nëmëke évôomaa'ê hätâne-ka'ëkône. His (the boy's) mother saw the boy.
4-3 Nëmëheo évôstâhêmâ'a'ê. Her big sister helped her.

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

1-3 nëvôômo (direct) \hspace{2cm} I saw him.
2-3 nëvôômo (direct) \hspace{2cm} You saw him.
3-1 nëvôôma (inverse) \hspace{2cm} He saw me.
3-2 nëvôôma (inverse) \hspace{2cm} He saw you.
INTRODUCTION TO VERBS (cont'd)

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

névôme You saw me.
névomátse I saw you.
névomatsáme I saw you (plural).
névómeme 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-I náho'è Ashton I came to it.
I-II náho'è Ashtonátsá I came to them (inanimate).
I-I náho'è Ashtonátsá I came to me.

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

```
2 second-person
1 first-person
3 third-person
4 fourth-person
1 inanimate-person
```

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

The basic structure of a Cheyenne verb is as follows:

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

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

"toward" (often, toward the speaker) or going "away" (often, away from the speaker). If it is "toward", one of the following will be present: -nah-, -nes-, 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:
- átahpé'ó It is big.
- áhóokho It is raining.
- átonéto It is cold.
- áshevéo It is yellow.
- ámá'o It is red.

A common Animte Intransitive (AI) final is -e, seen as the last vowel of the following AI verbs:
- ámásehe He ate.
- ámáne He drank.
- áho'soo'a He danced.
- ásiwëatéxéne He taught.
- ápahëvéthe He is good.

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

- see 1-3: návóómo (m-ó) 1-I: návóóma (ht-á)
- carry 1-3: námátesáho (h-ó) 1-I: námátesástse (t-ó)
- love 1-3: námého'to ('t-ó) 1-I: námého'tohtá (ht-á)
- be good to 1-3: nápëhëve'tóvo ('tov-ó) 1-I: nápëhëve'ta ('t-á)
- saká 1-3: námãsháho (h-ó) 1-I: námãshástse (ht-ó)
- break 1-3: nášë'sho'ho ('h-ó) 1-I: nášë'shó'tse ('t-á)
- dampen 1-3: nášë'kóovë'to ('tov-ó) 1-I: nášë'kóovëstse (ht-ó)
- find 1-3: námë'óvo (ov-ó) 1-I: námë's (ó-á)
- have 1-3: náho'hó ('h-ó) 1-I: náho'tse ('t-á)
INTRODUCTION TO VERBS (cont'd)

are verbs which usually need some other verb(s) to help them out. From English grammar, this second type of verb would be 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. $$$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

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

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

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

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

**Examples of verb types**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>translation</th>
<th>outline category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Êpêhêvahehe.</td>
<td>He's good.</td>
<td>I.A.POS.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êsâapêhêvahêhe.</td>
<td>He's not good.</td>
<td>I.A.NEG.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êpêhêvahehe.</td>
<td>Is he good?</td>
<td>I.B.POS.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êsâapêhêvahêhe?</td>
<td>Isn't he good?</td>
<td>I.B.NEG.AI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Môpêhêvahêhehe.</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)  
whenever he is good  
when he is good (in general)  
the one who is good  
whether he is good  
he ought to be good  
I wish he would be good.  
no doubt he is not good

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

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

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

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

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

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

$$REVISE$$

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

**NEG (negative):**
Requires sáa- preverb plus following suffixes:

-hé (non-II)
-hanéh (II)

**OBLIATIVE:**
-(h)ó ~ -(h)o

**MODE:**

Interrogative

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

*Yes/No Question with prefix*
mó=

Imperative

*Immediate:*
-t IMPV.SG.ADDRESSEE

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

Hortative

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

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

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

-mésehe 'eat'

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

-mane 'drink'

| Námane       | I drank                                                                                                                          |
| Némane       | You drank                                                                                                                         |
| Êmane        | He drank                                                                                                                          |
| Émanóho      | He (obv) drank                                                                                                                    |
| Námanémé72   | We (excl) drank                                                                                                                   |
| Némanemema   | 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)                                                                                             |
| Nénomenéméme  | We (exclusive) drank (heated liquid)                                                                                             |
| Nénomenemema  | We (inclusive) drank (heated liquid)                                                                                              |
| Nénomenéme    | You (plural) drank (heated liquid)                                                                                               |
| Énomeneo'o    | They drank (heated liquid)                                                                                                        |

/-hotse'óhe/ 'work'

| Náhotse'ohe   | I worked                                                                                                                         |
| Néhotse'ohe   | You worked                                                                                                                       |
| Êhotse'ohe    | He worked                                                                                                                         |
| Éhotse'óhóho  | He (obv) worked                                                                                                                  |
| Náhotse'óhéme | We (excl) worked                                                                                                                 |
| Néhotse'óhémema | 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.
Náhoo'e  I'm (here) /ná-hoe/
Néhoo'e  You're (here) /né-hoe/
Éhoo'e  He's (here) /é-hoe/
Éhoēho ??  He (obv) is (here) /é-hoe-hó/
Náhoēme  We (excl) are (here) /ná-hoe-mé/
Néhoema  We (incl) are (here) /né-hoe-ma/
Néhoēme  You (pl) are (here) /né-hoe-mé/
Éhoo'ò  They are (here) /é-hoe-o/

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

/-háééná/ 'hungry'
Náháéána  I am hungry
Néháéána  You are hungry
Éháéána  He is hungry
Éháäänáho  He (obv) is hungry
Náháäänáme  We (excl) are hungry
Néháäänama  We (incl) are hungry
Néháäänáme  You (pl) are hungry
Éhäänano'o  They are hungry

/-háóéná/ 'pray'
Náháóéna  I prayed
Néháóéna  You prayed
Éháóéna  He prayed
Éháóénáho  He (obv) prayed
Náháóéénáme  We (excl) prayed
Néháóéenama  We (incl) prayed
Néháóéénáme  You (pl) prayed
Éháoenao'o  They prayed

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

-oveše
Náovēše  I went to bed  Náováxe  I dreamed
Néovēše  You went to bed  Néováxe  You dreamed
Éovēše  He went to bed  Éováxe  He dreamed
Éovēšenáho  He (obv) went to bed  Éováxenáho  He (obv) dreamed
Náovēšenáme  We (excl) went to bed  Náováxenáme  We (excl) dreamed
Néovēšenama  We (incl) went to bed  Néováxenama  We (incl) dreamed
Néovēšenáme  You (pl) went to bed  Néováxenáme  You (pl) dreamed
Éovēšenao'o73  They went to bed  Éováxenao'o  They dreamed

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

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

| Návéstahe | I helped |
| Névéstaha | You helped |
| Évéstahe | He helped |
| Évéstahóho | He (obv) helped |
| Névéstahéme | We (excl) helped |
| Névéstahéma | We (incl) helped |
| Névéstahéme | You (pl) helped |
| Évéståheo'o | They helped |

/-méó'è/ 'fight'

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

/-naa'è/ 'doctor'

| Nánaa’e | I doctored |
| Nénaa’e | You doctored |
| Énaa’e74 | He doctored |
| Énaa’óho | He (obv) doctored |
| Nánaa’émé | We (excl) doctored |
| Nénaa’ema | We (incl) doctored |
| Nénaa’émé | You (pl) doctored |
| Énaa’eo'o75 | They doctored |

-naóotse 'sleep'

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

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

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

| Nánéméne | I sang |
| Nénéméne | You sang |
| Énéméne | He sang |
| Nánéméne | I have a crooked face |
| Nénéméne | you have a crooked face |
| Énéméne | He has a crooked face |

---

74 Cf. énaa’e 'he died'.
75 Cf. énaeo’o 'they died'.
Énéménóho  He (obv) sang  Énéménóho\textsuperscript{76}  He (obv) has a crooked face
Nánéménémé  We (excl) sang  Nánéménémé  We (excl) have crooked faces
Nénémenema  We (incl) sang  Nénémenema  We (incl) have crooked faces
Nénémenéme  You (pl) sang  Nénémenéme  You (pl) have crooked faces
Énémeneo'o  They sang  Énémeneo'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>Êtséhéstaha</td>
<td>He's Cheyenne</td>
<td>Itsistah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êtséhéstahóho</td>
<td>He (obv) is Cheyenne</td>
<td>Itsistaho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nátséhéstahéme</td>
<td>We (excl) are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Natsistam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nétséhéstahéma</td>
<td>We (incl) are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Nitsistama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nétséhéstahéme</td>
<td>You (pl) are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Nitsistam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êtséhéstahéo'o</td>
<td>They are Cheyenne</td>
<td>Itsistayo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-he/'say'

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

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

-néehove 'be the one'

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

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

-he 'have'

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

\textsuperscript{76} An alternative pronunciation for some speakers is énémono. $$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-nésoné 'have a child'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>3sg</th>
<th>Excl</th>
<th>Incl</th>
<th>Pl</th>
<th>Obv</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhenésoné</td>
<td>I have a child(ren)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésoné</td>
<td>You have a child(ren)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhenésoné</td>
<td>He has a child(ren)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenésonéhóho</td>
<td>He (obv) has a child(ren)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhenésonéhóhe</td>
<td>We (excl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésonéhóhe</td>
<td>We (incl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhenésonéhéhe</td>
<td>You (pl) have a child(ren)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhenésonéhóheo'o</td>
<td>They have a child(ren)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**-he-voestóve 'have a dress'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>3sg</th>
<th>Excl</th>
<th>Incl</th>
<th>Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhevoestóve</td>
<td>I have on a dress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhevoestóve</td>
<td>You have on a dress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhevoestóve</td>
<td>She has on a dress</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhevoestóve</td>
<td>We (excl) have on dresses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhevoestóve</td>
<td>We (incl) have on dresses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhevoestóve</td>
<td>You (pl) have on dresses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhevoestóveo'o</td>
<td>They have on dresses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>3sg</th>
<th>Excl</th>
<th>Incl</th>
<th>Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhemotšeške</td>
<td>I have a knife</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êheamáho'héštóve</td>
<td>He has a car</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhevéxáhe</td>
<td>I have a grandchild(ren)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êhestónáhe</td>
<td>He has a daughter(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhee'hahe</td>
<td>He has a son</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestotsehe</td>
<td>I have a pet</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Animate Intransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs**

**-máne 'drink'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>3sg</th>
<th>Excl</th>
<th>Incl</th>
<th>Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáamanéhe</td>
<td>I did not drink</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáamanéhe</td>
<td>You did not drink</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáamanéhe</td>
<td>He did not drink</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáamanéheho</td>
<td>He (obv) did not drink</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáamanéhóhe</td>
<td>We (excl) did not drink</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáamanéhóhe</td>
<td>We (incl) did not drink</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáamanéhéhe</td>
<td>You (pl) did not drink</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êsáamanéhéheo'o</td>
<td>They did not drink</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**-méshe 'eat'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>3sg</th>
<th>Excl</th>
<th>Incl</th>
<th>Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáamésehéhe</td>
<td>I did not eat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáamésehéhe</td>
<td>You did not eat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáamésehéhe</td>
<td>He did not eat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáamésehéheho</td>
<td>He (obv) did not eat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáamésehéhéhe</td>
<td>We (excl) did not eat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáamésehéhéhe</td>
<td>We (incl) did not eat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáamésehéhéhéhe</td>
<td>You (pl) did not eat</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
-hotse'ohe 'work'

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

-/ho'soé/ 'dance'

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

Násáaho'sóéhe I did not dance
Nésáaho'sóéhe You did not dance
Ésåaho'sóéhe He did not dance
Ésåaho'sóéheho He (obv) did not dance
Násáaho'sóéhéme We (excl) did not dance
Nésáaho'sóéhema We (incl) did not dance
Nésáaho'sóéhéme You (pl) did not dance
Ésåaho'sóéheo'o They did not dance

-oveše 'go to bed'

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

Násáaa'ovéšenáhe I did not go to bed
Nésáaa'ovéšenáhe You did not go to bed
Ésaa'ovéšenáhe He did not go to bed
Ésaa'ovéšenáheho He (obv) did not go to bed
Násáaa'ovéšenáhéme We (excl) did not go to bed
Nésáaa'ovéšenáhema We (incl) did not go to bed
Nésáaa'ovéšenáhéme You (pl) did not go to bed
Ésaa'ovéšenáheo'o They did not go to bed

-ováxe 'dream'

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

Násáaa'ováxenáhe I did not dream
Nésáaa'ováxenáhe You did not dream
Ésaa'ováxenáhe He did not dream
Ésaa'ováxenáheho He (obv) did not dream
Násáaa'ováxenáhéme We (excl) did not dream
Nésáaa'ováxenáhema We (incl) did not dream
Nésáaa'ováxenáhéme You (pl) did not dream
Ésaa'ováxenáheo'o They did not dream

-/hé/ 'say'

Násáahéhe I did not say
Nésáahéhe You did not say
He did not say
He (obv) did not say
We (excl) did not say
We (incl) did not say
You (pl) did not say
They did not say

-He-nésone 'have a child'

I do not have a child
You do not have a child
He does not have a child
He (obv) does not have a child
We (excl) do not have a child
We (incl) do not have a child
You (pl) do not have a child
They do not have a child

Animate Intransitive equative verbs

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is an animal.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are animals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a baby.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are babies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a bear.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are bears.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a beaver.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are beavers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a bird.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are birds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a buffalo.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are buffaloes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a cat.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are cats.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He is a chief.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are chiefs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a dress.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are children.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a duck.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are coyotes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is an eagle.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are deer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a coyote.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are dresses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a fish.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are ducks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a fly.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are eagles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a sacred power.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are bald eagles.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is an elk.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are elks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a finger.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are fingers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a fish.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are fishes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a fly.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are flies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a sacred power.</td>
<td>It is a child.</td>
<td>They are sacred powers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Cheyenne</td>
<td>Cheyenne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a horse.</td>
<td>Émo'énho'haméheve</td>
<td>Émo'énho'haméheveo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He is a man.</td>
<td>Éhetaneve</td>
<td>Éhetanéveo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a magpie.</td>
<td>Émo'e'háheve</td>
<td>Émo'e'háheveo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a nighthawk.</td>
<td>Épé'eve</td>
<td>Épé'eveo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He is an old man.</td>
<td>Éma'hákéséheve</td>
<td>Éma'hákéséheveo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a pine.</td>
<td>Ésésotó'eve</td>
<td>Ésésotó'eveo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a rabbit.</td>
<td>Évóhkooheve</td>
<td>Évóhkoohéveo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a skunk.</td>
<td>Éxáóneve</td>
<td>Éxáóneveo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a star.</td>
<td>Éhotóhkeve</td>
<td>Éhotóhkeveo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is a tree.</td>
<td>Éhoóhtsetseve</td>
<td>Éhoóhtsetséveo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He is a whiteman.</td>
<td>Évé'ho'eve</td>
<td>Évé'ho'éveo'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>She is a woman.</td>
<td>Éhe'eyeve</td>
<td>Éhe'éveo'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Animate Intransitive Independent Interrogative verbs**

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

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

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

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

**-he suffix yes/no questions**

**-mane 'drink'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did I drink?</td>
<td>Námanehe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you drink?</td>
<td>Némámanehe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did he drink?</td>
<td>Êmanehe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did he (obv) drink?</td>
<td>Émanevohe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did we (excl) drink?</td>
<td>Námanemehe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did we (incl) drink?</td>
<td>Némámanemehe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you (pl) drink?</td>
<td>Némámanemehe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did they drink?</td>
<td>Émanevóhe?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**-méseehe 'eat'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Did I eat?</td>
<td>Náméseehehe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you eat?</td>
<td>Némáseehehe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did he eat?</td>
<td>Êméséhehe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did he (obv) eat?</td>
<td>Éméséhevohe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did we (excl) eat?</td>
<td>Náméseehehehe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did we (incl) eat?</td>
<td>Némáseehehehe?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did you (pl) eat?</td>
<td>Némáseehehehe?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

77 Also called polar interrogatives.
Éméséhevóhe? Did they eat?

**-ovešé 'go to bed' interrogatives**

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

Náovëšenahe? Did I go to bed?
Néovëšenahe? Did you go to bed?
Éovëšenahe? Did he go to bed?
Éovëšenavohe? Did he (obv) go to bed?
Náovëšenamehe? Did we (excl) go to bed?
Néovëšenámanehe? Did we (incl) go to bed?
Néovëšenámehe? Did you (pl) go to bed?
Éovëšenavavohe? Did they go to bed?

**-he-nésoné 'have a child' interrogatives**

Náhenésonéhehe? Do I have a child(ren)?
Néhenésonéhehe? Do you have a child(ren)?
Éhenésonéhehe? Does he have a child(ren)?
Éhenésonéhehehohe? Does he (obv) have a child(ren)?
Náhenésonéhehehohe? Do we (excl) have a child(ren)?
Néhenésonéhámanehehehohe? Do we (incl) have a child(ren)?
Néhenésonéhámehehehohe? Do you (pl) have a child(ren)?
Éhenésonéhehehohe? Do they have a child(ren)?

**-he 'say' interrogatives**

Náhehe? Did I say?
Néhehe? Did you say?
Éhehe? Did he say?
Éhehehohe? Did he (obv) say?
Náhehehohe? Did we (excl) say?
Néhehehohe? Did we (incl) say?
Néhehehohe? Did you (pl) say?
Éhehehohe? 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:

Mónééšéméhehe? Did you already eat?
Mónéhááana? Are you hungry?
Mónééšëšenëmëne? Will you drink (something heated, especially coffee)?
Mónééšëšëšëvëhohe? Did you just get back?
Mó'éháomóhtáhe? Is he sick?
Mó'énémëne? Did he sing?

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

---

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

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

-he suffix negative questions

Nésáaméséhehehe? Didn't you eat?
Nésáa'ovéšenáhehe? Didn't you go to bed?
Nésáahotse'óheehehe? Didn't you work?
Nésáanaóotséhehehehe? Didn't you (pl) sleep?
Ésáatáhpetáhehe? Isn't he big?

mó- prefix negative questions

Mónésáá'ňšeméhehehe? Didn't you eat yet?
Mó'ésáa'ovéšenáheo'o? Didn't they go to bed?
Mó'ésáanémenéheo'o? Didn't they sing?

Animate Intransitive Inferential verbs

The inferential mode is very frequently used by Cheyennes. It is used to tell about something which you have concluded but have not directly observed or had told to you by someone else.

For someone whose first language is not Cheyenne, it can be difficult to learn to use the inferential mode. In English I can easily say "My daughter made frybread yesterday" whether or not I actually saw her making it. But I can't say the same thing in Cheyenne if I didn't actually see her making the frybread. Instead, if I saw the frybread after it was made and figured out that my daughter was the one who made it, I must say the Cheyenne equivalent of "My daughter must have made frybread yesterday."

Inferential formula

Cheyenne inferential verbs have a complicated structure. At a minimum, they have the following parts:

mó- + PERSON + VERB STEM + NEGATIVE SUFFIX + INFERENTIAL SUFFIX

The mó- prefix is the same prefix we saw in one of the ways to make yes/no questions in Cheyenne.

The personal prefix is either first person ná- or second person né-. The third person prefix é- is not used in the inferential mode.

As with any independent order verb, tense can be marked next.

There can be one or more preverbs.

There must be a verb stem.

There must be the 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'

Mónámanéhehēhe I must have drunk.
Mónémanéhehe You must have drunk.
Mómanéhehe He must have drunk.
Mómanéhevōhe He (obv) must have drunk.
Mónámanéhemanéhe We (excl) must have drunk.
Mónémanéhemanéhe We (incl) must have drunk.
Mónémanéhemēhe You (pl) must have drunk.
Mómanéhevōhe They must have drunk.

/-háéaná/ 'be hungry'

Mónáháeanahēhe I must be hungry.
Mónéháeanahēhe You must be hungry.
Móháeanahēhe He must be hungry.
Móháeanahēvōhe He (obv) must be hungry.
Mónáháeanahemanēhe We (excl) must be hungry.
Mónéháeanahemanēhe We (incl) must be hungry.
Mónéháeanahemēhe You (pl) must be hungry.
Móháeanahēvōhe They must be hungry.

/-háóená/ 'pray'

Mónáháoénahēhe I must have prayed.
Mónéháoénahēhe You must have prayed.
Móháoénahēhe He must have prayed.
Móháoénahēvōhe He (obv) must have prayed.
Mónáháoénahemanēhe We (excl) must have prayed.
Mónéháoénahemanēhe We (incl) must have prayed.
Mónéháoénahemēhe You (pl) must have prayed.
Móháoénahēvōhe They must have prayed.

/-táhoe/ 'ride'

Mónátáhōehēhe I must have ridden.
Mónétáhōehēhe You must have ridden.
Mótáhōehēhe He must have ridden.
Mótáhōehēvōhe He (obv) must have ridden.
Mónátáhōehemanēhe We (excl) must have ridden.
Mónétáhōehemanēhe We (incl) must have ridden.
Mónétáhōehemēhe You (pl) must have ridden.
Mótáhōehēvōhe They must have ridden.

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.

Mónánēhehēhe.\textsuperscript{80} I must have said that.
Mónēnehehēhe. You must have said that.
Mōhehēhe. He must have said.
Mōhehevōhe. He (obv) must have said.
Mónāhehemanēhe?? We (excl) must have said.
Mónēhehemanēhe?? We (incl) must have said.
Mónēhehemēhe?? You (pl) must have said.
Mōhehevōhe. They must have said.

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

Animate Intransitive Negative Inferential verbs
Negative inferentials require a negative preverb ho'nó-\textsuperscript{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.

-\textit{mésehe} 'eat'

(Mó)ho'nmēsérēhēte I must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nmēsēheto You must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nmēseestse He must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nmēsēhetsēstse He (obv) must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nmēsēhētse We\textsuperscript{82} must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nmēsēhēse You (pl) must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'nmēsēhēvohtse They must not have eaten.

-\textit{mane} 'drink'

(Mó)ho'nomēnēto I must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nomaneto You must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nomanēstse He must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nomanetsēstse He (obv) must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nomanētse We must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nomanēse You (pl) must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'nomanēvohtse 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

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

\textsuperscript{81} Cheyenne ho'nó- appears to function parallel to Cree pwa, which, like ho'nó-, only occurs with conjunct order verbs

\textsuperscript{82} There is no distinction in conjunct verbs between inclusive 'we' and exclusive 'we'.
book.83

- **mésehe 'eat'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náméséhéhmáse</td>
<td>I am said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméséhéhmáse</td>
<td>You are said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméséheséstse</td>
<td>He is said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméséhésesto</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméséhémánése</td>
<td>We (excl) are said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméséhémánése</td>
<td>We (incl) are said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméséhémése</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméséhésesto</td>
<td>They are said to have eaten.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **mane 'drink'**

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

/-he/ 'say'

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

**Animate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáaméséhéhmáse</td>
<td>I am said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhéhmáse</td>
<td>You are said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséheséstse</td>
<td>He is said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhésesto</td>
<td>He (obv) is said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaméséhémánése</td>
<td>We (excl) are said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhémánése</td>
<td>We (incl) are said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméséhémése</td>
<td>You (pl) are said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméséhésesto</td>
<td>They are said to have not eaten.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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 folktale is. 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.

Éhnémenéhoo'o  He sang            Éhnémenéhoono  They sang.
Éhxonónéhoo'o  He baked            Éhxonónéhoono  They baked.
Éhxáoenáhoo'o  He prayed.          Éhxáoenáhoono  They prayed.
Éhxáeanáhoo'o  He was hungry.      Éhxáeanáhoono  They were hungry.
Éhxováneehehoo'o  He was gone.    Éhxováneehoono  They were gone.
Éhnnaehoo'o    He died.            Éhnnaehoono  They died.
Éhnna'éhoo'o  He doctor ed.        Éhnna'éhoono  They doctor ed.
Éhméséhéhoo'o  He ate.             Éhméséhéhoono  They ate.
Éxhéhoo'o      He said.             Éxhéhoono  They said.

Animate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs

Éssáanémenéhehoo'o  He did not sing  Éssáanémenéhehoono  They did not sing.
Éssáahonónéhehoo'o  He did not bake  Éssáahonónéhehoono  They did not bake.
Éssáaháoenáhehoo'o  He did not pray.  Éssáaháoenáhehoono  They did not pray.
Éssáaháeanáhehoo'o  He was not hungry.  Éssáaháeanáhehoono  They were not hungry.
Éssáahováneehehoo'o  He was not gone  Éssáahováneehehoono  They were not gone.
Éssáanaehéhoo'o  He did not die.  Éssáanaehéhoono  They did not die.
Éssáanaa'ëhéhoo'o  He did not doctor.  Éssáanaa'ëhehoono  They did not doctor.
Éssáaméséhéhehoo'o  He did not eat.  Éssáaméséhéhehoono  They did not eat.
Éssáahhéhhehoo'o  He did not say.  Éssáahhéhehoono  They did not say.

Animate Intransitive Imperative verbs

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

Animate Intransitive Immediate Imperative

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>command one person</th>
<th>command persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eat!</td>
<td>Méseestse!</td>
<td>Mésehe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit down!</td>
<td>Hámèstoo'estse!</td>
<td>Hámèstoo'e!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance!</td>
<td>Ho'soo'estse!</td>
<td>Ho'soo'e!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to bed!</td>
<td>Tähéovéšestse!</td>
<td>Tähéovéše!</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'ohe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get up!</td>
<td>Tō'estse!</td>
<td>Tō'e!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Be happy!  Pēhévetānōhtse!  Pēhévetāno!
Look!  Tsēhetō‘ōhtse!  Tsēhetō‘ō!

**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>Mēsēheō'oo!</td>
<td>Mēsēhēhé!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sit down (later)!</td>
<td>Hāmēstoeō'oo!</td>
<td>Hāmēstoehé!###RECHECK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance (later)!</td>
<td>Ho'sōeo'oo!</td>
<td>Ho'sōēhē!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Go to bed (later)</td>
<td>Tāhēovēšenao'o!</td>
<td>Tāhēovēšenāhé!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pray (later)!</td>
<td>Hāōenao'o!</td>
<td>Hāōēnāhé!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing (later)!</td>
<td>Nēmeneō'oo!</td>
<td>Nēmēnēhé!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work (later)!</td>
<td>Hotse'ōheō'oo!</td>
<td>Hotse'ōhé!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get up (later)!</td>
<td>To'eo'o!</td>
<td>To'ēhé!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be happy (later)!</td>
<td>Pēhévetanoo'o!</td>
<td>Pēhévetanōhé!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look (later)!</td>
<td>Tsēhetō‘ō'oo'o!</td>
<td>Tsēhetō‘ōhē!</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'sōeha!</td>
<td>Let him dance!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mēsēheha!</td>
<td>Let him eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāhēovēšenaha!</td>
<td>Let him go to bed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hāōenaha!</td>
<td>Let him pray!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nēmeneha!</td>
<td>Let him sing!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotse'ōheha!</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'sōevoha!</td>
<td>Let them dance!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mēsēhevoha!</td>
<td>Let them eat!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāhēovēnāvoha!</td>
<td>Let them go to bed!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nēmenēvoha!</td>
<td>Let them sing!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotse'ōhevoha!</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 sāa- negative prefix, a verb stem, the negative suffix /-hé/, and, finally, a suffix –ha said about one person or –voha said about more than one person:
**hortatives said about one person**
- Sáaho'sóheheha!
- Sáamésèhèheha!
- Tásáa'ovéšenáheha!
- Sáanémenéheha!
- Sáahotse'óheheha!

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

**hortatives said about more than one person**
- Sáaho'sóhévohá!
- Sáamésèhèvohá!
- Tásáahéovéšenáhevóhá!
- Sáanémenéhevóhá!
- Sáahotse'óhevóhá!

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

**Inanimate Intransitive Independent Indicative verbs**
Examples of intransitive verbs with inanimate subjects are:

- Éhó'čó.  It's (there).
- Épèhèva'čó.  It's good.
- Ŋhávèvèva'čó.  It's bad.
- Étahp'é'čó.  It's big.
- Étšèšèkè'čó.  It's small.
- Ésèèso'čó.  It's the same.
- Éhó'èèto'čó.  It's snowing.
- Éhoo'kòhó.  It's raining.
- Évó'kòmò.  It's white.
- Éheó'vo.  It's yellow.
- Éma'ó.  It's red.
- Éó'ó.  It's dry.
- Éhe'kóóvá.  It's wet.
- Éhænáño.  It's heavy.
- Ééstóvo.  It's sharp.
- Épèhèvèvèno'è.  It tastes good.
- Épèhèvèmèá'ha.  It smells good.

- Éhó'tánéstë.  They are (there).
- Épèhèva'énéstë.  They are good.
- Éhávèvèva'énéstë.  They are bad.
- Étahp'é'énéstë.  They are big.
- Étšèšèkè'ónéstë.  They are small.
- Ésèèso'énéstë.  They are the same.
- -----

**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 māhēō'o means 'house'. If this noun stem is incorporated into the equative verb frame, the result is émāhēöneve which means 'it is a house'. Equative verbs can be pluralized like other II verbs. So émāhēönevéñéstëse 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>Émótšéškeve</th>
<th>It is a knife.</th>
<th>Émótšéškévéñéstse. They are knives.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éhe’ève.84</td>
<td>It is liver.</td>
<td>Éhe’évéñéstse. They are livers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheséootseve.</td>
<td>It is medicine.</td>
<td>Éheséootsévéñéstse. They are medicines.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émo’ēškoneve.85</td>
<td>It is a ring.</td>
<td>Émo’ēškonévéñéstse. They are rings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméoneve.</td>
<td>It is a trail/road.</td>
<td>Éméonévéñéstse. They are trails/roads.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméta’xe.</td>
<td>It is a scalp.</td>
<td>Éméta’xevéñéstse. They are scalps.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émo'kéhanēveve.</td>
<td>It is a shoe.</td>
<td>Émo'kéhanévéñéstse. They are shoes.</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>Émanéstove.</th>
<th>There is drinking.</th>
<th>Émanéstóvéñéstse. There are drinkings.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éméséhéstove.</td>
<td>There is eating.</td>
<td>Éméséhéstóvéñéstse. There are eatings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êháeanáhtove.</td>
<td>There is hungering.</td>
<td>Êháeanáhtóvéñéstse. There are hungerings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êháoenáhtove.</td>
<td>There is praying.</td>
<td>Êháoenáhtóvéñéstse. There are prayings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énéménéstove.</td>
<td>There is singing.</td>
<td>Énéménéstóvéñéstse. There are singings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esévanóhtove.</td>
<td>There is sliding.</td>
<td>Ésévanóhtóvéñéstse. There are slidings.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhenove.</td>
<td>It is said.??</td>
<td>Éhenóvéñéstse.?? ??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestohe.??</td>
<td>??</td>
<td>Éhestóhénéstse.?? ??</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Impersonals with reflexive/reciprocal stems**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Éméhotáhtseo'o.</th>
<th>They love themselves/each other.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éméhohtáhtséstove.</td>
<td>There is love for themselves/one another.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éoó’evótāhtseo'o.</td>
<td>They argued with each other.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éoó’evótāhtséstove.</td>
<td>There is arguing with each other.</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. Some prefer, instead, to call the "obviated" II verbs...

---

84 This sounds the same as Éhe‘eve ‘she is a woman’.
85 This sounds the same as Émo’ēškoneve ‘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’tó’e ‘toward each other’, included.
87 Some who have used the label inanimate obviates are Ellis (1971), Frantz (1991), Valentine (2001), and Wolfart (1973).
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:

Namahēo’o ētahpe’o ‘My house is big’; Hemahēo’o ētahpe’otse ‘His house is big (rel).’
Neamaho’héstote séma’o ‘Your car is red’; Hemamaho’héstote séma’otse ‘His car is red (rel).’
Namox’estoo’o éhō’ta ‘My book is here’; Hemoxe’estoo’o ého’tatse ‘His book is here (rel).’

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

Namaahe évóhko ‘My arrow is bent.’
Hemaahe évóhkotse ‘His arrow is bent (rel).’

Namaahótse évóhkón ēstse ‘My arrows are bent.’
Hemaahótse évóhkonetōtse ‘His arrows are bent (rel).’

**Inanimate Intransitive Indicative Negative verbs**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is not (here).</td>
<td>Ésáaho’táháne.</td>
<td>They are not (here).</td>
<td>Ésáaho’táhanehótse.</td>
<td>It’s not good.</td>
<td>Ésáapéhéva’eháne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s not bad.</td>
<td>Ésáahavéséva’eháne.</td>
<td>They are not bad.</td>
<td>Ésáahavéséva’ehanéhótse.</td>
<td>It’s not big.</td>
<td>Ésáatáhpe’óháne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s not small.</td>
<td>Ésáatséshke’óháne.</td>
<td>They are not small.</td>
<td>Ésáatséshke’óhanéhótse.</td>
<td>It’s not the same.</td>
<td>Ésáasésésho’háne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s not snowing.</td>
<td>Ésáaho’čétyáháne.</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>It’s not raining.</td>
<td>Ésáahoo’kohóháne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s not white.</td>
<td>Ésáavó’komóháne.</td>
<td>They are not white.</td>
<td>Ésáavó’komóhanéhótse.</td>
<td>It’s not yellow.</td>
<td>Ésáahóvóháne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s not red.</td>
<td>Ésáama’o’háne.</td>
<td>They are not red.</td>
<td>Ésáama’o’hánéhótse.</td>
<td>It’s not dry.</td>
<td>Ésáa’o’óháne.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It’s not wet.</td>
<td>Ésáahék’oóváháne.</td>
<td>They are not wet.</td>
<td>Ésáahék’oóváhanéhótse.</td>
<td>It’s not heavy.</td>
<td>Ésáaháaanóháne.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| It’s not sharp. | Ésáa’éstovóháne. | They are not sharp. | Ésáa’éstovóhanéhótse. | It tastes good. | Ésáapéhévééno’énéstse. | They do not taste good. | Ésáapéhévééno’énéstse. |}

**Impersonal Negative verbs**

Impersonals may be negated:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is not eating.</td>
<td>Ésáaméséhéstovéháne.</td>
<td>There are not eating.</td>
<td>Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhótse.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is not hungering.</td>
<td>Ésáaháaanáhtovéháne.</td>
<td>There are not hungerings.</td>
<td>Ésáaháaanáhtovéhanéhótse.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Inanimate Intransitive Independent Indicative Negative relational verbs

II negative verbs are marked as relational verbs, as their positive counterparts are, if their subjects are possessed by a third person. For example, we can say namáheó'o éssáama'óháne 'my house is not red'. But if there is a third person possessor, the verb is marked as relational: hemáheó'o éssáama'óhanéhetse 'his house is not red (rel)'. Some other examples are:

- Ésáahó'táhanéhetse. It is not (here) (rel).
- Ésáahó'táhanéhenetótse. They are not (here) (rel).
- Ésáahéóvóhanéhetse. It is not yellow (rel).
- Ésáahéóvóhanéhenetótse. They are not yellow (rel).
- Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetse. It is not good (rel).
- Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhenetótse. They are not good (rel).
- Ésáa'ó'óhanéhetse. It is not dry (rel).
- Ésáa'ó'óhanéhenetótse. They are not dry (rel).
- Ésáamanéstovéhanéhetse. There is not drinking (rel).
- Ésáamanéstovéhanéhenetótse. There are not drinkings (rel).
- Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetse. There is not eating (rel).
- Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhenetótse. There are not eatings (rel).
- Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanéhetse. There is not hungering (rel).
- Ésáaháeanóhtovéhanéhenetótse. There are not hungerings (rel).
- Ésáaháoenáhtovéhanéhetse. There is not praying (rel).
- Ésáaháoenáhtovéhanéhenetótse. There are not prayings (rel).

Inanimate Intransitive Interrogative verbs

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

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

-he suffix II Interrogative verbs

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

Épēhēva’e. It’s good.
Épēhēva’énéstse. They are good.

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

Épēhēva’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 –pēhēva’e, plural suffixation, plus the interrogative suffix –he. Here is the phonemic spelling of all these parts:

/é-pēhēva’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:

Épēhēva’enevotse? Are they good?

Some other II interrogatives are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Question Form</th>
<th>Response Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ého’tahe?</td>
<td>Is it (there)?</td>
<td>Ého’tanevotse? Are they (there)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Étāhe’ohe?</td>
<td>Is it big?</td>
<td>Étāhe’onevotse? Are they big?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhō’etōhe?</td>
<td>Did it snow?</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhōo’kōhohe?</td>
<td>Did it rain?</td>
<td>----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évō’komohe?</td>
<td>Is it white?</td>
<td>Évō’komonevotse? Are they white?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheōvohe?</td>
<td>Is it yellow?</td>
<td>Éheōvoventse? Are they yellow?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhāvēsēva’ehe?</td>
<td>Is it bad?</td>
<td>Éhāvēsēva’enevotse? Are they bad?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éō’ohe?</td>
<td>Is it dry?</td>
<td>Éō’onevotse? Are they dry?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma’ohe?</td>
<td>Is it red?</td>
<td>Ema’onevotse? Are they red?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ééstovehe?</td>
<td>Is it sharp?</td>
<td>Ééstovonevotse? Are they sharp?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émanēstovehe?</td>
<td>Is there drinking?</td>
<td>Émanēstovonevotse? Are there drinks?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émēsēhēstovehe?</td>
<td>Is there eating?</td>
<td>Émēsēhēstovonevotse? Are there eatings?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhāēanāhtovehe?</td>
<td>Is there hungering?</td>
<td>Éhāēanāhtovonevotse? Are there hungerings?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhāoēnāhtovehe?</td>
<td>Is there praying?</td>
<td>Éhāoēnāhtovonevotse? Are there prayings?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Inanimate Intransitive Interrogative Relational Verbs**

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

Nemōxe’estoo’o ēho’tahe? Is your book there?
Hemōxe’estoo’o ēho’tatsehe? Is his book there (rel)?
Hemōxe’estōnōtse ēho’tanetsevotse? Are his books there (rel)?
Éhāēanāhtovetsehe? Is there hungering (rel)?
Éhāēanāhtovonevotse? Are there hungerings (rel)?
**Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’táhanéhe?</td>
<td>Isn’t it (there)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’táhanevotse?</td>
<td>Aren’t they (there)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva’éhanehe?</td>
<td>Isn’t it good?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva’éhanevotse?</td>
<td>Aren’t they good?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáatáhpe’óhanéhe?</td>
<td>Isn’t it big?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáatáhpe’óhanevotse?</td>
<td>Aren’t they big?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’éetóhanéhe?</td>
<td>Isn’t it snowing?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahoo’kóhóhanéhe?</td>
<td>Isn’t it raining?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanehe?</td>
<td>Isn’t there hunger?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanévotse?</td>
<td>Aren’t there hungerings?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative relational verbs**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’táhanéhetsehe?</td>
<td>Isn’t his ___ (there) (rel)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’táhanéhetotsehe?</td>
<td>Aren’t his ___ (there) (rel)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva’éhanéhetsehe?</td>
<td>Isn’t his ___ good (rel)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáapéhéva’éhanéhetotsehe?</td>
<td>Aren’t his ___ good (rel)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaheóvóhanéhetsehe?</td>
<td>Isn’t his ___ yellow (rel)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaheóvóhanéhetotsehe?</td>
<td>Aren’t his ___ yellow (rel)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanéhetsehe?</td>
<td>Isn’t there hungering (rel)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanéhetotsehe?</td>
<td>Aren’t there hungerings (rel)?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mó’épêhéva’e?</td>
<td>Is it good?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó’épêhéva’énéstse?</td>
<td>Are they good?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó’ésáapéhéva’éhane?</td>
<td>Isn’t it good?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó’ésáapéhéva’éhanéhótse?</td>
<td>Aren’t they good?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó’éhó’ta?</td>
<td>Is it (here/there)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó’ého’tánéstse?</td>
<td>Are they (here/there)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó’éhoo’koho?</td>
<td>Is it raining?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó’ésáahoo’kóhóhané?</td>
<td>Isn’t it raining?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mó’ého’ététo?</td>
<td>Is it snowing?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mó’émésèhéstove? Is there eating?

### Inanimate Intransitive Inferential verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mópékêva’êhanêhe.</td>
<td>It must be good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mópékêva’êhanévôtse.</td>
<td>They must be good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mómâ’óhanêhe.</td>
<td>It must be red.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mómâ’óhanévôtse.</td>
<td>They must be red.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Môheóvéhanêhe.</td>
<td>It must be yellow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Môheóvéhanévôtse.</td>
<td>They must be yellow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Môhoo’kôhôhanêhe.</td>
<td>It must have rained.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mómèsèhéstovêhanêhe.</td>
<td>There must have been eating.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mómèsèhéstovêhanévôtse.</td>
<td>There must have been eatings.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Inanimate Intransitive Inferential relational verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heamâho'hestôtse mómâ’óhanetsêhe.</td>
<td>His car must be red (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heamâho’hestötôtse mómâ’óhanetsevôtse.</td>
<td>His cars must be red (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemôkës’too’o mójpekêva’êhanetsêhe.</td>
<td>His book must be good (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemôkës’tônôtse mójpekêva’êhanetsevôtse.</td>
<td>His books must be good (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemáhôk’ô mójheóvôhanetsêhe.</td>
<td>His house must be yellow (rel).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hemáheonôtse mójheôvôhanetsevôtse.</td>
<td>His houses must be yellow (rel).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Inanimate Intransitive Reportative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ého’tânêsê.</td>
<td>It's said to be (here/there).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého’tânêsestôtê.</td>
<td>They are said to be (here/there).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhoo’kôhônêsê.</td>
<td>It's said to be raining.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évôk’nêsê.</td>
<td>It's said to be bent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évôk’nêstôtê.</td>
<td>They are said to be bent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma’ônêsê.</td>
<td>It's said to be red.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éma’ônêsestôtê.</td>
<td>They are said to be red.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheóvônêsê.</td>
<td>It's said to be yellow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éheóvonêsestôtê.</td>
<td>They are said to be yellow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épékêva’ënêsê.</td>
<td>It's said to be good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épékêva’ënêsestôtê.</td>
<td>They are said to be good.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Éméséhéstovené.  It's said there is eating.
Éméséhéstovenéstótse.  It's said there are eatings.

**Inanimate Intransitive Reportative relational verbs**

Ého'tátséné.  It’s said his __ is (here/there) (rel).
Ého'tátsenéstótse.  It’s said his __ are (here/there) (rel).

Évóhkótséné.  It’s said his __ is bent (rel).
Évóhko'tsenéstótse.  It’s said his __ are bent (rel).

Éma'ótsténé.  It’s said his __ is red (rel).
Éma'ótsenéstótse.  It’s said his __ are red (rel).

Éheóvóttséné.  It’s said his __ is yellow (rel).
Éheóvotsténéstótse.  It’s said his __ are yellow (rel).

**Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs**

Ésáaho'táhanéhén.  It's said it is not (here/there).
Ésáaho'táhanéhentótse.  It's said they are not (here/there).

Ésáahoo'kóhóhanéhén.  It's said it's not raining.
Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhén.  It's said it's not good.
Ésáapéhéva'éhanéntotstóte.  It's said they are not good.

Ésáaméséhéstovéhánéhén.  It's said there is not eating.
Ésáaméséhéstovéhánéntotstóte.  It's said there are not eatings.

**Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative relational verbs**

Ésáaho'táhanéhetotstóte.  It’s said his __ isn't (here/there) (rel).
Ésáaho'táhanéhetotstótesótse.  It’s said his __ aren’t (here/there) (rel).

Ésáahoo'kóhóhanéhetotstóte.  It's said it's not raining (rel).
Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetotstóte.  It’s said his __ is not good (rel).
Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetotstótesótse.  It’s said his __ are not good (rel).

Ésáaméséhéstovéhánéhetotstóte.  It's said there isn't eating (rel).
Ésáaméséhéstovéhánéhetotstótesótse.  It’s said there aren't eatings (rel).
**Inanimate Intransitive Preterit verbs**

Ého'táneho! Surprisingly, it's (here/there)!89
Ého'tánéhoonótse! Surprisingly, they are (here/there)!
Éhoo'kohónehoho! Surprisingly, it's raining!
Épēhēva'éneho! Surprisingly, it's good!
Épēhēva'énéhooonótse! Surprisingly, they are good!
Émēsēhēstoveneho! Surprisingly, there is eating!
Émēsēhēstovénéhoonótse! 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'kohōtseneho! Surprisingly, it's raining (rel)!
Épēhēva'etseneho! Surprisingly, his ___ is good (rel)!
Épēhēva'étsénōhoonótse! Surprisingly, his ___ are good (rel)!
Émēsēhēstovetséneho! Surprisingly, there is eating (rel)!
Émēsēhēstovēntōnōnótse! Surprisingly, there are eatings (rel)!

**Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs**

Ésáahō'táhanéheneho! Surprisingly, it's not (here/there)!
Ésáahō'táhanéhēnoonótse! Surprisingly, they are not (here/there)!
Ésāahoo'kōhōhanéheneho! Surprisingly, it's not raining!
Ésāapēhēva'éhanēheneho! Surprisingly, it's not good!
Ésāapēhēva'éhanēhenōhoonótse! Surprisingly, they are not good!
Ésāamēsēhēstovēhanēheneho! Surprisingly, there is not eating!
Ésāamēsēhēstovēhanēhenōhoonótse! Surprisingly, there are not eatings!

**Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit relative verbs**

Ésāahō'táhanéhetotséneho! Surprisingly, his ___ is not (here/there) (rel)!
Ésāahō'táhanéhetotsēnōhoonótse! Surprisingly, his ___ are not (here/there) (rel)!
Ésāahoo'kohōhanēhetotséneho! 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.'
Ésáapévéva'éhanéhetotséneho! Surprisingly, his ___ isn't good (rel)!
Ésáapévéva'éhanéhetotsénóhoonótse! Surprisingly, his ___ aren't good (rel)!

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

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

/-vóom/ 'see (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>návóomahtse</td>
<td>I saw myself</td>
<td>névóomóvo</td>
<td>you (pl) saw him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóomatse</td>
<td>I saw you</td>
<td>névóomamovo</td>
<td>you (pl) saw him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómo</td>
<td>I saw him</td>
<td>névóomemenono</td>
<td>you (pl) saw us (excl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomamóho</td>
<td>I saw him (obv)</td>
<td>névóómahtséme</td>
<td>you (pl) saw yourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomahtséme</td>
<td>I saw you (pl)</td>
<td>névóomóvo'o</td>
<td>you (pl) saw them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóoomoo'o</td>
<td>I saw them</td>
<td>návóómaa'e</td>
<td>they saw me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóome</td>
<td>you saw me</td>
<td>névóomáa'e</td>
<td>they saw you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóomahtse</td>
<td>you saw yourself</td>
<td>évóomovo</td>
<td>they saw him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómo</td>
<td>you saw him</td>
<td>névóomaene'o</td>
<td>they saw us (excl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomamóho</td>
<td>you saw him (obv)</td>
<td>névóomaene'o</td>
<td>they saw us (incl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóóomemenono</td>
<td>you saw us (excl)</td>
<td>évóómaevoo'o</td>
<td>they saw you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóoomoo'o</td>
<td>you saw them</td>
<td>évóómahtseo'o</td>
<td>they saw themselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóoma</td>
<td>he saw me</td>
<td>névóománe</td>
<td>I was seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóoma</td>
<td>he saw you</td>
<td>névóománe</td>
<td>you were seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóomahtse</td>
<td>he saw himself</td>
<td>évóome</td>
<td>he was seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóómóho</td>
<td>he saw him (obv)</td>
<td>névóomanéme</td>
<td>we (excl) were seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névóómaene</td>
<td>he saw us (excl)</td>
<td>névóomanéma</td>
<td>we (incl) were seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névóómaene</td>
<td>he saw us (incl)</td>
<td>névóomanéme</td>
<td>you (pl) were seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névóómaevóho</td>
<td>he saw you (pl)</td>
<td>évóomeó'o</td>
<td>they were seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóomahtsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) saw me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóomahtsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) saw you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóomáá'e</td>
<td>he (obv) saw him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóómahtóho</td>
<td>he (obv) saw himself</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómahtsenone</td>
<td>he (obv) saw us (excl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómahtsenone</td>
<td>he (obv) saw us (incl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómahtsenóvo</td>
<td>he (obv) saw you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóómaevóho</td>
<td>he (obv) saw them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névóómatsemeno</td>
<td>we (excl) saw you</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómño</td>
<td>we (excl) saw him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómanone</td>
<td>we (excl) saw him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómahtsema</td>
<td>we (excl) saw ourselves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névóómóneo'o</td>
<td>we (excl) saw you (pl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névóómone</td>
<td>we (incl) saw him</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómanone</td>
<td>we (incl) saw him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>návóómahtsema</td>
<td>we (incl) saw ourselves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névóóméme</td>
<td>you (pl) saw me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>First Person Singular</th>
<th>Second Person Singular</th>
<th>Third Person Singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>náméotahtse</td>
<td>némeetahtse</td>
<td>éméotahtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td>náméotatse</td>
<td>némeotatse</td>
<td>éméotatse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Him/Her</td>
<td>náméotamóho</td>
<td>némeotamóho</td>
<td>éméotamóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You(pl)</td>
<td>náméotatséme</td>
<td>némeotatséme</td>
<td>éméotatséme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T(pl)</td>
<td>náméoto'o</td>
<td>némeoto'o</td>
<td>éméoto'o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some speakers pronounce éméoto'o because the stem-final vowel is high pitched.

náméotáé ne (I was fought)
náméotáé ne (you were fought)
éméoh e (he was fought)
náméot anē me (we (excl) were fought)
náméot anema (we (incl) were fought)
éméot anē me (you (pl) were fought)
éméot aevō'o (they were fought)
éméot āhtseo'o (they fought themselves)

91 The Cheyenne stem /-méót/ reflects PA *miːkaːθ.
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tsotsi</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Tsotsi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I told myself</td>
<td>náhetaitse</td>
<td>I told you</td>
<td>néhetatse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I told him</td>
<td>náhéto</td>
<td>I told him (obv)</td>
<td>néhetamóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I told you (pl)</td>
<td>néhetatsëme</td>
<td>I told them</td>
<td>náhetoo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you told me</td>
<td>néheše</td>
<td>you told yourself</td>
<td>néhetaitse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you told him</td>
<td>néheto</td>
<td>you told him (obv)</td>
<td>néhetamóho</td>
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<td>you told us (excl)</td>
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<td>náhetoo'o</td>
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<td>you told me</td>
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<td>you told yourself</td>
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<td>you told him</td>
<td>náhetamóho</td>
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<td>you told us (incl)</td>
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<td>you told them</td>
<td>náheta</td>
<td>we (incl) told you (pl)</td>
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<td>néheše</td>
<td>you (pl) told him</td>
<td>néhetóvo</td>
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<td>you (pl) told him</td>
<td>néheše</td>
<td>you (pl) told him (obv)</td>
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<td>you (pl) told us (excl)</td>
<td>néheše</td>
<td>you (pl) told us (excl)</td>
<td>néhešemeno</td>
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<tr>
<td>you (pl) told yourselves</td>
<td>néheše</td>
<td>you (pl) told them</td>
<td>néhetatsëme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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".

néa’táxestse I acc. cut myself náa’táxemeno you (pl) acc. cut yourselves
néa’xéstse I acc. cut you náa’táxesto’o you (pl) acc. cut them
náa’táso I acc. cut him náa’táxemono you (pl) acc. cut us (excl)
náa’taxamóho I acc. cut him (obv) náa’táxeneo’o you (pl) acc. cut us (in)
néa’táxetséme I acc. cut you (pl) náa’táxeneo’o you (pl) acc. cut themselves
náa’tásoo’o I acc. cut them née’táxeneo’o you (pl) cut them

náa’taxe you acc. cut me náa’táxe’e they acc. cut me
náa’táxestse you acc. cut yourself náa’táxe’e they acc. cut you
náa’táso you acc. cut him éa’taxe they acc. cut him (obv)
náa’taxamóho you acc. cut him (obv) náa’táxeeneo’o they acc. cut us (excl)
néa’táxeno you acc. cut us (excl) náa’táxeeneo’o they acc. cut us (incl)
néa’tásoo’o you acc. cut them née’táxeveoo’o they acc. cut you (pl)

náa’taxe he acc. cut me náa’táxene I was acc. cut
náa’taxe96 he acc. cut you néa’táxene you were acc. cut
éa’táxestse he acc. cut himself éa’taxe he was acc. cut
éa’táso he acc. cut himself née’táxene I was acc. cut
náa’táxene he acc. cut us (excl) née’táxenema we (ex) were acc. cut
náa’táxeene he acc. cut us (incl) née’táxenema we (in) were acc. cut
náa’táxeēvo he acc. cut you (pl) née’táxenēme you (pl) were acc. cut
náa’táxeetsenoto he (obv) acc. cut me née’táxenēme they were acc. cut
náa’táxeetsenoto he (obv) acc. cut you éa’táxeo’o
éa’táxe’e he (obv) acc. cut him
éa’táxéstóho he (obv) acc. cut himself
náa’táxeetsenone he (obv) acc. cut us (ex)
née’táxetsenone he (obv) acc. cut us (in)
née’a’táxeetsenōvo he (obv) acc. cut you (pl)
êe’táxevevóho he (obv) acc. cut them

née’táxetseneno we (ex) acc. cut you née’táxetseneno we (ex) acc. cut him
náa’tásône we (ex) acc. cut him náa’táxamone we (ex) acc. cut him (obv)
náa’táxamone we (ex) acc. cut himself née’táxetsême we (ex) acc. cut ourselves
náa’táxetsemeno we (ex) acc. cut you (pl)
náa’táxêne o’o we (ex) acc. cut them

náa’táso we (in) acc. cut him náa’táso we (in) acc. cut him (obv)
náa’táxamone we (in) acc. cut himself náa’táxamone we (in) acc. cut ourselves
náa’táxêne o’o we (in) acc. cut them

95 This is phonemically /náa’táso/. 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 "őe" word-medially in the inverse voice. The "e" of "ev" becomes high-pitched before a word-medial "a".

návovéstomévahtse I taught myself
návovéstomevátse I taught you
návovéstomévo I taught him
návovéstomévamóho I taught him (obv)
návovéstomevatséme I taught you (pl)
návovéstomevoo'o I taught them
návovéstomeve you taught me
návovéstomévahtse you taught yourself
návovéstomévo you taught him
návovéstomévamóho you taught him (obv)
návovéstomevemeno you taught us (excl)
návovéstomevoo'o you taught them
návovéstomeva he taught me
návovéstomeva he taught you
évovéstomévahtse he taught himself
évovéstomévóho he taught him (obv)
návovéstomóene he taught us (excl)
návovéstomóene he taught us (incl)
návovéstomóévo he taught you (pl)
návovéstomóetsenoto he (obv) taught me
návovéstomóetsenoto he (obv) taught you
évovéstomóó'e he (obv) taught him
évovéstoméváhtóho he (obv) taught himself
návovéstomóetsenone he (obv) taught us (excl)
návovéstomóetsenone he (obv) taught us (incl)
návovéstomóetsenóvo he (obv) taught you (pl)
évovéstomóevóho he (obv) taught them
névovéstomevatséme we (excl) taught you
névovéstomevéne we (excl) taught him
névovéstomevone we (excl) taught themselves
névovéstomévahtseme we (ex) taught ourselves
névovéstomévamóhonó we (ex) taught you (pl)
névovéstomevóoneo'o we (excl) taught them
návovéstomévahtseme you (pl) taught me
névovéstomévéno you (pl) taught him
névovéstomévamóhono you (pl) taught us (excl)
névovéstomévóo'o you (pl) taught them
návovéstomó'e they taught me
névovéstomó'e they taught you
évovéstomovo they taught him (obv)
névovéstomóeneo'o they taught us (excl)
névovéstomóeneo'o they taught us (incl)
névovéstomóevovo'o they taught you (pl)
éhétáhtse'o they taught themselves
návovéstomóne I was taught
névovéstomóne you were taught
évovéstombohe he was taught
névovéstomóméne we (excl) were taught
névovéstomómema we (incl) were taught
névovéstomóméne you (pl) were taught
évovéstomóheo'o they were taught
-héne'enov 'know (someone)'

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

náhéne'енóvahtse I know myself  náhéne'енóvamone we (ex) know him (obv)
náhéne'еновáte I know you   náhéne'еновáhtséme we (ex) know ourselves
náhéne'енóvo I know him  náhéne'енóvatsemeno we (ex) know you (pl)
náhéne'енóvamóho I know him (obv)  náhéne'еновóneo'o we (excl) know them
náhéne'енóvatséme I know you (pl)  náhéne'еновóme you (pl) know me
náhéne'еновoo'o I know them  náhéne'еновóvo you (pl) know him
náhéne'енов o you know me  náhéne'еновéme you (pl) know himself
náhéne'енов o you know yourself  náhéne'еновóvo you (pl) know ourselves
náhéne'енов o you know him  náhéne'еновüamovo you (pl) know him (obv)
náhéne'енов o he knows me  náhéne'енóneo'o you (pl) know us (excl)
náhéne'енов o he knows you  náhéne'енóneo'o you (pl) know us (incl)
náhéne'енов o he knows themselves  náhéne'енóneo'o they know me
náhéne'енóetsemeno we (excl) know you  náhéne'енóvamone we (ex) know him (obv)
náhéne'еновéne we (excl) know him
náhéne'еновáhtse we (ex) know ourselves
náhéne'енóvo we (excl) know you
náhéne'енóvo we (excl) know you (pl)

náhéne'енóvo we (excl) know him
náhéne'енóvo we (excl) know you (pl)

/-taeváhn/ 'measure (someone)'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhestse</td>
<td>I measured myself</td>
<td>you (pl) m. him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaevaestse</td>
<td>I measured you</td>
<td>you (pl) m. us (excl)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváno</td>
<td>I measured him</td>
<td>you (pl) m. yourselves</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhámóho</td>
<td>I measured him (obv)</td>
<td>you (pl) measured them</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhetséme</td>
<td>I measured you (pl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnoo'o</td>
<td>I measured them</td>
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<td>they measured me</td>
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<td>nátaeváhe</td>
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<td>they measured you</td>
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<td>they measured us (excl)</td>
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<td>they measured you (pl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváheeno'o</td>
<td>you measured us (incl)</td>
<td>they themselves</td>
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<td>I measured</td>
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<td>nátaevahe</td>
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<td>you were measured</td>
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<td>he measured himself</td>
<td>he was measured</td>
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<tr>
<td>étaváhnóho</td>
<td>he measured him (obv)</td>
<td>we (ex) were measured</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhée</td>
<td>he measured us (excl)</td>
<td>we (in) were measured</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváheene</td>
<td>he measured us (incl)</td>
<td>you (pl) were measured</td>
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<td>nátaeváheé</td>
<td>he measured you (pl)</td>
<td>they were measured</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváheetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) measured me</td>
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<td>nátaeváheetsenoto</td>
<td>he (obv) measured you</td>
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<td>étaváhée</td>
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<td>nátaeváheetenóvo</td>
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<td>nátaeváchné</td>
<td>we (excl) measured him</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhame</td>
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<td>we (ex) m. ourselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhetsemen</td>
<td>we (ex) m. you (pl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnnee'o</td>
<td>we (excl) m. them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnene</td>
<td>we (in) m. him (obv)</td>
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<td>nátaeváhsetsema</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnnee'o</td>
<td>we (incl) m. them</td>
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<td>nátaeváhémé</td>
<td>you (pl) measured me</td>
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<tr>
<td>nátaeváhnóvo</td>
<td>you (pl) measured him</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

námoné’tovahtse  I chose myself
némoné’továtse  I chose you
námonénöte  I chose him
némonévenoto  I chose him (obv)
némonétvatsème  I chose you (pl)
némonénöte  I chose them
némonétove  you chose me
némonétovahtse  you chose yourself
némonönöte  you chose him
némonévenoto  you chose him (obv)
némonétvemenö  you chose us (ex)
némonénöte  you chose us (incl)
némonétovévo  you chose you (pl)
némonétoetsenoto  he (obv) chose me
némonétoetsenoto  he (obv) chose you
émoné’tóō’o  he (obv) chose him
émoné’tóvätôho?  he (obv) chose himself
némonétoetsenone  he (obv) chose us (ex)
némonétoetsenone  he (obv) chose us (incl)
némonétoetsenövo  he (obv) chose you (pl)
émoné’tóévôho??  he (obv) chose them
némonétoetsenono  we (excl) chose you
némonénoné  we (excl) chose him
émoné’venono??  we (excl) chose him (obv)
némoné’tóvåhtsémè?  we (excl) chose ourselves
émoné’vevenmeno  we (excl) chose you (pl)
némonévenone’o  we (excl) chose them
némonénene  we (incl) chose him
némonévenonne  we (incl) chose him (obv)
némonétvåhtsémèa  we (incl) chose ourselves
émoné’vevenno’o  we (incl) chose you (pl)
némonévkéme  you (pl) chose me
émonévño  you (pl) chose him
émonévenovo  you (pl) chose him (obv)
némonévenemo  you (pl) chose us (ex)
némonétvåhtsème  you (pl) chose yourselves
émonévenovoo’o  you (pl) chose them

námoné’tóō’o  they chose me
némoné’tóō’o  they chose you
émonénovo  they chose him (obv)
némonétoene’o  they chose us (ex)
némonétoene’o  they chose us (incl)
némonétoovoo’o  they chose you (pl)
émoné’tovåhtse’o’o  they chose themselves
némoné’töne  I was chosen
némoné’töne  You were chosen
émonéstove’??  He was chosen
némoné’tónème  We (excl) were chosen
némoné’tonema  We (incl) were chosen
émoné’tónème  You (pl) were chosen
émonéstoveo’o??  They were chosen
émonévenoto  He chose him (obv’)
émonévenovo  They chose him (obv’)

other verbs with the –tov final:

náho’ähé’tova  He wants me
náho’ähenöte  I want him
náne’ëtämé’tova  He depends on me
náne’ëtämönöte  I depend on him
nápëhëvé’tova  I am good to me
nápëhëvé’tóvo  I was good to him
námeänöte  I gave him
námëánöne  we (excl) gave him
émoné’tóō’o  he (obv) gave me
émoné’tóō’o  he is named after me
émoné’tóō’o  I am named after him
émoné’tóō’o  he carried me on his back
émoné’tóō’o  I carried him on my back
émoné’tóō’o  I stole him
émoné’tóō’o  they stole me
émoné’tóō’o  I am his/her daughter
émoné’tóō’o  he is my daughter
émoné’tóō’o  I am his/her son
émoné’tóō’o  they are my sons
émoné’tóō’o  I am his/her mother
émoné’tóō’o  she is my mother

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

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

### 'not see (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomáhtséhe</td>
<td>I did not see myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésáavóomáhtséhe</td>
<td>you (pl) did not see yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomáhtséhe</td>
<td>you did not see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésáavóomáhtséhe</td>
<td>you were not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomáhtséhe</td>
<td>he was not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>násáavóomáhtséhe</td>
<td>we (excl) were not seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tbody>
</table>
'not know (someone)'

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

$+$RECHECK PARADIGM

násáhéne'énováhtséhe I do not know myself
násáhéne'énóvatséhe I do not know you
násáhéne'énovóhe I do not know him
násáhéne'énóvamóheho I do not know him (obv)
násáhéne'énóvatséhéme I do not know you (pl)
násáhéne'énóvóheo'o I do not know them

násáhéne'énovéhe you do not know me
násáhéne'énováhtséhe you do not know yourself
násáhéne'énóvamóhoyou do not know him (obv)
násáhéne'énóvamóhemo you do not know us (ex)
násáhéne'énóvóheo'o you do not know them

násáhéne'énóéhe he does not know me
násáhéne'énóéhe he does not know you
esááhéne'énóvahtséhe he does not know himself
esááhéne'énóvóheho he does not know him (obv)
násáhéne'énóehéne he does not know us (excl)
násáhéne'énóehéne he does not know us (incl)
násáhéne'énóehévo he does not know you (pl)

násáhéne'énóehéstenotohe (obv) does not know me
násáhéne'énóehéstenotohe (obv) does not know you
esááhéne'énóehéhe he (obv) does not know him
násáhéne'énóehéstenone he (obv) does not know us (ex)
násáhéne'énóehéstenone he (obv) does not know us (in)
násáhéne'énóehésteno he (obv) does not know you (pl)
esááhéne'énóehévo he (obv) does not know them

násáhéne'énóvatsémemo we (ex) do not know you
násáhéne'énóvóhémé we (ex) do not know him
násáhéne'énóvamóheme we (ex) do not know him (obv)
násáhéne'énóváhtsémemo we (ex) do not know ourselves
násáhéne'énóvatsémemo we (ex) do not know you (pl)
násáhéne'énóvóhémé we (ex) do not know them

násáhéne'énóvóhemo we (incl) do not know him
násáhéne'énóvamóhemo we (incl) do not know him (obv)
násáhéne'énóvamóhemo we (incl) do not know ourselves
násáhéne'énóvóhemo'o we (incl) do not know them

násáhéne'énóéheo'o they do not know me
násáhéne'énóéheo'o they do not know you
ésááhéne'énóvéhevo they do not know him (obv)
násáhéne'énóvéhevo'o they do not know us (excl)
násáhéne'énóvéhevo'o they do not know us (incl)
násáhéne'énóvéhevo'o they do not know you (pl)
násáhéne'énóvéháheseo'o they do not know themselves

násáhéne'énónéhe I am not known
násáhéne'énónéhe you are not known
esááhéne'énóhéhe he is not known
násáhéne'énónéhémé we (excl) are not known
násáhéne'énónéhémé we (incl) are not known
násáhéne'énónéhémé you (pl) are not known
ésááhéne'énóhéheo'o they are not known
'not choose (someone)'

$nášámoné'tóvahtsēh$ I did not choose myself
$nášámoné'tovatsēh$ I did not choose you
$nášámoné'henôtse$ I did not choose him
$nášámonévéhénôto?n$ I do not know him (obv)
$nášámoné'tovatsēhēme$ I did not choose you (pl)
$nášámoné'henôto$ I did not choose them

$nášámoné'toveh$ you did not choose me
$nášámoné'tovatsēhêse$ you did not choose yourself
$nášámoné'éhôhône$ you did not choose him (obv)
$nášámoné'tovêhâme$ you did not choose us (ex)
$nášámoné'henôto$ you did not choose them

$nášámoné'tôēh$ he did not choose me
$nášámoné'tôēhêse$ he did not choose you
$ésáamô'éhôhône$ he did not choose himself
$nášámoné'éhôhône$ he did not choose us (excl)
$nášámoné'toehene$ he did not choose us (incl)
$nášámoné'tôēhêvo$ he did not choose you (pl)
$nášámoné'tôehetsenôto$ he (obv) did not choose me
$nášámoné'tôehêtsenôto$ he (obv) did not choose you
$ésáamô'éhôhéne$ he (obv) did not choose him (obv)
$nášámoné'tôehêtsenône$ he (obv) did not choose us (ex)
$nášámoné'tôehêtsenôvôto$ he (obv) did not choose you (pl)

$nášámoné'tovatsêhême$ we (excl) did not choose you
$nášámoné'éhôhône$ we (excl) did not choose him
$nášámoné'éhôhône$ we (ex) did not choose him (obv)
$nášámoné'tovatsêhême$ we (ex) did not choose ourselves
$nášámoné'tovatsêhêmo$ we (ex) did not choose you (pl)
$nášámoné'éhôhône$ we (ex) did not choose them

$nášámoné'henône$ we (in) did not choose him
$nášámoné'éhôhône$ we (in) did not choose him (obv)
$nášámoné'tovatsêhêma$ we (in) did not choose ourselves
$nášámoné'éhôhône$ we (in) did not choose them

$nášámoné'tovêhême$ you (pl) did not choose me

$nášámoné'hénôvo?n$ you (pl) did not choose him
$nášámoné'éhôhôno?n$ you (pl) did not choose you
$nášámoné'éhôhôno?n$ you (pl) did not choose him (obv)
$nášámoné'éhôhôno?n$ you (pl) did not choose us (ex)
$nášámoné'éhôhôno?n$ you (pl) did not choose themselves

$nášámoné'tôehêvo'o$ they did not choose me
$nášámoné'tôehêvo'o$ they did not choose you
$ésáamô'éhêno?m$ they did not choose him (obv)
$nášámoné'tôehêne'o$ they did not choose us (excl)
$nášámoné'tôehêvo'o$ they did not choose you (pl)

$nášámoné'tônéhe?n$ I was not chosen
$nášámoné'tônéhe?n$ you were not chosen
$ésáamô'éstônéhe?n$ he was not chosen
$nášámoné'éhêne'm$ we (excl) were not chosen
$nášámoné'éhêne'm$ we (incl) were not chosen
$nášámoné'éhêne'm$ you (pl) were not chosen

Other negative verbs with the ‘-tov final:

$nášâpêhêve'tôwe$ I was not good to him
$nášâpêhêve'tôwe$ I was not good to me
$nášâmêhêne'tôwe$ I did not give him (away)
$nášâmêhôhêno?$ I did not give them (away)
$nášâane'étamêhêne'tôwe$ I do not depend on him
$nášâane'étamêhêne'tôwe$ He does not depend on me
$nášâho'âhêhêno?$ he does not want him
$nášâho'âhêhêno?$ he does not want me
$ésâhô'hêhêno?$ he does not want him (obv)
$nášânomáhtsêhêno?m$ I did not steal him
$nášânomáhtsêhêno?m$ I did not steal them
$nášâhéstônâhê'tôwe$ I am not her daughter
$nášâhéstônâhêno?m$ she is not my daughter
$nášâhe'hêhêno?m$ I am not his son
$nášâhe'hêhêno?m$ he is not my son
$nášâhe'hêhêno?m$ they are not my sons
$nášâhe'ke'tôwe$ I am not her mother
$nášâhe'ke'hêno?m$ she is not my mother
$nášâhe'hêhêno?m$ I am not his father
$nášâhe'hêhêno?m$ he is not my father
Transitive Animate Interrogative verbs

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

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

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

### -vóom 'see (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject (Person)</th>
<th>Indicative Form</th>
<th>Indicative Form (Incl)</th>
<th>Indicative Form (Excl)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóomáhtsehe?</td>
<td>Did I see myself?</td>
<td>Névóomonehe?</td>
<td>Did (incl) see him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomatehse?</td>
<td>Did I see you?</td>
<td>Névóomamonehe?</td>
<td>Did (in) see him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomohe?</td>
<td>Did I see him?</td>
<td>Névóomáhtsemanehe?</td>
<td>Did (in) see ourselves?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Návóomamovohe?</td>
<td>Did I see him (obv)?</td>
<td>Névóomonevohe?</td>
<td>Did (incl) see them?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Návóomatsemehe?</td>
<td>Did I see you (pl)?</td>
<td>Névóomemenehe?</td>
<td>Did (pl) see me?</td>
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<tr>
<td>Návóomovohe?</td>
<td>Did I see them?</td>
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<td>Did (pl) see him?</td>
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<td>Návóomenehe?</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Some mó- prefix yes/no questions:

- Mónévóomo? Did you see him?
- Mónévóoomo'o? Did you see them?
- Mónévóomóvo? Did you (pl) see him?
- Mónévóomóvo'o? Did (pl) see them?
- Mónéhéne'enhé? Do you know him?
- Mónéméhóto? Do you love him?
- Mónéhoxo'o? Did you feed him?

---

100 This can also be said as návóomáhtsemanehe.
–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 –nótsé in its indicative form ends with –notesé in its interrogative form. $$RECHECK PARADIGM

Námóné’továhtséhe? Did I choose myself?
Námóné’tovatsehe? Did I choose you?
Námónenotse? Did I choose him?
Náméno^tovonotohe? Did I choose him (obv)?
Námóné’tovatseméhe? Did I choose you (pl)?
Náméntovótohe? Did I choose them?

Námóné’tovéhe? Did you choose me?
Námóné’továhtséhe? Did you choose yourself?
Náménotse? Did you choose him?
Náméno^tovonotohe? Did you choose him (obv)?
Námóné’tovëmenohe? Did you choose us (ex)?
Náméntovótohe? Did you choose us (in)?

Námóné’tovëhe? Did you choose me?
Námóné’tovëhe? Did you choose you?
Émónë^továhtshe? Did he choose himself?
Éménëtohe? Did he choose him (obv)?
Námóné’monehe? Did he choose us (ex)?
Námóne’shehe? Did he choose us (in)?
Námóné’tovëvohe? Did he choose you (pl)?

Námóne’sëmenohe? Did he (obv) choose me?
Námóné’tovësenohe? Did he (obv) choose you?
Émónë’tovëhëcëvohe? Did he (obv) choose himself?
Námóné’toëtsehe? Did he (obv) choose us (ex)?
Námóné’tœtsehohe? Did he (obv) choose us (in)?
Námóné’tovëmenohe? Did he (obv) choose you (pl)?
Émónë’tovëvohe? Did he (obv) choose them?

Námónë’tovëtsemenohe? Did we (excl) choose you?
Námóne’sëhehe? Did we (excl) choose him?
Námónë’vëmenohe? Did we (excl) choose us (obv)?
Námónë’vëtsehe? Did we (excl) choose ourselves?
Námónë’tovëmenohe? Did we (excl) choose you (pl)?
Námónë’vëvohe? Did we (excl) choose them?

Námónë’vëhehe? Did we (incl) choose him?
Námónë'vëmenohe? Did we (incl) choose us (obv)?
Námónë’tovëhtëmenahe? Did we (incl) choose ourselves?
Námónë’vëmenohe? Did we (incl) choose them?

Námónë’tovëmehe? Did you (pl) choose me?
Námónëvëvohe? Did you (pl) choose you?
Námónë’vëvohe? Did you (pl) choose him?
Námónë’vëmohe? Did you (pl) choose him (obv)?
Námónë’tovëmenohe? Did you (pl) choose us (ex)?
'not see (someone)'

$RECHECK QUESTIONED FORMS

Násáavóomáhtséhehe?  Didn't I see myself?
Násáavóomatséhehe?  Didn't I see you?
Násáavóómohéhe?  Didn't I see him?
Násáavóomamohévohe?  Didn't I see him (obv)?
Násáavóomatséhemenohenehe?  Didn't I see you (pl)?
Násáavóómohévohe?  Didn't I see them?
Násáavóómohéhehe?  Didn't you see me?
Násáavóomáhtséhehe?  Didn't you see yourself?
Násáavóómohéhehe?  Didn't you see him?
Násáavóomamohévohe?  Didn't you see him (obv)?
Násáavóomáhtséhemenohenehe??Didn't you see us (excl)?
Násáavóómohévohe?  Didn't you see them?
Násáavóomachêtsenotohe?  Didn't he (obv) see me?
Násáavóomachêtsenotohe?  Didn't he (obv) see you?
Ésáavóómehehe?  Didn't he see himself?
Ésáavóómahenehehe?  Didn't he see him (obv)?
Násáavóomachêtsenohenehe?  Didn't he see us (excl)?
Násáavóomachêtsenohenehe?  Didn't he see us (incl)?
Násáavóómohévohe?  Didn't he (obv) see you (pl)?
Ésáavóómehehe?  Didn't he see them?
Násáavóomatséhemenohenehe?  Didn't we (excl) see you?
Násáavóómohenehehe?  Didn't we (excl) see him?
Násáavóomamohenehehe?  Didn't we (excl) see ourselves?
Násáavóomáhtséhemenohenehe?  Didn't we (excl) see ourselves?
Násáavóómohenehe?  Didn't we (incl) see him?
Násáavóomamohenehe?  Didn't we (incl) see him (obv)?
Násáavóomáhtséhemenohenehe?  Didn't we (incl) see ourselves?
Násáavóómohenehe?  Didn't we (incl) see themselves?
Násáavóómohenehe?  Didn't we (pl) see ourselves?
Násáavóómohenehe?  Didn't we (pl) see them?
Násáavóómohenehe?  Didn't we (pl) see you?
Násáavóómohenehe?  Didn't we (pl) see him (obv)?
Násáavóómohenehe?  Didn't you (pl) see him (obv)?
Násáavóómohenehe?  Didn't you (pl) see us (excl)?
Násáavóómohenehe?  Didn't you (pl) see yourselves?
Násáavóómohenehe?  Didn't you (pl) see them?
Násáavóómohenehe?  Didn't they see me?
Násáavóómohenehe?  Didn't they see you?
Ésáavóómohenehevohe?  Didn't they see him (obv)?
Násáavóómohenehevohe?  Didn't they see us (excl)?
Násáavóómohenehevohe?  Didn't they see us (incl)?
Násáavóómohenehevohe?  Didn't they see you (pl)?
Ésáavóómahntséhevohe?  Didn't they see themselves?
Násáavóómahenehehe?  Wasn't I seen?
Násáavóómahenehehe?  Weren't you seen?
Ésáavóómahenehehe?  Wasn't he seen?
Násáavóómahenehehehe?  Weren't we (excl) seen?
Násáavóómahenehehehe?  Weren't we (incl) seen?
Násáavóómahenehehehe?  Weren't you (pl) seen?
Ésáavóómahenehehehe?  Weren't they seen?

Some mó- prefix negative yes/no questions:

$RECHECK
Mónésáavóómohéhe?  Didn't you see him?
Mónésáavóómohévo?  Didn't you (pl) see him?
Mónésáahéne'ètso?  Didn't you see them?
Mónésáahéne'ètso?  Didn't you (pl) see them?
Mónésáahéne'ètso?  Didn't you see me?
Mónésáahéne'ètso?  Didn't you (pl) see me?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he know you?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he (obv) know you?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he see me?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he (obv) see me?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he see you?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he (obv) see you?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he see him?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he (obv) see him?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he see us?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he (obv) see us?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he see us (excl)?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he (obv) see us (excl)?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he see us (incl)?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he (obv) see us (incl)?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he see you (pl)?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he (obv) see you (pl)?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he see them?
Mónésáahéhe?  Doesn't he (obv) see them?
Transitive Animate Inferential verbs

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

1. The sàá-stative preverb does not occur in inferentials
2. Inferentials have a high-pitched ending instead of a low-pitched ending

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>vōom 'see (someone)'</th>
<th>Mónévōoomahsehēhe</th>
<th>I must have seen myself</th>
<th>Mónévōooméhemēhe</th>
<th>You (pl) must have seen me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mónévōoomatsēhēhe</td>
<td>I must have seen you</td>
<td>Mónévōoomēhevohe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen him</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávōoomohēhe</td>
<td>I must have seen him</td>
<td>Mónévōomamēhevohe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávōoomamēhevohe</td>
<td>I must have seen him (obv)</td>
<td>Mónévōoomēhemenonēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen us (ex)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónévōomatsēhemēhe</td>
<td>I must have seen you (pl)</td>
<td>Mónévōoomahsehemēhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen yourselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mónávōomohēhevohe</td>
<td>I must have seen them</td>
<td>Mónévōomēhevohe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have seen them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Mónévōoomēhehe       | You must have seen me| Mónévōoamehēhe         | They must have seen me |
| Mónévōoomahstsēhēhe  | You must have seen yourself| Móvōoamēhevohe        | They must have seen you |
| Mónévōoomohēhe       | You must have seen him| Mónévōooamehēmenonēhe  | They must have seen him (obv) |
| Mónévōoomamēhevohe   | You must have seen him (obv)| Mónévōooamehēmenonēhe | They must have seen us (ex) |
| Mónévōomēhemenonēhe  | You must have seen us (excl)| Mónévōooamehēmenonēhe | They must have seen us (in) |
| Mónévōoomēhevohe     | You must have seen them| Móvōooamahstsēhevohe   | They must have seen you (pl) |

| Mónávōooamahēhenēhe  | He must have seen me| Mónávōooamahēhenēhe   | I must have been seen |
| Mónávōooamahēhenēhe  | He must have seen you| Mónávōooamahēhenēhe   | You must have been seen |
| Móvōooamahēhenēhe    | He must have seen himself| Mónávōooamahēhenēhe   | He must have been seen |
| Móvōooamahēhenēhe    | He must have seen us (excl)| Mónávōooamahēhenēhe | We (ex) must have been seen |
| Mónévōooamahēhenēhe  | He must have seen us (in)| Mónávōooamahēhenēhe | We (in) must have been seen |
| Mónévōooamahēhenēhe  | He must have seen you (pl)| Mónávōooamahēhenēhe | You (pl) must have been seen |
| Mónévōooamahēhenēhe  | He (obv) must have seen me| Mónávōooamahēhenēhe | They must have been seen |
| Mónévōooamahēhenēhe  | He (obv) must have seen you| Mónávōooamahēhenēhe | They must have been seen |
| Móvōooamahēhenēhe    | He (obv) must have seen himself| Mónávōooamahēhenēhe | They must have been seen |
| Móvōooamahēhenēhe    | He (obv) must have seen us (ex)| Mónávōooamahēhenēhe | They must have been seen |
| Móvōooamahēhenēhe    | He (obv) must have seen us (in)| Mónāvōooamahēhenēhe | They must have been seen |
| Móvōooamahēhenēhe    | He (obv) must have seen you (pl)| Mónāvōooamahēhenēhe | They must have been seen |
| Móvōooamahēhenēhe    | He (obv) must have seen them| Mónāvōooamahēhenēhe | They must have been seen |

| Mónévōomatsēhenēhēnēhe | We (ex) must have seen you| Mónévōomahēhēnēhe | He must have taken |
| Mónávōomohēhenēhe     | We (ex) must have seen him| Mónévōomahēhenēhe | He must have fed him |
| Mónávōomahēhēnēhe     | We (ex) must have seen ourselves| Mónévōomahēhenēhe | They must have fed him (obv) |
| Mónávōomohēhenēhe     | We (ex) must have seen you (pl)| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |
| Mónévōomohēhenēhe     | We (ex) must have seen them| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |
| Mónávōomohēhenēhe     | We (ex) must have seen him| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |
| Mónévōomohēhenēhe     | We (ex) must have seen ourselves| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |
| Móněvōomohēhenēhe     | We (ex) must have seen them| Móněvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |

| Móněvōomohēhenēhe | We (ex) must have seen you (pl)| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |
| Móněvōomohēhenēhe | We (ex) must have seen themselves| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |
| Móněvōomohēhenēhe | We (ex) must have seen him| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |
| Móněvōomohēhenēhe | We (ex) must have seen ourselves| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |
| Móněvōomohēhenēhe | We (ex) must have seen them| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |
| Móněvōomohēhenēhe | We (ex) must have seen him| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |
| Móněvōomohēhenēhe | We (ex) must have seen ourselves| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |
| Móněvōomohēhenēhe | We (ex) must have seen them| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |

| Móněvōomohēhenēhe | We (ex) must have seen you (pl)| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |
| Móněvōomohēhenēhe | We (ex) must have seen themselves| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |
| Móněvōomohēhenēhe | We (ex) must have seen him| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |
| Móněvōomohēhenēhe | We (ex) must have seen ourselves| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |
| Móněvōomohēhenēhe | We (ex) must have seen them| Mónēvēxamēhevohe | They must have freed him (obv) |

Some other TA inferential verbs:

| Mómēhotēmevohe | He must love him (obv) |
| Mónémēhoeahevohe | He must love you |
| Mónâmēnehoehe | He must have chosen me |
| Mónméneeënōte | You must have chosen him |
| Mónēhōaehenōte | You must want him |
| Mōhōaehenōte | He must want him (obv) |
| Mōhmēahēnōtohe | He must have given him (obv) |
| Mōnāpētahehe | He must hate me |
| Móōamaehevohe | He (obv) must have hit him |
| Mōäaatovēhevohe | He must have heard him (obv) |
| Mōvōëstahēmēhevohe | He must have helped him (obv) |
| Mōhōxamēhevohe | They must have taken him (obv) |
| Mōšēxamēhevohe | They must have fed him (obv) |
| Mōna hōhevohe | He must have killed him (obv) |
| Mōtooetēhevohe | He must have tied him (obv) |
| Mōnēhovēhevohe | He must have chased him (obv) |
### Transitive Animate Reportative verb 'see' /-vőom/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Návóomahtsémæse</th>
<th>It's said I saw myself</th>
<th>Névóomêmæse</th>
<th>It's said you (pl) saw me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Névóomatséhmæse</td>
<td>It's said I saw you</td>
<td>Névóomovoéstse</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomésestse</td>
<td>It's said I saw him</td>
<td>Névóomamovoéststo</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomamóestse</td>
<td>It's said I saw him (obv)</td>
<td>Névóomemènæse</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) saw us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomatemèse</td>
<td>It's said I saw you (pl)</td>
<td>Névóoaháttsémæse</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) saw yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóomóestse</td>
<td>It's said I saw them</td>
<td>Névóomóvóstoso</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) saw them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Névóomémæse</th>
<th>It's said you saw me</th>
<th>Névóomaesesto</th>
<th>It's said they saw me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Névóomahtsémæse</td>
<td>It's said you saw yourself</td>
<td>Névóomaesesto</td>
<td>It's said they saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomésestse</td>
<td>It's said he saw him</td>
<td>Évóomovéssto</td>
<td>It's said they saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomamésestse</td>
<td>It's said he saw him (obv)</td>
<td>Névóomamènæsesto</td>
<td>It's said they saw us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomemènæse</td>
<td>It's said he saw us (excl)</td>
<td>Névóoámævéstso</td>
<td>It's said they saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóoámésestse</td>
<td>It's said he saw you (pl)</td>
<td>Névóoámævéstso</td>
<td>It's said they saw themselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Návóomaetsonéstse</th>
<th>It's said he (obv) saw me</th>
<th>Névóomanémæse</th>
<th>It's said I was seen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Névóomaetsonéstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw you</td>
<td>Névóomanémæse</td>
<td>It's said you were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóomástsestse</td>
<td>It's said he saw himself</td>
<td>Évóomésstse</td>
<td>It's said he was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomamónéstse</td>
<td>It's said he saw him (obv)</td>
<td>Névóomamánémæse</td>
<td>It's said we (ex) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóomamónéstse</td>
<td>It's said he saw us (excl)</td>
<td>Névóomamánémæse</td>
<td>It's said we (in) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóoamàvéstso</td>
<td>It's said he saw you (pl)</td>
<td>Névóoamánémæse</td>
<td>It's said you (pl) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóomàvéstso</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) saw them</td>
<td>Évóoméstso</td>
<td>It's said they were seen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Some other TA reportative verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eméhotéstse</th>
<th>It's said he loves him (obv)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Néméhotaéstse</td>
<td>It's said he loves you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhètéstse</td>
<td>It's said he told him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhètovéstse</td>
<td>It's said they told him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhetaéstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) told him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námonèteséstse</td>
<td>It's said he chose me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néménoñoséstse??</td>
<td>It's said you chose him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ného'ahénoséstse??</td>
<td>It's said you want him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'ahénoséstse</td>
<td>It's said he wants him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméhóséstse</td>
<td>It's said you gave him (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éménoséstse??</td>
<td>It's said he gave him (obv) (away)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nápótaéstse</td>
<td>It's said he hates me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èoamaéstse</td>
<td>It's said he (obv) hit him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èáãhtovéstse</td>
<td>It's said he heard him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évástahéñoséstse</td>
<td>It's said he helped him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èhestanovéstse</td>
<td>It's said they took him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èhoxomovéstse</td>
<td>It's said they fed him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Èşéxanovéstse</td>
<td>It's said he freed him (obv)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Násáavómahhtséhmæse</th>
<th>It's said I did not see myself</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomatséhmæse</td>
<td>It's said I did not see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavómóhéséstse</td>
<td>It's said I did not see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomamóhésesto</td>
<td>It's said I did not see him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomatsémæhese</td>
<td>It's said I did not see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóómheséstse</td>
<td>It's said I did not see them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Násáavóomémæhæse</th>
<th>It's said you did not see me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomhtsémæhæse</td>
<td>It's said you did not see yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóomhmæhæsestse</td>
<td>It's said you did not see him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Nésáavóomóhesesto  It's said you did not see him (obv)
Nésáavóoméhemenose  It's said you did not see us (excl)
Nésáavóomóhesesto  It's said you did not see them

Nésáavóomaheséstse  It's said he did not see me
Nésáavóomaheséstse  It's said he did not see you
Ésáavóomáhtséheséstse  It's said he did not see himself
Ésáavóomóhesesto  It's said he did not see him (obv)
Nésáavóomaheñeséstse  It's said he did not see us (excl)
Nésáavóomaheñeséstse  It's said he did not see us (incl)
Nésáavóomahévoséstse  It's said he did not see you (pl)

Nésáavóomatséhéménose  It's said we (ex) did not see you
Násáavóomóhemenéstse  It's said we (ex) did not see him (obv)
Násáavóomamóhenéstse  It's said we (ex) did not see them
Násáavóomáhtséhémánése  It's said we (ex) did not see ourselves
Násáavóomatséhéménose  It's said we (ex) did not see you (pl)
Násáavóomóhenéstse  It's said we (ex) did not see them

Násáavóomóhenéstse  It's said we (in) did not see him
Násáavóomamóhenéstse  It's said we (in) did not see him (obv)
Násáavóomáhtséhémánése  It's said we (in) did not see ourselves
Násáavóomóhenéstse  It's said we (in) did not see them

Násáavóoméhémése  It's said you (pl) did not see me
Násáavóoméhevoséstse  It's said you (pl) did not see him
Násáavóomamóhemenése  It's said you (pl) did not see him (obv)
Násáavóoméhemenése  It's said you (pl) did not see us (ex)
Násáavóomáhtséhémése  It's said you (pl) did not see yourselves
Násáavóomóhevóvósesto  It's said you (pl) did not see them

Násáavóomaheñahesesto  It's said they did not see me
Násáavóomaheñahesesto  It's said they did not see you
Ésáavóomóheñahesesto  It's said they did not see him (obv)
Násáavóomaheñahesesto  It's said they did not see us (ex)
Násáavóomaheñahesesto  It's said they did not see us (in)
Ésáavóomáhtséheseesto  It's said they did not see themselves

Násáavóomanéhémase  It's said I was seen
Násáavóomanéhémase  It's said you were seen
Ésáavóoméheséstse  It's said he was seen
Násáavóomanéhémánése  It's said we (ex) were seen
Násáavóomanéhémánése  It's said we (in) were seen

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Nésáavóomanéhémése It's said you (pl) were seen
Ésáavóoméhesesto It's said they were seen

Some other TA negative reportative verbs:
Ésáaméhotóhesesto?? It's said he does not love him (obv)
Nésáaméhotaehéséstse It's said he does not love you
Ésáahetóhesesto It's said he did not tell him (obv)
Ésáahetóhevéostesto It's said they did not tell him (obv)
Ésáahetaehéséstse It's said he (obv) did not tell him
Násáamoné'tohehéséstse It's said he did not chose me
Nésáamonénóheséstse?? It's said you did not chose him
Nésáaho'ahénóheséstse?? It's said you do not want him
Ésáaho'ahénóheséstse?? It's said he does not want him (obv)
Nésáaméanóheséstse?? It's said you did not give him (away)
Ésáaméanóheséstse?? It's said he did not give him (obv) (away)
Násáapéotaehéséstse It's said he does not hate me
Ésáa'oomaehésesto It's said he (obv) did not hit him
Ésáa'aahtovóhesesto It's said he did not hear him (obv)
Ésáavéstahéhemóheséstse?? It's said he did not help him (obv)
Ésáahestanóhevéostesto It's said they did not take him (obv)
Ésáahoxomóhevéostesto It's said they did not feed him (obv)
Ésáášéxanóhesesto 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'èhnémohó káhkése o'hé'e!
Wow, I have come close to a river! (Floating Eyes:062)

Nétáéšéhevéxahé'tovatsémohó! " náheto.
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)

Évómóhoono!
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)

Éhmévaaehoono
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!

Éhvónaho'nóhoono
Once upon a time he burned him (obv) up

Éhvónaho'heeahoono
Once upon a time he (obv) burned him up

Éhvónaho'heevóhoono
Once upon a time he (obv) burned them up

Éhvónaho'nóvóhoono
Once upon a time they burned him (obv) up

Évónaho'nóhoono!
Surprisingly, he burned him (obv) up!

É'a'tasóhoono
Once upon a time he accidentally cut him (obv)

É'a'taxehoono
Once upon a time he (obv) accidentally cut him

É'a'taxeevóhoono
Once upon a time he (obv) accidentally cut them

É'a'tasóvóhoono
Once upon a time they accidentally cut him (obv)

Éa'tasóhoono!
Surprisingly, he accidentally cut him (obv)!

Éxho'ahénóhoono??
Once upon a time he wanted him (obv)

Éxho'ahé'toehoono??
Once upon a time he (obv) wanted him

Éxho'ahé'teovóhoono??
Once upon a time he (obv) wanted them

Éxho'ahénóvóhoono??
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

Éššexánóvóhoono
Once upon a time they freed him (obv)

Éššexanóhoono!
Surprisingly, he freed him (obv)!

Transitive Animate Negative Preterit verbs

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

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

Éssáavómomaehévóhoono
Once upon a time he did not see them

Éssáavóomóhevóhoono
Once upon a time they did not see him (obv)

Ésáavómóhehoono!
Surprisingly, he did not see him (obv)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Original Text</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Éssáahetóhehoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he did not tell him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáahetaehéhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he (obv) did not tell him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáahetaehévóhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he (obv) did not tell them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáahetóhevéhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time they did not tell him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáahetóhehoono!</td>
<td>Surprisingly, he did not tell him!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáa'a'tásóhehoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he did not accidentally cut him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáa'a'táxeehéhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he (obv) did not accidentally cut him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáa'a'táxehévóhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time he (obv) did not accidentally cut them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éssáa'a'tásóhevéhoono</td>
<td>Once upon a time they did not accidentally cut him (obv)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**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'hoomahséštse!</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'hoomenemo!</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>Méhotahséštse!</td>
<td>Méhotahtse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love him!</td>
<td>Méhoxeha!</td>
<td>Méhota!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love him (obv)!</td>
<td>Méhotameha!</td>
<td>Méhotama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love us!</td>
<td>Méhoxemenemo!</td>
<td>Méhoxemenemo!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love them!</td>
<td>Méhoxenáno!</td>
<td>Méhota!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to me!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tovéstse!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tove!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to yourself!</td>
<td>Péheve'tovahstse!</td>
<td>Péheve'tovahstse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tovaha!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tova!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him (obv)!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tovamaheha!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tovama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to us!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tovemenmo!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tovemenmo!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to them!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tovenáno!</td>
<td>Péhéve'tova!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure me!</td>
<td>Taevaestse!</td>
<td>Taevahe!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure yourself!</td>
<td>Taeváheststse!</td>
<td>Taeváhestse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him!</td>
<td>Taeváheha!</td>
<td>Taevaha!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him (obv)!</td>
<td>Taeváhameha!</td>
<td>Taeváhama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure us!</td>
<td>Taeváhemenmo!</td>
<td>Taeváhemenmo!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure them!</td>
<td>Taeváhenáno!</td>
<td>Taevaha!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on me!</td>
<td>Ševátaméstse!</td>
<td>Ševátame!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on yourself!</td>
<td>Ševátamahséštse!</td>
<td>Ševátamahtse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on him!</td>
<td>Ševátameha!</td>
<td>Ševátama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on him (obv)!</td>
<td>Ševátamameha!</td>
<td>Ševátamama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on us!</td>
<td>Ševátamenmo!</td>
<td>Ševátamenmo!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on them!</td>
<td>Ševátamenáno!</td>
<td>Ševátama!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>said to one person</th>
<th>said to more than one person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Look at me later!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomeo’o!</td>
<td>Vé’hooméhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at yourself later!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomahtseo’o!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomáhtséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at him later!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomo’o!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomamoo’o!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at us later!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomemenoo’o!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomemenoo’o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Look at them later!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomóóno!</td>
<td>Vé’hoomóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love me later!</td>
<td>Méboxeo’o!</td>
<td>Mébóxéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love yourself later!</td>
<td>Méhotahtseo’o!</td>
<td>Méhotahtséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love him later!</td>
<td>Méhoto’o!</td>
<td>Méhotóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Méhotamoo’o!</td>
<td>Méhotamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love us later!</td>
<td>Méhoxemenoo’o!</td>
<td>Méhoxemenoo’o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Love them later!</td>
<td>Méhóto’ono!</td>
<td>Méhótohéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to me later!</td>
<td>Pêhé’eto’oveo’o!</td>
<td>Pêhé’etovéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to yourself later!</td>
<td>Pêhéve’tovahhtseo’o!</td>
<td>Pêhéve’tovahhtséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him later!</td>
<td>Pêhé’eto’ovo’o!</td>
<td>Pêhé’etovóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Pêhéve’tovamoo’o!</td>
<td>Pêhéve’tovamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to us later!</td>
<td>Pêhéve’tovemenoo’o!</td>
<td>Pêhéve’tovemenoo’o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be good to them later!</td>
<td>Pêhé’etovó’ono!</td>
<td>Pêhé’etovóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure me later!</td>
<td>Taevaheo’o!</td>
<td>Taevahéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure yourself later!</td>
<td>Taevahhesteo’o!</td>
<td>Taevahhestséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him later!</td>
<td>Taeváhno’o!</td>
<td>Taeváhnóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure him (obv) later!</td>
<td>Taeváhamoo’o!</td>
<td>Taeváhamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure us later!</td>
<td>Taeváhemenoo’o!</td>
<td>Taeváhemenoo’o!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Measure them later!</td>
<td>Taeváhnó’ono!</td>
<td>Taeváhnóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on me later!</td>
<td>Ševátameo’o!</td>
<td>Ševátaméhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on yourself later!</td>
<td>Ševátamáhtseo’o!</td>
<td>Ševátamáhtséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on him later!</td>
<td>Ševátamo’o!</td>
<td>Ševátamóhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on him (obv)!</td>
<td>Ševátamamoo’o!</td>
<td>Ševátamama!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on us!</td>
<td>Ševátamenoo!</td>
<td>Ševátameno!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take pity on them!</td>
<td>Ševátamenáno!</td>
<td>Ševátama!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Transitive Animate Hortative verbs

Notice that hortative suffixes –áta’e, -ata’öse, and –aëtse look like conjunct order suffixes, which we will see later.

| Vé’hooma’eha! | Let him look at me! | Vé’hooma’évoha! | Let them look at me! |
| Vé’hoomáta’e! | Let him look at you! | Vé’hoomahtseo’o! | Let them look at you! |
| Vé’hoomáhtseha! | Let him look at himself! | Vé’hoomáhtsévo’o! | Let them look at themselves! |
| Vé’hoomóha! | Let him look at him (obv)! | Vé’hoomaëtse! | Let them look at us! |
| Vé’hoomata’öse! | Let him look at you (pl)! | Vé’hoomaata’öse! | Let them look at you (pl)! |
**Transitive Inanimate Independent Indicative verbs**

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

/-vóohtá/ 'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>Third Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>I see it</td>
<td>Návóohtanótse</td>
<td>I see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td>You see it</td>
<td>Névóohtanótse</td>
<td>You see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>He sees it</td>
<td>Névóohtanótse</td>
<td>He see's them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (excl)</td>
<td>We (excl) see it</td>
<td>Návóohtanónéstse</td>
<td>We (excl) see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (incl)</td>
<td>We (incl) see it</td>
<td>Névóohtanónéstse</td>
<td>We (incl) see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>They see it</td>
<td>Évóohtanótse</td>
<td>They see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is seen</td>
<td>Évóoménéstse</td>
<td>They are seen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-mése/ 'eat (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>Third Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>I ate it</td>
<td>Námésenótse</td>
<td>I ate them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td>You ate it</td>
<td>Némésenótse</td>
<td>You ate them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>He ate it</td>
<td>Émésenótse</td>
<td>He ate them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (excl)</td>
<td>We (excl) ate it</td>
<td>Námésenonéstse</td>
<td>We (excl) ate them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (incl)</td>
<td>We (incl) ate it</td>
<td>Némésenonéstse</td>
<td>We (incl) ate them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>They ate it</td>
<td>Émésenovótse</td>
<td>They ate them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It was eaten</td>
<td>Éméséstovénéstse</td>
<td>They were eaten.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-ho'tsé 'have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>Third Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>I have it</td>
<td>Náho'ksenótse</td>
<td>I have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td>You have it</td>
<td>Ného'ksenótse</td>
<td>You have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>He has it</td>
<td>Ého'ksenótse</td>
<td>He has them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (excl)</td>
<td>We (excl) have it</td>
<td>Náho'ksenónéstse</td>
<td>We (excl) have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (incl)</td>
<td>We (incl) have it</td>
<td>Ného'ksenónéstse</td>
<td>We (incl) have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>They have it</td>
<td>Ného'ksenovótse</td>
<td>They have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is had</td>
<td>Ého'hënéstse</td>
<td>They are had</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-ho'ahe 'have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
<th>Third Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>I want it</td>
<td>Náho'âhenótse</td>
<td>I want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You</td>
<td>You want it</td>
<td>Ného'âhenótse</td>
<td>You want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>He wants it</td>
<td>Ého'âhenótse</td>
<td>He wants them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (excl)</td>
<td>We (excl) wants it</td>
<td>Náho'âhenónéstse</td>
<td>We (excl) want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We (incl)</td>
<td>We (incl) want it</td>
<td>Ného'âhenónéstse</td>
<td>We (incl) want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>They want it</td>
<td>Ého'âhenovótse</td>
<td>They want them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is wanted</td>
<td>Ého'âhéstovénéstse</td>
<td>They are wanted</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'ená 'clean (something)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhóxe'āna</td>
<td>I cleaned it</td>
<td>Náhóxe'ananóte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhóxe'āna</td>
<td>You cleaned it</td>
<td>Néhóxe'ananóte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhóxe'āna</td>
<td>He cleaned it</td>
<td>Éhóxe'ananóte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhóxe'anotse</td>
<td>He (obv) cleaned it</td>
<td>Éhóxe'anótsenotse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhóxe'anánóne</td>
<td>We (excl) cleaned it</td>
<td>Náhóxe'anánónestse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhóxe'anánóne</td>
<td>We (in) cleaned it</td>
<td>Néhóxe'anánónestse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhóxe'anánóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) cleaned it</td>
<td>Néhóxe'anánovotse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhóxe'anánóvo</td>
<td>They cleaned it</td>
<td>Éhóxe'anánovotse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhóxe'anáne</td>
<td>It was cleaned</td>
<td>Éhóxe'anénestse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**-hestá 'say (something)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náhésta</td>
<td>I said it</td>
<td>Náhestánóte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhésta</td>
<td>You said it</td>
<td>Néhestánóte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhésta</td>
<td>He said it</td>
<td>Éhestánóte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestotse</td>
<td>He (obv) said it</td>
<td>Éhéstotsenotse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestánóne</td>
<td>We (excl) said it</td>
<td>Náhestánónestse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nénestánóne</td>
<td>We (in) said it</td>
<td>Nénestánónestse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhestánóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) said it</td>
<td>Néhestánovotse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestánóvo</td>
<td>They said it</td>
<td>Éhestánovotse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestohe</td>
<td>It was said</td>
<td>Éhestóhénestse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**-mane 'drink (something)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námane105</td>
<td>I drank it</td>
<td>Námanenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némane</td>
<td>You drank it</td>
<td>Némanenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émane</td>
<td>He drank it</td>
<td>Émanenótse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émanetse</td>
<td>He (obv) drank it</td>
<td>Émanetsenotse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námanénóne</td>
<td>We (excl) drank it</td>
<td>Námanénónestse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némanénóvo</td>
<td>We (in) drank it</td>
<td>Némanénónestse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émanénóvo</td>
<td>They drank it</td>
<td>Émanénovotse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émanéstove106</td>
<td>It was drunk</td>
<td>Émanéstóvénéstse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**-é’e’ó’tse 'break (something)'**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náé’e’ó’tse</td>
<td>I broke it</td>
<td>Náé’e’ótsenotse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néé’e’ó’tse</td>
<td>You broke it</td>
<td>Néé’e’ótsenotse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éé’e’ó’tse</td>
<td>He broke it</td>
<td>Éé’e’ó’tse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éé’e’ó’tsetse</td>
<td>He (obv) broke it</td>
<td>Éé’e’ótsetensotse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náé’e’ótsenóne</td>
<td>We (excl) broke it</td>
<td>Náé’e’ótsenónestse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néé’e’ótsenone</td>
<td>We (in) broke it</td>
<td>Néé’e’ótsenónestse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néé’e’ótsenóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) broke it</td>
<td>Néé’e’ótsenovotse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éé’e’ótsénóvo</td>
<td>They broke it</td>
<td>Éé’e’ótsenovotse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éé’e’óhe</td>
<td>It was broken</td>
<td>Éé’e’óhénestse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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'.

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170
Some other TI Independent Indicative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ná'aťáxa.</td>
<td>I accidentally cut it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestána.</td>
<td>He took it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhó'xátsésta.</td>
<td>I'm used to it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ém'é'a.</td>
<td>He found it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nápêhévátsésta.</td>
<td>I like it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návona'ó'tse.</td>
<td>I lost it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návonetanó'.ta.</td>
<td>I forgot it.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some grammatical relationships different from English

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

-háamá’tá

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

Náháamá’ta na’evo. My nose hurts. (lit., I hurt to my nose)
Náháamá’tanótse na’ékánéstse. 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’ëško. My finger hurts. (lit., I hurt to my finger)
Náháamá’tovoo’o namo’ëškono. My fingers hurt. (lit., I hurt to my fingers)

-táa’á ’fit (something)

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

Nátáá’a hôhkéha’ê. The cap fits me. (lit., I fit to the cap)
Nátáá’anótse hôhkéhá’estse. The caps fit me. (lit., I fit to the caps)

Compare corresponding TA verbs:
Nátáa’ōvo éstse’he. The shirt fits me. (lit., I fit to the shirt)
Nátáa’ovoo’o éstse’heeno. 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 -pēhēvé’ahtá:

Nápēhēvé’ahtá ho’évohkótse. 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.

-łóohotomóv 'see his _'
Návóohtomóvo I see his ____ Návóohtomóvonotse I see his ____ (plural)
Névóohtomóvo You see his ____ Névóohtomóvonotse You see his ____ (plural)
Évóohtomóvo He sees his (obv) ____ Évóohtomóvonotse He sees his (obv) ____ (pl)
Návóohtomóvonóne We (ex) see his ____ Návóohtomóvonónestse We (ex) see his ____ (pl)
Névóohtomóvonóne We (in) see his ____ Névóohtomóvonónestse We (in) see his ____ (pl)
Névóohtomóvonóvo You (pl) see his ____ Névóohtomóvonovóte You (pl) see his ____ (pl)
Évóohtomóvonóvo They see his ____ Évóohtomóvonóve They see his ____ (pl)
Évéometse His ____ is seen Évéomenetóte His ____ (pl) are seen

-ésthanomóv 'take his _'
Náé'êtóvo I took his ____ Náé'êtovonotse I took his ____ (plural)
Néé'êtóvo You took his ____ Néé'êtovonotse You took his ____ (plural)
Éé'êtóvo He took his (obv) ____ Éé'êtovonotse He took his (obv) ____ (pl)
Náé'êtovonóne We (ex) took his ____ Náé'êtovonónestse We (ex) took his ____ (pl)
Néé'êtovonóne We (in) took his ____ Néé'êtovonónestse We (in) took his ____ (pl)
Néé'êtovonóvo You (pl) took his ____ Néé'êtovonovóte You (pl) took his ____ (pl)
Éé'êtovonóvo They took his ____ Éé'êtovonóve They took his ____ (pl)
Ééé'ëtóvo He took his (obv) ____ Ééé'ëtové Ééé'ëtovéÉtóse He took his (obv) ____ (pl)
Náé'ëtovonóne We (ex) broke his ____ Náé'ëtové Ééé'ëtovéÉtóse We (ex) broke his ____ (pl)
Néé'ëtovonóne We (in) broke his ____ Néé'ëtové Ééé'ëtovéÉtóse We (in) broke his ____ (pl)
Néé'ëtovonóvo You (pl) broke his ____ Néé'ëtové Ééé'ëtovéÉtóse You (pl) broke his ____ (pl)
Ééé'ëtovévé'Évóohtomóvonóvo They broke his ____ Ééé'ëtovévé'Évóohtomóvonóvo They broke his ____ (pl)
Ééé'ëhétse His ____ was taken Ééé'ëhétse His ____ (pl) were taken

-ô'é'tov 'break his _'
Náé'ë'tóvo I broke his ____ Náé'ë'tovonotse I broke his ____ (pl)
Néé'ë'tóvo You broke his ____ Néé'ë'tovonotse You broke his ____ (pl)
Éé'ë'tóvo He broke his (obv) ____ Éé'ë'tovonotse He broke his (obv) ____ (pl)
Náé'ë'tovonóne We (ex) broke his ____ Náé'ë'tovonónestse We (ex) broke his ____ (pl)
Néé'ë'tovonóne We (in) broke his ____ Néé'ë'tovonónestse We (in) broke his ____ (pl)
Néé'ë'tovonóvo You (pl) broke his ____ Néé'ë'tovonovóte You (pl) broke his ____ (pl)
Ééé'ë'tovonóvo They broke his ____ Ééé'ë'tovonovóte They broke his ____ (pl)
Ééé'ë'tóhetse His ____ was broken Ééé'ë'hóetóse 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 | Násáavóohótenótse | I did not see them |
| Nésáavóóhtóhe | You did not see it | Nésáavóohótenótse | You did not see them |
| Ésáavóóhtóhe | He did not see it | Ésáavóohótenótse | He did not see them |
| Ésáavóóhtóhetse | He (obv) did not see it | Ésáavóohóhtétsenótse | He (obv) did not see them |
| Násáavóóhtóhénóne | We (ex) did not see it | Násáavóohóhónenóstse | We (ex) did not see them |
| Násáavóóhtóhénone | We (in) did not see it | Násáavóohóhónenóstse | We (in) did not see them |
| Nésáavóóhtóhénóvo | You (pl) did not see it | Nésáavóohóhónovótse | You (pl) did not see them |
| Ésáavóóhtóhénóvo | They did not see it | Ésáavóohóhónovótse | They did not see them |
| Ésáavóoméhane | It was not seen | Ésáavóoméháhótse | They were not seen |

'not eat (something)'

| Násáaméséhe | I did not eat it | Násáaméséhenótse | I did not eat them |
| Nésáaméséhe | You did not eat it | Nésáaméséhenótse | You did not eat them |
| Ésáaméséhe | He did not eat it | Ésáaméséhenótse | He did not eat them |
| Ésáaméséhetse | He (obv) did not eat it | Ésáaméséhetsenótse | He (obv) did not eat them |
| Násáaméséhénóne | We (ex) did not eat it | Násáaméséhónenóstse | We (ex) did not eat them |
| Násáaméséhénone | We (in) did not eat it | Násáaméséhónenóstse | We (in) did not eat them |
| Nésáaméséhénóvo | You (pl) did not eat it | Nésáaméséhónovótse | You (pl) did not eat them |
| Ésáaméséhénóvo | They did not eat it | Ésáaméséhónovótse | They did not eat them |
| Ésáaméséstovóhane | It was not eaten | Ésáaméséstovóháhótse | They were not eaten |

'not have (something)'

| Násáahot'séhe | I do not have it | Násáahot'séhenótse | I do not have them |
| Nésáahot'séhe | You do not have it | Nésáahot'séhenótse | You do not have them |
| Ésáahot'séhe | He does not have it | Ésáahot'séhenótse | He does not have them |
| Ésáahot'séhetse | He (obv) does not have it | Ésáahot'séhetseenótse | He (obv) does not have them |
| Násáahot'séhénóne | We (ex) do not have it | Násáahot'séhónenóstse | We (ex) do not have them |
| Násáahot'séhénone | We (in) do not have it | Násáahot'séhónenóstse | We (in) do not have them |
| Nésáahot'séhénóvo | You (pl) do not have it | Nésáahot'séhónovótse | You (pl) do not have them |
| Násáahot'séhénóvo | They do not have it | Násáahot'séhónovótse | They do not have them |
| Ésáahohéhane | It is not had | Ésáahohéháhótse | They are not had |

'not want (something)'

| Násáahoa'héhe | I don't want it | Násáahoa'héhóntse | I don't want them |
| Nésáahoa'héhe | You don't want it | Nésáahoa'héhóntse | You don't want them |
| Ésáahoa'héhe | He doesn't want it | Ésáahoa'héhóntse | He doesn't want them |
| Ésáahoa'héhetse | He (obv) doesn't want it | Ésáahoa'héhetseenótse | He (obv) doesn't want them |
| Násáahoa'héhénóne | We (ex) don't want it | Násáahoa'héhónenóstse | We (ex) don't want them |
| Násáahoa'héhénone | We (in) don't want it | Násáahoa'héhónenóstse | We (in) don't want them |
| Nésáahoa'héhénóvo | You (pl) don't want it | Nésáahoa'héhónovótse | You (pl) don't want them |
| Ésáahoa'héhénóvo | They don't want it | Ésáahoa'héhónovótse | They don't want them |
| Ésáahoa'héstovóhane | It is not wanted | Ésáahoa'héstovóháhótse | They are not wanted |
'not clean (something)'
Nášáhóxe'ánohé I didn’t clean it Nášáhóxe'ánohenótse I didn’t clean them
Néšáahóxe'ánohé You didn’t clean it Néšáahóxe'ánohenótse You didn’t clean them
Éśáahóxe'ánohé He didn’t clean it Éśáahóxe'ánohenótse He didn’t clean them
Éśáahóxe'ánohétse He (obv) didn’t clean it Éśáahóxe'ánohetsenótse He (obv) didn’t clean them
Nášáahóxe’anóhénónë We (ex) didn’t clean it Nášáahóxe’anóhénéstse We (ex) didn’t clean them
Nášáahóxe’anóhënënë We (in) didn’t clean it Nášáahóxe’anóhënenëtse We (in) didn’t clean them
Néšáahóxe’anóhënov You (pl) didn’t clean it Néšáahóxe’anóhënovótse You (pl) didn’t clean them
Éśáahóxe’anóhënovó They didn’t clean it Éśáahóxe’anóhënovótse They didn’t clean them
Éśáahóxe’anéhane It was not cleaned Éśáahóxe’anéhanehótse They were not cleaned

Transitive Inanimate Independent Negative relational verbs

'not see his (something)'
Násáahóvohtomóvöhe I didn’t see his __ Násáahóvohtomóvöhëntëse I didn’t see his __ (pl)
Nésáávóohtomóvöhe You didn’t see his __ Nésáávóohtomóvöhëntëse You didn’t see his __ (pl)
Ésáávóohtomóvöhe He didn’t see his (obv) __ Ésáávóohtomóvöhëntëse He didn’t see his (obv) __ (pl)
Násáávóohtomóvëhënënë We (ex) didn’t see his __ Násáávóohtomóvëhënenëtse We (ex) didn’t see his __ (pl)
Nésáávóohtomóvëhënënë We (in) didn’t see his __ Nésáávóohtomóvëhënenëtse We (in) didn’t see his __ (pl)
Nésáávóohtomóvëñënov You (pl) didn’t see his __ Nésáávóohtomóvëñënovótse You (pl) didn’t see his __ (pl)
Ésáávóohtomóvëñënovó They didn’t see his __ Ésáávóohtomóvëñënovótse They didn’t see his __ (pl)
Ésáávóóméhanëhëtse His __ was not seen Ésáávóóméhanëhëntëtse His __ (pl) were not seen

'not take his (something)'
Násááhëstamóvëhëvë Morë I didn’t take his __ Násááhëstamóvëhëvënëtëse I took his __ (pl)
Nésááhëstamóvëhe You didn’t take his __ Nésááhëstamóvëhënënëtëse You took his __ (pl)
Ésááhëstamóvëhe He didn’t take his (obv) __ Ésááhëstamóvëhënënëtëse He took his (obv) __ (pl)
Násááhëstamóvëhënënegë We (ex) didn’t take his __ Násááhëstamóvëhënenëstë We (ex) took his __ (pl)
Nésááhëstamóvëhënënegë We (in) didn’t take his __ Nésááhëstamóvëhënenëstë We (in) took his __ (pl)
Nésááhëstamóvëhënovë You (pl) didn’t take his __ Nésááhëstamóvëhënovótse You (pl) took his __ (pl)
Ésááhëstamóvëhënovó They didn’t take his __ Ésááhëstamóvëhënovótse They took his __ (pl)
Éëstëhënëhëtse His __ was not taken Éëstëhënëhëntëtse His __ (pl) were not taken

'not break his (something)'
Násáá’á’e’ó’tëvëhe I didn’t break his __ Násáá’á’e’ó’tëvëntëse I didn’t break his __ (pl)
Nésáá’á’e’ó’tëvëhe You didn’t break his __ Nésáá’á’e’ó’tëvëntëse You didn’t break his __ (pl)
Ésáá’á’e’ó’tëvëhe He didn’t break his (obv) __ Ésáá’á’e’ó’tëvëntëse He didn’t break his (obv) __ (pl)
Násáá’á’e’ó’tëvëhënënegë We (ex) didn’t break his __ Násáá’á’e’ó’tëvëhënenëstë We (ex) didn’t break his __ (pl)
Nésáá’á’e’ó’tëvëhënënegë We (in) didn’t break his __ Nésáá’á’e’ó’tëvëhënenëstë We (in) didn’t break his __ (pl)
Nésáá’á’e’ó’tëvënovë You (pl) didn’t break his __ Nésáá’á’e’ó’tëvënovótse You (pl) didn’t break his __ (pl)
Ésáá’á’e’ó’tëvënovó They didn’t break his __ Ésáá’á’e’ó’tëvënovótse They didn’t break his __ (pl)
Ésáá’á’e’ó’hehëhëtse His __ wasn’t broken Ésáá’á’e’ó’hehëhëntëtse 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 "ó" of the ending is voiced, not whispered. Then the ending is pronounced -otse.

'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Did I see it?</td>
<td>Did you see it?</td>
<td>Did he see it?</td>
<td>Did he (obv) see it?</td>
<td>Did we (excl) see it?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) see it?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) see it?</td>
<td>Did they see it?</td>
<td>Was it seen?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'want (something)'

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<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Do I want it?</td>
<td>Do you want it?</td>
<td>Does he want it?</td>
<td>Does he (obv) want it?</td>
<td>Do we (excl) want it?</td>
<td>Do we (incl) want it?</td>
<td>Do you (pl) want it?</td>
<td>Do they want it?</td>
<td>Is it wanted?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Did I take it?</td>
<td>Did you take it?</td>
<td>Did he take it?</td>
<td>Did he (obv) take it?</td>
<td>Did we (excl) take it?</td>
<td>Did we (incl) take it?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) take it?</td>
<td>Did they take it?</td>
<td>Was it taken?</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

'Some mó- prefix TI questions'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Did you see it?</td>
<td>Did he take it?</td>
<td>Did you (plural) take them?</td>
<td>Did you eat them?</td>
<td>Were they eaten?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Inanimate Interrogative relational verbs

'\textit{see his (something)}'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Návóohtomóvohe?</th>
<th>Did I see his ___?</th>
<th>Návóohtomóvonotse?</th>
<th>Did I see his ___ (plural)?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Névóohtomóvohe?</td>
<td>Did you see his ___?</td>
<td>Névóohtomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Did you see his ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohtomóvohe?</td>
<td>Did he see his (obv) ___?</td>
<td>Évóohtomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Did he see his (obv) ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóohtomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Did we (ex) see his ___?</td>
<td>Návóohtomóvonevotse?</td>
<td>Did we (ex) see his ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Névóohtomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Did we (in) see his ___?</td>
<td>Névóohtomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Did we (in) see his ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohtomóvonvohe?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) see his ___?</td>
<td>Évóohtomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) see his ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohtomóvonvohe?</td>
<td>Did they see his ___?</td>
<td>Évóohtomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Did they see his ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évóohtmesehe?</td>
<td>Was his ___ seen?</td>
<td>Évóohtmenotse?</td>
<td>Were his ___ (pl) seen?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'take his (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Náhestanomóvohe?</th>
<th>Did I take his ___?</th>
<th>Náhestanomóvonotse?</th>
<th>Did I take his ___ (plural)?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Néhestanomóvohe?</td>
<td>Did you take his ___?</td>
<td>Néhestanomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Did you take his ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestanomóvohe?</td>
<td>Did he take his ___?</td>
<td>Éhestanomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Did he take his ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestanomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Did we (ex) take his ___?</td>
<td>Náhestanomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Did we (ex) take his ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néhestanomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Did we (in) take his ___?</td>
<td>Néhestanomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Did we (in) take his ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náhestanomóvonvohe?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) take his ___?</td>
<td>Náhestanomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Did you (pl) take his ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestanomóvonvohe?</td>
<td>Did they take his ___?</td>
<td>Éhestanomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Did they take his ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhestanetsehe?</td>
<td>Was his ___ taken?</td>
<td>Éhestanetseotse?</td>
<td>Were his ___ (pl) taken?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Násáavóhtóhehe?</th>
<th>Didn't I see it?</th>
<th>Násáavóhtóhenotse?</th>
<th>Didn't I see them?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóhtóhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you see it?</td>
<td>Násáavóhtóhenotse?</td>
<td>Didn't you see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóhtóhehe?</td>
<td>Didn't he see it?</td>
<td>Ésáavóhtóhenotse?</td>
<td>Didn't he see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóhtóhetsehe?</td>
<td>Didn't he (obv) see it?</td>
<td>Ésáavóhtóhetsenotse?</td>
<td>Didn't he (obv) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóhtóhenonehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (ex) see it?</td>
<td>Násáavóhtóhenotse?</td>
<td>Didn't we (ex) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóhtóhenonehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (in) see it?</td>
<td>Násáavóhtóhenotse?</td>
<td>Didn't we (in) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóohtóhenovohe?</td>
<td>Didn't you (pl) see it?</td>
<td>Násáavóhtóhenotse?</td>
<td>Didn't you (pl) see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóhtóhenovohe?</td>
<td>Didn't they see it?</td>
<td>Ésáavóhtóhenotse?</td>
<td>Didn't they see them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhméhanesehe?</td>
<td>Wasn't it seen?</td>
<td>Ésáavóóhméhanetseotse?</td>
<td>Weren't they seen?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some other Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nésáahetsehehe?</th>
<th>Didn't you take it?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaméshenotse?</td>
<td>Didn't you (plural) eat them?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaméshetseotse?</td>
<td>Weren't they (inanimate) eaten?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahohástotsehehe?</td>
<td>Wasn't it wanted?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative relational verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Násáavóhtomóvohehe?</th>
<th>Didn't I see his ___?</th>
<th>Násáavóhtomóvonotse?</th>
<th>Didn't I see his ___ (pl)?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóhtomóvohehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you see his ___?</td>
<td>Násáavóhtomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Didn't you see his ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóhtomóvohehe?</td>
<td>Didn't he see his (obv) ___?</td>
<td>Ésáavóhtomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Didn't he see his (obv) ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóhtomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (ex) see his ___?</td>
<td>Násáavóhtomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Didn't we (ex) see his ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóhtomóvononehe?</td>
<td>Didn't we (in) see his ___?</td>
<td>Násáavóhtomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Didn't we (in) see his ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Návóohtomóvonvohehe?</td>
<td>Didn't you (pl) see his ___?</td>
<td>Násáavóhtomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Didn't you (pl) see his ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóhtomóvonvohehe?</td>
<td>Didn't they see his ___?</td>
<td>Ésáavóhtomóvonotse?</td>
<td>Didn't they see his ___ (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhméhanetsehehe?</td>
<td>Wasn't his ___ seen?</td>
<td>Ésáavóóhméhanetseotsehehe?</td>
<td>Weren't his ___ (pl) seen?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Transitive Inanimate Inferential verbs

**\$\$CHECK YOUNGER SPEAKER dialect: e.g. Mónávōohtēhe??**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'see (something)'</th>
<th>I must have seen it</th>
<th>Mónávōohtēhe</th>
<th>You must have seen it</th>
<th>Mónévōohtēhe</th>
<th>He must have seen it</th>
<th>Móvōohtēhe</th>
<th>He (obv) must have seen it</th>
<th>Móvōothetsēhe</th>
<th>We (ex) must have seen it</th>
<th>Mónévōohtēhenonēhe</th>
<th>We (in) must have seen it</th>
<th>Mónévōohtēhenovōhe</th>
<th>They must have seen it</th>
<th>Móvōohtēhenovōhe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'take (something)'</td>
<td>I must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónáhestanēhe</td>
<td>You must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónēhestanēhe</td>
<td>He must have taken it</td>
<td>Móhestanēhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have taken it</td>
<td>Móhōohehtetsēhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónēhestanēhenonēhe</td>
<td>We (in) must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónēhestanēhenovōhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have taken it</td>
<td>Mónēhōohtēhenovōhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'have (something)'</td>
<td>I must have it</td>
<td>Mónáho'ṭsēhe</td>
<td>You must have it</td>
<td>Mónēho'ṭsēhe</td>
<td>He must have it</td>
<td>Móho'ṭsēhe</td>
<td>He (obv) must have it</td>
<td>Móhō'ṭsēhehtetsēhe</td>
<td>We (ex) must have it</td>
<td>Mónēho'ṭsēhenonēhe</td>
<td>We (in) must have it</td>
<td>Mónēho'ṭsēhenovōhe</td>
<td>You (pl) must have it</td>
<td>Mónēho'ṭsēhenovōhe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Inanimate Reportative verbs

'see (something)'

Návoóhtánóse I am said to see it Návoóhtanósetsótse I am said to see them
Névoóhtánóse You are said to see it Névoóhtanósetsótse You are said to see them
Évoóhtánóse He is said to see it Évoóhtanósetsótse He is said to see them
Évoóhtsénóse He (obv) is said to see it Évoóhtsénósetsótse He (obv) is said to see them
Návoóhtánóneóse We (ex) are said to see it Návoóhtánóneósetsótse We (ex) are said to see them
Névoóhtánóneóse We (in) are said to see it Névoóhtánóneósetsótse We (in) are said to see them
Náé'e'ó'tóvónóse You (pl) are said to see it Náé'e'ó'tóvónósetsótse You (pl) are said to see them
Évoóhtánovóse They are said to see it Évoóhtánovósetsótse They are said to see them

'take (something)'

Náhestanánóse I am said to have taken it Náhestanánósetsótse I am said to have taken them
Néhestanánóse You are said to have taken it Néhestanánósetsótse You are said to have taken them
Éhestanánóse He is said to have taken it Éhestanánósetsótse He is said to have taken them
Éhestanótsénóse He (obv) is said to have taken it Éhestanótsénósetsótse He (obv) is said to have taken them
Náhestanánonóse We (ex) are said to have taken it Náhestanánonósetsótse We (ex) are said to have taken them
Néhestanánonóse We (in) are said to have taken it Néhestanánonósetsótse We (in) are said to have taken them
Náé'e'ó'tóvónóse You (pl) are said to have taken it Náé'e'ó'tóvónósetsótse You (pl) are said to have taken them
Éhestanóvóse They are said to have taken it Éhestanóvósetsótse They are said to have taken them

'have (something)'

Náho'tsénóse I am said to have it Náho'tsénósetsótse I am said to have them
Ného'tsénóse You are said to have it Ného'tsénósetsótse You are said to have them
Ého'tsénóse He is said to have it Ého'tsénósetsótse He is said to have them
Ého'tsésénóse He (obv) is said to have it Ého'tsésénósetsótse He (obv) is said to have them
Náho'tsénonóse We (ex) are said to have it Náho'tsénonósetsótse We (ex) are said to have them
Ného'tsénonóse We (in) are said to have it Ného'tsénonósetsótse We (in) are said to have them
Ného'tsénonóse You (pl) are said to have it Ného'tsénonósetsótse You (pl) are said to have them
Ého'tsénovóse They are said to have it Ého'tsénovósetsótse They are said to have them

Some Transitive Inanimate Reportative relational verbs

Návoóhtomóvónóse I am said to have seen his ___ (rel).
Évoóhtomóvónóse He is said to have seen his (obv) ___
Évoóhtomóvónóse He is said to have seen his (plural) ___

Náhestanomóvónóse I am said to have taken his ___
Éhestanomóvónóse He is said to have taken his (obv) ___
Éhestanomóvónóse He is said to have taken his (plural) ___

Náe'e'ó'tóvónóse I am said to have broken his ___
Ée'e'ó'tóvónóse He is said to have broken his (obv) ___
Ée'e'ó'tóvónóse He is said to have broken his (plural) ___

Náho'tomóvónóse I am said to have his ___
Ého'tomóvónóse He is said to have his (obv) his ___
Ého'tomóvónóse He is said to have his (plural) his ___
### Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative verbs

#### 'not see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénóse</td>
<td>I am said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóse</td>
<td>You are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénóse</td>
<td>He is said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhétsénóse</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóóhtóhénóneñé</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóneñé</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóóhtóhénóvóseñó</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóóhtóhénóvóseñó</td>
<td>They are said not to see it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóohtóhénóseñóseñó</td>
<td>I am said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóohtóhénóseñóseñó</td>
<td>You are said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóohtóhénóseñóseñó</td>
<td>He is said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóohtóhétsénóseñóseñó</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáavóohtóhénóneñéñóseñó</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóohtóhénóneñéñóseñó</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáavóohtóhénóvóseñóseñó</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáavóohtóhénóvóseñóseñó</td>
<td>They are said not to see them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 'not take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáahéstanóhénóseñó</td>
<td>I am said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahéstanóhénóseñó</td>
<td>You are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahéstanóhénóseñó</td>
<td>He is said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahéstanóhétsénóseñó</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahéstanóhénóneñéñó</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahéstanóhénóneñéñó</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahéstanóhénóvóseñó</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahéstanóhénóvóseñó</td>
<td>They are said not to have taken it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahéstanóhénóseñóseñóñó</td>
<td>I am said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahéstanóhénóseñóseñóñó</td>
<td>You are said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahéstanóhénóseñóseñóñó</td>
<td>He is said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahéstanóhétsénóseñóseñóñó</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáahéstanóhénóneñéñóseñóñó</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahéstanóhénóneñéñóseñóñó</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáahéstanóhénóvóseñóseñóñó</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáahéstanóhénóvóseñóseñóñó</td>
<td>They are said not to have taken them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 'not have (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho’tséhénóseñó</td>
<td>I am said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho’tséhénóseñó</td>
<td>You are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’tséhénóseñó</td>
<td>He is said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’tséhétsénóseñó</td>
<td>He (obviative) is said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho’tséhénóneñéñó</td>
<td>We (exclusive) are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho’tséhénóneñéñó</td>
<td>We (inclusive) are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho’tséhénóvóseñó</td>
<td>You (plural) are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ésáaho’tséhénóvóseñó</td>
<td>They are said not to have it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Násáaho’tséhénóseñóseñóñó</td>
<td>I am said not to have them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nésáaho’tséhénóseñóseñóñó</td>
<td>You are said 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’tséhénónésestótse We (exclusive) are said not to have them
Nésáaho’tséhénónésestótse 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)' RECHECK
Násáaméshénóse I am said not to have eaten it
Násáaméshénóse You are said not to have eaten it
Ésáaméshénóse He is said not to have eaten it
Ésáaméshéhétsonóse He (obviative) is said not to have eaten it
Násáaméshéhénónóse We (exclusive) are said not to have eaten it
Nésáaméshéhénónóse We (inclusive) are said not to have eaten it
Nésáaméshéhóvóse You (plural) are said not to have eaten it
Ésáaméshéhóvóse They are said not to have eaten it

Násáaméshéhénósestótse I am said not to have eaten them
Násáaméshéhénósestótse You are said not to have eaten them
Ésáaméshéhénósestótse He is said not to have eaten them
Ésáaméshéhétsonósestótse He (obviative) is said not to have eaten them
Násáaméshéhénónósestótse We (exclusive) are said not to have eaten them
Nésáaméshéhénónósestótse We (inclusive) are said not to have eaten them
Nésáaméshéhóvósestótse You (plural) are said not to have eaten them
Ésáaméshéhóvósestótse They are said not to have eaten them

Some Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative relational verbs RECHECK
Ésáavóohtomóvóhénóse. He is said not to have seen his ___ (rel).
Ésáavóohtomóvóhénósestótse. They are said not to have seen his ___ (pl) (rel).
Ésáavóohtomóvóhénóse. He is said not to have seen his ___ (rel).
Ésáavóohtomóvóhénósestótse. They are said not to have seen his ___ (pl) (rel).

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

'see (something)'
Éhvóohtanohe. Once upon a time he saw it
Éhvóohtanóhoonóte. Once upon a time he saw them (inanimate)
Éhvóohtanóhe. Once upon a time they saw it
Éhvóohtanóhoonóte. Once upon a time they saw them (inanimate)
Éxhestanáho. Once upon a time he took it
Éxhestanáhoonóte. Once upon a time he took them (inanimate)
Éxhestanáho. Once upon a time they took it
Éxhestanáhoonóte. Once upon a time they took them (inanimate)
Once upon a time they took them (inanimate)

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

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

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

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

Once upon a time they did not take it
Once upon a time they did not see them (inanimate)
Transitive Inanimate Imperatives

As with the AI and TA 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’hóóhtohst! can mean either 'Look at it!' or 'Look at them (inanimate)!'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Inanimate Immediate Imperative</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'hóóhtohst!</td>
<td>Vé'hohtome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take it!</td>
<td>Hestanohst!</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'eotsestéstse!</td>
<td>Néxho'eotsestse!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burn it/them up!</td>
<td>Vonáho'hóhtst!</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>Tséhetáxohstse!</td>
<td>Tséhetáxome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean it/them!</td>
<td>Hóxe'änóhtstse!</td>
<td>Hóxe'anome!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make it/them!</td>
<td>Manéststéstse!</td>
<td>Manestse!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive Inanimate Delayed Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Transitive Inanimate Delayed Imperative</th>
<th>said to one person</th>
<th>said to more than one person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Look at it/them later!</td>
<td>Vé'hoohtomeo'o!!</td>
<td>Vé'hohtomáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Take it later!</td>
<td>Hestanomeo'o!</td>
<td>Hestanomáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat it later!</td>
<td>Méséo'o!</td>
<td>Méséhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bring it/them here later!</td>
<td>Néxho'eotséstseoj'o!</td>
<td>Néxho'eotséstsehéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burn it/them up later!</td>
<td>Vonáho'homeo'o!</td>
<td>Vonáho'homáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drink it/them later!</td>
<td>Maneo'o!</td>
<td>Manéhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cut it/them later!</td>
<td>Tséhetáxomeo'o!</td>
<td>Tséhetáxomáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clean it/them later!</td>
<td>Hóxe' anomeo'o!</td>
<td>Hóxe' anomáhéne!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Make it/them later!</td>
<td>Manéstseo'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'hoohtohsa! means either 'Look at it!' or 'Look at them (inanimate)!'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vé'hoohtohsa!</th>
<th>Let him look at it/them!</th>
<th>Vé'hoomévoha!</th>
<th>Let them look at it/them!</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hestano!</td>
<td>Let him take it/them!</td>
<td>Hestanomévoha!</td>
<td>Let them take it/them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néxho'eotséstseha!</td>
<td>Let him bring it/them!</td>
<td>Néxho'eotséstsevoha!</td>
<td>Let them bring it/them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manéstseha!</td>
<td>Let him make it/them!</td>
<td>Manéstsevoha!</td>
<td>Let them make it/them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'tseha!</td>
<td>Let him have it/them!</td>
<td>Ho'tsevoha!</td>
<td>Let them have it/them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Méseha!</td>
<td>Let him eat it/them!</td>
<td>Mésevoha!</td>
<td>Let them eat it/them!</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maneha!</td>
<td>Let him drink it/them!</td>
<td>Manévoha!</td>
<td>Let them drink it/them!</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs

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

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

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

-ho'ehót 'come to (someone)'

Náho'ehótaa'e It came to me Náho'ehótaenótse They came to me
Ného'ehótaa'e It came to you Ného'ehótaenótse They came to you
Ého'ehótaa'e It came to him Ého'ehótaenótse They came to him
Ého'ehótataetse It came to him (obv) Ého'ehótaetsonótse They came to him (obv)
Náho'ehótaenóne It came to us (ex) Náho'ehótaenónéstse They came to us (ex)
Ného'ehótaenone It came to us (in) Ného'ehótaenonéstse They came to us (in)
Ného'ehótaenóvo It came to you (pl) Ného'ehótaenovótse They came to you (pl)
Ého'ehótaenóvo It came to them Ého'ehótaenovótse They came to them

Examples in sentences
Kahámxé éa'ta'oo'e hetane The stick accidentailly hit the man
Náa'ta'óenónéstse he'konótse The bones accidentaially hit us
Háomóhtáhestótse 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.

Náhóonósé'otaa'e namáho'hestótse. I miss my car. (lit., 'My car causes loneliness to me.')
Náhóonósé'otaeñótse sémonótse. I miss the boats. (lit., 'The boats cause loneliness to me.')

-péhéveahhtám 'like to listen to'

In Cheyenne the thing that someone likes to listen to is grammatically the subject of the TA verb –péhéveahhtám. 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.
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.

Examples in sentences

Náa' go' hetse hemóxe' estonestóte
Néhó' ehtaetsenóte
It did not acc. hit him
Ésáa' ehtaetsenóne
They did not acc. hit you
Ná' go' ehtaetsenóvo
They did not acc. hit me
Ésáa' ehtaetsenó
They did not acc. hit them
Ná' go' ehtaetsenóto
They did not acc. hit us (pl)
Néhó' ehtaetsenóto
They did not acc. hit us (ex)
Ésáa' go' ehtaetsenóto
They did not acc. hit us (in)
Ná' go' ehtaetsenóto
They did not acc. hit us (ex)
Néhó' ehtaetsenóto
They did not acc. hit us (in)
Ésáa' go' ehtaetsenóto
They did not acc. hit us (ex)

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative relational verbs

'not accidentally hit (someone)'

Ná' go' a'a' go' ohe
It did not acc. hit me
Néhó' ehtaetsenóte
They did not acc. hit me
Ésáa' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit him
Ná' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit us (pl)
Néhó' ehtaetsenóne
They did not acc. hit us (ex)
Ésáa' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit us (in)
Ná' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit us (ex)
Néhó' ehtaetsenóno
They did not acc. hit us (in)
Ésáa' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit us (ex)

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative relational verbs

Ná' go' a'a' go' ohe
It did not acc. hit me
Néhó' ehtaetsenóte
They did not acc. hit me
Ésáa' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit him
Ná' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit us (pl)
Néhó' ehtaetsenóne
They did not acc. hit us (ex)
Ésáa' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit us (in)
Ná' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit us (ex)
Néhó' ehtaetsenóno
They did not acc. hit us (in)
Ésáa' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit us (ex)

Ná' go' a'a' go' ohe
It did not acc. hit me
Néhó' ehtaetsenóte
They did not acc. hit me
Ésáa' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit him
Ná' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit us (pl)
Néhó' ehtaetsenóne
They did not acc. hit us (ex)
Ésáa' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit us (in)
Ná' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit us (ex)
Néhó' ehtaetsenóno
They did not acc. hit us (in)
Ésáa' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit us (ex)

Ná' go' a'a' go' ohe
It did not acc. hit me
Néhó' ehtaetsenóte
They did not acc. hit me
Ésáa' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit him
Ná' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit us (pl)
Néhó' ehtaetsenóne
They did not acc. hit us (ex)
Ésáa' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit us (in)
Ná' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit us (ex)
Néhó' ehtaetsenóno
They did not acc. hit us (in)
Ésáa' go' a'a' go' ohe
They did not acc. hit us (ex)
Ésáaho'ëhótaehétsénóvo  His (obv) __ did not come to them  Ésáaho'ëhótaehétsenovótse  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'ëhótaehetse hee'haho  Sickness didn’t come to his son.
Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Interrogative verbs

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal Form</th>
<th>Subject Pronoun</th>
<th>Object Pronoun</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Náa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oeh}e?</td>
<td>Did it acc. hit me?</td>
<td>Náa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oenotse}?</td>
<td>Did they acc. hit me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oeh}e?</td>
<td>Did it acc. hit you?</td>
<td>Néa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oenotse}?</td>
<td>Did they acc. hit you?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{ehe}?</td>
<td>Did it acc. hit him?</td>
<td>Éa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oenotse}?</td>
<td>Did they acc. hit him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{etshe}e?</td>
<td>Did it acc. hit him (obv)?</td>
<td>Éa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{etsenotse}?</td>
<td>Did they acc. hit him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oenehe}nehe?</td>
<td>Did it acc. hit us (excl)?</td>
<td>Náa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oenonevotse}?</td>
<td>Did they acc. hit us (excl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oenehe}nonto?</td>
<td>Did it acc. hit us (incl)?</td>
<td>Náa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oenonevotse}?</td>
<td>Did they acc. hit us (incl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oeneh}e?</td>
<td>Did it acc. hit you (pl)?</td>
<td>Néa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oenovotse}?</td>
<td>Did they acc. hit you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oeneh}enom?</td>
<td>Did it acc. hit them?</td>
<td>Néa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oenovotse}?</td>
<td>Did they acc. hit them?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Object Pronoun</th>
<th>Interpretation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Ná\textipa{ho}'\textipa{ehoe}\textipa{h}e?</td>
<td>Did it come to me?</td>
<td>Ná\textipa{ho}'\textipa{eho}\textipa{tenotse}?</td>
<td>Did they come to me?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né\textipa{ho}'\textipa{ehoe}\textipa{h}e?</td>
<td>Did it come to you?</td>
<td>Né\textipa{ho}'\textipa{eho}\textipa{tenotse}?</td>
<td>Did they come to you?</td>
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<tr>
<td>É\textipa{ho}'\textipa{eho}\textipa{etahe}\textipa{h}e?</td>
<td>Did it come to him?</td>
<td>É\textipa{ho}'\textipa{eho}\textipa{tenotse}?</td>
<td>Did they come to him?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>É\textipa{ho}'\textipa{eho}\textipa{etshe}e\textipa{h}e?</td>
<td>Did it come to him (obv)?</td>
<td>É\textipa{ho}'\textipa{eho}\textipa{etsenotse}?</td>
<td>Did they come to him (obv)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ná\textipa{ho}'\textipa{eho}\textipa{te}nonehe\textipa{h}e?</td>
<td>Did it come to us (ex)?</td>
<td>Ná\textipa{ho}'\textipa{eho}\textipa{te}nove\textipa{h}otse?</td>
<td>Did they come to us (ex)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ná\textipa{ho}'\textipa{eho}\textipa{te}nonto?</td>
<td>Did it come to us (incl)?</td>
<td>Ná\textipa{ho}'\textipa{eho}\textipa{te}nove\textipa{h}otse?</td>
<td>Did they come to us (incl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né\textipa{ho}'\textipa{eho}\textipa{tsehe}e\textipa{h}e?</td>
<td>Did it come to you (pl)?</td>
<td>Né\textipa{ho}'\textipa{eho}\textipa{te}nove\textipa{h}otse?</td>
<td>Did they come to you (pl)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Né\textipa{ho}'\textipa{eho}\textipa{te}nomen?</td>
<td>Did it come to them?</td>
<td>Né\textipa{ho}'\textipa{eho}\textipa{te}nove\textipa{h}otse?</td>
<td>Did they come to them?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

Káhámáxe né'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oeh}e?  Did a stick accidentally hit you?
Pêhêvtanoht'otse ého'\textipa{h}a\textipa{ta}'\textipa{etahe}h estónah?  Did happiness come to his daughter (obviative)?
Néa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oenovotse} he'kon\textipa{h}otse?  Did bones accidentally hit you (plural)?

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Negative Interrogative verbs

Násáa'\textipa{a}'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oeh}ehe\textipa{h}e?  Didn't it acc. hit me?
Nésáa'\textipa{a}'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oeh}ehe\textipa{h}e?  Didn't it acc. hit you?
Ésáa'\textipa{a}'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{ehe}\textipa{h}e?  Didn't it acc. hit him?
Ésáa'\textipa{a}'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{etshe}e\textipa{h}e?  Didn't it acc. hit him (obv)?
Nósáa'\textipa{a}'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oehenehe}nehe\textipa{h}e?  Didn't it acc. hit us (excl)?
Nósáa'\textipa{a}'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oehenehe}nonto?  Didn't it acc. hit us (incl)?
Ésáa'\textipa{a}'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oeheneh}e?  Didn't it acc. hit you (pl)?
Ésáa'\textipa{a}'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oeheneh}enom?  Didn't it acc. hit them?

Examples in sentences

Hemôxê'éstónestôtse néa'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{etshe}e?  Did his pencil (relational) acc. hit you?
Káhámáxe nèsáa'\textipa{a}'\textipa{ta}'\textipa{oeheneh}ovotse?  Didn't the stick accidentally hit you (plural)?
### Ditransitive Independent Indicative verbs

Ditransitive verbs are marked for two objects. One object, called the primary object, is the person affected by the action of the subject. The other object, called the secondary object, is what or whom the subject used to relate to the primary object. For instance, if I say, in English, (1) "I gave my son a horse", "I" is the subject, "my son" is the primary object, and "a horse" is the secondary object. I can also say in English, (2) "I gave a horse to my son". In this sentence "my son" is considered an indirect object in English grammar. "A horse" is the direct object (what was given). Cheyenne does not have both options, (1) and (2), for speaking about two objects. Cheyenne only has option (1). A technical way of saying this is that Cheyenne obligatorily advances indirect objects (recipients/datives) to direct objects.

Cheyenne ditransitive verbs are marked for person, number, and animacy of their subject and primary and secondary objects. The primary object is always animate. The secondary object can be either animate or inanimate. Examples of verbs with both animate and inanimate secondary objects will be given.

Ditransitive paradigms look similar to Transitive Animate paradigms, with additional suffixes for animacy and number of secondary objects.

**/-mét/ 'give (something to someone)'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Námétahtse</th>
<th>I gave it to myself</th>
<th>Émétahsetse</th>
<th>He (obv) gave it to himself</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némétahtse</td>
<td>I gave it to you</td>
<td>Námétaetsenone</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméto</td>
<td>I gave it to him</td>
<td>Námétaetsenone</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétamóho</td>
<td>I gave it to (obv)</td>
<td>Námétaetsenóvo</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nématsénóvo</td>
<td>I gave it to (pl)</td>
<td>Émétanóvo</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétónóvo</td>
<td>I gave it to them</td>
<td>Némétatsemeno</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétse</td>
<td>You gave it to me</td>
<td>Námétóne110</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétahtse</td>
<td>You gave it to yourself</td>
<td>Námétomonone111</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméto</td>
<td>You gave it to him</td>
<td>Námétsénóné</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamóho</td>
<td>You gave it to (obv)</td>
<td>Némétatsemeno</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétasemenonó8</td>
<td>You gave it to (ex)</td>
<td>Néméto112</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétónóvo</td>
<td>You gave it to them</td>
<td>Némétatsemeno</td>
<td>We (ex) gave it to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétaa’e</td>
<td>He gave it to me</td>
<td>Émétahsénóne</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néméta’a’e</td>
<td>He gave it to you</td>
<td>Némétahtsénone</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétahtse</td>
<td>He gave it to himself</td>
<td>Néméto114</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétóho109</td>
<td>He gave it to (obv)</td>
<td>Némétsénóné</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to me</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Némétoñóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaenone</td>
<td>He gave it to (incl)</td>
<td>Némétoñovó</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaenóvo</td>
<td>He gave it to (pl)</td>
<td>Némétsenono</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétaetse</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to me</td>
<td>Némétahtsénóvo</td>
<td>You (pl) gave it to yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaetse</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to you</td>
<td>Némétoñóvo</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éméta’a’e</td>
<td>He (obv) gave it to him</td>
<td>Némétoñovó</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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108 Also Námétsemenone
109 Or Émeto for some speakers because of its stem-final phonemic high pitch
110 Also Námétnóne
111 Also Námétoñóne
112 Also Námétoñóne
113 Also Némétonone
114 Also Némétonone
<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>Émétatšenōtse</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétaenone</td>
<td>They gave it to us (ex)</td>
<td>Námétaetsenōnestse</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaenone</td>
<td>They gave it to us (in)</td>
<td>Némétaetsenōnestse</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to us (in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétaenōvo</td>
<td>They gave it to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némétaetsenōvotse</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétatšenōvo</td>
<td>They gave it to themselves</td>
<td>Émétatšenōvotse</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétáne</td>
<td>I was given it</td>
<td>Námétatšenōnestse</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétáne</td>
<td>You were given it</td>
<td>Námétatšenōnestse</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to him</td>
</tr>
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<td>Émetse</td>
<td>He was given it</td>
<td>Námétatšenōnestse</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to us (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétatšenéne</td>
<td>We (ex) were given it</td>
<td>Némétatšenōnestse</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétatšenéne</td>
<td>We (in) were given it</td>
<td>Némétatšenōnestse</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétatšenéno</td>
<td>You (pl) were given it</td>
<td>Némétatšenōnestse</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émětšenōvo</td>
<td>They were given it</td>
<td>Némétatšenōnestse</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to themselves</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'give (some things to someone)'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Námétatšenōtse</th>
<th>I gave them to myself</th>
<th>Námétsenōtse</th>
<th>You (pl) gave them to me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némétatšenōtse</td>
<td>I gave them to you</td>
<td>Némétsenōtse</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them to him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétonōtse</td>
<td>I gave them to him</td>
<td>Némétonōtse</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them to us (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétatšenōtse</td>
<td>I gave them to him (obv)</td>
<td>Némétsenōtse</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them to themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétatšenōvōte</td>
<td>I gave them to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némétaetsenōvotse</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them to themselves</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétatšenōvōte</td>
<td>I gave them to them</td>
<td>Námétatšenōvotse</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them to them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Námétaenōtse | You gave them to me    | Námétaenōtse | They gave them to us (ex) |
| Námétaenōtse | You gave them to you   | Námétaenōtse | They gave them to us (in) |
| Námétaenōtse | You gave them to him   | Námétaenōtse | They gave them to us (ex) |
| Námétaenōtse | You gave them to us (ex) | Námétaenōtse | They gave them to us (in) |
| Námétaenōtse | You gave them to (pl)  | Námétaenōtse | They gave them to you (pl) |
| Námétaenōtse | He gave them to me     | Námétaenōtse | They gave them to themselves |
| Námétaenōtse | He gave them to you    | Námétaenōtse | They were given them |
| Émétatšenōtse | He gave them to himself | Émétatšenōtse | They were given them |
| Námétaenōtse | He gave them to him    | Námétaenōtse | They were given them |
| Námétaenōtse | He gave them to us (ex) | Námétaenōtse | They were given them |
| Námétaenōtse | He gave them to us (in) | Námétaenōtse | They were given them |
| Námétaenōtse | He gave them to (pl)   | Námétaenōtse | They were given them |
| Námétaenōtse | He (obv) gave them to me | Námétaenōtse | They were given them |
| Námétaenōtse | He (obv) gave them to you | Námétaenōtse | They were given them |
| Émétatšenōtse | He (obv) gave them to himself | Émétatšenōtse | They were given them |
| Námétaenōtse | He (obv) gave them to them | Námétaenōtse | They were given them |
| Émétatšenōtse | He (obv) gave them to him | Émétatšenōtse | They were given them |
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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<th>Meaning</th>
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<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Námétahtsenôtse</td>
<td>I gave him to myself</td>
<td>Námétenovo</td>
<td>They gave him (obv) to me</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némétatenôtse</td>
<td>I gave him to you</td>
<td>Némétenovo</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétamono</td>
<td>I gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétaménóne</td>
<td>They gave him (obv') to him (obv)</td>
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<td>Némétatsénovo</td>
<td>I gave him to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némétaménóne</td>
<td>They gave him (obv) to us (in)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétamono</td>
<td>I gave him (obv') to them</td>
<td>Némétaménóne</td>
<td>They gave him (obv) to you (pl)</td>
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<td>Námétaménóne</td>
<td>You gave him to yourself</td>
<td>Némétaménóne</td>
<td>They gave him (obv) to themselves</td>
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<td>Némétaménóne</td>
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<td>We (in) were given him</td>
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<td>You (pl) were given him</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Némétaménóne</td>
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<td>He (obv) gave him (obv) to us (ex)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némétaménóne</td>
<td>He (obv) gave him (obv) to you (pl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétaménóne</td>
<td>He (obv) gave him (obv) to us (ex)</td>
<td>Némétaménóne</td>
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<td>Némétaménóne</td>
<td>He (obv) gave him (obv) to us (in)</td>
<td>Némétaménóne</td>
<td>They were given him (obv)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Némétaménóne</td>
<td>He (obv) gave him (obv) to you (pl)</td>
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<td>They were given him (obv)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Émétsenoto</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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115 Also Námétamónone

116 Also Némétamónone
### /mét/ 'give (plural animate objects to someone)'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Námétahtsénoto</th>
<th>I gave them to myself</th>
<th>Némétahtsénovoo'o</th>
<th>You (pl) gave them to yourselves</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Némétatsénoto</td>
<td>I gave them to you</td>
<td>Némétaenovo</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them (obv) to them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétonoto</td>
<td>I gave them (obv') to him (obv)</td>
<td>Námétaenóne'o</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to me</td>
</tr>
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<td>They gave them (obv) to (ex)</td>
</tr>
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<td>Émétahtsenovo</td>
<td>They gave them (obv) to themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>You gave them to me</td>
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<td>I was given them</td>
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<td>We (ex) were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétatsemenoo'o</td>
<td>You gave them to us (ex)</td>
<td>Némétanénéne'o</td>
<td>We (in) were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námétonovo</td>
<td>You gave them (obv') to them</td>
<td>Némétanénévo'o</td>
<td>You (pl) were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétensonoto</td>
<td>You gave them to me</td>
<td>Némétanénoto</td>
<td>They were given them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétahtsénoto</td>
<td>You gave them to yourself</td>
<td>Némétanénoto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétonoto</td>
<td>You gave them (obv) to him</td>
<td>Émétsenoto</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Námétonovo</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to me</td>
<td>Némétanénénevo'o</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétonono</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them to you</td>
<td>Émétsenovo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamonné118</td>
<td>He (obv) gave them (obv') to (obv)</td>
<td>Námétanénénevo'o</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>We (ex) gave them to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némétanénénevo'o</td>
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<td>Námétonone</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them (obv) to him</td>
<td>Némétanénévo'o</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Némétatsemenoo'o</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them to ourselves</td>
<td>Némétanénévo'o</td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétonone</td>
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<td>Némétanénévo'o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamonné119</td>
<td>We (ex) gave them (obv) to (obv)</td>
<td>Némétanénévo'o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>We (ex) gave them to us (ex)</td>
<td>Némétanénévo'o</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétonone</td>
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<td>Némétanénévo'o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>We (in) gave them to ourselves</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Námétonone</td>
<td>We (in) gave them (obv) to you (pl)</td>
<td>Némétanénévo'o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétatsemenoo'o</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them to me</td>
<td>Némétanénévo'o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Némétonono</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them (obv) to him</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Némétamono</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them (obv) to (obv)</td>
<td>Némétanénévo'o</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Némétatsemenoo'o</td>
<td>You (pl) gave them to us (ex)</td>
<td>Némétanénévo'o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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
Návóoséhónôte I showed them (inan) to him
Évóoséhónoto He showed them (obv’) to him (obv)
Návóoséhaenóne He showed it to us (exclusive)
Návóoséhaenoto He showed them (obv) to me
Nánomáhtséhaenótse He stole them (inan) from me
Nánomáhtséhaenoto He stole him (obv) from me

Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs
$$RECHECK Násáamétóhe I didn't give it to him
Násáamétaēhe He didn't give it to me
Násáavóo'séhaēhe He didn't show it to me
Násáamétöhenótse I didn't give them (inanimate) to them
Ésáamétahēhēnōvo He (obviative) didn't give it to them
Násáamétōhēnōnestē We (exclusive) didn't give them (inanimate) to him
Nésáamétōhēnōne We (inclusive) didn't give it to him
Násáamétahēhēnovôte They didn't give them (inanimate) to you
Násáamétahēnovōto They didn't give him/them (obv) to me
Násáanomāhtsēhōhenótse I did not steal them (inanimate) from him

Some Ditransitive Independent Interrogative verbs
Némėtohe? Did you give it to him?
Émétovohe? Did he give it to him (obviative)?
Némétonovohe? Did you (plural) give it to him?
Émétonovohe? Did they give it to him (obv)?
Némėtaenötse? Did he give them (inanimate) to you?
Némėtaenotohe? Did he give him (obviative) to you?
Névéóséhōnovotse?? Did you (plural) show them (inanimate) to them?

Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Interrogative verbs
Nésáamétōhēnovohe?? Didn't you (plural) give it to them?
Nésáamétahēnōstohe? Didn't he give them (inanimate) to you?
Ésáamétahēnōtohe? Didn't he (obv) give him (obv’) to him?

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

Some Ditransitive Imperative verbs
Métseh! Give it to him!
Néhmetsēstse!120 Give it to me!

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

\[
\begin{align*}
tséhnéménése & \quad \text{when/where/since he sang} \\
tséhmanéto & \quad \text{when/where/since I drank} \\
tséhvóonā'o & \quad \text{when/since it was morning}
\end{align*}
\]

Potential

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

\[
\begin{align*}
máhnéovóonā'o & \quad \text{when it is morning} \\
máhnèxho'ēhnéstse & \quad \text{when he arrives}
\end{align*}
\]

Conditional

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

\[
\begin{align*}
máhvé'néménéstse & \quad \text{if he sings} \\
máhvé'háomóhtáhévōhtse & \quad \text{if they are sick}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

\[
\begin{align*}
vé'néménéstse & \quad \text{if he were a singer / or, if he had sung}
\end{align*}
\]

\[121\] A few Cheyenne verbs have conjunct morphology but function as independent verbs. Among them are negative inferentials, optatives, and the obligatory 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 òh-, but this prefix is difficult to hear and is often omitted. The habitual mode suffix /-ht/ is added after person and number suffixes.

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

- òhmëévóona’oo’éstse in the mornings

**Concessive**

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

- hó’nëšènéménèstse even if he sings, even though he sang
- hó’nëšè-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’séõhe which may cliticize to the beginning of the verb as a prefix.

- Måa’seõhe néménèstse. I thought he was singing (but he wasn't).
- Måa’seõhe hámóóhtåheto. I thought you were sick (but you aren't).

**Optative**

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

- Momóxenéménèstse I wish he would sing.
- Momóxè-héne’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 éo-. 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.

- éónéménèstse whether/if he sang (e.g. I wonder if he sang)
- Nåsáahéne’enóhe éóho’kõho I don't know whether/if it rained

**Obligative**

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

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

**Oratio Obliqua**

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

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'.

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Névááhe tsénéménéstse? Who is singing?
Névááhe tséméseestse? ?? Who is eating?
Neváaseo'o tsénaóotsese? ?? Who (plural) are sleeping?
Névááhe tséhestânohtse? ?? Who took it?
Névááhe tsého'aeše? ?? Who wants it?
Névááhe tsého'tséstse? ?? Who has it?
Néváaseo'o tsépêhévatsêsêsto__ ?? Who (plural) likes them?
Hénáá'e tsévóohtomo? ?? What do you see?
Hénáá'e tsého'âheto? ?? What do you want?
Hénová'ehótse tsémésése? ?? What (plural) did you (plural) eat?

**Conjunct Order morphology summary**
("tsé" = /te/; "est" = /eht/; /eht/ = "est")

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

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

AI participles
- tô 1
- tô 2
- ht´ 3
- tse-se /-te-se/ 3'
- tsé 1PL
- sé 2PL
- se 3PL

AI iterative
- tô 1
- tô 2
- ht´
- tse-HT 3' (= 3'-3)
- tsé 1PL
- sé 2PL
-vóht 3PL (vó + -ht?)

AI habitual
-tón + -oht 1
-tos + -eht 2
-s + -eht 3
-tse + -eht 3'
-tsé + -eht 1PL
-sé + -eht 2PL
-vos + -eht 3PL

II
There is no sg. suffix, same as independent order.
-et II.PL

TA (needs further analysis and correlation with historical data)
(The appropriate voice morpheme for the person combination precedes the conjunct suffix. A suffix without a segment refers to a tone which affects the preceding vowel.)
-´ 1:2
- 1:3 (i.e. High pitch on the DIR voice morpheme /-ó/ does not occur, unless other segments follow.)
-am + - 1:3' (i.e. an obviative suffix preceding a null suffix that lowers the high pitch of DIR /-ó/)
-esé 1:2PL
-nó 1:3PL
-s 2:3
-to 2(2):1(PL)
-sé 2(2):3(PL)
-a'è + -s (INV-3.CJT) 3:1
-áta'e 3:2 (INV.2.CJT) 3:2
-s 3:3'
-tsé 3(PL)('):1PL
-sé 3(PL)('):2PL
-a'è + -tse + -s (INV-OBV-3.CJT) 3':1
-áta' + -osé 3(PL)'-2
-aé + -s (INV-3.CJT) 3':3
-a'è + -vo + -s (INV-3PL-3.CJT) 3PL:1

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

-ht 2:3
-a'è + -ht 3:1
-ht’ 3:3’
-ae + -ht 3’:3
-a’ê + -vo + -ht’ 3PL:1

TI

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

-ê ~ -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>tséhénémenétò</td>
<td>when I sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhénémeneto</td>
<td>when you sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhénéménése</td>
<td>when he sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhénémenetsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhénénéntse</td>
<td>when we sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhénémenése</td>
<td>when you (plural) sang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhénéménévose</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>tséhmánétò</td>
<td>when I drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmáneto</td>
<td>when you drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmânésè</td>
<td>when he drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmánetsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmânésè</td>
<td>when we drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmánése</td>
<td>when you (plural) drank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmánévose</td>
<td>when they drank</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-háoéná/ 'pray'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhxáoénátò</td>
<td>when I prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhxáoenatò</td>
<td>when you prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhxáoénése</td>
<td>when he prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhxáoenatsése</td>
<td>when he (obviative) prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhxáoénátse</td>
<td>when we prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhxáoénése</td>
<td>when you (plural) prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhxáoénávose</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>tséhmésèhéto</td>
<td>when I ate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmésèhéto</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
tséhméhetsése when he (obviative) ate
tséhméhétse when we ate
tséhméhéése when you (plural) ate
tséhméhéévöse when they ate

-/sévanó/ 'ski, skate'
tséssévanóto when I skated
tséssévanoto when you skated
tséssévánöse when he skated
tséssévantsése when he (obviative) skated
tséssévanötsé when we skated
tséssévanöse when you (plural) skated
tséssévanövöse when they skated

-/oveše(ná)/ 'go to bed'
tséovešenáto when I went to bed
tséovešenato when you went to bed
tséovešése when he went to bed
tséovešentsése when he (obviative) went to bed
tséovešenátse when we went to bed
tséovešenáse when you (plural) went to bed
tséovešenávöse when they went to bed

-/néé/ 'be standing'
tséhnéeto when I was standing
tséhnéeto when you were standing
tséhnéése 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'
tséxhoöeto when I was (here/there)
tséxhoeto when you were (here/there)
tséxhoo'ése when he was (here/there)
tséxhoetsése when he (obviative) was (here/there)
tséxhoëtsë when we were (here/there)
tséxhoëse when you (plural) were (here/there)
tséxhoëvöse when they were (here/there)

-éestse 'speak'
tsé'éestése when I spoke
tsé'éestseto when you spoke
tsé'éestisée when he spoke
tsé'éestsëtsése when he (obviative) spoke
tsé'éestetsé when we spoke
tsé'éestése when you (plural) spoke
tsé'éestévöse 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'
- tsé'émáto when I took a sweat
- tsé'émato when you took a sweat
- tsé'émáse when he took a sweat
- tsé'ématsése when he (obviative) took a sweat
- tsé'émáte when we took a sweat
- tsé'émáse when you (plural) took a sweat
- tsé'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 $$$RECHECK GLOSSES
- tséhnéehóveto as for you
- tséhnéehovése as for him/her
- tséhnéehóvetsy?? as for him/her (obviative)
- tséhnéehóvétse as for us
- tséhnéehóvése 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'
- néhno'kâhêto I alone
- néhno'kaheto you alone
- néhno'kaese?? he/she alone
- néhno'kahetsése?? he/she (obviative) alone
- néhno'kâhte?? we alone
- néhno'kâhése?? you (plural) alone
- néhno'kâhévose they alone

'both of'
- néhnéšêtse both of us
- néhnéšése both of you
- néhnéšévose both of them
- néhnéšetsése?? Both of them (obviative)

'all of'
- néstòxêtse all of us
- néstòxése all of you (plural)
- néstòxévose 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: Māhnemeneto náhtapēhēvetanōotse 'When you
sing I’ll be happy’.

/-némené/ 'sing'

máhnémenéto when I sing
máhnémenětse when you sing
máhnéméněstse when he sings
máhnéméněstsetse when he (obviative) sings
máhnéménětse when we sing
máhnéméněsë when you (plural) sing
máhnéméněvöhtse when they sing

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

máhxáóénáto when I pray
máhxáóenato when you pray
máhxáóenátse when he prays
máhxáóenatséstse when he (obviative) prays
máhxáóenátse when we pray
máhxáóénáse when you (plural) pray
máhxáóénávohtse when they pray

-méšehe 'eat'

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

/-sévanó/ 'ski, skate'

máxévanóto when I skate
máxévanoto when you skate
máxévanáhtse when he skates
máxévanatséstse when he (obviative) skates
máxévanátse when we skate
máxévanóse when you (plural) skate
máxévanóvöhtse when they skate

/-ovešená/ 'go to bed'

ma’óvéšenáto when I go to bed
ma’óvéšenato when you go to bed
ma’óvéšéstse when he goes to bed
ma’óvéšenatséstse when he (obviative) goes to bed
ma’óvéšenátse when we go to bed
ma’óvéšenáse when you (plural) go to bed
ma’óvéšenávohtse when they go to bed

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

/-némené/ 'sing'

tséssáänémenhéto when I did not sing
tséssáänémenhéto when you did not sing
tséssáänémenéese when he did not sing
tséssáanémenéhetsé ęse when he (obviative) did not sing
-tséssáanémenéhétse when we did not sing
-tséssáanémenéhése when you (plural) did not sing
-tséssáanémenéhév 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
-tséssáaméséhéhésé when he (obviative) did not eat
-tséssáaméséhéhétse when we did not eat
-tséssáaméséhéhése when you (pl) did not eat
-tséssáaméséhéhév when they did not eat

-néé/ 'be standing'
-tséssáanééhéto when I was not standing
-tséssáanééheto when you were not standing
-tséssáanééhéése when he was not standing
-tséssáanééhésé when he (obviative) was not standing
-tséssáanééhétse when we were not standing
-tséssáanééhéése when you (plural) were not standing
-tséssáanééhév when they were not standing

-hoo'e /-hoe/ 'be at'
-tséssáahoehéto when I was not (here/there)
-tséssáahoeheto when you were not (here/there)
-tséssáahoéése when he was not (here/there)
-tséssáahoehésé when he (obviative) was not (here/there)
-tséssáahoehétse when we were not (here/there)
-tséssáahoéése when you (plural) were not (here/there)
-tséssáahoehév when they were not (here/there)

---

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

/-némené/ 'sing'

másáanémenéhéto when I do not sing
másáanémenéheto when you do not sing
másáanémenééstse when he does not sing
másáanémenéhetséstse when he (obviative) does not sing
másáanémenéhétse when we do not sing
másáanémenéhéto when you (plural) do not sing
másáanémenéhévóhtse when they do not sing

-mésehe 'eat'

másáaméséhéhéto when I do not eat
másáaméséhéheto when you do not eat
másáaméhéééstse when he does not eat
másáaméséhéhetséstse when he (obviative) does not eat
másáaméséhéhetse when we do not eat
másáaméséhéése when you (plural) do not eat
másáaméséhéhévóhtse when they do not eat

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

másáaháóénáhéto when I do not pray
másáaháoenhéto when you do not pray
másáaháóénáéstse when he does not pray
másáaháoenáhetséstse when he (obviative) does not pray
másáaháóénáhétse when we do not pray
másáaháóénáhéése when you (plural) do not pray
másáaháóénáhévóhtse when they do not pray

/-néé/ 'be standing'

másáanééhéto when I am not standing
másáahnéeheto when you are not standing
másáanéééstse when he is not standing
másáanéhéhetséstse when he (obviative) is not standing
másáanéhéhtse when we are not standing
másáanéhéése when you (plural) are not standing
másáanéhéhévóhtse when they are not standing

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

másáahoeheto127 when I am not (here/there)
másáahoeheto when you are not (here/there)
másáahoehéstse when he is not (here/there)
másáahnéehetséstse when he (obviative) is not (here/there)
másáahoehéhtse when we are not (here/there)
másáahoehése when you (plural) are not (here/there)
másáahoehévóhtse when they are not (here/there)

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Habitual verbs

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

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

-naóotse 'sleep'

(óh)naóotsétonòhtse when I sleep
(óh)naóotsétoséstse when you sleep
(óh)naóotseséséstse when he sleeps
(óh)naóotsétseséstse when he (obviative) sleeps
(óh)naóotsétsee'éstse when we sleep
(óh)naóotsésee'éstse when you (plural) sleep
(óh)naóotsévoséstse when they sleep

/-ho'sóe/ 'dance'

xho'sótentonòhtse when I dance
xho'sótoséstse when you dance
xho'sóseséstse when he dances
xho'sóetseséstse when he (obviative) dances
xho'sótsee'éstse when we dance
xho'sósee'éstse when you (plural) dance
xho'sóevoséstse when they dance

-mésehe 'eat'

to'sèmeshétonòhtse when I'm going to eat
to'sèmeshétoéstse when you are going to eat
to'sèmeshéheséstse when he is going to eat
to'sèmeshétseséstse when he (obviative) is going to eat
to'sèmeshéétsee'éstse when we are going to eat

to'sèmeshésee'éstse when you (plural) are going to eat
to'sèmeshévoséstse when they are going to eat

Examples in sentences

Ñhonaóotsétséstse nêohkenésó'ênome.128 When(ever) you sleep you snore.
Xho'sótentonòte náóhkéhohátsé'tóó'ê he'éo'o.129 When I dance the women laugh at me.
Tsévéstoemo éohkhéhêne'êna to'sèmeshétonòhtse. My wife knows when I'm going to eat.
Ma'heo'o éohképéhávátséstä ôhméhosanétsee'éstse. God likes it when we love.

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Generic

sáanaóotséhétonòhtse when I do not sleep
sáanaóotséhtoséstse when you do not sleep
sáanaóotséheséstse when he does not sleep
sáanaóotséhetséstse when he (obviative) does not sleep
sáanaóotsésee'éstse when you (plural) do not sleep
sáanaóotsévoséstse when they do not sleep

128 Some speakers consider the iterative mode more natural: Ho'naóotseto nêohkenésó'ênome 'Whenever you sleep you snore.'
129 Some speakers consider the iterative mode more natural: Ho'ho'sóeto náóhkéhohátsé'tóó'ê he'éo'o 'Whenever I dance the women laughed at me.'
Animate Intransitive Conjunct Iterative verbs

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

/-némené/ 'sing'

hó'némenéto whenever I sang/sing
hó'némeneto whenever you sang/sing
hó'némenéstse whenever he sang/sings
hó'némenetséstse whenever he (obviative) sang/sings
hó'némenétse whenever we sang/sing
hó'némenése whenever you (plural) sang/sing
hó'némenévōhtse whenever they sang/sing

-a'xaame 'cry'

hó'ea'xaamēto130 whenever I cried/cry
hó'ea'xaameto whenever you cried/cry
hó'ea'xaāmēstse whenever he cried/cries
hó'ea'xaametsēstse whenever he (obviative) cried/cries
hó'ea'xaamētse whenever we cried/cry
hó'ea'xaamēse whenever you (plural) cried/cry
hó'ea'xaamēvōhtse whenever they cried/cry

Examples in sentences

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

---

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

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

/-némené/ 'sing'

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nónemenéto</td>
<td>I must not have sung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nónemeneto</td>
<td>You must not have sung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nónéménéstse</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'nónemenétse</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'

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nóméséheto</td>
<td>I must not have eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Móho'nóméséhepto</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'nóméséhóhtse</td>
<td>They must not have eaten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóháóénáto</td>
<td>I must not have prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóhaoenato</td>
<td>You must not have prayed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho'nóháóénáhtse</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'nóháóénátse</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'nóháóénávóhtse</td>
<td>They must not have prayed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Particibles

/-némené/ 'sing'

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenéto</td>
<td>I who sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémeneto</td>
<td>you who sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenéstse</td>
<td>he who sings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenetsese</td>
<td>he (obviative) who sings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsénémenétse</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'

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

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

-tséhésstahe 'be Cheyenne'
Tsétséhééstahétse I who am a Cheyenne
Tsétséhééstaheto you who are a Cheyenne
Tsétséhééstahestse he who is a Cheyenne
Tsétséhééstahéstse he (obviative) who is a Cheyenne (practical spelling: Tsitsistaists)
Tsétséhééstahétsé we who are Cheyennes (practical spelling: Tsistsistats)
Tsétséhééstahése you (plural) who are Cheyennes
Tsétséhééstahese they who are Cheyennes (practical spelling: Tsitsistas)

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

Examples in sentences
Tsénémenese étséhésstahe o'o The singers are Cheyennes
Hóhtséme tséheóvaestse étahpéta The ball that is yellow is big
Hetane tséhotse'óhéstse?? ékahaneotse The man who is working is tired

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Particples

/-némené/ 'sing'
tséssáánénernenahéto I who do not sing
tséssáánénerneneto you who do not sing
tséssáánénernenééstse he who does not sing
tséssáánénernenéhetsese he (obviative) who does not sing
tséssáánénernenéhtse we who do not sing
tséssáánénernenéheése you (plural) who do not sing
tséssáánénernenéheshe they who do not sing

/-hetanévé/ 'be a man'
tséssáahetanévéhéto I who am not a man
(tséssáahetanévéheto you who are not a man
tséssáahetanévééstse?? he who is not a man
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tséshahanéhevetse</th>
<th>She (obviative) who is not a man</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tséshahatanévahetse</td>
<td>We who are not men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséshahitanévahése</td>
<td>You (plural) who are not men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhahëhëhëhëhëhëse</td>
<td>They who are not men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-hóéná/ 'pray'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tséshahóénahëhéto</th>
<th>I who do not pray</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tséshahóenahëheto</td>
<td>You who do not pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséshahóénahëstse??</td>
<td>He who does not pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséshahóenahëhtse??</td>
<td>He (obviative) who does not pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséshahóenahëhéhëse</td>
<td>We who does not pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséshahóenahëhëhëse</td>
<td>You (plural) who does not pray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséshahóenahëhëhëhëse</td>
<td>They who does not pray</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/-hotse'ohe 'work'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tséshahotse'ohehéto</th>
<th>I who do not work</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tséshahotse'ohehëto</td>
<td>You who do not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséshahotse'oheëstse??</td>
<td>He who does not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséshahotse'oheëhtse</td>
<td>He (obviative) who does not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséshahotse'oheëhéhëse</td>
<td>We who do not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséshahotse'oheëhëhëse</td>
<td>You (plural) who does not work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséshahotse'oheëhëhëhëse</td>
<td>They who does not work</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples in sentences

Nánhotsevátámo tséshahóëëstse??¹³¹ I miss the one who isn't here
Nánësevátámo tséshahóëënëëstse I pity the one who doesn't pray
Mómáata'ehëhevóhe hetanóho tséshahotse'oheëhtseëse 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

- tséhvónà'òo when it was morning
- tséxhoo'kóho when it rained
- tséxhó'ta when it was (here/there)
- tséxho'otaa'ëstse\(^{132}\) when they (inanimate) were (here/there)
- tsé'ó'ëstse when it was dry
- tsé'ó'oo'ëstse when they (inanimate) were (here/there)

Examples in sentences:

Tséhvónà'òo nátatséhe'ohtse É'ëxováhtóva This morning I went to Billings
Nátavóóhta mòxe'ëstoo'o tséxhó'ta máheóne I saw the book when/where it was in the house

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Indicative Relational verbs

- tséhvóna'otse when it was morning (relational)
- tséxhoo'kóhotse when it rained (relational)
- tséxho'atatse when it was (here/there)
- tséxho'atatsee'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'kèšenahèhe tséhvóna'otse He must have gotten stuck this morning (relational)
- Éaseóhtse 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.

- òhvóona'oo'ëstse in the mornings
- òhtonétoo'ëstse when it's cold
- xhoo'kóhoo'ëstse when it rains
- xho'éeto'ëstse when it snows
- to'séháoho'otaa'ëstse when it's going to be hot
- òhméséhééstovee'ëstse when there is eating

Examples in sentences

Hátšëskeho éohkhéhène'énánóvo to'séhoo'kóhoo'ëstse Ants know when it's going to rain
XHáoho'otaa'ëstse náohkeametó'hóna When it's hot I swim

---

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

xho’éetotsee’ëstse  when it snows (relational)
to’seméséhéstovetsee’ëstse  when there’s going to be eating (relational)

Examples in sentences
Xho’éetotsee’ëstse éohkevá’nenáóotse ma’hákéso  When it snows (rel) the old man just sleeps.
Épéhévetanoo’o òhméséhéstovetsee’ëstse  They are happy when there’s eating (rel)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential verbs

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

(Mó)ho’nóhoo’kóho  It must not have rained
(Mó)ho’nopéhéva’e  It must not be good
(Mó)ho’nopéhéva’ee’ëstse  They (inanimate) must not be good
(Mó)ho’nóméséhéstove  There must not have been eating

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential relational verbs

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

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Participles

tséhéóvo  that which is yellow
ntséhéóvoo’ëstse  those which are yellow

tséhéóvëstéáo’o’e  yellow flower (lit., that which is yellow-headed plant)
tntséhéóvëséavó’ee’ëstse  yellow flowers

tséhéesévótata  that which boils
tséhéesévótata’aa’ëstse  those (inanimate) which are boiling

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

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Participles

tsésáaho’tánhane  that which is not (here/there)
tsésáaho’tánhéhéë’ëstse  those which are not (here/there)

tsésáheóvóhane  that which is not yellow
tsésáheóvóhánéë’ëstse  those which are not yellow

tsésáapéhéva’êhane  that which is not good
tsésáapéhéva’èhánéë’ëstse  those which are not good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Relational Participles

tséhéóvo’tase  that (relational) which is yellow
tséhéóvo’tase’ëstse  those (relational) which are yellow

tséhéesévótatse  that (relational) which is boiling
tséhéesévótatsee’ëstse  those (relational) which are boiling
tsépêhêvâ'êtse that (relational) which is good
tsépêhêvâ'êtsee'êtste(??) those (relational) which are good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Relational Participles

tsésâaho'tâhanêhetse that (relational) which is not (here/there)
tsésâaho'tâhanêhetsee'êtse those (relational) which are not (here/there)

tsésâaheóvôhanêhetse that (relational) which is not yellow
tsésâaheóvôhanêhetsee'êtse those (relational) which are not yellow

tsésâapêhêva'êhanêhetse that (relational) which is not good
tsésâapêhêva'êhanêhetsee'êtse those (relational) which are not good

Examples in sentences

Éhestâna ho'évohkôtse tsésâapêhêva'êhanêhetse He must have taken the meat that (rel) isn't good.
Nátavóóhta hemâhê'o tsésâaheóvôhanêhetse 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, tséhvóomőtse can mean either 'when we saw him' or 'when we saw them'.

#### –vóom 'see (someone)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomāhtsēto</td>
<td>when I saw myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomātse</td>
<td>when I saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomo</td>
<td>when I saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomamōo</td>
<td>when I saw you (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomatsēse</td>
<td>when I saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomōōo</td>
<td>when I saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomēposé</td>
<td>when he saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomātāse</td>
<td>when he saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomāhtsēse</td>
<td>when he saw himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomōsē</td>
<td>when he saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomātsēse</td>
<td>when he saw us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomōsē</td>
<td>when he saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóoma'ēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomata'ēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóoomaa'ēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomāhtsētse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaētse</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaēsē</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomaēsē</td>
<td>when he (obv) saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomatsemenoto</td>
<td>when we (ex) saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomōtse</td>
<td>when we saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomamōtse</td>
<td>when we saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomāhtsētse</td>
<td>when we saw ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomatsemenoto</td>
<td>when we (ex) saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomōtse</td>
<td>when we saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomēse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomōse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomamōse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomemenoto</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomōse</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw yourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomēsē</td>
<td>when you (pl) saw them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomā'ovōsē</td>
<td>when they saw me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomata'ovōsē</td>
<td>when they saw you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomavōsē</td>
<td>when they saw him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōoomātsēse</td>
<td>when they saw us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomāēsē</td>
<td>when they saw you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomāhtsēvōsē</td>
<td>when they saw themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomanētse</td>
<td>when I was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomanētse</td>
<td>when you were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomētse</td>
<td>when he was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōometsēse?</td>
<td>when he (obv) was seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomanētse</td>
<td>when we were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomāēsē</td>
<td>when you (pl) were seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōomēvōsē</td>
<td>when they were seen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Other examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Expression</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhvéstahēmāa'ēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) helped him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmēotaa'ēse</td>
<td>when he (obv) fought him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhēne'enōētse</td>
<td>when he knew us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvōvēstomōētse</td>
<td>when he taught us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmanehe</td>
<td>when I made him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmanoese</td>
<td>when you made him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmanoēse</td>
<td>when he made him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhēo'etsēhō</td>
<td>when I brought him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhēo'etsēosē</td>
<td>when you brought him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhēo'etsēōsē</td>
<td>when he brought him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsēnhēmenē'sēho</td>
<td>when I made him sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsēnhēmenē'sēosē</td>
<td>when you made him sing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsē'ovēstomōō'ēse</td>
<td>when he taught me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsē'ovēstomōō'ēsē</td>
<td>when he (obv) taught them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Example Usage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enóváhtséto</td>
<td>when I knew myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enováhtse</td>
<td>when I knew you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovō</td>
<td>when I knew him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enóvamo</td>
<td>when I knew him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enóvatsésé</td>
<td>when I knew you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovōno</td>
<td>when I knew them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enoveto</td>
<td>when you knew me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enováhtseto</td>
<td>when you knew yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovōse</td>
<td>when you knew him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovamōse</td>
<td>when you knew him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovemenoto</td>
<td>when you knew us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovöse</td>
<td>when you (pl) knew me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enóvé</td>
<td>when he knew me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enóvata'e</td>
<td>when he knew you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enóvatsésé</td>
<td>when he knew himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovōmōse</td>
<td>when he knew him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enoets</td>
<td>when he knew us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enöse</td>
<td>when he knew you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enova'ets</td>
<td>when he (obv) knew me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enata'ōse</td>
<td>when he (obv) knew you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enoomo</td>
<td>when he (obv) knew him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovāhtsetsé</td>
<td>when he (obv) knew himself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enoetse</td>
<td>when he (obv) knew us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'nose</td>
<td>when he (obv) knew you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovōvōse</td>
<td>when he (obv) knew them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovatsemenoto</td>
<td>when we (ex) knew you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovōtse</td>
<td>when we knew him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enóvamōtse</td>
<td>when we knew him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enóvāhtsésé</td>
<td>when we knew ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enóvatememoto</td>
<td>when we knew you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovse</td>
<td>when we (pl) knew me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'énoupe</td>
<td>when we (pl) knew you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enóva'ets</td>
<td>when we (pl) knew him (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enovam</td>
<td>when we (pl) knew us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enóvamōse</td>
<td>when we (pl) knew ourselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enóvatsésé</td>
<td>when we (pl) knew you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséxhéne'enova'ets</td>
<td>when we (pl) knew them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Transitive Animate Conjunct Potential verbs

-vóom 'see (someone)'

máhvóomahtsêto when I see myself
máhvóomátse when I see you
máhvóomo when I see him
máhvóomam when I see him (obv)
máhvóomatsêse when I see you (pl)
máhvóomôno when I see them

máhvóometo when you see me
máhvóomáhtseto when you see yourself
máhvóomôhtse when you see him
máhvóomamôhtse when you see him (obv)
máhvóomemenenoto when you see us (ex)
máhvóomóse when you see them

máhvóomâ'estse when he sees me
máhvóomáta'e when he sees you
máhvóomâhtsêse when he sees himself
máhvóomôhtse when he sees him (obv)
máhvóomaëse when he sees us
máhvóomaëse when he sees you (pl)

máhvóoma'etsêse when he (obv) sees me
máhvóomata'ose when he (obv) sees you
máhvóoma'â'estse when he (obv) sees him
máhvóomâhtsetsêse when he (obv) sees himself
máhvóomaëtse when he (obv) sees us
máhvóomaëse when he (obv) sees you (pl)
máhvóomaëvôse when he (obv) sees them

máhvóomatsemenenoto when we (ex) see you
máhvovômtsê when we see him
máhvovômsêse when we see ourselves
máhvovômtsete when we see you (pl)
máhvovômôte when we see them

máhvôomêse when you (pl) see me
máhvôomôse when you (pl) see him
máhvôomamôse when you (pl) see him (obv)
máhvôomemenenoto when you (pl) see you (obv)
máhvÔomâhtsêse when you (pl) see yourselves
máhvôomôse when you (pl) see them

máhvôoma'ëvôhtse when they see me
máhvôomamâ'ose when they see you
máhvôomovôhtse when they see him (obv)
máhvôomaëtse when they see us
máhvôomaëse when they see you (pl)
máhvôomâhtsêvohtse when they see themselves

máhvôomanêto when I am seen
máhvôomaneto when you are seen
máhvôomêstse when he is seen
máhvôometsêse?? when he (obv) is seen
máhvôomanêtse when we are seen
máhvôomêvohtse when you (pl) are seen

-máhvôomêvohtse when they are seen

Other examples

máhvêstêhêma'ëstse when he (obv) helps him
máhvêtoa'ëstse when he (obv) fights him
máhvêne'ënôëtse when he knows us
máhvôvôstomôëtse when he teaches us
màxho'ëtseho when I bring him
màxho'ëtseóse when you bring him
màxho'ëtseôse when he brings him (obv)
màxho'ëtsëhôtse when we bring him
máhvêne'ënôôëtse when he knows me
máhvêne'ënôôëtse when he (obv) knows him
ma'ôvôstomôôëtse when he teaches me
ma'ôvôstomoo'ëstse when he (obv) teaches him
máhvêne'ënôëvôhtse when he (obv) knows them
máhvôstomôëvôhtse when he (obv) teaches them
ma'êestsêstovo when I speak to him
màxheto when I tell him
máxhâoena'tovo when I pray to him
màsê'âhma when I throw him in

Examples in sentences

Máhvômsêstovôhtse nêstsevêstahêma.
When you ask him, he'll help you.
Mâhvêtohtse nâhtseasêohtse.
When he fights him (obv), I'll leave.
Máhvêstêhêmâ'ëstse nàahtsepêhévetâno.
When he (obv) helps him, I'll be happy.

134 Also pronounced as ma'ôvôstomôëtse
Transitive Animate Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

-voxom 'see (someone)'

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tséssáavóomáhtséheto} & \quad \text{when I did not see myself} \\
\text{tséssáavóomahetse} & \quad \text{when I did not see you} \\
\text{tséssáavóomóhóhevo} & \quad \text{when I did not see him (obv)} \\
\text{tséssáavóomatséhésése} & \quad \text{when I did not see you (pl)} \\
\text{tséssáavóomóhevóno} & \quad \text{when I did not see them} \\
\text{tséssáavóoméheto} & \quad \text{when you did not see me} \\
\text{tséssáavóomáhtséséheto} & \quad \text{when you did not see yourself} \\
\text{tséssáavóomóhóhevése} & \quad \text{when you did not see him (obv)} \\
\text{tséssáavóoméhése} & \quad \text{when you did not see us (ex)} \\
\text{tséssáavóomóhésése} & \quad \text{when you did not see them} \\
\text{tséssáavóoméhésése} & \quad \text{when he did not see me} \\
\text{tséssáavóomáheta'ėse} & \quad \text{when he did not see himself} \\
\text{tséssáavóoma'ēhésése} & \quad \text{when he did not see us (pl)} \\
\text{tséssáavóomáhésése} & \quad \text{when he did not see themselves} \\
\text{tséssáavóömatséhemeneto} & \quad \text{when we (ex) saw you} \\
\text{tséssáavóomóhétse} & \quad \text{when we saw him} \\
\text{tséssáavóomamóhétse} & \quad \text{when we saw him (obv)} \\
\text{tséssáavóomatséhésése} & \quad \text{when we saw ourselves} \\
\text{tséssáavóomóhésése} & \quad \text{when we (ex) saw you (pl)} \\
\text{tséssáavóomóhésése} & \quad \text{when we (ex) did not see yourself} \\
\text{tséssáavóomóhésése} & \quad \text{when we (ex) did not see him (obv)} \\
\text{tséssáavóoméhemeneto} & \quad \text{when we (ex) saw you (pl)} \\
\text{tséssáavóomóhésése} & \quad \text{when we (ex) did not see us (ex)} \\
\text{tséssáavóomóhésése} & \quad \text{when we (ex) did not see themselves} \\
\text{tséssáavóoméhésése} & \quad \text{when they did not see me} \\
\text{tséssáavóomáhésése} & \quad \text{when they did not see you} \\
\text{tséssáavóomóhésése} & \quad \text{when they did not see him (obv)} \\
\text{tséssáavóoméhemeneto} & \quad \text{when they did not see you (pl)} \\
\text{tséssáavóomáhésése} & \quad \text{when they did not see themselves} \\
\text{tséssáavóomanéhéto} & \quad \text{when I was not seen} \\
\text{tséssáavóomanéheto} & \quad \text{when you were not seen} \\
\text{tséssáavóomeése} & \quad \text{when he was not seen} \\
\text{tséssáavóoméhésése??} & \quad \text{when he was not seen}
\end{align*}
\]

Other examples

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tséssáavéstahémaése} & \quad \text{when (obv) did not help him} \\
\text{tséssáméotaēse??} & \quad \text{when (obv) did not fight him} \\
\text{tséssáahéne'enóéhéte} & \quad \text{when he did not teach us} \\
\text{tséssáahó'otséhevo} & \quad \text{when I did not bring him} \\
\text{tséssáahó'otséhevo} & \quad \text{when you did not bring him} \\
\text{tséssáahó'otséhevo} & \quad \text{when they did not bring him (obv)} \\
\text{tséssáahó'otséhevo} & \quad \text{when we did not bring him} \\
\text{tséssáahéne'enóéése} & \quad \text{when he did not know me} \\
\text{tséxhéne'enaése} & \quad \text{when he (obv) did not know him} \\
\text{tséssá'ovéstomóéése} & \quad \text{when he did not teach me} \\
\text{tséssá'ovéstomóéése} & \quad \text{when he did not teach him} \\
\text{tséssáahéne'enóéhévo} & \quad \text{when (obv) did not know them} \\
\text{tséssá'ovéstomóéhévo} & \quad \text{when (obv) did not teach them} \\
\text{tséssáahéne'enóéhéto} & \quad \text{when I was not seen} \\
\text{tséssáahéne'enóéheto} & \quad \text{when you were not seen} \\
\text{tséssáahéne'enóéheto} & \quad \text{when he was not seen} \\
\text{tséssáahéne'enóéheto} & \quad \text{when we were not seen} \\
\text{tséssáavóomanéhéto} & \quad \text{when you (pl) were not seen} \\
\text{tséssáavóomanéhéto} & \quad \text{when they were not seen}
\end{align*}
\]

Also pronounced as tsésá’ovéstomóéése
Transitive Animate Conjunct Iterative verbs

-vóm 'see (someone)'

hó'vómáhtsēto  whenever I saw myself
hó'vómāte  whenever I helped you
hó'vómotse  whenever I saw him
hó'vómamo  whenever I saw him (obv)
hó'vómatsēse  whenever I saw you (pl)
hó'vómōno  whenever I saw them

hó'vómetsēse  whenever you saw me
hó'vómāhtseto  whenever you saw yourself
hó'vómāhtsetsēse  whenever you saw him (obv)
hó'vómōhte  whenever you saw us (ex)
hó'vómētse  whenever you saw them

hó'vómētsēse  whenever he saw me
hó'vómāte'e  whenever he saw you
hó'vómāhtsēse  whenever he saw himself
hó'vómōhte  whenever he saw him (obv)
hó'vómāe  whenever he saw us
hó'vómēse  whenever he saw you (pl)

hó'vómētsēse  whenever he (obv) saw me
hó'vómata'e  whenever he (obv) saw you
hó'vómama'ēste  whenever he (obv) saw himself
hó'vómāhtsetsēse  whenever he (obv) saw him
hó'vómāe  whenever he (obv) saw us
hó'vómēvese  whenever he (obv) saw you (pl)

Other examples

hó've'hómóhtse  whenever he looked at him (obv)
hó'méótotse??  whenever we fought him
hó'méótatšēse  whenever he fought me
hó'totóxemāta'e  whenever he discussed you
hó'hoxomaēte  whenever he fed us
hó'mέ'o  whenever I found him
hó'mé'ō'ō'este  whenever he found me
hó'oomā'ēste  whenever he hit me
**Transitive Animate Conjunct Generic verbs**

Conjunct generic mode verbs state a kind of generalization. These verbs have a broad time idea of 'when', similar to the meaning of English 'whenever', but without the idea of repeated action which is communicated by the conjunct iterative of 'when', similar to the meaning of English 'when

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-vóom 'see (someone)'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómahstétonótse</td>
<td>when I see myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómaëtsee'ëstse</td>
<td>when I see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómosëtsee'ëstse</td>
<td>when I see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatéseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when I see (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when I you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when I see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when I see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when you see me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when you see yourself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when you see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when you see (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when you see us (ex)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when you see them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when you see me (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when you see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when you see him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when you see (obv)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when you see us (ex)</td>
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<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when you see themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when they see us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when they see you (pl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when they see themselves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when they are seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when they are seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when they are seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when you (pl) are seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvóómatëseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when they are seen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Other examples**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>óhméhotatéseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when I see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhméhotatéseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when I see you</td>
</tr>
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<td>óhméhotatéseey'ëstse</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>when I see you</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhméhotatéseey'ëstse</td>
<td>when I see you</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'$\$RECHECK:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>óhvé'oomoo'ëstse</td>
<td>when I look at him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvé'oomoo'ëstse</td>
<td>when I look at him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvé'oomoo'ëstse</td>
<td>when I look at him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvé'oomoo'ëstse</td>
<td>when I look at him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvé'oomoo'ëstse</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvé'oomoo'ëstse</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvé'oomoo'ëstse</td>
<td>when I look at him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>óhvé'oomoo'ëstse</td>
<td>when I look at him</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Animate Conjunct Participles

/-měhót/ 'love (someone')

\$\$RECHECK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotáhteño</td>
<td>I who love myself</td>
<td>you who love me</td>
<td>the one who is loved</td>
<td>we who are loved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotáhtse</td>
<td>I who love you</td>
<td>you who love yourself</td>
<td>you (pl) who are loved</td>
<td>those who are loved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoto</td>
<td>I who love him (obv)</td>
<td>the one you love</td>
<td>the one I who am loved</td>
<td>the one who I see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotamóhtse</td>
<td>I who love you (pl)</td>
<td>those who love us</td>
<td>the one who sees me</td>
<td>he (obv) who sees me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoxeto</td>
<td>you who love me</td>
<td>you (obv) who sees me</td>
<td>he (obv) who is seen</td>
<td>the one who teaches me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotatseto</td>
<td>you who love yourself</td>
<td>you (obv) who is seen</td>
<td>the one who teaches us</td>
<td>the one who teaches us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhotomótse</td>
<td>the one you love</td>
<td>he (obv) who teaches me</td>
<td>the one who knows me</td>
<td>the one who knows us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhoxamenoto</td>
<td>you who love us (ex)</td>
<td>he (obv) who teaches us</td>
<td>the one who knows us</td>
<td>the one who helps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméhótóse</td>
<td>the one you love</td>
<td>those who love themselves</td>
<td>those who love us</td>
<td>the one who sits with, i.e. 'the one I am married to'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsévóomo</td>
<td>the one who I see</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóomata'ótse</td>
<td>he (obv) who sees me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóomótse</td>
<td>he (obv) who is seen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméoto</td>
<td>the one I fight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévéstoemo</td>
<td>my spouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévéstoemóhtse</td>
<td>his/her spouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévovéstomóó'óstse??</td>
<td>the one who teaches me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévovéstomóétses</td>
<td>the one who teaches us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéne'énóó'óstse??</td>
<td>the one who knows me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévéstáhemo</td>
<td>the one who helps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévéxhémose</td>
<td>the one who feeds us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhéxomaëtse</td>
<td>the one who feeds us</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

To save space and make meanings easier to understand, these participles are translated (glossed) as if they were possessed nouns. But they are actually not possessed nouns. For instance, in the earlier section of this book on possessed nouns, we saw that the possessed noun meaning ‘my father’ is ného’éehe. Its participle equivalent is tséhéhéto, which is glossed here as ‘my father’. But a more accurate translation of the participle is ‘the one who I have as father’. Tséhestónáhétóse is glossed as ‘your daughters’, but a more accurate translation is ‘those who you have as daughters’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>father</th>
<th>tséhéhéto</th>
<th>my father</th>
<th>tséhéhetono</th>
<th>my fathers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tséhêeto</td>
<td>your father</td>
<td>tséhéhétóse</td>
<td>your fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tséhéhese</td>
<td>his father(s)</td>
<td>tséhéhese</td>
<td>his father(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tséhéhétse</td>
<td>our father</td>
<td>tséhéhetsee'e</td>
<td>our fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tséhéhéveose</td>
<td>your (plural) father</td>
<td>tséhéhesee'e</td>
<td>your (plural) fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tséhéheveose</td>
<td>their father(s)</td>
<td>tséhéhevose</td>
<td>their father(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mother</th>
<th>tséheškéto</th>
<th>my mother</th>
<th>tséheškétono</th>
<th>my mothers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tséhešketo</td>
<td>your mother</td>
<td>tséheškétóse</td>
<td>your mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tséheškese</td>
<td>his/her mother(s)</td>
<td>tséheškése</td>
<td>his/her mother(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tséheškétse</td>
<td>our mother</td>
<td>tséheškétsee'e</td>
<td>our mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tséheškése</td>
<td>your (plural) mother</td>
<td>tséheškése'e</td>
<td>your (plural) mothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tséhešévose</td>
<td>their mother(s)</td>
<td>tséhešévose</td>
<td>their mother(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>daughter</th>
<th>tséhestónáhéto</th>
<th>my daughter</th>
<th>tséhestónáhétóse</th>
<th>my daughters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tséhestónaheto</td>
<td>your daughter</td>
<td>tséhestónahése</td>
<td>your daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tséhestónáhese</td>
<td>his/her daughter(s)</td>
<td>tséhestónáhése</td>
<td>his/her daughter(s)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tséhestónáhétse</td>
<td>our daughter</td>
<td>tséhestónáhétsee'e</td>
<td>our daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tséhestónáhése</td>
<td>your (plural) daughter</td>
<td>tséhestónáhése'e</td>
<td>your (plural) daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tséhestónáheveose</td>
<td>their daughter(s)</td>
<td>tséhestónáheveose</td>
<td>their daughter(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other participle kinship term person combinations

Kinship terms exist in full TA participle paradigms, with person combinations besides those just listed. Following are some other person combinations for kinship term participles.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tséhešké'toveto</th>
<th>you who have me for a mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhešké'tovése</td>
<td>you (plural) who have me for a mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhešké'tóó'este</td>
<td>the one who has me for a mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškétoese</td>
<td>those who have me for a mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhešké'toväte</td>
<td>I who have you for a mother</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Transitive Animate Conjunct Absentative Participles

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

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

\(^{137}\) It is possible that the –vo of this absentative suffix is related to the –vo suffix of the conjunct oratio oblique mode.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tséheškévo'o</th>
<th>The one who is my absent mother</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tsétó'omemáxamoo'o</td>
<td>The one (obviative) who I shot stiff</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$\text{RECHECK} ?\

The following "tentative" forms from earlier editions of book:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tséhéhevóse</th>
<th>The one who is your absent father</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tséhéhévótse</td>
<td>The one who is our absent father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhéhévóse</td>
<td>The one who is your (plural) absent father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséhéhevoomoo'o</td>
<td>Those who are my absent fathers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tséheškévoomoo'o</td>
<td>Those who are my absent mothers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Indicative verbs

TI verbs are inflected (marked) for person of their subject. Unlike TA conjunct verbs, they are not inflected for number of their objects. So, for instance, tséhvóóhto means either 'when he saw it' or 'when he saw them (inanimate)'.

Unlike with TI independent order verbs, there is no difference in pronunciation between the conjunct order TI verbs which refer to exclusive 'we' and inclusive 'we'.

Speakers differ on whether the last vowel is "e" or "o" on first and second person singular subject verbs which have a TI theme of –om. So, for instance, 'when I saw it' is pronounced both as tséhvóóhtómo and tséhvóóhtóme.

'see (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtómo / tséhvóóhtóme</td>
<td>when I saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhto / tséhvóóhtome</td>
<td>when you saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtot / tséhvóóhtome</td>
<td>when he saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóóhtot / tséhvóóhtome</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>tséhvóóhtomévésoe</td>
<td>when they saw it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóome??</td>
<td>when it was seen??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhvóomeééetse</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'áahómo / tsé'áahóme</td>
<td>when I listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahotómo / tsé'áahotome</td>
<td>when you listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahóto</td>
<td>when he/she listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahotsé</td>
<td>when he (obviative) listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahotomátse</td>
<td>when we listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahotomáse</td>
<td>when you (plural) listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahotomévésoe</td>
<td>when they listened to it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahotohoe ??</td>
<td>when it was listened to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsé'áahoheééetse ??</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>tséhmésé</td>
<td>when he/she ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhmésésé</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>tséhmésév</td>
<td>when they ate it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhméséstove</td>
<td>when it was eaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhméséstoveééetse??</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>tsého'tsēto</td>
<td>when I had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého'tseto</td>
<td>when you had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého'tsēse</td>
<td>when he/she had it / them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého'tsetsé</td>
<td>he he/she (obviative) had it / them</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tséxho'tsétse when we had it / them
tséxho'tsése when you (plural) had it / them
tséxho'tsévōse(évōse??) when they had it / them

'take (something)'
tséxhestanōmo / tséxhestanōme when I took it / them
tséxhestanomo / tséxhestanome when you took it / them
tséxhestāno when he took it / them
tséxhestanotsése when he/she (obviative) took it / them
tséxhestanomātse when we took it / them
tséxhestanomāsése when you (plural) took it / them
tséxhestanomēvōse(ēvōse??) when they took it / them

'want (something)'
tséxho'āhēto when I wanted it / them
tséxho'āheto when you wanted it / them
tséxho'aese when he/she wanted it / them
tséxho'ēhetsése when he/she (obviative) wanted it / them
tséxho'ēhēte when you (plural) wanted it / them
tséxho'ēhēvōse when they wanted it / them

Examples in sentences
Tséhvóóhtóm e ḥo'évohkōtse námese. 'When I saw the meat I ate it.'
Tsé'éšeááhto némenestötse náéestśéstōvo. 'After he listened to the radio I talked to him.'

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Negative verbs

'see (something)'
tséssáavóóhtohēmo / tséssáavóóhtohēme when I did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtohēmo / tséssáavóóhtohēme when you did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtoēte when he did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtohetsése when he/she (obviative) did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtomāhētse when we did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtomāhēsése when you (plural) did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtomēhēvōse when they did not see it / them

'take (something)'
tséssáaheştanōhéme when I did not take it / them
tséssáaheştanōhēme when you did not take it / them
tséssáaheştanānéése when he did not take it / them
tséssáaheştanōhetsése when he/she (obviative) did not take it / them
tséssáaheştamāhētse when we did not take it / them
tséssáaheştamāhēsése when you (plural) did not take it / them
tséssáaheştamēhēvōse when they did not take it / them

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Generic verbs
TI conjunct generic verbs take suffixes like those of TA conjunct generic verbs. As with other conjunct generic verbs the ōh- prefix is often omitted by Cheyenne speakers.
'see (something)'
öhvóohtomonôtsē when I see it / them
öhvóohtomosûtsê when you see it / them
öhvóohtotsêsê when he/she sees it / them
öhvóohtotsêsê when (obviative) sees it / them
öhvóohtomâtsê when we see it / them
öhvóohtomâtsê when you (plural) see it / them
öhvóohtomâtsê when they see it / them

'take (something)'
xhestanomôhtse when I take it / them
xhestanomosûtsê when you take it / them
xhestanosûtsê when he/she takes it / them
xhestanosûtsê when (obviative) takes it / them
xhestanomâtsê when we take it / them
xhestanomâtsê when you (plural) take it / them
xhestanomâtsê when they take it / them

'cook (something)'
xho'oestsétonôhtse when I cook it / them
xho'oestsétoûtsê when you cook it / them
xho'oestsétoûtsê when he/she cooks it / them
xho'oestsétoûtsê when (obviative) cooks it / them
xho'oestsétoûtsê when we cook it / them
xho'oestsétoûtsê when you (plural) cook it / them
xho'oestsétoûtsê when they cook it / them

Examples in sentences
Öhvóohtomonôhtse vêtsêsêkâhonoo'o nâohkevē'šepehêvetâno. 'When I see frybread I get happy.'

Xho'oestsesêtsê váotsevâheho'évohtôtsê nâhkemâ'xemêsehe. '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>Participle</th>
<th>Singular Forms</th>
<th>Plural Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsévóóhtómo</td>
<td>what I saw</td>
<td>tsévóóhtomonóhtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóohomo</td>
<td>what you saw</td>
<td>tsévóohomoséstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóóhóto</td>
<td>what he saw</td>
<td>tsévóohotséstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóóhtótsese</td>
<td>what (obv) saw</td>
<td>tsévóóhtótsetéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóohotómáte</td>
<td>what we saw</td>
<td>tsévóohotómáteéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóohotómávé</td>
<td>what you (pl) saw</td>
<td>tsévóohotómávééstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsévóohotómévé</td>
<td>what they saw</td>
<td>tsévóohotómévééstse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'eat (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Singular Forms</th>
<th>Plural Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséméséto</td>
<td>what I ate</td>
<td>tsémésétonóhtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméseto</td>
<td>what you ate</td>
<td>tsémésetoséstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémésésse</td>
<td>what he ate</td>
<td>tsémésetoséstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséméses</td>
<td>what (obv) ate</td>
<td>tsémésetoséstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémésēse</td>
<td>what we ate</td>
<td>tsémésetoséstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémésévōs</td>
<td>what you (pl) ate</td>
<td>tsémésetoséstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséme</td>
<td>what they ate</td>
<td>tsémésetoséstse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'take (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Singular Forms</th>
<th>Plural Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanómo</td>
<td>what I took</td>
<td>tséhestanomóhtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanomo</td>
<td>what you took</td>
<td>tséhestanomoséstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestánóhtse</td>
<td>what he took</td>
<td>tséhestanoséstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanótsese</td>
<td>what (obv) took</td>
<td>tséhestanótsetéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanamáte</td>
<td>what we took</td>
<td>tséhestanamáteéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanomávé</td>
<td>what you (pl) took</td>
<td>tséhestanomávééstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestanomévé</td>
<td>what they took</td>
<td>tséhestanomévéóstse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'want (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Singular Forms</th>
<th>Plural Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsého'áhēto</td>
<td>what I want</td>
<td>tsého'ahétonóhtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého'ahéto</td>
<td>what you want</td>
<td>tsého'ahétoséstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého'ahēstse</td>
<td>what he wants</td>
<td>tsého'ahēstse??</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého'ahētsese</td>
<td>what (obv) wants</td>
<td>tsého'ahētsetéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého'ahésee</td>
<td>what we want</td>
<td>tsého'ahēseeéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého'ahévōse</td>
<td>what you (pl) want</td>
<td>tsého'ahévōsoéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsého'ahévōs</td>
<td>what they want</td>
<td>tsého'ahévōsóstse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 'make (something)'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participle</th>
<th>Singular Forms</th>
<th>Plural Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéststéo</td>
<td>what I made</td>
<td>tsémanéststétónóhtse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéststeto</td>
<td>what you made</td>
<td>tsémanéststétoséstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéststéstse</td>
<td>what he made</td>
<td>tsémanéststéséstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéststéses</td>
<td>what (obv) made</td>
<td>tsémanéststésëtéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéststése</td>
<td>what we made</td>
<td>tsémanéststéseéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéststévé</td>
<td>what you (pl) made</td>
<td>tsémanéststéseéstse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsémanéststévé</td>
<td>what they made</td>
<td>tsémanéststésóstse</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

138 Another pronunciation is tsévóóhtóme. Similarly, other first and second person singular subject participle forms with the TI theme -om have an alternate pronunciation with a word-final "e".
Examples in sentences
Hénová'e tsévóohtomo? What did you see
Hénová'e tséméseto? What did you eat?
Hénová'ehótse tsémanéstétonóhtse? What (plural) did you make?
Náphévátsésta tséhót'tséstse. I like what he had.
Tsémanésteto épéhéva'e. What you made is good.

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Negative Participles

'see (singular object)'
tsésáavóóhtóhémo what I didn't see
tsésáavóóhtohemo what you didn't see
tsésáavóóhtóéstse what he/she didn't see
tsésáavóóhtóhetsese what he/she (obviative) didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhétsese what you (plural) didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhévóóhéstse those that I didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhéses those that you didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhésés those that he/she didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhésés eestse those that he/she (obviative) didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhésese eestse those that we didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhésese eestse those that you didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhésese eestse those that he/she didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhésese eestse those that he/she (obviative) didn't see

'see (plural object)'
tsésáavóóhtóhemonóhtse those that I didn't see
tsésáavóóhtohemonóhtse those that you didn't see
tsésáavóóhtóhéses those that he/she didn't see
tsésáavóóhtóhéses those that he/she (obviative) didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhétses those that we didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhes those that you (plural) didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhes those that he/she didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhes es those that he/she (obviative) didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhes es those that we didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhes es those that you (plural) didn't see

'make (singular object)'
tsésáamanéstéséhéto what I didn't make
tsésáamanéstéséheto what you didn't make
tsésáamanéstéséstse what he/she didn't make
tsésáamanéstéséhetsese what he/she (obviative) didn't make
tsésáamanéstéséhés those we didn't make
tsésáamanéstéséhés what you (plural didn't make
tsésáamanéstéséhés those that we didn't make
tsésáamanéstéséhés those that you (plural didn't make
tsésáamanéstéséhés those that he/she didn't make
ntsésáamanéstéséhés those that he/she (obviative) didn't make
ntsésáamanéstéséhés those that we didn't make
ntsésáamanéstéséhés those that you (plural didn't make
ntsésáamanéstéséhés those that he/she didn't make
ntsésáamanéstéséhés those that he/she (obviative) didn't make

'make (plural object)'
tsésáamanéstéséhetonóhtse what I didn't make
tsésáamanéstéséhetosóhtse what you didn't make
tsésáamanéstésés those he/she didn't make
tsésáamanéstésés those he/she (obviative) didn't make
tsésáamanéstésés those we didn't make
tsésáamanéstésés those you (plural) didn't make
tsésáamanéstésés those that we didn't make
tsésáamanéstésés those that you (plural) didn't make
ntsésáamanéstésés those that he/she didn't make
ntsésáamanéstésés those that he/she (obviative) didn't make
ntsésáamanéstésés those that we didn't make
ntsésáamanéstésés those that you (plural didn't make
ntsésáamanéstésés those that he/she didn't make
ntsésáamanéstésés those that he/she (obviative) didn't make

Other examples
ntsésáahstanóhémo what I didn't take
ntsésáahstanóhemes what those which he/she didn't take
ntsésáméhéto what I didn't eat
ntsésáméséheto what you didn't eat
ntsésámésés what he/she didn't eat
tsésáaho'tséheto  what you didn't take
tsésáaho'tséhevoséstse  those which they didn't take

Examples in sentences $\text{RECHECK}/#3 "I'm looking for those who don't have them"!!
Tsésáaméséheto  ēoseepéhevéeno'e.  What you didn't eat tastes very good.
Tsésáahestanóéstse  ésó'hó'ta.??  What he didn't take is still here. ??
Nánóhtsevóohtanótsé  tsésáaho'tséhevoséstse.  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}??$

tséhmétáhtséto  when I gave it to myself
  tséméhtatsemenoto  when we (ex) gave it to you
  tséméhtatmenoto  when we (ex) gave it to them

  tséhmétatse  when I gave it to you
  tséméhtatse  when we gave it to him
  tséméhtatse  when we gave it to (obv)

  tséhmétam  when I gave it to (obv)
  tséhmétam  when we gave it to (obv)
  tséhmétam  when we gave it to others

  tséhmétamāno  when I gave it to them
  tséhmétamāno  when we gave it to others
  tséhmétamāno  when we gave it to themselves

  tséhmétamtsēse  when I gave it to you (pl)
  tséhmétamtsēse  when we gave it to us (pl)
  tséhmétamtsēse  when we gave it to ourselves

  tséhmétameto  when I gave it to (obv)
  tséhmétameto  when we gave it to them
  tséhmétameto  when we gave it to (obv)

  tséhmétamote  when I gave it to (obv)
  tséhmétamote  when we gave it to (obv)
  tséhmétamote  when we gave it to others

  tséhmétamtsemenoto  when we (ex) gave it to you
  tséhmétam_pwm  when we (ex) gave it to them
  tséhmétam_pwm  when we (ex) gave it to (obv)

Examples in sentences

tséhmeto  oëeskëseho  when I gave him a dog/dogs (obviative) $\text{ADD MAIN VERBS}
tséhmeto  motšëške  when I gave him a knife
  tséhmeto  motšëškëhótse  when I gave him knifes

  tséhmétóno  še'xo  when I gave them a duck/ducks (obviative)

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tséhmétóno sémonótse  when I gave them boats (inanimate)

tséhemtose póesonó  when you gave him a cat/cats (obviative)
tséhemtose sémonótse  when you gave him boats

tséhmétsemenoto oeškeso  when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) a dog
ntséhmétsemenoto oeškésheho  when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) dogs
ntséhmétsemenoto sémonótsé  when you (sg/pl) gave us boats

tséhmétá'èse oeškésheho  when he gave me a dog/dogs (obviative)
tséhmétá'èse mótsheškehtse  when he gave me a knife
ntséhmétá'èse mótsheškehtse  when he gave me knives

tséhmétoto oeškeso  when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) a dog
ntséhmétoto oeškésheho  when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) dogs
ntséhmétoto sémonótsé  when you (sg/pl) gave us boats

tséhméta'etsése sémo hee'haho  when his son (obv) gave me a duck/ducks (obv)
tséhméta'etsése še'xo hee'haho  when his son (obv) gave me a boat

Ditransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs
ntséssáamétáhtséheto 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

??
tsémétáhtséto  what I gave myself
tsémétátsé  what I gave you
tsémé  what I gave him
tsémétamo  what I gave him (obv)
tsémétatsése  what I gave you (pl)
tsémétóno  what I gave them
tséméteto  what you gave me
tsémétáhtseto  what you gave yourself
tsémetóhtse  what you gave him
tsémétamóhtse  what you gave him (obv)
tsémétsemenoto  what you gave us (ex)
tsémétóse  what you gave them
tsémétá'estse  what you gave me
tsémétáteš  what he gave you (pl)
tsémétá'etsése  what he gave me
ntsémétáétsese  what he (obv) gave me
ntsémétátsése  what he (obv) gave you
ntsémétáhtsése  what he (obv) gave himself
ntsémétatsemenoto  what we (ex) gave you
ntséméhótse  what we gave him
ntséméhótse  what we gave him (obv)
tsémétatse  what we gave ourselves
ntséméhótsee  what we gave them
ntséhmétatse  what you gave me
ntséhmétata'è  what you gave you
ntséhmétatsátse  what you gave him
ntséhmétóhtse  what you gave him (obv)
tséhmé  what you gave us
ntséhmétáatse  what you gave me
ntséhmétata'é  what you gave you
ntséhmétatsátse  what you gave him
ntséhmétóhtse  what you gave him (obv)
tséhmé  what you gave us
ntséhmétáatse  what you gave me
ntséhmétata'é  what you gave you
ntséhmétatsátse  what you gave him
ntséhmétóhtse  what you gave him (obv)
tséhmé  what you gave us
Examples of ditransitive participles in sentences

| tsémétsemenoto | what you (pl) gave us (ex) |
| tsémétahtsése | what you (pl) gave yourselves |
| tsémétōse'e | what you (pl) gave them |
| tséméta'ese | what they gave me |
| tsémétata'ōse | what they gave you |
| tsémétovose | what they gave him (obv) |
| tsémétaese?? | what they gave us |
| tsémétāhtsese | what they gave themselves |

| tsémótotsese | what he (obv) gave him (obv') |
| tsémétanēto | what I was given |
| tsémétaneto | what you were given |
| tsémétsetsēstse?? | what he (obv) was given |
| tsémétanētse | what we were given |
| tsémétanēse | what you (pl) were given |
| tsémētsēse | what they were given |

Complex sentences

Now that we have examined indeendepent and dependent (conjunct) verbs, we can study complex sentences in Cheyenne. A complex sentence contains at least two verbs, one of which is dependent upon the other, typically called the main (or matrix) verb.

Cheyennes often utter complex sentences in which there is a conjunct verb which has some kind of temporal or adverbial relationship to the main verb of a sentence:

$$EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS$$

Less frequently and probably much less frequently than in English, Cheyennes utter sentences in which the dependent verb is a complement of the main verb. A complement verb acts something like an object to the main verb. In English we might say, "I'm know that you've been sick." The clause "that you've been sick" is the complement to the main verb "know." This complement acts as an object to "know", tell us what it is that the speaker knows.

Here are some examples of sentences with complement verbs found in Cheyenne texts:

$$EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS, INCLUDING FROM THE BROTHERS-IN-LAW TEXT$$

If you are studying Cheyenne, trying to obtain complex sentences with complements, be cautious in your study. Try not to ask Cheyenne speakers to directly translate English sentences with complements to Cheyenne. It may be possible to get literal translations of such English sentences, but 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.

Náméséhétánó. I want to eat.
Nánaóotsétánó. 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.
Návóohtatanó’ta. I want to see it.
Návóomáhtsétánó. I want to be seen.
Évóomáhtsétanoo’o. They want to be seen.
Návéstáhémáhtsétánó. I want to be helped.
Návéstáhémáhtsétanó’tóvo. I want to be helped by him.
Véstáhémáhtsétanó’toveha! Want to be helped by him!
Návóo’séhátanó’tóvo. I want to show it to him.
Náhestanátanó’ta. I want to take it.
Námésétanó’ta. I want to eat it.
Námésétanó’tanó’tse. I want to eat them (inanimate).

Word order

It is important to know what order words should appear in in any language. In some languages, such as English, word order can tell us who is doing what to whom, as in the sentence "John kissed Mary." In this English sentence we can tell from the word order that John is the one who did the kissing and Mary is the who who was kissed. In a language like English we say that word order is syntactically determined, that is, the grammar (syntax) of the language determines the order of words such as subjects, objects, and verbs in a sentence.

Many languages, including Cheyenne, do not have word order that is determined by grammatical relationships such as subjects and direct objects. Instead, word order of subject and object nouns in Cheyenne sentences is determined by how speakers organize information in their speech context. For such languages we say that word order is pragmatically determined.

So two different systems determine word order in English and Cheyenne. This is why it is very important that sentences not be translated from English to Cheyenne using the same word order that the sentence had in English. Instead, it is important to follow the Cheyenne rules for word order, which have to do with matters such as what is in focus in a Cheyenne speaker's mind. If you are a Cheyenne speaker, try not to think about the words of an English sentence if you are translating something from English to Cheyenne. Instead, just try to think about the meaning of the Cheyenne sentence and what you have already said in Cheyenne that is related to that sentence. Then try to say
the sentence "the Indian way", saying it as naturally as if you did not know any English and were just talking in Cheyenne.

**Fixed word orders**

There are some fixed word orders in Cheyenne. Quantifiers precede the nouns they modify, as do demonstrative pronouns:

- haesto ka'ěškónehō 'many children'
- na'ěstse amāho'hestōte 'one car'
- nešē he'eo'o 'two women'

Question words (interrogative pronouns) occur as the first element in a sentence:

- Hénová’e tséméseto? 'What did you eat?'
- Néváahē tséváchonevéstse? 'Who is the boss?'
- Tóne’še néévahō'éhōō'ōhtse? 'When did you get back home?'
- Tósa’e néhoo’o? 'Where do you live?'

**Word order and speech context**

Cheyenne subject and object nouns occur in an order determined by the speech context. That is, their order is pragmatically determined. Elena Leman (1999) has researched the pragmatic factors that determine word order in Cheyenne. $(GIVE EXAMPLES FROM HER BOOK)$ 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. $(RECHECK THAT SENTENCE)$ 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’ěstse néohkenēheto’ētahe! 'Always you’re doing that!'
- Naa mōsēškanetsénoonāhe mōstosévēsēetsēo'ōhtsēhēhē tsēhmōheeōhtsēstovetse. 'And the bat (in contrast to the animals and birds mentioned in the preceding sentences in this story) was also going to go to where there was a meeting.' (The Bat story, in the Texts section of this book)

If you are a Cheyenne speaker and someone asks you how to translate an English sentence to Cheyenne, do not copy the order of words in the English sentence. Cheyenne word order is different from English word order in sentences. English sentences usually have a required word order based on English syntax (grammar), namely, subject nouns come before their verbs and object nouns follow 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.

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$^{139}$ The "newsworthiness" concept has been described by Mithun (1987).

$^{140}$ Or it can be the second position if the first position is a discourse connector such as naa 'and'.

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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 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 móhvóomóhevóhé váostéváhne. 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'ameohntséhéhe 'A man was going along.' Then in the next sentence it can be said what the man saw, as in: Móhvóomóhevóhé váostéváhne 'He saw a deer.' (The Cheyenne word for 'man', hetane, would not usually be repeated in the second sentence.)

It's just not natural to try to get too much information into a single Cheyenne sentence. For that matter, it probably isn't natural in English either, at least not for a sentence uttered by itself without any preceding context.

An important principle for translation of anything into any language, including Cheyenne, is to avoid asking (and answering) the question "Can you say this in your language?" Instead, it is better to ask the question, "Is this said in your language?" or "How do you naturally express this meaning in
your language?" It is not only important to say things grammatically correct in a language, but also to say them naturally.

Study of natural texts, including conversations, speeches, and stories, in Cheyenne can help us understand natural ways of speaking Cheyenne. We must always be cautious about directly translating anything from English, or any other language, to Cheyenne. Instead, we must try to say things in Cheyenne as they would be said if they were part of a natural conversation between fluent Cheyenne speakers.

**Default pragmatic word order**

Even though we cannot speak of a basic word order in Cheyenne, there is a strong tendency for certain word orders to occur. These word orders are pragmatically determined, but so prevalent that some people might like to refer to them as basic word orders.

Subject nouns which are non-contrastive and definite (already established in a discourse) occur following the verb they are associated with much more often than they do preceding that verb. Notice that in the following text there 72 "sentences," including the title and ending (which is not a full sentence). Of the 72 sentences, only 6 have SV order, while there are 20 sentences with VS order. 36 sentences have no subject noun at all. In most of (count them??) the VS occurrences of the subject noun are definite and non-contrastive. Subject nouns that precede verbs are boldfaced in this text. Subject nouns that follow verbs are boldfaced and italicized.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.001

vého tséxhénôhtsevôómôse
vêhô tsê- h- hé- nôhtsevôom -ó -s
chief CNJ- OBL- PURP- look.for -DIR -3
na pfx- tns- pv- vta -voice -pro

kâsováahêsô
kâsováahêh -ô
young man -OBV
na -num

tsé tô'sêxh évaxâhese
véhô tsê- he- véxâhe -se
CNJ- PROS- have- have.child-in-law -OBV
pfx- pv- r- vai -pro

he'sôhó
he- htônah -ô
3PS- daughter -OBV
pro- na -num

tsê tô'sêxh évaxâhese
véhô tsê- he- véxâhe -se
CNJ- PROS- have- have.child-in-law -OBV
pfx- pv- r- vai -pro

A chief when he went to look for a young man to be his son-in-law, who would marry his daughter.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.002

eëxaemahé'tánëse
There were many tepees.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

End there CNJ- end.camp IMPERS old.woman

And at the edge there where the camp ended an old lady camped.

Her grandson lived with (her).

For two days and for three days this young man would disappear.

For two days and for three days this young man would disappear.
Apparently he would go to hunt.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.008

é'óhkého'o'xeséstse
é- h- ohke- ho'o'xe -sest
3- PST- HABIT- arrive.carrying.game -RPT
pro- tns- pv- vai -mode

He would bring home game at night.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.009

é'óhkeó'ėsóvasēstse
é- h- ohke- ó'ėsóvá -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

éxhoháeesenéhesésto
é- h- ho- háeesenehe -sest -o
3- PST- very- have plenty food -RPT -3PL
pro- tns- REDUP- vai -mode -num

They had plenty to eat.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.011

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

mó'óhkemanéstèséhehë
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'óhkeméshëno'vóhe
mó- h- ohke- mëse -hé -nó -vo -hé néh- néše -vó -s
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
They would eat it, the two of them, her grandson (and her).

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.013

naa néhe'sé é'amého'xeváhneséstse
naa néhe'sé é- h- ame- hóo'xeváhné -sest hetane
and then 3- PST- along announce.walk -RPT man
p p pro- tns- i- vai -mode na

And then a man was announcing.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.014

tséheto'honé'c'atse é'améhneséstse
tsé- heto'honée'tá é- h- amehné -sest
CNJ- be.at.camp.edge -OBV 3- PST- walk -RPT
pfx- vii pro pro- tns- vai -mode

Along the edge of camp he walked.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.015

vo'estane
vo'estane
person
na

némó'otaëvo vého
né- mö'ot -ae -vó vého
2- invite.to.meal -INV -2PL chief
pro- vta -voice -num na

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

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

éto'senóhtsevóome tséto'sevéstoëmótse
é- to'se- nóhtsvóom -e tsé- to'se- véstoem -ó -ht
3- PROS- look.for -PSV CNJ- PROS- married.to -DIR -3
pro- pv- vta -voice pfx- pv- vta -voice -pro

éxheséstse
é- h- he - sest
3- PST- say -RPT
pro- tns- vai -mode
(this person ?) is going to be looked for, someone to marry her," he said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.017

éxhetóo'xevásvéstse
e- h- hetóo'xevá -sest
3- PST- so announce -RPT
pro- tns- vai -mode
He announced that way.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.018

vee'e éxho'tánëse
é- h- ho'tá -né -s
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.022

Many men gathered inside.
Then this young man said to his grandmother.

"Grandmother, you, too, go there!" he told her.

"Go to listen!"

"Go to find out who is going to be son-in-law!" he told her.
"This pemmican, take it along!" he told her.

"Just a little one, make a package!"

When the talking is about over, when you're going out, drop it!" he told her.

And there was great hunger.

And there was great hunger.
Then that old lady also went there.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-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.

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

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.035
She got up.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.036

mónhéhóehnéhêhê
mó- h- neh- hóehné -hé -hé
INF- PST- CIS- emerge -NEG.SFX -INF.SFX
mode- tns- dir- vai -sfx -sfx
She came out.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.037

héne
héné
that
pro

móstatšèşeo'ha'enóhêhê
mó- h- ta- tšèšë- o'ha'en -ó -hé -hé
INF- PST- TRL- now- drop -FTI -NEG.SFX -INF.SFX
mode- tns- dir- pv- vti -theme -sfx -sfx
She dropped that (thing).

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.038

tséstao'séšèhóva'xëse
tšë- h- ta- to'se- ëše- hóva'xe -s
CNJ- OBL- TRL- PROS- already- go out -3
pfx- tns- dir- pv- pv- vai -pro
he éxhesëstse
hé é- h- he -sest
hey 3- PST- say -RPT
p pro- tns- vai -mode
When she was about to go outside, "Hey!" she said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.039

nóoo néxahe hexo'èhaénenahtsestòtse
nóoo néxahe he- xo'èhaènën -ahtse -htot
wow! my.grandchild 3PS- salve.tears -REFL -NOM
p na pro- vta -sfx -sfx

náxamae'ò'ha'ènomóvo
ná- xamae- 'ñ- o'ha'en -om -ó -vó
1- ordinary- EP- drop -FTI -FTI -RELAT
pro- pv- pv- vti -sfx -theme -pro
éxhesëstse
é- h- he -sest
3- PST- say -RPT
pro- tns- vai -mode
"Oh! My grandson's ointment, I dropped it," she said.

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

A Man Who Looked for a Son

She quickly picked back up that pemmican.

"Let's see, pass that around!" that chief said.

"Let's see, pass that around!" that chief said.
hótahtse  
amé

It was passed around, behold, (it was) pemmican!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.045

nóoo  
élhópehéveénôénése

Wow! It tasted good.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.046

néhe  
hetane

That man unwrapped it.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.047

éhmésénôése

He ate it.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.048

néhêšé

ten

Then he told that old lady,

éxahe  
náto'seéstéstôvo
"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.
You are invited," she told him.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.054

éstaosáanénéhe'ôhtseséstse
é- h- ta- osáane- néhe'óhtsé -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

éstaóho'èhneséstse
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

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

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

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

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

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

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

néhééeseheo'o
néh- 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 nétavóomâtse
né- néchóve né- ta- vóom -atse
2- be the one 2- HORT- choose -1:2
pro- vai pro- pv- vta -voice

tséto'sevéstoëmöhťse
tsé- to'se- véstoom -ó -ht
CNJ- PROS- married.to -DIR -3
pfx- pv- vta -voice -pro

náhtona
na- htónah
1PS- daughter
pro- na

éxhetaesesto
e- h- het -ae -sest -o
3- PST- tell -INV -RPT -OBV
pro- tns- vta -voice -mode -num
You are the one, I select you to marry my daughter," he told him.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.061

é'oseepehétavonótseséstse
é- h- osee- pēhétavonóotse -sest
3- PST- very- happy quickly - become -RPT
pro- tns- pv- vai -mode

néhe kásóvááhe
néhe kásóváahéh
that young man
pro na
That young man became very happy.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.062

hēhe'e éxheséstse
hēhe'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 kásé'ééhe éhmo'onátamaaheséstse
naa néhe kásé'ééhéh é- h- mo'óntamahe -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

éståéváhóóöhtseséstse
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-in-law.065

He went back home.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.066

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.067

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

"Come after it!

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

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.070
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.071

Come after your food!" the chief was told.

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

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

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'
šé'še 'duck'
vé'ho'e 'non-Indian'

246
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’ohtée-vé’ho’e 'Negro' (literally, black-non-Indian)

A noun may consist of a noun which acts as a prenoun plus another noun:

he’-ka’èskóne 'girl' (literally, woman-child)
hetané-ka’èskóne '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:

môxe’estône-mâhêő'o 'school' (literally, writing-house)
amëhá-ve’ho’e 'pilot' (literally, flying-non-Indian)
homôsé-ve’ho’e 'cook' (literally, cooking-non-Indian)

A noun may consist of an initial, an optional medial, plus a noun final:

éškôse-esé-hotame¹⁴¹ 'pig' (literally, sharp-nose-domesticated.animal)
ka’-ènè-hôtame 'bulldog, cat'¹⁴² (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal)
vôhp-ó’ha 'white horse' (literally, white-horse)¹⁴³

to-ôom-àšë’šë-stôtse 'soda pop, cold drink' (lit., cool-liquid-drink-NOM)
Mo’ohtáv-àhahtá-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-htôtse 'airplane' (literally, flying-thing)¹⁴⁴

---

¹⁴¹ Historically, hótame referred to a dog. Later, the word oë skësë 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’ènhôtame 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’èeséhotame (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal) for 'cat'. Petter began his work in Oklahoma, before moving to Montana perhaps Southern Cheyenne have used both ka’ènhôtame and ka’èeséhotame for a cat.

¹⁴³ The Cheyenne noun final /-o’há/ descends from a PA final that originally meant 'dog'. Over time, the final came to mean 'horse' in Cheyenne.
mésēhe-stōtse 'food' (literally, eating-thing)
éškōs-ēné-hé 'greyhound' (literally, sharp-face-being)
tsēhe'ēse-ēse-he 'elephant' (literally, long-nose-being)
vovéstomósané-he 'teacher' (literally, teaching-being)
hoéstónēhe-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ná-</td>
<td>first person (e.g. I, we)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>né-</td>
<td>second person (you, you plural)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é-</td>
<td>third person (he, she, animate it)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pronominal prefixes plus future tense –htse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>náhtse-</td>
<td>first person + future tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nēstse-</td>
<td>second person + future tense</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tse-146</td>
<td>third person + future tense</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Návóómo.</td>
<td>'I see him', or 'I saw him'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énéméne.</td>
<td>'He's singing', or 'He sang'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'sóeo'o.</td>
<td>'They are dancing', or 'They danced'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. [ʃ] preceding [k]
3. [ʃ] 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 vovéstomósanéhe '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-tšéhe'késtaha.  You were short.
É-h-néméne.  He sang.
É'-a'xaame.  He cried.
É-s-séváno.  He skied.
É-x-ho'soo'e.  He danced.
É-s-tsehetósesto.  He is said to have said this to him (reportative mode).
É-š-koká'a'xeséstse.  He is said to have danced (reportative mode).
É-x-hetóhoono.  He said that to him (preterit mode).

Far past tense

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

Ná-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'néhévé!  Don’t do that (in the future!)
Tse-névéhta.  (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-hta-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-nëx-ho'ehne.  
He's coming.
É-ne't-amoo'kōho.  
Rain is approaching.
É-nës-tsēheta'hāhtse.  
He threw it toward here (that is, toward the speaker).

Imperative cislocatives

Néh-metséstse!  
Give it to me!
Néx-héstāñohtse!  
Bring it to me!
Nés-tsēhe'ooestse!  
Come here quickly!

Translocative

The directional that indicates action away from a speaker is called a translocative. It is spelled ta-.

É-tā-hémanohe.  
He went for water.
É-ta-ēṣeta'ēhne ēšē'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 sāa- before anything else that begins with a vowel. This glottal stop is not itself a preverb.

Examples of verbs with preverbs

1. Nē-sta-évā-hóse-vóo-m-ātse.  
   2-FUT-TRL-back-again-see-AOAM-INV:1  
   I will see you again.

2. Nā-ohkē-sāa'-onē'séome-pēhēve-tsēhést-o'anē-he.  
   1-HAB-not-EP-truly-well-Cheyenne-pronounce-NEG  
   I truly do not pronounce Cheyenne well.

   Q-HAB-why-about-bury-lie-NEG-INF147  
   That must be why he lies around buried hiding. (The Bat)

4. Tse-nēs-sāa'-évā-hō'e-anōhe-ohtsē-he.  

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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-nêšé-hetóse-ame-néhov-ó-sest-o.
   3-FUT-TRL-continue-continually-chase-DIR-RPT-OBV
   It's said he kept on following them.

   2-CIS-going.to-PURP-scare-INV
   He is going to come to scare you.

   2-going.to-only-try-scare-INV
   He is only going to try to scare you.

8. É-h-ne'-osáane-ée-nëš-e-tóha'háhtsé-nô-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.

    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-tâ-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'še-vá'ne-tšëške'-mé'ëst-á.
    3-going.to-just-little-explain-IOAM
    I'm just going to explain it a little.

15. tsé-ohke-ée-méhae-ne'ëtam-ëse
    CNJ-HAB-about-used.to-depend.on-2PL
    what you (plural) used to depend on
   3-PST-TRL-already-big-explain-DETRANS-RPT
   It's said he was constantly explaining a lot. (Sweet Medicine)

17. É-h-ne'-osáane-másó-ame-méohé-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-RECIPE-RPT-3PL
   It's said they simply all piled in on each other.

19. É-x-he'ké-hešé-hosó-hné-hoo'o.
   3-PST-slowly-REL-backwards-walk-PRET
   Once upon a time he slowly went backwards.

    3-PST-TRL-already-necessarily(??)-complete-by-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-'ohké-sáa-sé'howe-évá-ho'-éhné-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-évá-asé-hóó'-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>a'me</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>éšé</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>hávésévé</td>
<td>badly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he</td>
<td>have</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hé</td>
<td>for the purpose of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
hehpe- more
he'ame- up
he'aná- easily
he'ke- slowly, softly
he'kone- hard
heóme- too much
hése- for such reason
heše- manner
hetóeve- in evening
hetóse- continually
hetaa'- to such extent
hóe- out from
ho'(e)- arrive
hóose- go home
hoove- mistakenly
hóse- again
hóxe'- cleanly
kánome- although
mae- all over
máhe- all
máhove- tiredly
ma'heóne- sacredly
má'se- complete
ma'xe- big, much
másó'- suddenly, in a group
méhae- used to
me'- should
mé'(e)- appear
méo- early morning
móne- recently
ne- referring back
neh- toward, cislocative
nésta- previously
néše- continue
něšená- while
něševe- fast
néthóvé- differently
nōhtove- know how to
no'- also, included
no'hé- aside
nó'se- over
nonáháxe- regularly
ohke- might
o'ome- bypass
ó'ðse- mistakenly
ónáxe- might
oné'seóme- truly
onése- try to
onó'e- proper
osáane- commence
osee- intense
páháve- good, well
péhéve- good, well
sáa- not
sé'e- down into
sé'hove- suddenly
sétové- middle
sóhpe- through
só'(e)- still
taa'vé- at night
tae- exactly
ta'e- disappear
taome- by self
táve- slightly
táxe- on top
to'se- going to
tónéše- how?, somehow
tóxe- along the edge
tse- referring forward
tšéhe'še- never
tšěške'- little
váhtome- nevertheless
vá’ne- just
vá’ose- complete
vé'(e)- prohibit
vése- with
xae-, xamae simply, ordinarily
xanove- straight

Aspectual preverbs

Some preverbs are primarily aspectual in nature, including:

ase-
éne-
éšé-
méhae-
hetóše-
mónë-
nëšë-
ohke-
osáane-
mášë-
nonáháxe- / onáháxe- / onáxe-
to'še-

Examples with aspectual preverbs
Máheameóestse nêhëno é-méhae-'ëevo'ëstanëheve. All Runner used to live there. (1987:182)
Tse-nonáháxe-pe'pe'edëte. There might be trouble. (1987:27)
É'-osáane-asénovóso. He began to sing to them. (1980:45:18)

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

anôhe-
e'(e)-
ése-
he'ame-
hôe-
nô'hë-
sé'e-
së'heve-
sôhpe-
sô'(e)-
tâxe-
tôxe-

Examples with path preverbs

Quantity preverbs
Some preverbs communicate information about quantity and intensity:

áhane-
háe-
hehepë-
heôëme-
máhe-
ma'xe-
osee-
Examples with quantity preverbs

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

- hávéséve-
- hóxe'e-
- pěhéve-
- véhone-
- xae-, xamae-

Examples with quality preverbs

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

- a'ene-
- hetóaevé-
- méo-
- taa'evé-

Examples with temporal preverbs

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

- tao'̂se-

Tšëške'e né-tao'̂se-vá'̂něhóhta'haovatsénóvo naměšéme. 'I'm going to tell you (pl) a little about my (great) grandfather.' (1987:17)

Certain combinations of preverbs communicate unique information about aspect and modality:

- éšé-hó'ko-: of necessity

É-éšé-hó'ko'-měšhe. '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'továtse! 'I would NEVER forget you!'

- me'-hó'ke-: should have

Né-me'-hó'ke'-mé'èstomeve. 'You should have told me.'

- oh-to'se-: almost but failed
Ná-oh-to'sé-hovánee'e. 'I almost died.'

sáa-tóněše:: cannot, unable to
Ná-sáa-tóněše-tséhe'ohtséhe. 'I am not able to go (there).'</n ás-sáa-tóněše-éne-e'kó'o'heséstse. 'It's said he just couldn't stop looking out.' (1987:298)

sáa-tšěhe'še:: never
Né-sáa-tšěhe'še-vóomséhe. 'I never see you.' (= I haven't seen you in ages)

tó'e-ase:: almost
Náhóhpö éhešéhāná; mó-tó'e-ase-ávoonęhéhe. 'He ate up absolutely all of his food; he must have been (almost) starved.'

tó'-tae-
tóněšé-hé-
vé'-hé-
$$OTHERS??
$$FULL VERB EXAMPLES??

**Verb stem formation**

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

**Roots**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>root</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-a'xaame</td>
<td>cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ase</td>
<td>leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-émá/</td>
<td>take a sweat</td>
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<tr>
<td>-émohóne</td>
<td>hunt</td>
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<tr>
<td>-he'ke</td>
<td>be tender</td>
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<tr>
<td>/-hoe/</td>
<td>be at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ho'ahe</td>
<td>want</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-ho'sóe/</td>
<td>dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-homosé/</td>
<td>cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-hotse'óhe/</td>
<td>work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/-mae/</td>
<td>bark (of a dog)</td>
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<td>-mane</td>
<td>drink</td>
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<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>
Examples of verb roots

Éa'xaame. He's crying.
É-éma. He's having a sweat.
Ná-ho'ahe. I want (it).
Ná-hoo'e. I'm (here).
É-mane. He's drinking.
É-mésehe. He's eating.
É-mó'e. He's inviting to a meal.
É-née'e. He's standing.

Initials

Initials are the first meaning part of many Cheyenne verb stems. An initial requires at least a medial or final to be a complete verb stem. Here are some of the most commonly used Cheyenne initials:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>initial</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>initial</th>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>initial</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>á'(k)av-</td>
<td>droop</td>
<td>én-</td>
<td>end</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áhan-</td>
<td>extreme</td>
<td>ést-</td>
<td>into</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>áv-</td>
<td>fall over</td>
<td>éstov-</td>
<td>blow</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'e'-</td>
<td>separate (be)</td>
<td>és-/éx-</td>
<td>already/finish</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'enó'n-</td>
<td>dark</td>
<td>éš-/éx-</td>
<td>pointed</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'k-</td>
<td>round</td>
<td>év-</td>
<td>about</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'kón-</td>
<td>squat</td>
<td>éxov-</td>
<td>warm</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a't-/a's-</td>
<td>accidentally</td>
<td>e'(k)os-</td>
<td>turn over</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ae'ta'é-</td>
<td>face</td>
<td>e'-</td>
<td>up</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aéstom-</td>
<td>false</td>
<td>e's-</td>
<td>dress</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahko'-</td>
<td>roll</td>
<td>e't/-e's-</td>
<td>fear</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ahto(h)-</td>
<td>under</td>
<td>e'xov-</td>
<td>peel</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am-</td>
<td>along</td>
<td>há-</td>
<td>much</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ames(t)-</td>
<td>crosswise</td>
<td>háa'es(t)-</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-</td>
<td>down</td>
<td>háahk-</td>
<td>small (very)</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ane'k-</td>
<td>prick</td>
<td>háahoht-</td>
<td>large</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ase(t)-</td>
<td>away/start</td>
<td>hávésév-</td>
<td>back (head posture)</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>axe-</td>
<td>scratch</td>
<td>hahé-</td>
<td>bad</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é'(k)om-</td>
<td>oily</td>
<td>hahp-</td>
<td>rub</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>é'-</td>
<td>break</td>
<td>hé'hév-</td>
<td>fasten</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
<td>hé'he(šk)-</td>
<td>suck</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hé'hév-</td>
<td>wrinkled</td>
<td>ém(ooht)-</td>
<td>secretly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p'a'(k)</td>
<td>lump/knob/hump</td>
<td>tónet-/tóněš-</td>
<td>how?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pāhpon</td>
<td>flat on top</td>
<td>tóoxe'-</td>
<td>copy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pano'</td>
<td>spread on</td>
<td>tóv-</td>
<td>stubborn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pé(n)</td>
<td>grind</td>
<td>tóva-</td>
<td>imitate/pattern</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>péhp</td>
<td>loose/shaggy</td>
<td>tóx-</td>
<td>edge/around</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pěhév</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>tóhvó-</td>
<td>gap (cf. slit)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pe'pe'</td>
<td>rough/troubled</td>
<td>to(n)-</td>
<td>cold</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pó'(k)</td>
<td>gray</td>
<td>toést-</td>
<td>string (e.g. bead)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pó'</td>
<td>explode/pop</td>
<td>toe(n)-</td>
<td>hold</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>pó(n)</td>
<td>hit/slap</td>
<td>tóhkóm-</td>
<td>few</td>
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<tr>
<td>póh</td>
<td>swell</td>
<td>tómoht-/tomós-</td>
<td>raise</td>
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<td>pónoma'</td>
<td>uncovered</td>
<td>tox-</td>
<td>low</td>
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<td>po'</td>
<td>off of</td>
<td>tóvó'k-</td>
<td>slit (cf. gap)</td>
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<td>popé'</td>
<td>rough</td>
<td>tseó'-</td>
<td>sprawl</td>
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<td>sé'</td>
<td>into centerX</td>
<td>tséva(n)-</td>
<td>dusty</td>
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<td>sé'h-/séš-</td>
<td>awake</td>
<td>tsehé's(t)-</td>
<td>Cheyenne</td>
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<td>sé'ho'</td>
<td>stake in</td>
<td>tséhe'ěs(t)-</td>
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<td>scrape</td>
<td>tšéhe'kěs(t)-</td>
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<td>sé(hp)-</td>
<td>stretch</td>
<td>tšěške'-</td>
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<td>séet</td>
<td>same</td>
<td>vá’oht-/vá’ós-</td>
<td>complete</td>
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<td>sét-/séš-</td>
<td>remain</td>
<td>vé'h-</td>
<td>contain</td>
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<td>sétov-</td>
<td>middle</td>
<td>vé'ke-</td>
<td>sweet</td>
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<tr>
<td>sóhkóm-</td>
<td>slender</td>
<td>vé'ohk-</td>
<td>bitter/sting/pain</td>
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<tr>
<td>sóhp-</td>
<td>through</td>
<td>vé's-</td>
<td>rapid</td>
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<tr>
<td>sóv-</td>
<td>diminish</td>
<td>véhon-</td>
<td>chiefly</td>
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<td>šé(š)-/šé(x)-</td>
<td>free</td>
<td>véhp-</td>
<td>empty/hollow</td>
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<td>táh-/táx-</td>
<td>top</td>
<td>vén-</td>
<td>disagreeable/cross</td>
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<td>tátse-</td>
<td>antagonize</td>
<td>vés(t)-</td>
<td>with</td>
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<tr>
<td>táv-</td>
<td>goofy</td>
<td>ve'ev-</td>
<td>concave</td>
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<tr>
<td>ta'</td>
<td>disappear</td>
<td>vó'(k)óm-</td>
<td>white</td>
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<tr>
<td>ta'ov-</td>
<td>angry</td>
<td>vó'ho'-</td>
<td>light/shine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ta'p-</td>
<td>weak</td>
<td>vón-</td>
<td>light</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ta'ta'</td>
<td>open/unlock</td>
<td>vó(hp)-</td>
<td>light (color)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>taeváh-</td>
<td>measure</td>
<td>vóeše-</td>
<td>rejoice</td>
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<tr>
<td>táhpe'</td>
<td>big</td>
<td>vóhk-</td>
<td>bend</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tam-</td>
<td>stubby</td>
<td>vóho'oes-</td>
<td>discard</td>
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<tr>
<td>tō'ês(t)-</td>
<td>long</td>
<td>vóhpóh-</td>
<td>strict</td>
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<tr>
<td>tó'h-</td>
<td>stop</td>
<td>vóo-</td>
<td>all night</td>
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<tr>
<td>tó'hov-</td>
<td>between</td>
<td>vós-</td>
<td>hole/depression</td>
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<td>tó'kes(t)-</td>
<td>short</td>
<td>vóvo'k-</td>
<td>naked</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tó'om-</td>
<td>steady/firm</td>
<td>von-</td>
<td>remove</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tó'ov-</td>
<td>for good</td>
<td>vonó-</td>
<td>lift</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tó(n)ov-</td>
<td>thick</td>
<td>vovéh-</td>
<td>scarred</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóhp-</td>
<td>poke</td>
<td>vovó'h-</td>
<td>spotted (white)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>tóhto(n)-</td>
<td>flat</td>
<td>vovó-</td>
<td>first/ahead</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>tóhtom-</td>
<td>aimless</td>
<td>xá'xán-</td>
<td>massage</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Prefix</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td></td>
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<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xanov-</td>
<td>straight</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xo'-</td>
<td>salve (put on)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>xo'xon-</td>
<td>dent</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**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-pèhèvé-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’ahtse148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back</td>
<td>-’pa'oná</td>
<td>ma’pa’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belly</td>
<td>-asé</td>
<td>matonēše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blood</td>
<td>-ma'emá</td>
<td>ma’e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breast, udder</td>
<td>-tanahá</td>
<td>matāna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calf</td>
<td>-sevá</td>
<td>hésevo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear</td>
<td>-’está</td>
<td>mãhtovóo’otse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elbow</td>
<td>-htsé'ooná</td>
<td>mãhtsé'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'ěško</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>

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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-\textit{noná}-otse. I twisted my ankle.
Náé’ė-\textit{škóhtá}-xe. I fell and broke my leg.
Énxéoós-\textit{éne}. He has a cute face.
Éma’e-\textit{esé}-vose. He has a red nose from the cold.
Néše’šé-\textit{he’öná}-htse! Wash your hands!
Éhese-\textit{na’eva}-otse. He has cramps in his arms.
Éhese-\textit{nomá}-otse. He has cramps in his thigh.
Éookohkeve-\textit{notóva}. He has a black dirty neck. (lit., he-crowlike-neck)
Étséhe’se-\textit{na’eva}. He has long arms.
Étotšéške’e-\textit{ésta}. His ears stick out.
Évóhpe-\textit{tanēva}. He has thrush. (lit., he-white-tongue)
Nápóe-\textit{stséá-hno}. I punched him in the head.
Étahpe’-\textit{ase}. He has a big belly.
Éó-\textit{ohta}. He is constipated. (lit., he-dry-bowels)
Éhévoe-\textit{tanahá}-no’hême. He's milking. (lit., he-squeeze-udder-livestock).
Náéxové-\textit{hahtá}-ho’he. I’m warming my feet.(lit.,I-warm-foot-by.heat)
Éhéšk-\textit{onené}’-o. He (especially a dog) is showing his teeth (for example, when snarling at someone).

Néstsevé’hetséhénho éše’he! Néstsematse-\textit{őse}. 'Don’t point at the sun (or moon)! You’ll get an infected finger.'
Taa’ëva néstsevé’novo’eohitséme! Mésta’ë néstseném-\textit{áhtsená}-o’haëvo. 'Don’t eat outside at night! A ghost will give you Bell’s palsy (lit., crooked mouth).'

\footnote{Rarely used as a noun.}
**Other medials**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>medial</th>
<th>noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ground, land</td>
<td>-óma'</td>
<td>ho'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>husband</td>
<td>-éhamá</td>
<td>naéhame(^{150})</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>-'évá</td>
<td>náhtse‘eme(^{151})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of verbs with other medials

Ée'-óma'-o’e. It's upward sloped ground.
Évóhp-een-oo’e. The ground is covered with white snow.
Éanoh-óné-áná. He lowered it with a rope.
Éto-óom-âše’se. He's drinking a cool liquid.
Évon-ó’é-ma. He was lost in thick bushes.
Énéšè-éva. He has two wives.

**Finals**

Finals are the last meaning part of many verb stems before any grammatical suffixes occur referencing person, number, animacy, obviation, and mode. Finals can be categorized into two groups, concrete finals and abstract finals.

**Concrete finals**

Concrete finals specify what kind of an instrument, position, or action was used to carry out what the verb, as a whole refers to, such as whether the action was done by hand, foot, mouth, heat, cutting, standing, sitting, lying down, flying, or running. Here are some common concrete finals in Cheyenne:

**Instrumental finals**

Instrumental finals tell what kind of an instrument was used to perform the action of the verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>by foot</td>
<td>-a’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by hand</td>
<td>-an, -en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by cutting</td>
<td>-as (TA), -es (TA), -ax (TI), -ex (TI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by mouth</td>
<td>-óm (TA), -óht (TI)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by tool</td>
<td>-oh(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by heat</td>
<td>-(a)ho’h(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by cold</td>
<td>-ose (AI), -ohta (II)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by liquid</td>
<td>-óová</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>by speaking</td>
<td>-em</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{150}\) Naéhame 'my husband' is obsolescent. Today Cheyennes usually say tsévéstoemo 'the one who is my spouse' for either a husband or wife.

\(^{151}\) Literally, 'my woman'. This word is obsolescent, replaced by tsévéstoemo. Today náhtse‘eme sounds vulgar since the related verb stem -hestse‘eme is so close in pronunciation and means 'to have sex' (lit., to have a woman).
Examples of verbs with instrumental finals

Nápo'-óhn-o. I broke him off with a tool. (lit., I-off-by.tool-him)
Nápo'-ésh-o. I cut him off. (litl, I-off-by.cutting-him)
Éat-áx-a. He accidentally cut it. (lit., I-accidentally-by.cutting-it)
Nápéhévé-átám-o. I like him (lit., I-good-regard-him)
Étsēshke'-óóva. It shrunk from washing. (lit., it-small-by.water)
Éta’p'-ose. He gets cold easily. (lit., he-weak-by.cold)
Éhe'kon-óhta. It’s frozen. (lit., it-hard.by.cold)
Návon-ahō'h-a. I burned it up. (lit., I-remove-by.heat)
Énomone'hána. He fell asleep eating (lit., he-drowsy-eat)
Nápéhévé-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), -oéstdá (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-oéssta. It's noon. (lit., it-middle-hang)
Éov-éša. He went to bed. (lit., he-prostrate-lie)
Návéhp-ésé-mo. I emptied him. (e.g. a jug; lit., I-empty-lie-him)
Éháoéná-óó'e. He prayed standing up. (lit., he-pray-stand)
Énomone-oo'e. He fell asleep sitting. (lit., he-drowsy-sit)

Action finals

Action finals tell what kind of general action was done. An initial with an action final further describes the kind or path of the action:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>carry on back</td>
<td>-o'xe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dance</td>
<td>-ohomó'he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>-asé'se</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eat</td>
<td>-e'haná</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall</td>
<td>-a'ó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flow</td>
<td>'-sevó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>-e'há</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>-ohtsé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>housework</td>
<td>-mosé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jerk</td>
<td>-a'xe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of verbs with action finals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>É-én-o'xe.</td>
<td>He unburdened. (lit., he-stop-carry.on.back)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éam-ó'-éna.</td>
<td>He hauled it by wagon. (lit., he-along-roll-FTI-it)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhosó-hne.</td>
<td>He walked backwards. (lit., he-backwards-walk)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énèhe-móse.</td>
<td>She does housework quickly. (lit. he-quickly-do.housework)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éanóhe-'sèvo.</td>
<td>It's flowing down. (lit., it-down-flow)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhahpe-nó'e.</td>
<td>She's sewing. (lit., she-fasten-sew)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Námá's-énome.</td>
<td>I got enough sleep. (lit., I-complete-sleep)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Épèhév-ahe.</td>
<td>He is good.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épèhév-a'e.</td>
<td>It is good</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhe'kot-ahe.</td>
<td>He is a quiet person.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Éotá’tav-ahé. He's blue.
Éotá’tav-o. It's blue.
Éhe’kon-ahé. He's hard.
Éhe’kon-o. It's hard.
Éméhoht-ahé. He is a loving person.
Éménoh- sáne. He loves.
Évovéstom-ósáné. He's teaching
Éáaat-ósáné. He listens (to people).
Émásétsést-ósáné. He welcomes (people).
Éháoen-hhtove. There is praying.
Émésht-ósáne. He's teaching
Éáaht-ósáne. He listens (to people).
Émásets-éstósáne. He welcomes (people).
Éháoen-htove. There is praying.
Émbés-éhtove. There is eating.
Émáné-nove. There is drinking (same as Émáné-stove)
Nápéhév-omóhtahe. I feel good (physically).
Náha-oimóhtahe. I'm sick.
Nápéhév-táno. I'm happy (lit., I-good-mental.state)
Návóó-m-o. I saw him. (lit., I-see-TAOM-him)
Épénévé-tov-óho. He was good to him (obviative) (lit., he-good-TR-obv)

Relative roots

In Algonquian language relative roots, preverbs, and initials relate the verb they are in to something preceding or following in the speech context. Cheyenne heše- functions as a relative preverb and as a complementizer in dependent verbs of complex sentences, which is a kind of relative function. The initial heš-/het-152 performs the same anaphoric discourse function as does the heše-relative preverb. The preverb né- can precede a relative root or initial to further specify that it refers back to something preceding in the speech context. That is, it is an anaphoric marker. The preverb tsé- can precede a relative root or initial to specify that it refers forward to something yet to be said. So, tsé- is a cataphoric marker. Relative roots, preverbs, and initials are boldfaced in the following examples:

Examples with relative roots

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

Examples with the relative preverb

Kovááhe ná-hešé-véhe. 'Youngman, that's how I am called (named).'
Táháóhe hákó-e tósa’e hoháá’èse máostá-hešé-héttoo’èhehvóhe. 'Far away somewhere that’s where they were taken to prison.' (1987:185)

Examples with the relative initial

Mónáoseeháeanáhæe; náahpo 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- $\text{DEVELOP THIS SECTION OR COMBINE IT WITH THE PREVIOUS SECTION ON 'have' stems UNDER AI VERBS}$

Instrumentals

Instrumentals are language forms that indicate the tools or means used to do actions. Cheyenne has two ways of expressing that someone is doing something "with" or "by means of" something:

1. Instrumental preverb vé'še-
2. Instrumental suffix –vá

Ná-vé'še-mésehe ane'kōhomó'héstōte. I ate with a fork.
Námésehe ane'kōhomó'héstó-vá. I ate with a fork.

$\text{ARE THE EXAMPLES FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF THE BOOK NATURAL ENOUGH TO INCLUDE?? TRY TO INCLUDE SOME NATURAL EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS BELOW.}$

**Instrumental preverb vé'še-**

The preverb vé'še- is used to indicate that the action or state of a verb was accomplished or reached by means of something.

Návé'še-ooma kāhámáxe. ?? He hit me with a stick.
Ho'évohkōtse ná-vé'še-háomóhtăhōtse. The meat made me sick.
Kokōhēáxa ná-vé'še-háomóhtăhōtse'nōtse. The chicken (animate) made me sick. $\text{IS THIS A NATURAL EXAMPLE??}$

**Instrumental suffix –vá**

The suffix /–vá/ marks a noun which is used to perform some action.

Náoooma kāhamāxéhé-vá. He hit me with a stick.
Náa'tăxestse mótsēské-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: $\text{HOW NATURAL IS THIS??}$

Ná-vé'še-oó'xoemáhāne hôkōxé-vá. I chopped wood with an ax. $\text{RECHECK}$

**Other examples**

Náoo'xoemáhāne hôkōxéva. I chopped wood with an ax.
Návé'šeoó'xoemáhāne hôkōxé. 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 nápenóha 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:

  - Náháóéna I prayed
  - Náháoenavomotāho I prayed for him
  - Néháoenavomotahtse I prayed for you
  - Néháoenavomotatsemeno We (exclusive) prayed for you (sg/pl).

  -vomotah can also express a substitutive meaning, which is a kind of benefactive meaning. A substitutive meaning communicates the idea that someone does something in place of someone else.

  - Náhotse’óhevomotāho I worked for him (that is, I worked in his place).

  The English sentence "I worked for him" is ambiguous in that it can mean that I worked in his place. Or, it can also mean that I worked for someone who would earn money. Cheyenne uses a different ending on its verb for 'work' to express the idea of working for someone as employment:

  - Náhotse’ota I worked for him (that is, he employed me)
  - Náhotse’óto He worked for me (that is, I employed him)
  - Nátotse’ótoo'o They worked for me (that is, I employed them)

**Other benefactive finals**

Some abstract TA finals can express a benefactive meaning with certain verb stems:

  - Nánéméne. I sang.
  - Nánéméövo. I sang for him (benefactive).
  - Nánémoeva. He sang for me (benefactive).

  - Náhonóhta. I baked it.
  - Náhonóhtomēvo. I baked it for him.
  - Náhonóhtomevonótse. I baked them (inan) for him.
  - Náhonóhtomóenótse. He baked them (inan) for me.

**Causatives**

Some TA verb endings express the idea of causing someone to do something.

- **-’seh**

  The TA final –’seh can be added to many TA verb stems to create causatives:

\(^{155}\) Corn is referred to as a grammatical plural in Cheyenne.
Náménéméné'sého. I made him sing. (without the final, Énéméné = He sang)
Náménéméné'seha. He made me sing.

Náméshé'sého. I made him eat.
Náovésená'sého. I made him go to bed.
Nánaótsé'sého. I made him sleep.
Náhotse'óhé'sého.?? I made him work.
Náhomósé'sého. I made him cook.

Náméshé'séhatsenótse.?? I made you eat him (e.g. a duck).
Náméshé'séhatsénoto.?? I made you eat them (animate).
Éméséhé'séhónoto.?? He made him (obv) eat him (obv).
Néméséhé'séseótse.?? You made me eat him.

Návóó'sého. I showed it to him (lit. I caused him to see it).
Návóó'séhonótse I showed them (inan) to him.

Other causative finals
Some other, more abstract finals, combine with some verb roots to have a causative kind of meaning:

-m abstract TA final
Some TA verbs with an abstract final sometimes communicate a causative meaning:

Éhohtsemóho. He made him (obv) laugh. (Éhohtse = He laughed)
Éhetóteñóho. He made him (obv) rejoice.
Éháestáhémóho. He angered him (obv).

Reduplication
Create this section, referring to Elena’s paper on reduplication

Particles
In this book we consider any part of speech other than nouns and verbs to be particles. We introduced particles at the beginning of this book. We mentioned that possible subtypes of particles are demonstratives, indefinite pronouns, interrogative particles, numbers, conjunctions (connectives), exclamations (??), epistemic particles (??), and location particles.$$

Develop this section

Conjunctions
Conjunctions, also known as connectives, are words which connect other words or longer stretches of speech together:

naa and
máto also
oha only
néhe'se  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)
he'tóhe  this (inanimate)
tá'tóhe  that (animate)
há'tóhe  that (inanimate)

Demonstratives can modify a noun which they precede:

- tsé'tóhe ka'ēškóne  this child
- he'tóhe máheonótsé  these houses
- tá'tóhe mo'énho'ha  that horse
- há'tóhe máhe'óo  that house

Demonstratives can stand alone, referring to something which is not overtly mentioned by name:

- tsé'tóhe  this one (animate)
- he'tóhe  this one (inanimate)
- tá'tóhe  that one (animate)
- há'tóhe  that one (inanimate)

**Discourse demonstratives**

Another set of demonstratives refers to things which have already been spoken about in some
speech context. We call these discourse demonstratives. Discourse demonstratives can modify a
following noun or stand alone.

- néhe  this one referred to in the more recent discourse (animate)
- héne  this one referred to in the more recent discourse (inanimate)
- náhe  that one which speaker assumes hearer knows about (animate)
- háne  that one which speaker assumes hearer knows about (inanimate)

**Indefinite pronouns**

- hová'ēhe  something, nothing
- hovánee'e  no one
- nevá'eséstse  someone
- nevá'ēsesto
- néséhoo'o
néséhoono
nésévooh
hénáá'énése

hénéše
hénéšehe
Móhenèséhanehe

$OTHERS

**Interrogative particles**

Interrogative particles ask questions: **$GLOSS THESE PARTICLES**

néváâhe
névááso
neváaseo'o
neváasóho
hénová'e
hénová'ehótse
hénová'éto
hénová'etotse
hénová'etse
hénová’etsénése
hénová'etotsénése
hénáá'a
hénáá’énése
tóne'se
tósa'e

$ADD OTHERS

**Command particles**

Some particles function as commands:

Nóheto! Let's go!
Nóxa'e! Wait!
Ótahe! Listen!
Táaxa'e! Let's see! ($FUNCTIONS AS COMMAND??)

**Location particles**

Location particles refer to locations:

áhtóno'e under
anóheto below
he'amá up
heama side
taxeto top
tóxeha edge
Epistemic particles

Epistemic particles are important for communicating how Cheyenne speakers relate to what they are saying. They are especially useful in conversation as Cheyenne interact with each other. They are to a dialogue something like what seasoning is to food. Without these particles Cheyenne utterances would be less flavorful. Following are a number of these particles, with attempts to translate them to English. The late linguist Robert Longacre referred to particles like these as "mystery particles". That is an good label for particles which are so important to a discourse, yet are sometimes mysteriously difficult to analyze and define.

- ótāma: especially
- hotâhtse: unexpectedly, lo and behold
- aose: right?
- ta'se: like
- hámó'ōhtse: for instance
- mé'tó'e: on the other hand
- ónétáhtse: instead
- ótsēhámóhe: oops
- hé: Oh, I made a mistake
- ta'sótse: I mistakenly thought (contracted from ta'se hótáhtse)
- héva: maybe
- hēā'e: maybe
- hēá'ēháma: maybe
- tá'sēháma: maybe
- nóháse: anything, whatever
- nóhásēháma: just any way
- hévámóhe: I guess, apparently

Exclamatory particles

Exclamatory particles express strong feelings, typically of surprise or amazement. Cheyenne exclamatory particles traditionally have different pronunciations for females and males. Cheyenne exclamatory particles function like English interjections.

- Šaa! / Éaa!: Wow! (traditionally said by males, but said today by some females also)
- Náoo! / Nóoo!: Wow! (said only by females)
Emphatic particles

Some particles are created by adding the suffix -to to a preverb. These particles have a more emphatic meaning than the preverbs they are created from.

- ameto as time goes on
- anôheto down
- hehpeto later
- hóseto again
- oné'séómeto truly
- sóhpeto through
- táxeto on top

Examples with emphatic particles

hehpeto tsé'éšeméose Tsėhe'ėsta'éhe 'after the battle with Long Hair (Custer)' (1987:59)

Naa nêhe'še hóseto, "Amêške nêstseó'komatsénoho vóohe." 'And then again (he would say), "Fat, I'll take a small bite of you, stop."

(Croft 1988:18)

Numbers

Cheyenne numbers are expressed through several well developed systems. One set of numbers is used for counting how many things there are. Another set of numbers is used for counting how many times some action is done. Another set of numbers is used for counting groups. Some numbers are particles. Others are parts of verbs. Let's examine the various number systems.

Cheyennes usually teach children Cheyenne numbers in bilingual school programs. They teach children to count in Cheyenne, since they, the teachers, were taught to count in English when they were in school. But it is likely that number counting was never a natural Cheyenne activity--and it probably is not a natural activity for learning to speak English, either. And it is questionable how useful reciting numbers is for learning to converse in Cheyenne.

If you are a Cheyenne language teacher, I would encourage you to teach children numbers in natural ways, rather than teaching them a list of numbers and asking them to recite them. For instance, you might show them three balls and ask them, in Cheyenne, of course, how many balls there are. Ask them how many times they have played hand games. Teach them to ask how many months old a baby is and teach them how to give right answers to such a question.

Try to avoid teaching any lists of words, whether they are lists of number, colors, or animals. Speakers of any language do not normally recite lists of words. Instead, people naturally use words as they experience life. Try to remember how you were taught to understand and speak Cheyenne, and then try to teach that same way to children in Cheyenne language programs. The main point is: Make language teaching natural. Just keep speaking in Cheyenne to children, just as parents speak any language to their children. Parents keep talking to their children even though their children don't understand every word right away. But by repeating words and sentences over and over when it is the right time to say them in natural speech contexts, children begin to understand the words, whether it is "Don't do that!" in English or its equivalent "Névé'nêhešévé!" or thousands of other words in
whatever language you speak.

Even though learning to recite a list of Cheyenne numbers may not help children very much to learn to understand and speak Cheyenne, it is important, eventually, to learn the various ways that Cheyennes organize numbers and use them in natural speaking. Always, however, Cheyenne language needs to take place in natural speech contexts. While children are walking, eating, or playing, talk with them in Cheyenne about what they are doing and what you are doing. No one can learn to understand and speak Cheyenne by learning lists of words, looking up words in a Cheyenne dictionary, or even reading this grammar book. Cheyenne dictionaries and grammar books can be helpful resources. They just should not be used as patterns for teaching Cheyenne to others. Let’s now learn about Cheyenne numbers, even though we encourage you not to simply memorize the lists that are written in this section about numbers.

**Number particles**

Numbers which indicate how many things and how many times can be considered particles. Number particles are not inflected for animacy of a noun that they modify.

**Cardinal numbers**

Cardinal numbers tell how many things there are. Things counted can be anything, such as trees, cars, tepees, babies, men, women, dogs, cats, deer, books, or chokers. The pronunciation of a number does not change if the noun it modifies is animate or inanimate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne Numerals</th>
<th>English Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na'ëstse</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neše</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'he</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neve</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>noho</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naesohto</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésohto</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nohto</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sóohto</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máhtohto</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóhtó)hóhtahna'ëstse</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(máhtóhtó)hóhtahneše</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésó'e</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésó'e hóhtahna'ëstse</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésó'e hóhtahneše</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésó'e hóhtahna'he</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nó'e</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nó'e hóhtahnoho</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>névó'e</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nóhóno'e</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naesóhtóhnó'e</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nésóhtóhnó'e</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na'nóhtóhnó'e</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sóohtóhnó'e</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no'ka máhtóhtóhnó'e ??</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples of numbers of things

- na'èstse hetane: one man
- na'èstse kahámáxe: one stick
- neše mâheonótse: two houses
- neve he'eo'o: four women
- noho ka'èskóneho: five children
- naesohto póesonon: six cats
- nésó'e mo'kếhanótse: twenty shoes

Multiplicative numbers

Multiplicative numbers tell how many times some action was done. This set of numbers end with -a for 1-5 and -ha for 6-10.

- no'ka: once
- nexa: twice
- na'ha: 3 times
- neva: 4 times
- nóhona: 5 times
- naesóhtoha: 6 times
- nésóhtoha: 7 times
- na'hóhtoha: 8 times
- sóohtoha: 9 times
- máhtóhtoha: 10 times
- (mahtóhtoh)hóhtahn'ka: 11 times
- (mahtóhtoh)hóhtahnexa: 12 times
- nésó'e: 20 times (same pronunciation as for 20 things)
- no'ka máhtóhtóho'nëe: 100 times (same pronunciation as for 100 things)
- no'ka vonoéstónestóva: 1000 times (lit., once lost-count)

Examples of numbers of times

1. Nó'ka nénaeotse. 'You fainted one time.'
2. no'ka ho'né'èstóva 'one step length' (lit., 'once by step'; this is approximately one yard)
3. nexa hámohotsèhnéstóva tsénéhe'ésévoëntësètse '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 náhoxhéhë'sëva.?? '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
- névé: four groups
- nóhónóvé: five groups
- naesóhtóhnóvé: six groups
nésóhtóhnóvé  seven groups
na'nóhtóhnóvé  eight groups
sóóhtóhnóvé  nine groups
máhtóhtóhnóvé  ten groups

Examples of numbers of groups
nésóvé mo'kéhanótse  two pairs of shoes
névóvé xamaevióstaneo'o  four tribes of Indians
nóhónóvé nótáxeo'o  five bands of warriors

Numbers of days
A number preverb can occur with a noun suffix /-éš/ meaning 'day' to indicate how many days (actually overnights) of time have elapsed.

no'kéé’éše  one day\(^{156}\)
néšée’éše  two days
na'heé’éše  three days
névéé’éše  four days
nóhonééé’eše  five days

Examples in sentences:
Néšée’éše náévahoeöhtse. 'I returned four days ago.'
Névée‘éše móhnéma’eméohehevóhe. 'For four days they ran around.' (The Great Race, W. Leman, 1987:245)

Numbers in verbs
Cheyenne numbers appear in several verb constructions. They can occur as preverbs, initials, and roots of verbs.

Number preverbs
Here are some number preverbs:

no'ke-  one
néše-  two
na’he-  three
néve-  four
nóhone-  five

Examples with number preverbs
Ná-no'ke-ene.  I stayed one night.
Ná-néše-ene.  I stayed two nights.
É-néše-enó'tse.  It's the second day of the week.
Nána’he-enó’tse.  I camped three nights.
É-na’he-némeneo'o.  There are three of them singing.
É-néve-enó’e.  It was four overnights ago.
Vé’ho’éótó’a tse-névé-óhta.  The cow will have four legs. (Sweet Medicine's prophecy)
É-nóhone-aénáma.  He is five years old.

---

\(^{156}\) That is, an overnight.
Number initials

Here are some number initials:

- no'k- one
- nés- two
- na'n- three
- név- four
- nóhon- five

Examples with number initials

- É-nésoeme. He/It costs two (dollars).
- É-na'noéséne. Three hang. (e.g. of three stars in a constellation)
- É-névanëne. He did it four times.
- É-nóhon-oeme. He/It costs five (dollars).

Number roots

Number roots occur with both animate and inanimate subjects. Animate subjects can be of any person, first, second, third, or obviated:

Animate subjects

- É-no'kahe. There is one of him/her.
- É-néseo'o. There are two of them (animate).
- Ná-néšéme. There are two of us (exclusive).
- É-na'heo'o. There are three of them (animate).
- É-néveo'o. There are four of them (animate).
- É-nóhono'oeo'o. There are five of them (animate).
- É-naesohtóxo'o'o. There are six of them (animate).
- É-na'nóhtóxo'o'o. There are eight of them (animate).
- É-sóohtóxo'o'o. There are nine of them (animate).
- É-máhtóhtóxo'o'o. There are ten of them (animate).
- É-néso'oheo'o. There are twenty of them (animate).
- É-néso'oënëstse. There are twenty of them (inanimate).

Inanimate subjects

- É-nó'ka'e. There is one of it.
- É-néxánëstse. There are two of them (inanimate).
- É-na'hánëstse. There are three of them (inanimate).
- É-névánëstse. There are four of them (inanimate).
- É-nóhonanëstse. There are five of them (inanimate).
- É-naesohtohánëstse. There are six of them (inanimate).
- É-nésóhtohánëstse. There are seven of them (inanimate).
- É-na'nóhtohánëstse. There are eight of them (inanimate).
- É-sóohtohánëstse. There are nine of them (inanimate).
- É-máhtóhtohánëstse. There are ten of them (inanimate).

Numbers as participles

Number roots occur in participles that refer to either animate or inanimate things. The participles can take subjects of any person, first, second, third, or obviated:
**Animate Intransitive participles**

- tsé-no'kaestse: the one (animate) which is one in number
- tséh-no'káhétö: by myself, I alone
- néh-no'káhétö: I alone
- néh-néšése: both of you (plural)
- tsé-néšése: the two of them (animate)
- tsé-na'hese: the three of them (animate)
- tsé-névése: the four of them (animate)
- tsé-nóhonese: the five of them (animate)
- tsé-naesóhtōxesë: the six of them (animate)
- hotóhke'oo tsé-nésōhtōxesë: the seven stars (Cheyenne for the Pleiades constellation)
- tsé-na'nóhtōxesë: the eight of them (animate)
- tsé-sóohtōxesë: the nine of them (animate)
- tsé-máhtóhtōxesë: the ten of them (animate)

**Inanimate Intransitive participles**

- tsé-no'ká'ë: that which is number one
- tsé-néxa'ë: that which is number two
- tsé-na'ha'ë: that which is number three
- tsé-néva'ë: that which is number four

**Ordinal numbers**

Ordinal numbers tell what place something has in sequential order. The Cheyenne final /-a'ónétö/ indicates number sequence. Ordinal numbers can be expressed in either the independent or conjunct orders, as shown in the following examples (the conjunct order examples begin with tsé-):

- É-no'ka'ónétö. It is the first one.
- É-néxa'ónétö. It is the second one
- É-na'ha'ónétö. It is the third one
- É-néva'ónétö. It is the fourth one.
- É-nóhona'ónétö: the fifth one
- É-naesóhtōhna'ónétö: the sixth one
- É-nésōhtōhna'ónétö: the seventh one
- É-na'nóhtōhna'ónétö: the eighth one
- É-sóohtōhna'ónétö: the ninth one

**Group number verbs**

Cheyenne verbs can take a number initial plus an AI /-óvahe/ or II /-óvátö/ final indicating a group. This final is related to the /-óvé/ suffix we saw on particles for numbers of groups.

- É-nésóvahe'oo. There are three groups (animate).
- É-névo'vahe'oo: There are four groups (animate).
- É-névóvátónéstse: There are four groups (inanimate).
**Numbers in days of the week**

Numbers are used in names for some of the Cheyenne days of the week. Note that in Oklahoma the first day begins on Tuesday, while in Montana the first day begins on Monday. Here are some of the ways to say the Cheyenne days of the week. For other ways, see the later section of this book on Days of the week in the larger section on words for Time in Cheyenne. To make them easier to see, numbers in the names for days of the week are highlighted here:

**Oklahoma days of the week**

Here are days of the week for Oklahoma, as listed by Cheyenne language teacher Lenora Holliman:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Éno'keéno'e.</td>
<td>Tuesday (lit., 'It's the first day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Énéšééno'e.</td>
<td>Wednesday (lit., 'It's the second day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Éna'heéno'e.</td>
<td>It's Thursday (lit., 'It's the third day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Énéveéno'e.</td>
<td>It's Friday (lit., 'It's the fourth day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Étséške ma'heóneéšeeyeve.</td>
<td>It's Saturday (lit., 'It's the little holy day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Éma'heóneéšeeyeve.</td>
<td>It's Sunday (lit., 'It's the holy day.')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Éénema'heóneéšeeyeve.</td>
<td>It's Monday (lit., 'It's the end of the holy day.')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Montana days of the week**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>No'ka éšēeva</td>
<td>Monday (lit., 'on the first day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Nexa éšēeva</td>
<td>Tuesday (lit., 'on the second day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Na'ha éšēeva</td>
<td>Wednesday (lit., 'on the third day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Neva éšēeva</td>
<td>Thursday (lit., 'on the fourth day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Nóhona éšēeva</td>
<td>Friday (lit., 'on the fifth day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tšéške ma'heóneéšeēva</td>
<td>Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Ma'heóneéšeēva</td>
<td>Sunday (lit., 'on the holy day')</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 **eθkwé·wa, "woman")
hetane (PA *er*$$enyiwa, "man")
matana (PA *meθenyi, "milk")
šé’še
šémo
xɑ̰’o
pe’e
netse
hotóá’e
neše
na’he

PA: Cheyenne correspondences
Common Cheyenne reflexes of PA are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PA</th>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*e</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*o</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More recent Cheyenne sound changes
We can observe some changes in Cheyenne from published records. Other changes have been personally observed.

h-addition
We have noted that PA nouns that began with a vowel now begin with the letter "h" in Cheyenne. Most of this change occurred before the end of the 1800s when Petter began his study of Cheyenne. However, Petter (1915) did record some Cheyenne nouns which he heard beginning with a vowel, which later began with "h":

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>Petter</th>
<th>modern Cheyenne</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ant</td>
<td>azesc</td>
<td>hátsēke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ball</td>
<td>oxzem</td>
<td>hóhtséme</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siouxs</td>
<td>Ohoomoheo</td>
<td>Ho’óhoomo’eo’o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>oxoozz</td>
<td>cf. hoxo’ôhtsévó’êtse 'grass'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Simplification
Simplification of sound sequences and regularization of grammatical patterns commonly occur in languages. We observe both forms of language change in Cheyenne.
Loss of voiceless syllables

Younger Cheyenne speakers simplify the sounds of some words. They drop the sounds of some words, especially some voiceless syllables which are difficult to hear. Here are some words with their traditional pronunciation and pronunciations by many younger speakers today:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>traditional pronunciation</th>
<th>younger speaker pronunciation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>old woman</td>
<td>máhtamáhááhe</td>
<td>tamáháahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>book</td>
<td>móxe'éstoo'o</td>
<td>xe'éstoo'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I asked him</td>
<td>nánóhtséstóvo</td>
<td>nánéstóvo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berries</td>
<td>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>Måhpëvëna'håne</td>
<td>Pëvëna'håne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I see you</td>
<td>névóomätse</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>hë'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'óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sioux</td>
<td>/ho'óho'mo'é/</td>
<td>Ho'óhomòe</td>
<td>Ho'óhomóo'óho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see that the obviative suffix on these nouns is –óho. However, if a noun ended with a phonemic high pitch, it traditionally would take a low pitched suffix:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>phonemic</th>
<th>proximate</th>
<th>obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fly (insect)</td>
<td>/hésé/</td>
<td>hésé</td>
<td>heso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>/ho'honáé/</td>
<td>ho'honáá'e</td>
<td>ho'honaa'óo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>/nòte/</td>
<td>notse</td>
<td>noto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nighthawk</td>
<td>/pé'e/</td>
<td>pe'é</td>
<td>pe'o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>/šé'sé/</td>
<td>šé'še</td>
<td>šé'xo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pitches of obviatives and their suffixes alternated between high and low depending on the phonemic pitch of the penultimate (next-to-the-last) vowel. For several decades many fluent speakers have

---

been regularizing these alternations so that obviatives take only the single suffix /-óho/. So, the obviative nouns in the preceding list are increasingly pronounced as in the following list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>meaning</th>
<th>phonemic</th>
<th>proximate</th>
<th>obviative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fly (insect)</td>
<td>/hésé/</td>
<td>hése</td>
<td>hésóho ($$ RECHECK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rock</td>
<td>/ho'honáé/</td>
<td>ho'honáá'e</td>
<td>ho'honáóho($$ RECHECK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alien</td>
<td>/note/</td>
<td>notse</td>
<td>nótoho($$ RECHECK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nighthawk</td>
<td>/pé'e/</td>
<td>pe'e</td>
<td>pé'óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>/šé'sé/</td>
<td>šé'se</td>
<td>šé'xóho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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>émehoto</td>
<td>émehótóho</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'ý/</td>
<td>émo'o</td>
<td>émó'óho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>she suckled him (obv)</td>
<td>/-néh/</td>
<td>éneho</td>
<td>énhéóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he (obv) is nursing</td>
<td>/-néne/</td>
<td>éneno</td>
<td>énénoho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there are two of them (obv)</td>
<td>/-néše/</td>
<td>énexo</td>
<td>énexóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>there are four of them (obv)</td>
<td>/-névé/</td>
<td>énevo</td>
<td>énévóho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he hates him (obv)</td>
<td>/-péót/</td>
<td>épéoto</td>
<td>épéótóho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The older pronunciation has a low-pitched ending if the stem-final vowel is high-pitched. The regularized pronunciation has a high pitch on the first vowel of the obviative suffix, regardless of the pitch of the stem-final vowel.

Regularization of the TI theme sign

An 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>ésáahestánáhe</td>
<td>ésáahestánáhe</td>
<td>he did not take it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>náhéne'ëna</td>
<td>I know it</td>
<td>násáahéne'enóhe</td>
<td>násáahéne'enáhe</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>nénové '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 tóhëvetse, phonetically [tʰoʰɪc]. 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 Vášetaēno. This is a sound translation of the word "Washington" plus the Cheyenne locative suffix –no which means 'place'.

Loan translations
Cheyennes traditionally had no greetings or leavetakings. After bilingualism with English increased, Cheyennes literally translated English greetings and leavetakings to Cheyenne. These have been used for several decades by at least some Cheyenne speakers.

Greetings
Pévevóona'o 'Good morning'
Péveéšeeva 'Good day'
Pévéhetóéva 'Good evening'
Pévetaa'ēva 'Good night'

These greetings have been adapted to be pronounced as verbs, creating more natural sounding greetings used by some speakers:
Épévevóonā'o 'It's a good morning'
Épéveéšeeve 'It's a good day'
Épévéhetóeve 'It's a good evening'
Épévetaa'eve 'It's a good night'

**Good-bye**

The English leavetaking 'good-bye' (historically shortened from "God be with you") has not been literally translated to Cheyenne. Instead, Cheyennes have borrowed English "See you later!" as a leavetaking used by many speakers today. Cheyennes have adapted this borrowing to be pronounced as a fully inflected verb:

Néstaévahósevóomátse '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'æ)pónóhta $$$ toóneoheo'o! You hit the nail on the head!

We're scraping the bottom of the barrel.$$%

During one work session an elder and I literally translated an English idiom to Cheyenne:

É-ma'xemené-he'anátó 'It's plum easy'

The Cheyenne word for 'plum' is má'xeme. We used it as a preverb along with the Cheyenne verb stem /–he'anátó/ meaning. We then had fun combining this new preverb with other verbs, such as Éma'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
Recently created words
Here are some words recently created which are not widely used, but they could be if more Cheyennes knew about them:

$$(\text{see file DKMC signs.doc})$$
$$$(\text{see file Medical Terms.doc})$$
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'ēševötse 'baby', ka'ēškóne 'child', oeškēse 'dog', mahpe 'water', hoohtsëstse 'tree', and mé'ēstse 'always'.

Binomials

Sometimes one language requires two or more words to say the same thing said in another language by only one word. A two word phrase that refers to something is called a binomial. Cheyenne speakers use a single word (monomial), kāsovááhe, that requires two words (binomial) to say the same thing in English, "young man". English uses one word (monomial), "boy", that requires a compound word to say the same thing in Cheyenne, hetané-ka'ēškóne, literally "male-child". For now, we will consider a compound word as a kind of binomial (double word). Which is the better way of referring to a boy, the single English word "boy" or the Cheyenne double word, "hetané-ka'ēškóne"? Hopefully, you will answer that neither one is better. Both are good, appropriate ways to say the same thing in each language.

With that understanding, that each way of saying something is good, let us compare some monomials (single words) and binomials (double words) of Cheyenne and English:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>monomial</th>
<th>binomial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mé'ēševötse</td>
<td>hoohtsëstse 'tree',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka'ēškóne</td>
<td>'always'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oeškēse 'dog'</td>
<td>mahpe 'water',</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahpe 'water'</td>
<td>kāsovááhe,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoohtsëstse</td>
<td>hetané-ka'ēškóne,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mé'ēstse 'always'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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>Émésehe.</td>
<td>He (or She) is eating (or He, or She, ate).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ékoká'a'xe.</td>
<td>He (or She) is jumping. (or He, or She, was jumping.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nábáéána.</td>
<td>I'm hungry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Néešemésehhe?</td>
<td>Did you already eat?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épéhéva’e.</td>
<td>It's good.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'o'kōho.</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.  

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.\textit{\$FILL OUT THIS SECTION; IMPORT WHAT CAN BE USED FROM MY PAPER ON SEMANTIC CATEGORIZATION OF THE CHEYENNE LEXICON}\n
**Plurals**

**Animacy pairs**

**Diminutives**

**Antonyms**

**Synonyms**

**Hyponyms**

**Figurative language**

Figurative language is the use of speech to express meanings different from the literal meanings of words used. Cheyenne figurative language includes metaphors, similes, and idioms. In examples that follow, the literal meaning of an expression is given in parentheses after its figurative meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Énéšetaneva.??</td>
<td>He lies. (lit., he is two-tongued).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhéstova'kehe.</td>
<td>He is duplicitous. (lit., he is dual-natured??)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ého'néhevēhōhtse.</td>
<td>She outsmarts men. (lit., she has wolf footprints)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épéeēeše.</td>
<td>He is a hellraiser. (lit., he has a ground up nose)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Éhesó'xotoo'êsta.??(Éhesó'xo'êsta??)</td>
<td>He doesn't listen. (lit., he has slippery ears)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énéhestáha.</td>
<td>He's gets angry easily. (lit., he is quick-hearted)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ó'kohóme</td>
<td>sly, conniving person (lit., coyote)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Êó'kōhoméheve'éxáne.</td>
<td>He is sly/he cheats. (lit., he has coyote eyes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Énéhpōése ma'ēno.</td>
<td>It's foggy. (lit., the turtle is hanging shrouded)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Náméváá'e.</td>
<td>They gossiped about me. (lit., they ate me)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heávohe ntéaxe'há'tova.</td>
<td>You are in a bad mood. (lit., the devil is hanging over you)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wow, that's amazing! (lit., wow, close to a drymeat rack)
It has snowed and snow is hanging on tree branches. (lit., Old Man Winter is hanging drymeat)
ever (lit., when frogs have teeth)
He's "crazy". (lit., he's about to have horns)
He's angry. (lit. The mad drummer came to him)
I'm going to be stubborn. (lit., I'm going to swallow a rock)
I got up really early. (lit., I put on my shoes with the morning star)
Who is the boss? (lit., Who has the bell? This idiom is based on the image of the lead cow wearing a bell)
He drinks all the time. (lit., he is clothed with whiskey)
He's courting. (lit., he's barking)
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 an important part of Cheyenne language learning. Many Cheyenne children have learned to count from 1 to 10, using one or both of the two traditional Cheyenne number systems, numbers for how many things and numbers for how many times something is done:

Numbers of things

Numbers of times

Animals
Horses
Cheyenne life changed significantly after Cheyennes moved to the Great Plains and acquired horses. A horse culture developed. Words about horses became one of the most developed semantic domains of the Cheyenne language.
Fluent Cheyenne speakers have traditionally referred to various colors. Some of the words for colors can be used about almost any object. Other words are only used for certain purposes, such as the various colors of horses.

For several decades Cheyenne children have been taught Cheyenne colors in bilingual education programs. $$\text{FILL OUT THIS SECTION AND INCLUDE COLOR SECTION FROM THE FIRST EDITIONS OF THIS BOOK}$$
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Color</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>black</td>
<td>émo?kótávo</td>
<td>émo?kótaívahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blue</td>
<td>éotá?távo</td>
<td>éotá?tavahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown</td>
<td>émošéškáno</td>
<td>émošéškanehe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>brown, tan</td>
<td>énóno</td>
<td>énónahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gray</td>
<td>épá?o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green</td>
<td>éhoxo?ohtsévo</td>
<td>éhoxo?ohtsévahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orange</td>
<td>éma?éheóvo</td>
<td>éma?éheóvahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pink</td>
<td>éma?o?omo?ohtsévo</td>
<td>éma?omo?ohtsévahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purple</td>
<td>éhoxohkó?so</td>
<td>éhoxohkó?saha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red</td>
<td>éma?o</td>
<td>éma?ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>évó?émo</td>
<td>évó?omahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>évó?kómo</td>
<td>évó?komahé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>white, light</td>
<td>évó?hpo</td>
<td>évó?pahé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>éheóvo</td>
<td>éheóvahe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éheóvdóva</td>
<td>He is yellow-furred.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>épéhédóva</td>
<td>He has nice fur.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évó?nejédóva</td>
<td>He (e.g. a horse) is bay-colored.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>éhohkó?sóva</td>
<td>He is chestnut-colored.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>émo?kótaexamanóva</td>
<td>He is brown-black--colored.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>émo?kéváhetóva</td>
<td>He is buckskin.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>énóndóva</td>
<td>He is tan-colored.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>évóvó?hase</td>
<td>He is pinto.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**COLOR PARTICIPLES:**
- tséhóvo: the yellow one (inan)
- tséhóvodó?éstse: the yellow ones (inan)
- tséhóváestse: the yellow one (an)
- tséhováhese: the yellow ones (an)
- tsémá?táse: the red ones (an)
- tsévó?komó?éstse: the white ones (inan)

**COLORS AS "ADJECTIVES":**
- heóve-mae?e: yellow feather
- heóve-máheó?o: yellow house
- vóhpe-ná?hkohe: polar bear (white-bear)

**COLORS IN VERB CONSTRUCTIONS:**
- éheóvdóse: He has yellow hair.
- éma?ésse: He has a red nose.
- émošéškanó?éxána: He has brown eyes.
## Kinship terms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>the one who is ___</th>
<th>the one who is my ___</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tséhéhestovéstse</td>
<td>tséhéhéto</td>
<td>father, paternal uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškástovéstse</td>
<td>tséheškáto</td>
<td>mother, maternal aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheméšéméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheméšéméto</td>
<td>grandfather, fa-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevéškenéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhevéškenéto</td>
<td>grandmother, mo-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhee?hahéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhee?hahéto</td>
<td>son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheštónahéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheštónahéto</td>
<td>daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevéxahéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhevéxahéto</td>
<td>grandchild</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheštatanáméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheštatanáméto</td>
<td>brother (of female)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhemhéöstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhemhéáto</td>
<td>older sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevséméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhevsémáto</td>
<td>younger sibling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhea?néhéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhea?néhéto</td>
<td>older brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevéšsonéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhevéšsonéto</td>
<td>sibling (incl. cousin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheaxáa?eheméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheaxáa?ehéméto</td>
<td>sister (man's), sis-in-law (fem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhešéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhešéto</td>
<td>maternal uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheškamónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheškamónéto</td>
<td>maternal aunt, stepmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevtaméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhevtaméto</td>
<td>paternal aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhevétovéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhevé?tovéto</td>
<td>cross sibling-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhea?hamhéöstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhea?hamhéáto</td>
<td>brother-in-law (man's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhestsénotahéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhestsénotahéto</td>
<td>cross niece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheš?éméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheš?éméto</td>
<td>cross nephew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheheméstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhehemáto</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheamónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheamónéto</td>
<td>husband</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséheštónahamónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséheštónahamónéto</td>
<td>niece, stepdaughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhe?hamónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhe?hamónéto</td>
<td>nephew, stepson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhehamónéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhehamónéto</td>
<td>paternal uncle, stepfather</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tséhenésónahéstovéstse</td>
<td>tséhenésónahéto</td>
<td>child</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note: see other material on kinship terms under TRANSITIVE ANIMATE CONJUNCT PARTICIPLES.*
Medical terms

Néto'sev'hoomâtse.
Tósa'e néhámama'ta?
Tósa'e néométohte?
Néhámama'ta ne tonéyhe?
Néhóse'ee?
Nétonísotóhe'hama?
Nékéneotsehe hettéòhe?
Nékáne néohtsehe, OR,
Néanétanohe?
Né'seestse'henátse!
Né'to'xōhtvahtse!
Né'xe'omotomésatse!
Nëmotómeotstésatse!
Néto'sev'hóóta nástovoo'ôtse.
Néto'sésónoománe.
Néhoveo'ôéstse!
Námeeto'ôéstse!
Náto'ssásahta násteseta.
Násteseta épéhêva'e.
Nétonísotóhe'satá?
Étonísotóhe'se'hama?
Nétatône'éMéháomóhtahae?
Nétonëtomóhtahae?
Néhóvéx÷évéomóhtahae?
Néhe'ë, násíeévéomóhtahae.
Náhóomóhtahae.
Nétonísotóhe'shôhne?
Néhámama'továhtse?
Nétonísotóxóváhtse?
Nátéóóke'hamóhtahae.
Náhoamóhtahae.
Névé'keemáhepomóhtahae?
Návé'keemáhepomóhtahae.
Nénséhôo'hehà?
Nëöhkepëhévenaótsehe, OR,
Nëöhkepëhévenomahe.
Nëo'ôhtahoe?
Nënomóhtohtahae?
Nënomóhtohtá.
He'tohe heséec'ôtse amëhestanomeo'o!
He'tohe heséec'ôtse amemaneo'o!
No'ka hestanomeo'o
másáa'ësemëshëhëto!
Nëxa hestanomeo'o
másáa'ëshënaóotsëhëto!
Ná'âstse hestanomeo'o nava
no'ka-eëseva!
Évé'ôkëehotsëhe?
Nëohkëheheotsëtsëhe?
Náhtsema'ame éhe'amosta.
Nëhe'hahe?
Nëhe'haa'e.

I'm going to check you.
Where do you hurt?
Where do you have pain?
Does your belly hurt?
Are you pregnant?
How many months (pregnant) are you?
Does it hurt here?

Have you started labor?
Take your shirt, coat, off!
Take your pants off!
Take a deep breath!
Stop breathing!
I'm going to look at your ear.
You are going to have an x-ray.
Stand up!
Sit down!
I'm going to listen to your heart.
Your heart is good.
How old are you?
How many months old is he?
How long have you been sick?
How do you feel?
Do you feel bad?
Yes, I feel bad.
I feel sick.
How many children have you borne?
Did you hurt yourself?
How sick do you feel?
I'm a little sick.
I'm really sick.
Are you a diabetic?
I'm a diabetic.
Do you have a fever?

Do you sleep well?
Are you constipated?
Do you have diarrhea?
I have diarrhea.
Take this medicine!
Drink this medicine!

Take one before you eat!

Take two before you sleep!

Take one four times per day!
Is it a sharp pain?
Do you vomit?
My blood pressure is high.
Do you cough?
I cough, have a cold.
Names

Taste

Time

Terms having to do with telling time and passage of time are one of the semantic domains of the Cheyenne lexicon. Time was traditionally noted in Cheyenne by the position of the sun, seasons of the year, and months. As Cheyennes have been increasingly influenced by the dominant culture surrounding them, this influence is reflected in terms for telling time, with adoption of terms for days of the week. There has also been some shift from using animate subjects with verbs for telling time to inanimate ones.

Traditionally, time was noted in Cheyenne by the position of the sun. Since éše'he 'sun' is animate, any verbs explicitly or implicitly referring to the position of the sun required animate subjects. Cheyennes extended use of the word for 'sun' to refer to clocks. Oklahoma Cheyennes also adopted an additional word for 'clock', kó'ko'éhasēō'o, which literally means 'ticking thing'. This word is also animate.

Questions about time

Tóne'še ého'ose éše'he? ?? What time is it? (lit., When has the sun arrived hanging?)
Tóne'še ého'óesta? What time is it? (lit., When has it arrived hanging?)
Étöne'ého'óése (éše'he)? What time is it? [lit. How high is he (the sun) hanging?]
Étöne'ého'óésta? What time is it? (lit., How high is it hanging?)

Times of the day

Independent order verbs can be used to refer to times of a day:

Éasevó'néóhtse. It’s daybreak. (lit. it’s starting to get light)
Éhosóvooománo'e. It’s dawn.
Éhosóvoomaeóhtse. It’s dawning.
Émévóonā'ó. It’s early morning.
Évóonā'o It’s morning.
Éméóevóoésta. It’s noon. (lit., it’s eating time)
Ésétóvoésta. It’s noon.
Ééséhehévoéstá. It’s noon. (lit., it’s eating time)
Ésétóvoésta. It’s noon.
Ését(héhpè)sétovoéstá. It’s afternoon. [lit., it’s already (past) noon]
Éhomoése. It’s almost sunset time.
Ékáhoése. It’s close to evening [lit., he (the sun) is hanging close]
Éhetóvoe. It’s evening.
Étaa'evé. It’s night.
Ésétóhtaa'evé. It’s midnight. (lit., it’s middle-night)

Past times

Conjunct indicative verbs are used to refer to time which is already past:

tséhméovóonā'o when it was early morning
tséhvóonā'o when it was morning
tséssétovoésta when it was noon
tséxhetóve when it was evening
tséstaa’eve  when it was night
stséssétôhta’eve  when it was midnight

**Future times**
Conjunct potential verbs are used to refer to time which has not yet occurred:

máhméovóonā’o  when it is early morning
máhvóonā’o  when it is morning, when it is tomorrow
másétovoésta  when it is noon
máxhetőéve  when it is evening
??  when it is night
mássétôhta’eve  when it is midnight

**Time nouns**
There are some Cheyenne time nouns, although they are not used as commonly as English time nouns are:

eše  day
táa’e  night

**Temporal particles**
The temporal / locative suffix /-vá/ is added to time nouns to refer to periods of time:

éšeēva  in the daytime, yesterday
hetóéva  in the evening
taa’ēva  at night
sétôhtaa’ēva  at midnight, in the middle of the night
oéšeēva  daily
totáa’ēva  nightly

**Hours**
There are commonly used forms for telling time by hours. The forms occur as independent or conjunct order verbs. Conjunct verbs occur either in the indicative mode to refer to time which is past, or the potential mode to refer to time which is in the future.

**Independent order time verbs**

Ééšeno’kòxe’ohe.  It’s 1 o’clock.
Ééšenésôxe’ohe.  It’s 2 o’clock.
Ééšena’nóxe’ohe.  It’s 3 o’clock.
Ééšenévôxe’ohe.  It’s 4 o’clock.
Ééšenóhonôxe’ohe.  It’s 5 o’clock.
Ééšenaesôhtôxe’ohe.  It’s 6 o’clock.
Ééšenésôhtôhnôxe’ohe.  It’s 7 o’clock.
Ééšena’nóhtôxe’ohe.  It’s 8 o’clock.
Ééšesôohtôxe’ohe.  It’s 9 o’clock.
Ééšemáhtôhtôxe’ohe.  It’s 10 o’clock.
Ééšehóhtählen’kòxe’ohe.  It’s 11 o’clock.
Ééšehóhtählenésôxe’ohe.  It’s 12 o’clock.
Ééšenésóxe'ohe tséhvóonā'o.  It's 2 o'clock in the morning.
Ééšemáhtóhtótxe'ohe tséstaa'ève.??  It's 10 o'clock at night.
Neva o'xe ééšéhehoésta.  It's 4:30.

Past hours

tséhno'kóxe'ohe  when it was 1 o'clock
-tséhnésóxe'ohe  when it was 2 o'clock
-tséhna'nóxe'ohe  when it was 3 o'clock
-tséhnévóxe'ohe  when it was 4 o'clock
-tséhnóhonóxe'ohe  when it was 5 o'clock
-tséhnaesóhtótxe'ohe  when it was 6 o'clock
-tséhnésóhtóhnóxe'ohe  when it was 7 o'clock
-tséhna'nóhtótxe'ohe  when it was 8 o'clock
-tséssóhóhtótxe'ohe  when it was 9 o'clock
-tséhmáhtóhtótxe'ohe  when it was 10 o'clock
-tséxhóhtáhno'kóxe'ohe  when it was 11 o'clock
-máxhóhtáhnsóxe'ohe  when it was 12 o'clock

Future hours

-máhno'kóxe'ohe  when it's 1 o'clock
-máhnésóxe'ohe  when it's 2 o'clock
-máhna'nóxe'ohe  when it's 3 o'clock
-máhnévóxe'ohe  when it's 4 o'clock
-máhnóhonóxe'ohe  when it's 5 o'clock
-máhnaesóhtótxe'ohe  when it's 6 o'clock
-máhnésóhtóhnóxe'ohe  when it's 7 o'clock
-máhna'nóhtótxe'ohe  when it's 8 o'clock
-másoóhtótxe'ohe  when it's 9 o'clock
-máhmáhtóhtótxe'ohe  when it's 10 o'clock
-máxhóhtáhno'kóxe'ohe  when it's 11 o'clock
-máxhóhtáhnsóxe'ohe  when it's 12 o'clock

Seasons

Names for the seasons are constructed from a noun stem and the temporal / locative suffix 
/vá/

-aénéva  winter
-matsé'oméva  spring
-méanéva  summer
-tónóéva  fall, autumn
Months

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

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

In the following lists a Cheyenne name for a month is given first, then its literal meaning, then a month on the "white" calendar that it may correspond to:

- Hohtseéše'he, Hoop Moon: January
- Ma'xéhohtseéše'he, Big Hoop Moon: February
- Pónoma'a'éhasénéšé'he, Drying Up Moon: March
- Véhpotseéše'he, Leaf Moon: April
- Énano'eéše'he, Planting Moon: June
- Méanéëše'he, Summer Moon: July
- Oenenéëše'he, Harvest Moon: August
- Tonóëše'he, Cool Moon: September
- Sé'énhé, Facing Into: October (This name refers to when thin ice begins to form on ponds and rivers.)
- He'koneneéše'he, Hard Face Moon: November
- Ma'xéhe'koneneéše'he, Big Hard Face Moon: December

Some alternative names are:
- He'koneneéše'he, Hard Face Moon: January (instead of November)
- Tšéške'hohtseéše'he, Little Hoop Moon: February
- Pónoma'a'éhasénéhe, Drying Up: March (or April)
- Heše'kévénéhe, Dusty Face: March (also, variant Heše'événehé)
- Hešé'événehéšé'he, Dusty Face Moon: March (or April)
- Véhpotsééšé'he, Leaf Moon: May (perhaps part of April also)
- É'omeéšé'he, Fattening Up Moon: latter part of June and first part of July
Sétoveméanééše'he, Midsummer Moon: July
Hémotséése'he, Breeding Moon: latter part of August and first part of September
Tonóeveéése'he, Cool Moon: September
Sé’eneeše'he, Facing Into Moon: October
Se’ma’omeveéssé'he, Starting To Freeze Moon: October
Heése’kévénéstse, Dirt In the Face (Moon): October
Sétovéaeénéése'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')
Tšéške’ma’heónééséeva Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day')
Ma’heóneéséeva 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.‘)
Énéseéno’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.’)
Étséške’ma’heónééséeeve. It's Saturday (lit., 'It's the little holy day.’)
Éma’heónééséeeve. It's Sunday (lit., 'It's the holy day.’)
Éénema’heónééséeeve. It's Monday (lit., 'It's the end of the holy day.’)

Montana past days of the week
No’ka tsé’éšeeve when it was Monday
Nexa tsé’éšeeve when it was Tuesday
Na’ha tsé’éšeeve when it was Wednesday
Neva tsé’éšeeve when it was Thursday
Nóhona tsé’éšeeve when it was Friday
Tšéstšéške’ma’heónééséeeve when it was Saturday
Tséhma’heónééséeeve when it was Sunday

Montana future days of the week
No’ka ma’éšeeve when it is Monday
Nexa ma’éšeeve when it is Tuesday
Na’ha ma’éšeeve when it is Wednesday

159 From Internet webpage: http://www.swosu.edu/academics/catc/dictionary/c04.aspx
Neva ma'ěšeeve when it is Thursday
Nóhona ma'ěšeeve when it is Friday
Máhtšéške'ma'heónešéeve?? when it is Saturday
Máhma'heónešéeve?? when it is Sunday

Overnights
Cheyennes refer to the passage of time both in terms of how many overnights have occurred and in terms of how many days have gone by.

Some particles and verb finals /-éno'e/ and /-éno'tse/ refer to time spent as overnights:

-éno'e final
The verb final –éno'e refers to how many overnights have gone by:

Étanéšeéno'e. It was two days (lit., overnights) ago.

É-améstőheéno'e. It is a week.
ma'taméstőhééno'e in the coming "days" (lit., overnights)
ma'tahóseméstőhééno'e next week

-éno'tse final
The verb final –eno'tse refers to how many nights of camping:

Éno'keenō'tse. He camped one night.
Énēšeenō'tse. He camped two nights.

Numbers of days
Numbers of days can refer to how many days ago something happened or how many days it will be until something happens in the future:

no'kée'eše one day
néšéé'eše two days
na'kée'eše three days
névéé'eše four days
nóhonée'eše five days
naesóhtohée'eše six days
nésóhtohée'eše seven days
na'nohtohée'eše eight days
sóhtohée'eše nine days
máhtóhtohée'eše ten days

Numbers of weeks

Numbers of months

A number preverb plus the verb stem -ēše'hamá refers to how many months old someone is or how many months have transpired: ??
Éno’keéšë’hāma.?? He's one month old.
Énéveéšë’hāma. ?? He's four months old.

Other preverbs can occur with this verb stem:

Étónëstóhe-éšë’hāma? How many months old is he?/ How many months pregnant is she?
Énëhestóhe-éšë’hāma. That's how many months she has (= her months are up; she is due to deliver her child).

Numbers of years

He's so many years old, etc.

Éno’keaénáma. He's one year old.
Énéšeaénáma. He's two years old.

A number plus the noun stem –aa’e ‘year’ tells how many years something occurred or how many years ago something occurred:

no’keāā’e for one year
néšeāā’e for two years
na’heāā’e for three years

No’keāā’e étanëhe’xove. It’s been one year ago.

Temporal particles

Some particles refer to time:

á’e soon160
ta’e until
hehpeto later
nenóveto shortly, a little while later
maato in the future161
hákó’e far in the past162
tóteha long ago
évaveto back then
nómöse a long time
séétó’e’še 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.
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'še- as long as
- he'še- during
- éše- already
- móne- recently
- nésta- previously
- voné'se- for a long time
- vóone- all night
- sē'hove- suddenly

Examples of verbs with temporal preverbs

$\text{CITE EXAMPLES FROM DICTIONARY}$
Onomatopoeia

Some words sound like the things they refer to. This association between the sounds of things and activities and words that refer to them is called onomatopoeia. There are a number of words in Cheyenne which are onomatopoeic. Often the onomatopoeia is found in repetition of Cheyenne sounds, related to as reduplication. Onomatopoeic words need to appear in a thorough lexicon of the Cheyenne language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cheyenne</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šéšeno</td>
<td>rattle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šéšenovótse</td>
<td>snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Évávahe.</td>
<td>He's swinging.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heváváhkema</td>
<td>butterfly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>po'po'ého'hóvahtótse</td>
<td>firecracker, motorcycle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épó'ého’he.</td>
<td>He was fired / He had a blowout.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pó'ého'hémahpe</td>
<td>beer (lit., exploding water)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pó'po'ého’hémáhaemenótse</td>
<td>popcorn (lit., popping corn kernels)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Épá’panestse.</td>
<td>He repeatedly farted.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kokhéáxa</td>
<td>chicken</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kó’konóxe’éstónestótse</td>
<td>typewriter (lit., pecking thing)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kó’ko’èhasèó’o</td>
<td>clock (lit., ticking thing; an Oklahoma Cheyenne word)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hevovetāso</td>
<td>whirlwind, dragonfly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Translation

$\textit{DEVELOP THIS SECTION ON TRANSLATION TO AND FROM CHEYENNE.}$ 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). $\textit{DEFINE SOURCE AND TARGET LANGUAGES.}$

**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. $\textit{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’hahtọtse, 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 amâhohéhe and inanimate amâho’héstọtse, both meaning 'going along by heat thing'.

The Cheyenne words for 'airplane' and 'car' clearly and naturally communicate the function of these two forms of transportation. We can follow this principle whenever we are asked to translate something from English to Cheyenne. We can try to find an expression already in use in Cheyenne which functions in the same way as the English expression functions.

With the principle of translation equivalence in mind, let’s think about translating a common English expression to Cheyenne. English speakers use the expression "Happy New Year!" to celebrate the beginning of a new year. Cheyennes do not say "Happy New Year!" in the Cheyenne language. So how might we translate "Happy New Year!" to Cheyenne, without creating an expression that sounds unnatural? Instead of focusing on trying to literally translate the individual words of the English expression, we can look for any expression already in use in Cheyenne that could function as a some kind of equivalent to "Happy New Year!" The closest expression already in use in Cheyenne is Aa’e émôna’e which literally means "The year is new." Now, this expression doesn't initially sound like it has the same meaning as English "Happy New Year!" But it is what Cheyennes have said at the beginning of a new year, for as long as they have known about the ending and beginning of a year. Even though the English and Cheyenne expressions do not literally mean the same thing, the Cheyenne saying can be at least a first candidate as a translation equivalent, since it performs much of the same cultural function. For both English and Cheyenne, the two expressions are what people say to note the beginning of a new year. The two expressions are as close as we can find without creating a new expression that would literally mean "Happy New Year!" But how would one even try to say in Cheyenne that a new year is happy?! Translation is difficult. Of course, Aa’e émôna’e says nothing about "happy" and for some Cheyennes it might be important to include the meaning of "happy" in a translation of "Happy New Year!" So, we can consider revising the Cheyenne expression already in use...
by adding Pevetano! ‘Be happy!’ to it. Would the final expression of Aa'e émôna'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'kòhomôxhâhâheta 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 both the source and target languages. Every language is different from every other language. If you are translating from English to Cheyenne, or from Cheyenne to English, it is important not to try to force either language to use the grammatical patterns of the other language.

**Some grammatical relationships different from English**

In this section we describe some ways that the grammatical patterns of English and Cheyenne do not match, yet it is possible to translate accurately and naturally between these languages, while respecting these differences.

There are many interesting differences between how the grammars of Cheyenne and English express some semantic relationships. By pointing out these differences, we are not suggesting that either language is inferior, non-standard, or "backwards". On the contrary, both languages are grammatically logical and beautiful in how they express the intended meanings. For examples of other Cheyenne verbs which have different grammatical relationships from English to express the same semantic relationships, see the end of the next major section of this book, Transitive Inanimate Independent Indicative verbs.

'-háamá’tov 'hurt (to someone)'

The Cheyenne TA verb –háamá’tov grammatically treats an animate body part that hurts as its direct object:

Náháamá’tóvo namo’ēško. My finger hurts.
Náháamá’tovoo’o namo’ēškono. My fingers hurt.

The first example can be literally translated as 'I hurt to my finger.' This literal translation sounds odd in English, but there is nothing odd about the Cheyenne verb. In spite of what some Cheyennes believe and have said, based on what they have learned, explicitly or implicitly, from teachers and
administrators in English schools, there is nothing "backwards" about the Cheyenne language. Each language is beautiful and has unique ways of saying things. Just because a language expresses something in a different grammatical way from another language does not make that language backwards, ugly, or in any way inferior to any other language.

'fit (something)'

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

So, if you are translating a Cheyenne sentence such as Nátáá’e hóhkéha’e, an accurate and natural translation in English would be "The cap fits me," even though the literal translation would be 'I fit to the cap.' This literal translation would be accurate in English, but not natural. A translation must be both accurate and natural for it to be an adequate translation.

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

Compare corresponding TA verbs:

Nátáa’óvo éstse’he. The shirt fits me. (lit., I fit to the shirt)
Nátáa’ovoo’o éstse’heno. The shirts fit me. (lit., I fit to the shirts)

'(something) taste good'

In Cheyenne the food which gives the sensation of good taste is grammatically the object of the TI verb –pěhévé’áhta:

Nápěhévé’áhta ho’évohkőtse. The meat tastes good to me. (lit. I good taste to it)

'think well of (someone)'

In Cheyenne the person who is thought well of is grammatically the semantic subject (causer of the thinking well) of the TA verb –pěhévoemeh 'cause (someone) to value good.'

Nápěhévoemeha. I think well of him. (= 'He is of good value to me.')
Nápěhévoemēho. He thinks well of me. (= 'I am of good value to me.')

The translation process

If you are asked to translation something from English to Cheyenne, here are the steps we recommend that you follow to make the translation as natural as possible while communicating the same meaning:

1. Figure out what the meaning of the English is. This is often always easy. You need to find out if the English expression is figurative or not. If it is figurative, you should try to translate its figurative meaning, not its literal meaning. You can use an English dictionary if you are not sure what the English expression means. For instance, if someone asks you to translate "He blew a fuse," ask yourself if you know what meaning is intended by that English sentence. If it is referring to blowing a fuse in a fuse box, it should not be too difficult to translation the
sentence to Cheyenne. But if the sentence is not really referring to blowing a fuse but to something else, you need to know what that something else is, and translate meaning, so that the Cheyenne will mean the same thing as the English expression does.

2. Figure out how the meaning is actually expressed in Cheyenne. Do not try to find a literal way to say the same thing in Cheyenne, since literal translations often turn out sounding strange or even humorous instead of communicating the same meaning. Often people want to know how to say something in Cheyenne. For people all over the world, the first reaction when there is a request to translate something is to try to say it the same way in their own language. But saying it the same way may not be how it is actually said in Cheyenne. So, if you are asked "How do you say ____ in Cheyenne?" stop and think a while before answering. Ask yourself: "What do Cheyennes actually say to communicate that same meaning?" Another way of getting at this point is to avoid answering the question "Can you say ____ in Cheyenne?" Instead, try to change the question to: "How is actually it said in Cheyenne?" Try to focus on what fluent Cheyenne speakers actually say to communicate the same meaning.

3. Test your translation with other Cheyenne speakers. Ask them what it means. Ask them if fluent speakers would actually use the translation expression. If the translation does not pass these tests, try a different way to express the translation. Keep trying until you find a way to say something in Cheyenne that has the same meaning, including emotional connotations, and also sounds like what a fluent Cheyenne speaker would actually say.

The common temptation is to translation literally whenever you are asked to translate from English to Cheyenne. But a literal translation is often not the most accurate translation. And most of the time a literal translation is not how fluent Cheyenne speakers would actually say something with the meaning of the English expression you are trying to translate. Of course, if enough Cheyenne speakers prefer a literal translation and they can, in time, get the same meaning from it that the English expression has, it is fine to use a literal translation. But a literal translation should only be used if it comes to be accepted and used by a good number of Cheyenne speakers.

**Language and social interaction**

Like every other language, Cheyenne is used for a variety of social purposes. Some of the most common uses for language is to inform, question, command, exclaim, entertain, and rebuke.

Cheyennes speak their language following the norms of Cheyenne culture. These cultural norms influence which Cheyenne language forms are used.

One traditional Cheyenne cultural norm is that a woman must not speak to her son-in-law. She should not even say his name, especially in front of him. And a man must not speak to his sister after she has reached puberty. And he should not speak to his daughter-in-law either.

If a woman wants to communicate something to her son-in-law, she can do so through her daughter, the wife of her son-in-law. Or she can speak indirectly to her son-in-law in his hearing (and usually the hearing of someone else also) using third person verbs, rather than direct speech with second person verbs.

A humorous story is told about a woman who unwittingly said her son-in-law's name, breaking the cultural norm:
Frogs Say "Kovaahe", by Josephine Glenmore (Montana)

Na'èstse káse'éhe éhnóhtséstovósesto heške,
One young woman asked her mother,

“Éohkeóxóhevoōne oonáhá'e őhmónenéstoohévoséstse?”
“What do they say, frogs, when they first croak (in the spring)?”

“Héméhe, naa kováááhe, éohkëhevoōne, éxheséstse.
“Oh, well, 'kovaahe,' they say," she said.

náa éxohonátset'hëheséstse mëhtamahááhe,
And she was laughed at, the old lady, (because)

Kovááhe móxheševéhehevóhe hevëxaho.
Kovaahe he was named, her son-in-law.

If a woman wants her son-in-law to fetch some water or firewood, she can speak about him, in his hearing, with words like these:

Tell that lazy husband of yours to get some water. $$

Brothers-in-law are expected to tease each other within Cheyenne culture. Such teasing has become an art form. Language forms and quality of speech are influenced by the effort to tease, sometimes close to the point of shaming, a brother-in-law in front of others.

The following story illustrates brother-in-law teasing. Notice all the direct in-your-face kind of speech in this text. This is characteristic of teasing speech. $$TRY TO FIND SPECIFIC LANGUAGE FORMS TO COMMENT ABOUT IN THIS TEXT

The Brothers-in-law163

Tséhéno he'amëo'hé'e éhéstahe hetane. Aénóhenéstoohe éohkëheestohe.
There up the river he is from, a man. Hawk Howler he is called.

Naa náohkeévená'so'eémáhtsémex. Nëhestoáa ovóomoo'èstse tséhéohe máhoéve'ho'eno,
And we always tease each other. Every time whenever I see him here in town,

he always comes to me. "My brother-in-law," he says to me. "Give him a drink!

Your brother-in-law is very thirsty," he says to me. "You are not my brother-in-law for nothing,"

náohkëheta.
he tells me.

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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.
"Nétónéševéhev'étove' továtsé néheš'e?" náheto.
"How am I a brother-in-law to you then?" I told him.

"Heé, naa némáhevéstoemo'o naaxaa'éhemo, néhéne' enovátse," 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.

"Nonótovéhémanóxeaha é'tóve!" náheta. "Náota'évéháóéne," éhevoo'o.
"Hurry give a drink to your brother-in-law!" he told me. "I am very thirsty," he said.

Naa vo'éstane óhstsévho' éhótatee'séstse tséohkeévéhešemoméno' éoéstove
And whenever a person comes to us where they always stand in bunches

tsyévóhe máhóéve' ho' eno náohkéhósema, "Ts'étohe né'tóvé," náohkéheta,
here in town he always tells about me, "This one, my brother-in-law," he says about me,

"he married all my sisters. That's how I am a brother-in-law to him," he says about me.

Naa néheš'e hó'ótóva táchóhe Nomá' heo' hé' e mótaéetséhe' óhtsévóhe.
And then all of a sudden over there to Kingfisher¹⁶⁵ he must have gone.

Násánahaxéévávómóhe. Étánés'háa' xóvetse.
I had not seen him for awhile. Quite a while went by.

Naa hó'ótóva náhóseévavómó. Tséhéno éne' a'méohstse háp' o e
And all of a sudden I saw him again. Here he was coming along just
tséstaa' mohtsevo. Sé' e a é' ené' exaéméné' o. Naa náho' éhtóto.
when I was going along. Right away he was smiling. And I went to him.

"Éaa! Tósa' e néa' enéháase?" náheto. "Nésáatšéhe' šévóomatséhe," náheto.
"My! Where have you been all the time?" I said to him. "I never see you," I said to him.

"Well, over there to Kingfisher I went. There I stayed all this time," he told me.

"Hénáá' e náháohe tsétáheśea' eno' oto? Hea' e náháohe nétáhe' étáno tósa' e
"Why there did you stay so long? Maybe there you wanted a woman somewhere at
Nomá' heo' hé' e," náheto.
Kingfisher," I told him.

"Heé, ovánéhoo' éstse! Hea' e néhéne' enóvo Kéhaéné' e. Náháohe náho' éhtóto,
"Hey, keep quiet! Maybe you know Squint Eye Woman. There I came to her.

¹⁶⁵ Literally, 'Fish River'.
náchó'xatamáots'é'tóvo," náheta //
I got used to her," he told me.

"Héhe'e," náheto. "Naa néókhéo'é'éšenoto neaxaa'éhemo. Néhe Kéha'ené'e
"Yes," I told him. "And you always accuse me of your sisters. That Squint Eye Woman
náhe'haméhenótse, mónétaéšéheváxé'hovatséhéhe," náheto. "Né'tóve,
is my niece, you must (therefore) already be my son-in-law," I told him. "Brother-in-law,
néókhévé'évéháše. Naméšéme né'ókhéhešéstse néhe'se.
don't again call me that. Father-in-law, always call me from now on.

Nétaéšéheváxé'hovatsémoho\textsuperscript{166} náheto.
You are already now my son-in-law! I told him.

"Hová'aháne," éhevoo'o. "Nééšetá' hôxéhevé'tóve'továtse,
"No," he said. "I am so used to being a brother-in-law to you,
ésátónéšéévanetáhévéveotséhane," náheta.
it cannot be made different," he said to me.

"Heé, hé'tóhe émóná'é, nétaéšemónenóhóóvee," náheto.
"Hey, this is brand new, this is the first time you've been married," I told him.

"Néstatséenéšéheváxé'hovatsé. 'É'tóve, hémánóxéha!'
"You are just going to be my son-in-law. Your brother-in-law, give him a drink!"
néókhéhe'se," náheto." Naa néhe'se háp'o'e hétsetseha, Hémánóxóhaha
you always tell me," I told him. "And from now on likewise now, 'Give a drink to
neméšéme!' náheto. "Nénátsé'óhtse'séstse tséhéóhé
your father-in-law! let me tell you," I told him. "Come take me here
pó'ño'hé-máhpé-máhe'óne néhe'se néhma'x'éhémanoxé'stse!" náheto.
to the saloon\textsuperscript{167} then give me a big drink!" I told him.

Ého'ho'tsé. "He'é, táxó'e nêntsésáá'énenéhéhe, vo'estane
He laughed. "Hey, again and again don't keep repeating that, someone
nêntsénéstova. Nástaée'avó'estomó'he (?),
will hear you. You will have them all start thinking that way,

náhtha españolpáohke'éemaenéstitamáne. Nává' néohe'évééestéstóvo tsé'tóhe Kéhaéné'e,"
I will be thought of that way. I always just talk to this Squint Eye Woman,

éhevoo'o.
he said.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{167} Literally, 'popping-water-house-LOCATIVE'.

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"Heé, nééšetaomevé'nhetóhta'haove naa," náhétó.
"Hey, you had already told me that story yourself and," I told him.

"Náhtaémaenéhetoo'o tsé'tóhe tséohkee'évéévèhnese vo'ëstaneo'o," náhétó.
"I'm going to tell all these who go around, people," I told him.

tsetamáhehéne'enohe tséhešéhevahé'továtse,"168 náhétó.
"so then it will all be known that you are my son-in-law," I told him.

"Nésáatónëshenonáháxe'tanóhe," náhétó.
"Ohkeéepéhéve'tovéstse, ohkeéehémanóxeváenéstse
"You have no way to get out of it," I told him. "Always treat me good, always give me a drink

dá'öhkevóometo nonóhpá nëstanáhešépepëvèhevéxahé'továtse!" náhétó // whenever you see me so that way you will be a good son-in-law to me!" I told him.

Éhohatse. "Táxo'e nèstaa'avó'estomo'he (?)
He laughed. "Again and again you will have them start thinking that way.

nësenó'ka nëhešeha!" náheta // Not even once again say it!" he told me.

"Heé, nésáahotómenéhetatséhe neaxaa'éhemo tséhmáhehévéstoemono,
"Hey, I didn't complain to you, (that) your sisters I had married them,
tséohke'evèhetóhta'haneto," náhétó.
the way you always tell the story," I told him.

"Naa náoné'se'oméhetóme, émáhehéne'enohe," éhevoo'o.
"Well, I really tell the truth., it is all known," he said.

"Heé, névááhe tsémáhehéne'ëno? Névá'ñeëe'öhkeno'kenèhevé 169
"Hey, who is it that knows all of it? You are the only one who says that


Nátaeënëšaameeo'ëvótáhtséme. Hená'hanéhe héné
We went along quarreling with each other. That's it, that's

náohkéenëhešená'so'ëémáhtséme tsé'tóhe hetane, Aënohenëstoobhe
how we always tease each other, this man, Hawk Howler,
tséohkëhëhestoestse.
as he is called.

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168 These two words form a complex sentence in Cheyenne. There is an independent order verb of knowing followed by its complement in the conjunct order. The conjunct verb takes the complementizer preverb heše-.
169 The preferred order of morphemes in this word would be néohkevá'neëenoe'kenèhevé.
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'

Affected speech
Cheyenne speakers can create various kinds of social affect by varying their speech styles.

Exaggeration
A syllable of a word can be lengthened to exaggerate the word:

tóotseha 'a very long time ago' (lengthened version of tótseha 'long ago')
Néváááhe? 'Who?!' (this lengthened version of Névááhe typically indicates that the speaker emphatically does not know who someone is)
Néváááso? 'Who?! (emphasized form of Névááso?)
Náooó! ?? Wow! (emphasized form of Náoo! 'Wow!')
Véetséno! Exactly! (emphasized form of vétséno 'right then')

Tight mouth ?? speech
Sometimes speakers, especially women, tighten their mouths and make them rounder to pronounce some words. This creates a special effect that indicates ___ ??

Cheyenne dialects

Cheyenne speakers and non-Cheyenne researchers sometimes refer to two of Cheyenne, Northern Cheyenne (spoken in Montana) and Southern Cheyenne (spoken in Oklahoma). Some people go even farther and speak of the "Northern Cheyenne Language." Many Cheyennes speak of language differences between Cheyenne spoken in Oklahoma and Montana. Some "Northerners", for instance, say that you can spot a speaker from Oklahoma after listening to just a few words of their speech.

My own research confirms that there are some slight differences in Cheyenne spoken in these two locations. As far as I have been able to determine, there are no differences in pronunciation or grammar. There are, however, a few words which are different between Montana and Oklahoma. Speakers from one location perfectly understand these words spoken in the other location. Are these word differences enough to say that there are two different dialects of Cheyenne? The answer to this
question depends on whether you want to look only at technical linguistic data or also at how speakers of the language actually feel about their language differences.

Because Cheyenne speakers from Montana and Oklahoma so strongly perceive there to be a dialect difference, and because they tease each other so much about those differences, these perceptions themselves create a sociological reality of a dialect difference. It would not be proper to say, therefore, that there is not a Northern versus Southern dialect of Cheyenne. We simply need to be aware what we are referring to when we speak of these "dialects." These are real dialects in the minds of the speakers, themselves, and that is a very important sociological (and sociolinguistic) reality.

On the other hand, we can also point out that there are very few actual linguistic differences between the Cheyenne spoken in Montana and that spoken in Oklahoma. In fact, it is more likely that there are some greater differences in the Cheyenne spoken by different Cheyenne families than there are between speakers from the North and South but these, also, are rather minimal, and often consist of little more than whether or not some people have a slight lisp, pronounce one vowel of a morpheme differently from other speakers, or have some similar small phonetic differences.

I have not heard any Northern vs. Southern dialectal differences in the morphology (grammar) of nouns or verbs. And I am not aware of any differences in the way words or morphemes are pronounced between Oklahoma and Montana speakers.

There are, however, a few individual words which are generally recognized to be used differently by Oklahoma and Montana speakers, even though they are not pronounced differently. Following is the entire list of such words which I have been given by Cheyenne speakers so far. But even in this list there are some words for which it is uncertain that it can be said that the words are different based on the location of the speakers.

1. clock: od: kó'ko'ëhase'o'o (onomatopoetic; 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'xemo'aples'
3. watermelon: od: máhoo'o (in md, as well as od, this also has the more general meaning of 'melon')
   md: nɛ́xó'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: tohétsetse (loan translation from English 'two bits')
   md: tséháónóto (lit. that (coin) which is thick)
6. cat: od: ka'ënë-hótame (lit. short-nosed-dog; the literal meaning may initially sound odd, but historically hótame seems to have been semantically extended beyond orig. 'dog', to something like 'small domesticated animal'; cf. éškôseesé-hotame 'pig' (lit. sharp-nosed-dog); for md speakers, and perhaps for some od speakers, too, this means 'bulldog')
   md: póéso (we suspect this is a sound translation from an English word for cat, "pussy")
7. pay: od: éhóeotsésane 'he got paid' (lit. he's bringing (something) out; refers to bringing money out of the office)
md: éonénéxohemohe he got paid' (lit. it was destroyed to him; perhaps refers to destroying an indebtedness)

8. crackers: od: tóhkonave-kóhkonóheonôtse (lit. skinny little breads; it is said that od speakers call crackers this, in teasing imitation of the md word)
   md: mo'óhkonave-kóhkonóheonôtse (lit. dried little breads)

9. potatoes: od: aéstome-méséhéstoto (lit. false eating things)
   md: méséhéstoto (lit. eating things)

10. washboard: od: nèška'óséô'o or hahéhaseo'ô (lit. rubbing-thing)
    md: nèškéháséo'ô

11. He's really a strong Christian (typically said with derision):
    od: éhoháestaaha (lit. he-very.much-baptized(?))
    md: éhoháema'heónevé'ho'eye (lit. he-very.much-holy-whiteman-be)

12. car: It is said that Oklahoma speakers call a car amáho'héhe (animate), while the most common term in Montana is inanimate amáho'héstote, but I have heard some Montana speakers refer to a car as amáho'héhe (animate), and I would not be surprised to discover that some Oklahoma speakers have used the inanimate word for car.

13. days of the week: When saying days of the week, Oklahoma speakers begin counting of the 'first day' with Tuesday (and calling Monday the 'end of the holy day'), while Montana speakers start the 'first day' with Monday. The words for 'Saturday' and 'Sunday' are the same in Montana and Oklahoma, so Montana speakers pronounce five days with a number in the term for the day of the week, while Oklahoma speakers only have four such days.

In each case of a dialect word difference which we have listed, speakers from one area understand what speakers from the other area mean when they say one of the words. Much good-natured joking takes place over such words. For instance, a Northern Cheyenne speaker may teasingly ask a Southern Cheyenne speaker how he pronounces the word for 'cat'. If the answer is given as ka'énè-hótame, the Northern Cheyenne speaker may laugh and say, "Oh, but that means 'short nosed dog'!" Then the Southern Cheyenne speaker might ask (already knowing the answer) what the Northern Cheyenne word for 'cat' is. When he gets the response póéso, he, in turn, has a good laugh.

It has been claimed by Moore (1987:99) that Montana speakers refer to a horse as mo'éhno'ha while Oklahoma speakers refer to a horse as náhtotse, literally, 'my pet'. But this claim is incorrect. There is abundant evidence in the fieldnotes of several researchers, whose work spans numerous decades, that both Oklahoma and Montana speakers refer to a horse as mo'éhno'ha and, likewise, speakers in both areas will sometimes refer to their own horse (or, less generally, a dog or cat) calling it 'my pet'. Which term will be used is not a matter of a geographical difference but rather a difference in a speaker's personal intentions when they are speaking. That is, when a Cheyenne speaker, regardless of where they live, refers to their horse, do they intend to indicate a pet relationship with their horse?
Cheyenne discourse

Discourse is ___ $FILL OUT THIS SECTION; INCLUDE TYPICAL BEGINNINGS OF DISCOURSE

MONOLOGUES (náto'séhosémo, 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

Dialogues are conversations that occur between two or more people. It is essential for anyone wishing to speak Cheyenne to learn to converse in Cheyenne. Cheyenne dialogues follow rules for what grammatical forms are appropriate to use for each turn of a conversation. It is also essential that conversation follow these rules so that each turn will sound natural. Conversations turns must not be literal translations from English dialogues. $SEE IF ANYTHING NATURAL ENOUGH CAN BE IMPORTED FROM "LET'S TALK CHEYENNE"

Topic continuity

Questions and answers

$AVOID COPYING "ELICITATION" PAIRS FROM ENGLISH

Single word utterances

Common utterances and responses ($copy from dictionary, etc.)

$Etc.

Monologues

Monologues are longer stretches of speech by a single individual. Typical kinds of monologues are prayers, instructions, sermons, and stories. Many of the same patterns followed in dialogues are followed in monologues, except that all elements of the patterns are provided by a single individual in monologues. Sometimes 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 hóóma móhvo’estanéhevhevéhevéhe
\m hóóma mó- h- vo’estanéhevé -hé -vo -hé
\g across INFER- PST- live -NEG -3PL -NEG
\p p tns- vai -sfx -fta -sfx

\t tósa’e.
\m tósa’e
They lived across somewhere.

And there were some Indians near there.

And one day they visited them.

Then all of a sudden they heard them.

They were talking Cheyenne as they talked.
And they found out about (those) near (them), that they were (just like) them.

They moved together.

And they made rafts (lit. things by which one moves on water, which are small, however they wove them).
"We'll turn over."

"We'll drown," they would say.

They quit making them.

And then one day, the big river, they say, was frozen solid.

It was frozen thick.
They moved across.

And when half of them had moved across, there was an exploding sound.

It was terrible.

The ice broke up.

Some turned back.
And some had already come across.

They did not know where those others were.

Maybe they drowned.

And those kept moving across.
That's how the old men tell the story.

Sweet Medicine, by Mrs. Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

1) Hé'tóhe hóhta'heo'o, éhóhta'heóneve.
   This story, it is a story.

2) Vé'hó'e tséssáa'éšého'éhnéného'ës hákó'e móxhésóhanéhe.
   Whitemen, before they came, it (the story) from long ago must be from.

3) Naa násáapéhévéhéne'ennóhe.
   And I do not know it well.

4) naa tséohkeéevá'néhetáhtomónéto náhtanéheshéme'esta.
   And just the way I heard it, I'll tell it like that.

5) éohkemaetotóxeme o ha násáahéne'ennovóhe / -héne'ennóhe /
   He's discussed all over, but I do not know him, -do not know it.

6) Motsé'eóeve, éohkèhèvónë, mó'ohkeévééestsóhehevovóhe, vé'hó'e
   Sweet Medicine, they say, used to talk to them, whitemen

   tséssáa'ésóho'èhnénéhévóse.
   before they came.

7) Naa mó'ohkéemé'estomóehenvóhe hová'ëhe, héva tsésto'sého'èhnéto'tse,
   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=tšèške'mé'ésta₄ // hetoo //
   And now I'm just going to tell, like, a little. Uh,

9) néto'sého'a'ò'tévé // vo'éstane éxhesanesèstse //
   "He'll come to you, a person," (Sweet Medicine) said.
10) tsemâhevé'senohe éxhe- / éxheséstse ///
   "He’ll be all sewed up," he-, he said.

11) ho'évótse tseohkéhestohe éxheséstse //
   "Earth Man, he will be called," he said.

12) Tósa'e ésáapo've'senóhéhe, tsé'tóhe vo'estane
   Nowhere will he not be sewed up, this person
   tséto'sého'a'ótóése.
   who is going to come to you.

13) néto'vonéano'táe'vo / netao'o hová'éhe / tséméhae/'ôhkeéene'étamése5 //
   He'll destroy for you everything that you used to depend on.

14) "Éto'semâhevonéanôhtse," éxhetósesto.
   "He'll destroy everything," he told them.

15) "Naa / máto / néto'sého'a'ótóévo mo'éhno'ha /
   "And also it will come to you, the horse.

16) "Mo'éhno'ha," néstseohkéhetóvo éxheséstse, "hôva."
   "Horse," you will call it," he said, "(this) animal."

17) tsenéveohta / (tse)néxanetotse hestovootóstse
   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 too, there are two.

19) naa hestse'konötse tsenévéohhta //
   And his legs, there will be four.

20) néstseohketáhóénóvo hoháá'éše
   You'll ride him very far away.

21) néstseohketséhe'ohtséháévo,
   He will take you there,

22) tsé'tóhe mo'ehno'ha / néstseohkéhetóvo //
   this horse, you will call him that.

23) tséohkésó'tó'ome'ého'óése éše'he
   It will still hang firm (in the sky), the sun (during your travels)
24) nêstseohkêho'ehó'ehó'ehó'ehé / éxhesanesëstse / 
you will arrive far away,” he said.

25) nêstsenëheše/vo'ëstanëhëvé'ëme
"You will live like that.

26) nêstsenëhešëé'ëva'ëxëme / tsé'tôhe mo'éhno'ha tséhešëévoa'ëxëse / exhesanesëstse / 
You will be on the go the way this horse rolls his eyes,” he said.

27) naa // máto vé'ho'éotóá'e nêstseohkëhetôvo
And also (will come), (the cow) 'whiteman-buffalo', you will call it that.

28) máto tsenévoéhta //
Also it will have four legs.

29) tsenéšëéstå
It will have two ears.

30) naa / mátô=he'éxânëstse tsenéxanetotse /
And also his ears, there will be two.

31) hëstshëhëvá'xe / tseohkemâhëxënéehatse / ho'éva /
His tail will reach all the way to the ground.

32) tsenësôhonâvéhâhëta // hëstôohevo no tsenësôhonâho / éxhesëstse /
It will have split hooves, his hooves will be split," he said.

33) naa hoto / tsé'tôhe hóva nêstseohkemévóvo /
And, uh, this animal (cow), you will eat it.

34) Vë'ho'éotóá'e nêstseohkëhetôvo /
Ve'ho'ëtoa'ë you will call it.

35) hohâ'ëšë tseohkëhëshëmëa'xe éxhesëstse /
From very far away he'll be smelled," he said.

36) Éxhetôsesto néhe hovâhne, "Vë'ho'éotóá'e," tsëohkëhetóse.
He told them (about) this animal, "Cow," as you'll call it.

37) naa tsé'tôhe tsë'tôhe sëho'a'ôtôé'se
And this one who will come to you

tsemâhëtäeotsë'ta ho'ë tsëxhetaa'ôma'ô'ë / 
will take over all the land throughout the world.

38) Totôsa'ë nêstseohkëvevëmé'a'éëme.
Here and there your heads will appear (in various places).

39) "Néstseohkemo'kóhtávéstséáme," éxhesaneséstse /
"You will have black hair," he said.

40) Naa móhma- / má'tamášéhánéeše / mása’á’évatóxetanó’tomáhéše / nésta "But if you are crazy, if you do not think about the way previously

tséheševo’éstánéhévése, néstamóhkevóhpa’émé," éxhesaneséstse.
how you used to live, you'll have gray hair," he said.

41) naa máto mé’éševótse tséhóehevéeše /
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'\h se-.

5The usual order of preverbs here, probably preferred by this narrator also, is ohkeemehae.

6The historical etymology of this word is something like 'elk-dog' with the 'dog' final /-o'h[am] itself undergoing historical extension to refer to a 'domesticated animal'.

7The motif of a baby being born with teeth is well known in Cheyenne folklore. Note it in another text in this volume, "The Baby With Teeth".

The Corn and Meat, by Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

\name The Corn and Meat
\ref The Corn and Meat 001
\t éxho'hooné'tánése taa'ēva.
\m é- h- ho'hooné'tá -né -s taa'ēva
\g 3- PST- be_camp_in_a_circle -FII -REPORT at_night
\p pro- tns- vii -sfx -sfx obl
\f There was a camp at night.

\ref The Corn and Meat 002
\t é'ováxenásesto hetaneo'o.
\m é- h- ováxená -sest -o hetane -o
\g 3- PST- dream -REPORT -PL man -PL
\p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx na -sfx
\f Men dreamed.

\ref The Corn and Meat 003
\t naa tséhvóona'o é'ahkóheohtsésesto
\m naa tsé- h- vóona'o é- h- ahkóheohtsé -sest -o
\g and REAL- PST- be_morning 3- PST- play_hoop_game -REPORT -PL
\p p pfx-cjt- tns- vii pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx
\t kásováheho.
\m kásováahéh -o
\g young_man -PL
\p na -sfx
\f And the next morning young men were playing the hoop game.

\ref The Corn and Meat 004
\t netao'o éxhoháetanevoo'énése.
\m netao'o é- h- ho- háetanevoo'e -né -s
\g everywhere 3- PST- very- be_big_crowd -FII -REPORT
\p p p pro- tns- RED- vii -sfx -sfx
\f Everywhere there was a big crowd.

\ref The Corn and Meat 005
\t naa néhe'se éhváxeésesto.

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And then they were dressing fancy.

One who was on (from?) the south side (of the camp) who had dreamed came to the center.

He was painted yellow; a feather stood on his head.

And from the north side one who had dreamed came to the center.

He was dressed the same (as the other one).
When the one from the south looked at that one from the north, (he said,)

"Maybe you are copying me," (he said).

"And I was thinking the same about you," (the other one said to him).

"Well, I dreamed," (said the first man).

"And likewise I dreamed," (said the second man).

"Look at our people, they are very hungry," (he said).
"What did you dream?" (asked the first man).

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).

Here, the meat and corn remained the same (in amount).
It stayed the same amount.

And then, "Look over there!" she told them.

They looked over there.

Corn was simply waving.

It was already tasseled.

Corn was already tasseled.

And then, "Here, look again!" she told them.
They looked again.

A buffalo herd was standing.

"And take this out!

Feel (the herd) first!

Call (the herd)!

An old man will announce.
The old men will eat first.

And then these (others) according to their ages will eat next," that's how she called the old men.

All the old men came to the center.

They ate.

And step-by-step according to their ages.

And then these child
And the children ate next.

This meat and corn suddenly got smaller.

Children who had just learned to eat ate it all up.

And babies who did not yet know how to eat, that grease was put on their heads.
"And look toward here early in the morning!"

"And then maybe the next one who will be one year old," she told them.

"And then a little (bigger) one who is bigger."
And then a buffalo will appear as it comes out," she told them.

And they told the story that way.

And then in the morning they looked.

A calf appeared playing.

And then the next sized one.

And the next buffalo will appear as it comes out," she told them.
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)

And in the evening they roasted a duck in the fire.
And when it was done cooking they buried it in the ashes.

Naa mósto'seovéšenâhevóhe.
And they were going to lie down.

Naa néhe'se vé'ho'e éhnéhetóse sto tsé'tóhe xaevo'éstanóho.
And then the whiteman told this Indian,

“Tsépéhéveováxèstse hétsètseha taa'eva tsetamevo tsé'tóhe še'xo,"
"He who dreams well now at night will eat this duck,"

éxheséstse.
he said.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevo'èstane é'amáhtovóse sto tsé'tóhe vé'hó'e.
And this Indian agreed with this whiteman.

Naa néhe'se e'ovéšenásèstse.
And then they lay down.

Naa tséhvóona'otse vé'ho'e éoseméoto'esèstse.
And when it was morning the whiteman got up really early.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevo'èstane é'éšéâhtse'tótoešenásèstse.
But this Indian was already lying with his eyes open.

Naa vé'ho'e éosehóhta'hanétanosèstse.
And the whiteman really wanted to tell his story.

Éhnéhetóse sto tsé'tóhe xaevo'éstanóho, “Nátavóvéhósèst
He told this Indian, "Let me be first to tell
naováxèstòstse!" éxhetósestse.
my dream!" he told him.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevo'èstane éhpéhévátséstânóse.
And this Indian thought well of that.

Naa néhe vé'ho'e é'asèstóhta'hanesèsèstse.
And that whiteman started telling his story.

Éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe xaevo'éstanóho.
He told this Indian,

"Tsé'ováxènâto vé'ho'á'eo'o tsé'hetsénoonose éhne'anòheèssène.
"When I dreamed white women who had wings (= angels) were coming down.

"Naa tséhéóhe tsé'éšého'ösènávóse e'evonóhó'o éhne'anòheneootse,"
"And here where they were a ladder came down,"

éxheséstse.
he said.
"Naa néhe'še nátaase'eohlte,"  
"And then I started to go up,"

éxhetóhta'haneséstse  tsé'tóhe vé'ho'e.  
That's how he told the story, this whiteman.

Naa néhéóhe tséstaésho'óhta'hanése  tsé'tóhe  
And there when he got to that point in the story this

xaevítane éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe vé'hó'e,  
Indian told this whiteman,

"Hee, hápó'e náto'estó'néheto'ováxe  
"Hee, likewise I dreamed about the same

tséheto'ováxenáto,"  éxheséstse.  
the way I dreamed," he said.

"Naa hápó'e vétséóhe tó'néhe'xóvéva  
"And likewise then at exactly the same time

móñáováxenáhe,"  éxheséstse tsé'tóhe xaevítane.  
I must have dreamed," said this Indian.

"Hénénhéóhe nétvóomátse. E'evonohó'óne  
"There I saw you On a ladder

nétaame'eohlte,"  éxhetósesto.  
you were going up," he told him.

"'Naa tsenésáa'éváho'eanóheohséhe,' néhóovëhesétamátse,"  
"'And he won't come back down,' I mistakenly thought about you,"

éxhetósesto.  
he told him.

"Tsé'tóhe še'se náhëstano, námévo,"  éxhetósesto.  
"This duck I took it, I ate it," he told him.

Hená'hanehe.  
That's it.

The Bat, by Edward Riggs (Oklahoma)

1.  no'ka tótséha  éhmóheeohtséhoono hováhne  
Once long ago they met, animals.  
Once long ago the animals met.

2.  nää  mato hápó'e  móhmóheeohstsëhevõhe vé'këseho tséohkëhetaa'eame'hávése  
And also likewise they met, birds those who fly.  
And also likewise birds, those who fly, met.
3. naa móséškanetsénoonáhe mósésto'sevéseetse'ohtséhēhe  
   And bat was also going to go to  
   And a bat was also going to go to  

4. tséhmóheeohstéstovetse  
   where there was a meeting.  
   the meeting.  

5. éstatséhe'ohtséhoo'o hováhne tséhmóheeohhtsetsése  
   He went to animals where they were meeting.  
   He went to where the animals were meeting.  

6. hováhne éstsehetaesesto nésáahováhvéhe névé'késéheve  
   Animals told him, "You are not an animal. You are a bird.  
   The animals told him, "You are not an animal. You are a bird.  

7. tatséhe'ohtséstse vé'késeho tséhmóheeohhtsévōse  
   Go over to birds where they are meeting!"  
   Go to where the birds are meeting!"  

8. éxhestóhehoo'o móséškanetsénoonáhe  
   he was told, bat.  
   the bat was told.  

9. naa épéhéva'e éxhetóhoono  
   And, "That's good," he told them.  
   "Well, that's good," he told them.  

10. náhtaévatséhe'ohtse vé'késeho tséhmóheeohhtsévōse éxhéhoo'o  
    "I'll go to birds where they are meeting," he said,  
    "I'll go to where the birds are meeting," said  

    móséškanetsénoonáhe  
    bat.  
    the bat.  

11. éstatséhe'ohtséhoo'o móséškanetsénoonáhe tséhmóheeohhtsetsése  
    He went to bat, where they were meeting,  
    The bat went to where the birds were meeting.  

    vé'késeho  
    birds.  

12. naa hánaháóhe tséstáho'eōhtsése énèxhósepéohhoo'o  
    And over there when he arrived he was again rejected.
And when he arrived there he was rejected again.

13. tatséhe'ōhtséstse hováhe tséhmóheehotsévöse  
   "Go over to animals where they are meeting!  
   "Go to where the animals are meeting!

14. nésáavé'késéhévéhe néhováheve éxhestóhehoo'o  
   You are not a bird. You are an animal," he was told.  
   You are not a bird. You are an animal," he was told.

15. éhne'evaaseohtséhoo'o  
   He came away.  
   He left.

16. naa námé'tatónéšévémáse  
   And "What should I do?  
   "Well, what in the world should I do?

17. tósa'e náho'xéstahmáse éxhešetanóhoo'o  
   Where do I belong?" he thought.  
   Where do I belong?" he wondered.

18. tá'sé=hótáhtse náhováheve  
   "I thought I was an animal,  
   "I thought I was an animal,

19. naa vé'késo náhetane  
   and 'bird' I am called.  
   but I am called a bird.

20. naa tséhešésaavé'késéhévéheto  
   And since I am not a bird,  
   But since I am not a bird,

21. tósa'e náho'xéstahmáse  
   where do I belong?  
   where in the world do I belong?

22. násáaxehéne'enöhe  
   I just do not know."  
   I just don't know."

23. tsé'tóhe hóhta'áhë'o éhešenëhetósëše  
   This story thusly lies (is told that way).  
   That's how this story is told.
24. tósa’e éssáho’xéseotséheséstse móséškanetsénoonáhe
   Someplace he does not belong, bat.
   The bat doesn't belong anywhere.

25. mó’óhkéhéseévévaehtoešénáhíhe 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 éohkeahetoéšenáhíhesetse
   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’nóhkeéaméhnéstse táhta
   Someplace he doesn't go around in open.
   He doesn't go around anywhere in the open.

28. naa hena’háanehe énéhe’éstóséše
   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'héhe
\mr tótseha é-h -táho'kónoe-hoon oonáha'ë'héhe
\mg long.ago 3-PST-sit.upon -PRET frog:FEM

\tx ma’xého’honáéva.
\mr ma’xe-ho’honáé-vá
\mg big -rock -OBL

\ft Long ago a frog sat on a big rock.

\ref FROG2 clause 2
\tx Ehnémenéehoo’o.
\mr é-h -némené-e -hoon
\mg 3-PST-sing -sit-PRET

\ft She sat singing.

\ref FROG2 clause 3
She would say,

"When my brothers look nice (dancing) I am happy,"

The two young men danced.

Both of those who danced had tailfeathers stuck in their hair on their heads.

The two young men danced.
While they danced, the frog spoke,

"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 tseméhaevéstóemo.
   He told a story, the one who was my spouse.

2. Éxhósemóho henā’e.
   He told about geese.

3. “Éhma’xeame’ha’o,”
   “They were a lot of them flying,”

4. éxhetóhta’hāne.
   he told the story that way.

5. “Nēhe’še ma’aetano’e náxhéseváéna.
   “Then the rifle, I grabbed it.

6. Náhtae’eam’o’ tsehnešema’xeametónove’háv’ose.
   I shot up at them while they were thickly flying.

7. Hótah’te na’êtse náhtaa’táno.
   Here, one I accidentally shot.

8. Náhtató’omem’as’o.
   I shot him stiff.

9. Éhne’amean’á’o.
   He was falling down.

10. Nēhe’še ehma’xepe’pe’e’háoohe’o nehe’ henā’e.
    Then they were really hollering flying, those geese.

11. Éhne’évanõhenêheohé’tovovo néhe na’eestse tseméhæto’omemáxamoo’o.
    They followed him down, that one that I shot stiff.

12. É’évanakhir’éno’o.
    They caught him.

13. Ésta’evaasêhe’a’me’ha’o’o.
    They started to fly back up.
14. Éstaéváhe’ameno’ase’hánovo.
   They took off upward with him.

15. Éstaévató’né’seayéseame'ha néhe tséméhaeto’omemaso,”
   Right then he also started flying again, that one that I shot stiff,”

16. éxhetóhta’hâne.
   he told the story that way.

**I’m Beading Moccasins**, by Jeanette Howlingcrane (Oklahoma)

1. Tséxho’èhneto náoxa’ôhêne.
   When you came I was beading.

2. Mo’kêhanötse námanéstsenötse.
   Moccasins, I was making them.

3. A’e nahtaëxananötse.
   Soon I’ll finish them.

4. Hé’tóhe mo’kêhanötse námanéstootâhahtsenötse.
   These moccasins I’m making them for myself.

5. Náto’setaomêmëho’kêhanenötse,
   They are going to be my own moccasins,

6. naa mátō=héva vo’estane máxho’aæstse náhànëshëhohtóvanötse.
   or someone if he wants (them), I’ll sell them.

7. Móme’hëhaomëmënëstse.
   They surely won’t be expensive.

8. Éöhkevá’ñemåhtóhtôhanoemëmënëstse.
   They just cost ten (dollars).

**How Birney Got the Name Oevemanaheno**, by Elaine Strange Owl (Montana)

Naa tséheškëto nánöhtsstóvo hé’tóhe tséhmano’èévôse Oévemanahëno
And my mother I asked her (about) this where they have a village, Scabby Place,

tséhestohe. Hënwâ’së’ëshëheënëhestohe hé’tóhe Oévemanahëno, nâhëto.
as it is called. "Why is it called that, this Scabby Place?" I said to her.

Naa hákôke tótseha tséhéóhe tséssâa’ësëmano’ëëhëvôse vo’estane’o’o,
"Well, long ago here when the people did not yet have a village,"
ëhevoo’o, nétâo’o há’aëše mëmëhaenonô’kevo’ëstanëhevéhevéhôhe tsé’tóhe Oévemanaho,
she said, "all over far away they used to live by themselves, these Scabbies,
tséohkëhestöhese hétsetseha, naa tséssâa’ësëmano’ëëhëvôse, éhevoo’o.
as they are called now, and when they did not yet have a village," she said.
It first used to be called Longfoot Town, mo'hkeméhaehéhe. Hetane néhéóhe móhvo'èstanéhevéhéhe. It used to be called that. A man lived there.

Móxhoháa'estáhehéhe naa móhtó'eséhahtahéhe. Tó'eséhahtámao'éve'ho'éno, He was tall and he had long feet. Longfoot Town,
énõhkomëha'ovóehestohe, éhevoo'o. Naa tsé'tóhe hetane móhnoheševéhehéhe it first used to be called," she said. "And this man was named

Oévemana. Naa hétsetseha Oévemanáhëno tsétaokéhóshëhestohe, éhevoo'o. Naa Scabby. And now Scabby Place as it is again called," she said. "And
néhe'xóvéva ésáa'éšemáhoéstovéhane hétshëhóoë, éhevoo'o.

at that time there was not a town here," she said.

(Note: Birney is the southernmost town on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation of Montana.)

The Grasshopper and the Ant, by Hrs. Allen Flyingout (Oklahoma)

\ref GRASSHOP clause 1
\tx Háhkota  naa hátšeške.
\mr háhkota  naa hátšeške
\mg grasshopper and ant

\ft The grasshopper and the ant.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 2
\tx Hátsheške éhma'xéhosète'ôheséstse.
\mr hátšeške é-h -ma'xe-hotse'óhe-sest
\mg ant  3-PST-big -work -REPORT

\ft An ant worked hard.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 3
\tx éhnëšema'xéystovóhtsénöse  héstáme  hemáheónë.
\mr é-h -nëse-ma'xe-éстояvóhtse -nó-s  hé -htamë  he -máheón-é
\mg 3-PST-CONT-big -put.in.s.t.-FTI-REPORT 3POSS-food 3POSS-house -LOC

\ft She brought in her food, lots, to her house.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 4
\tx Méanëva  hová'èhe  mó'éeho'tsèhéhe
\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,"

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'äháne,"

"No,"

"No,"

said the grasshopper.

"I'm gonna dance."

and also I'm gonna sing.

I don't want to work.

It's too sunny.

Néhe'se tséstatonétotse
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'ëseméhaenéhetaesesto,
\mr é-h -ëše -méhae -né -het -ae -sest -o
\mg 3-PST-already-previous-ANAPH-say.to.s.o.-INV-REPORT-OBV
\ft She had already told him,

\ref GRASSHOP clause 23
\tx "Nëtsésáahoxomatséhe máxháeanato."
\mr në -htse-sáa-hoxom -atse-hé máx -háeaná -to
\mg 2-PSS-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 éstanéšëševátamósesto hátšëške
\mr naa é-h -ta -nëše-ševátam-ó -sest -o hátšëške
\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)

The Snake and the Mice                 James Shoulderblade

1) nětato?sěhóséstomámantsémëno šě?šenovótse naa hónkeesësono
   I'm going to tell you about a snake and little mice.

2) šě?šenovótse éstaamévonënëhnoo?ô 3) éštāhono?vonënëhntannëhe vōxe
   A snake was crawling along. He came upon a hole (den).

4) naa éštāësevonënëhnoo?ô 5) hotâtse éšhoëhoono hónkeesësono
   And it crawled inside. Behold, there were little mice (there).

6) éxtémësatëtëhoono 7) va?ohmâna tsëtsënhâstse éxheto?hoono
   They really welcomed him! "In place-of-honor go sit!" they told him.

8) hónkeesësono éxtësehtëhëhoono henësono tsë?tohe nemešëmëvo
   The mouse said to her children, "This (is) your grandfather.

   He came to visit you," she told them. Then after a little while
   éxtësehtëhoono na?éstse henësono něxhëo?stamënomëveha kâhamaxëstse
   she told one (of) her children, "Go fetch firewood!

11) nãhtâhómuëntãoche?ti?vo nemešëmëvo éxhëto?hoono
    I'll cook for your grandfather," she told him.

12) éstaosânhëno?xëhoo?ô 13) tsståaëshësenënëvo?xhëntëse
    He went outside. After he had been gone a little while
   she told one (child), "Go fetch water!

14) nãhtâhómuëntãoche?ti?vo nemešëmëvo 15) ts.getElementsByTagName 'éxhëto?hoono
    I'll cook for your grandfather. He'll eat," she told him.

16) éstaosânhëhësëhëno?xëhoo?ô 17) tsståaëshësëhësenënëvo?xhëntëse
    He went outside. After he had been gone for a little while
   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!"

    They went outside. Again after a
   little while she said to the snake, "It's taking them too long!
   Let's see, I go look for them," she told him. She went outside.

25) tsståaëshëhënhënëse henësono éstaasevëno?ôchëto?hoono 26) naa něhë?še
    *When she got outside, her children began moving from danger. And them
   the snake likewise when they did not return crawled back out.

    After crawling outside, upon looking around, they were simply gone.

   That is it, likewise, what was told to me, this story,
   tsståtë?këhëto 28) hêna?hâåhe
   when I was young. That is all.
**Corn Pemmican**, by Elva Killsontop (Montana)

1) nahko'eehe emanestse ho'xestoha

2) māheemenôtse eeséstáhonohanôtse hononestova

3) tse'ešeexáho'tatse eevaononanôtse

4) epeenanôtse

5) naa néhe'še ehohe'ha amēške

6) eaesto'enanötse māheemenôtse ve'kee-mahpe naa néhe'še amēške

7) eova'kenestse

Nahko'eehe emanestse ho'xestoha.  
Mymother made corn penrnican.

**Eesetahonohanotse**

Sheput

mahaemenotse hononestova. corn intheoven.

Tse'geexaho'tatse men

shetook itout.

Epeenanotse. Naanehe'ge ehohe'ha arnegke. She ground it. And then she melted grease.

**Eaesto'enanotse**

She mixed together

mahaemenotse, ve'kee-mahpe, naanehe'ge amegke. corn, sugar, and then grease.

Eova'kenestse.  
They were formed into balls.

**The Bear, the Coyote, and the Skunk**, by Jeanette Howlingcrane (Oklahoma)

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

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

3. Hápó'e naháhóhe ó'kophóme móhnéhéheohtsé tôhéhe.  
Likewise there coyote followed it  
Likewise there a coyote was following it.

4. Néhe'še éstóó'e'ovahtsehoono.  
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'ahane,
    no
   "No,

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

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

12. éxhetaehoono.
    he told him
    he told him.

13. Tséxhe'éséó'evotáhtsevóse éxhe'kemé'éhnéhoo'oa xo'o.
    while they argued slowly appeared skunk
    While they were arguing a skunk slowly appeared.

14. " Háhtome!
    scram
    "Scram!

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

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

17. Exhe'kenéma'evonéhnéhoo'oa.
    he slowly turned around
    He slowly turned around.
18. Exhe'kéhešéhosóhnéhoo'o.
   he slowly backed up
He slowly backed up.

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

20. Essáanáha'óoméhesesto tósa'e tséhešeaset'a'xvóse.
   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) eohkeovoecho'onenéstse

3) naa eohkéhoxe'anenéstse

4) eohkepeenenéstse naa mátó=héva eohkepenóhenéstse

5) eohkeova'kanenéstse

6) hešeeše eohkeo'éšemenéstse

7) naa eohkeonee'osenenéstse kokakhése

8) (naa eohkene'evavoomeo'o ve'késeho) naa öhtšešeo'eatsee'éstse

   hoo'henova eohkeeto'ehenéstse

9) tosa'e tse'o'o eohkého'henéstse

$$REVISE TEXT AND DELETE FOLLOWING DEFECTIVE SCAN$$

   To'seo'eMee'mestse menotse eohkeovoecho'onenestse
   When they are going to be dried, chokecherries, they are first-picked
   naa eohkehóxe'ăñenéstse.  Eohkepeenestse naamato eohkepenohenestse.
   and they are cleaned.  They are ground or they are pounded (with a tool).
   Bohnkeova'kanenestse.  HeMeeMe
   They are made into patties.
eohkeoe'Memenestse naa
In the sun they are dried and

eohkeonee'osenenestse kokahkese. NaaohtMeo'etsee'estse they are turned over very little while. And when they become dry,
hoo'henova eohkeeto'ehenestse. Tosa'tse'o' eohkeho'henestse. in a bag they are put. Someplace where it is dry they are kept.

COMMENTS ON THE TEXTS

$Correct$ DEFECTIVE SCAN

I have attempted to have a wide variety of texts from several viewpoints. There is geographical variety. Speakers who live in Montana have (mt) after the author credit in the text; speakers who live in Oklahoma have (ok). Some stories are told by men, others by women. Some stories are "historical" first-person eyewitness accounts while others are popular folktales. There are other categories of "historicity", too, for instance, first-person accounts which were made up for pedagogical purposes for bilingual programs. I have tried to select texts for inclusion which illustrate the various verbal modes. In this section I will briefly comment on various aspects of the texts.

Two of the texts, "The Drumming Owls" and "The Whiteman and the Indian" illustrate the popular motif of tension between the Indian (xamae-vo'estane, 'ordinary-person') and a trickster. Around the world it is very common to find that different groups of people have stories illustrating the tension they feel as they come into contact with other kinds of people. In some Indian groups of Mexico stories first spoke of the tension between the Indians and the conquering Spaniards. Today the same stories are told, but the oppressor is now the "wealthy" Mexican national land-owner. Often, stories illustrating the cultural tension have plots in which the "underdog" ultimately overcomes or tricksthe oppressor. This motif of the tension between a people and a trickster is a common one in Cheyenne stories, and also in other languages of the people who first inhabited North America. In some languages the trickster is a coyote. It is probably no accident that some of the language groups use the same word for 'spider' and 'trickster'. Such is the case with Cheyenne and Arapaho and I seem to recall that a Muskogean language also uses the same word for 'spider' and 'trickster'. The Cheyenne word is ve'ho'e. The Arapaho word is nih?oo8oo (Salzmann, IJAL 22.151). After having used these words for their cultural tricksters, both Cheyennes and Arapahos applied these words to the white man once he arrived on the scene.

Today the term "vé'ho'e" first triggers the meaning 'white man' in the mind of the Cheyenne speaker. The folklore trickster in stories is usually translated by 'white man', as it is in the preceding texts. Interesting folk etymologies have developed around the term "vé'ho'e". Today I8 speakers know that vé'ho'e means both 'white man' and 'spider'. Some people say that the white man was given the same name as the spider because he arrived on Indian land and fenced in the range land so that it like a spider's web. Others point to Sweet Medicine's prophecy of the coming "person"
who would be tsemâhevé'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'ëve. 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. nótseo'o 'other tribes'
3. vé'ho'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 'ho'e various ways to refer to specific groups of non-Indians. For instance, ma'e- 'ho'e 'Germans' (red- 'ho'ë), me'gees -v 'hb'e Mexicans' (hairy-nosed (moustached)-v 'hb'e), and mo'ohtae- 'hb'e are 'Negroes' (black-'ho'ë). The term v 'ho'e meaning of 'white' in it, but because of its most common usage to refer to 'white men', it has developed a strong association with the meaning of 'white' -- so strong, in fact, that many Cheyennes point out the humor in a term like mo'ohtae- 'hb'e -- to them, sounds like 'black-white man'. From an analytical viewpoint, it is probably most accurate to translate v'ého'e, today, as something like 'non-Indian'.

Now, for some comments on specific texts.

The recipe "Making Chokecherry Patties" is interesting in that the verb forms use passives. There are some Generic Conjunct verbs, e.g. to'seo'egemee'estse 'when they are going to be dried' and ohtge eo'etsee'estse 'when they become dry'.

"The Trek from Oklahoma" is a brief summary of an important historical event for the Cheyenne people. Note that the predominant verbal mode used is the Inferential. The Inferential is commonly used to pass along information that is known to have occurred but which was not viewed first-hand. Note that the first two verbs are Impersonals. Describing a situation with an Impersonal verb is one way of generalizing it, enabling the speaker to leave out reference to specific subjects. This can be done particularly when the participants involved are well-known to the speaker and hearers. In this case, there is no mistaking that the speaker is referring to Cheyennes (not, for example, Crows or Siouxs!). There are some Conjunct Intensive Negative verbs, e.g.

ho'noamahtavotse and ho'nonexhohtamaevotse.
The present text describes the coming of the white man, the horse, and the cow. There are some reportative verb forms, e.g. éheséstse 'he is said to have said' and éxhéséstse 'he is said to have told them'. There are some verb forms with body-part medials, e.g. tsénévéohta 'he will have four legs' and tsene!e¹ esta (??) 'he will have t, To (??) There are some conjunct potential verb forms toward the end of the text, ma'tamásáñee 'if, when you (pl) are crazy' and máaaa'évatóhtanó'tomáhée '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 Frog and Her Brothers" uses several independent order preterit verb forms, a verb type commonly used in legends and folklore in Cheyenne, for instance éstaho'konoëhoo'o and éhnemenëhoo'o. The verb ōhpèhèvenenôohévoséstse (??) a Conjunct Generic verb type. It appears to contain the body-part medial for 'face', -ene. The high pitches are not found in the present surface form due to the effect of the pitch rule, "High Push-Over". An interesting point to note is that this story shows that nouns can receive a kind of preterit inflection, seen in the word _____ (??). Note the identity between the noun suffix on this word -(ha)hoono and the plural preterit verb suffix -hoono, as in éhnemenëhoo'o 'they were singing'.

"I'm Beading Hoccasins" is a brief first-person account. Study of the verb forms would be useful for everyday conversational ability in Cheyenne. The strong verbal construction, mōme'hèhaoemenëstse is interesting. This is an example of a negative inferential, which takes conjunct suffixes instead of the usual independent order affixes for inferentials.

Stories which give reasons for certain present conditions are popular all over the world. "How Birney Got the Name 'Oevemanâheno'" is one of this type. Note the predominance of inferential verb forms. Also, note the repetition, not uncommon in Cheyenne stories.

It is said that the story of a crossing on ice is common to some of the Algonquian languages. "When Cheyennes Crossed the Ice" fits into this motif. Note the inanimate plural Conjunct Participle, tseóhkeve'14(??)eamoohestsestovetsee'ëstse. The verb is made "relational" because it is the object of a verb with a third-person subject.

There are first-person plural (inclusive) Independent Indicative verb forms with the longer first-plural (inclusive) suffix -/mane/, i.e. ______________ (??) 'We will turn over' and nestsememestanemane 'we will drown'. The verb hevahnáméstanehevónéhe (??) has a suffix like an inferential verb, but lacks the usual inferential particle turned prefix, mó-. Instead it has a different particle, heva-which can be translated as 'maybe'.

The text about "Lame Deer School Children" (§§KEEP??) contains regular Independent Indicative verb forms. This would be a good text on which to study the use of PREVERBS (see page 179ff.). For example, in the verb evohe'oseamooëhe'tso'o 'they went back up again' there are at least three preverbs, -eva- 'back', -hose- 'again', and -ame- 'along'. The verb eanõhesevanoo'o (??) contains the preverb -anõohe- 'down', and the verb évhóšoevohe Meanaha'xeo'o(??) besides having the preverbs -eva- and -hose-, contains the preverb -vohe'Me(??)- which means 'anew'.

The next text, "The Whiteman and the Indian", illustrates the tensions between Indians and the cultural trickster (subsequently applied to the white man). There is
The latterform is interesting in that it is an example of a word which takes on different meaning depending on whether it is in a "positive" or "negative" environment.

The sentence hova'ehe naelta would mean  I am afraid of something  but if -le  add hova I he to the verb nasaa e tohe  I am not afraid of it  we get hova'ehe nasaa'e'tohe 'I'm not afraid of anything' (the verb in the text also containsthe preverb -ohke- 'regularly'). This is one story where the trickster gets the best of the Indian. But the next story turns the tables on the trickster in a delightful plot. Note the form...rardness 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":

   $t \rightarrow ts / \_ e$

   nóta'ê /nótə'é/170 'woman from another tribe'
   notse /nóte/ 'person from another tribe'

2. h-Assimilation (h-Assim)
   Phonemic /h/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a following voiceless fricative:

   $h \rightarrow [\alpha \text{ PLACE}] / \_ [\alpha \text{ PLACE}]$
   [-voiced]

   éssóhpeohtsêstse /é-h-sóhpeohté-seht/ 'it is said he walked through'
   tséssáanénéméhté /té-h-sáa-nénéné-hé-tó/ 'when I did not sing'
   tsésssséssé /té-h-šéésé-s/ when he was lying prone'

3. h to s Fronting (HSF)
   Phonemic /h/ is pronounced as [s] when it occurs between "e" and "t":

   $h \rightarrow s / \_ e \_ t$

---

170 As noted earlier, orthographic "e" is typically pronounced as phonetic [i]. For practical purposes, however, we will symbolize the orthographic letter "e" as phonemic /e/ even though it is never pronounced as phonetic [e].
Néhmetséstse! /néh-méteht/ 'Give it to me!'
Néستëhe'ooestse! /néh-tehe'ooeht/ 'Come here quickly!'

náhtona /na-htónah/ 'my daughter'
néstona /ne-htónah/ 'your daughter'

The same rule (with a minor revision) accounts for the following assimilation: Phonemic /h/ of the directional /néh-/ is fronted to [s] preceding /p/ by some speakers.

néspaháveameotšëšemenö! ~ néhpaháveameotšëšemenö! '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'espahö'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 /šeš-o/ 'duck (obviative)' (cf. šeš'e 'duck')
néxahe /néšahe/ 'my grandchild' [cf. néše /néšé/ 'Grandchild! (vocative)]
éháóénáxe /eháóénášé/ 'he's lying praying'
éneš'e'xàhtse /éneš'e'xahté/ 'he gargled (lit., he washed his mouth; cf. énèše'sévoéne 'he washed his face')
énéxánéstse /énešánét/ 'there are two of them (inanimate)' [cf. énéšeo'o 'there are two of them (animate)']

6. **s to š Assimilation**

/s/ assimilates to [š] preceding /š/:

\[ š \rightarrow š / \_ \_ e š \]

Note: This rule is optional when the /e/ is voiced, but obligatory when it is voiceless.
hátšeške ~ hátseške /hátehke/ 'ant'
éhemótšeške ~ éhemótseške /éhemótehke/ 'he has a knife'
motšėške /mótehk/ 'knife'
néameotšėšemeno /néameotešemeno/ 'you led us'

7. **h-Dissimilation (h-Diss)**
A phonemic /h/ is pronounced as phonetic [x] preceding another phonemic /h/:

\[ h \rightarrow x \]

nánéxhé’óhtse /ná-neh-hé’ohté/ 1-CIS-there.come.from 'I came from there'
néxhéšétnáhtse! /néh-hestan-ó-h té/ CIS-take-IOAM-IMP 'Bring it to me!'
tséxhonónévöse /té-h-honóné-vö só/ CJT-PST-bake-3PL 'when they baked'
náxhéné’ëna /ná-h-héné’ën-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.

\[ a \rightarrow ɔ \]

énaóotse[i ɔː ñ t] 'he's sleeping'
émá’o[i m õt o] 'it's red'
héstónaho[h ñ t ñ t õ h] 'his/her daughter'
páhoeséstotse /páhoeséstot/ [pʰ ɔː ñ t õ t] 'cradleboard'

9. **y-Glide Insertion (YGI)**
A phonetic [y] glide occurs between "e" and a following back vowel ("a" or "o"):

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow y / e \]

Náháéána [n á h á ñ t á n á] 'I'm hungry'
Néá’ëna [n í y á ñ t í n á] 'You own it'

This "y" sound is not written in the official Cheyenne orthography. Writing the "y" would make it more difficult to see the relationships between morphologically related forms. For instance, the verb stem -á'en always means 'own something' regardless of whether or not it has a "y" glide at the beginning due to a preceding "e". If we wrote 'you own it' as néyá’ëna the "y" would make it more difficult to see that this verb has the usual né- second person prefix, the verb stem –á'en, and the inanimate object agreement marker /-á/.

10. **w-Glide Insertion (WGI)**
A phonetic [w] glide occurs between "o" and a following "a":

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow w / o \]

hotóá’e [h o t ó w a ñ t á] 'buffalo'
Nóávöse [n ó w á w õ s] 'Bear Butte'
Énóahešéve [í n ɔʷ a hɪ́ʃ f] 'he is giving away'

Sometimes it is difficult to hear the difference between a non-phonemic [ᵻ] 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 [ᵻ] glide, when the word is pluralized, énóvahëo'o [í n ọfʰ ay o ʔ o] 'they are slow'. The phonetic [f] in this plural can only exist because it is the voiceless pronunciation of phonemic /v/ in the complex syllable of this word.

11. **Phrase-Final Devoicing (PFD)**

All word-final vowels devoice before a pause:

\[ V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / \_ \_ & \]

Phrase-medially, phonological characteristics vary a little from those of phrase-final phenomena. Complex Syllable Formation occurs across word boundaries in natural speech. Phrase-medially, word-final vowels which precede other words often are not devoiced in natural, connected speech.

This rule is illustrated by each Cheyenne word written in this book, if it is pronounced with a pause after it. $$DELETE\ SENTENCE\ AND\ GIVE\ EXAMPLES??$$

12. **Prepenultimate Devoicing (PPD)**

A low-pitched vowel is devoiced if it is followed by a voiceless fricative and not preceded by /h/:

\[ C \]

\[ V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / C \_\_ [-\text{voiced}] C_o V C_o V \]

\[-\text{high}]\]

\[ [+\text{cont}] \]

PPD applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

tāhpëno /tahpono/ 'flute'
kōsāne /kosàné/ 'sheep (plural)'
mōxe'ēstoo'o /mośèěhtóon/ 'paper, book'
namēśēme /nàmešémé/ 'my grandfather'
māhnōhtsēstovōtse /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 obstruent which, in turn, is followed by a word-final "e". The word-final "e" is inserted by the following rule of e-Epenthesis.

hohkōxe /hōhkoš/ 'ax'
tsētāhpētāhtse /tētahpētáht/ 'the one who is big'
tsēxhonōnévōse /tēh honōnévōs/ 'when they baked'
ēsēnēstse /ēsēnēt/ 'days'
vōhpōma'ōhtse /vōhpōma'oht/ 'salt'
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 ɪ] 'he drank'
máhtamáhááhe [m̥át a m̥á: h] 'old woman'
éheóvo [í h ɪ f ə] 'it's yellow'

15. Special a and o Devoicing (SD)
Non-high /a/ and /o/ devoice at least partially if preceded by a voiced vowel and followed by /h/, a consonant, and two or more syllables:

\[ V [+\text{back}] \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / V \_\_ h C \_\_\_ \]

This special devoicing is indicated in the examples below, although it would not normally be noted.

náohkého'soo'e 'I regularly dance'
émóheecóhtseo'o 'they are gathering'
nápóáhtsenáhno 'I punched him in the mouth'

16. Preverb Devoicing
Vowels often devoice following a preverb and immediately preceding a voiceless stop:

\[ V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / + \_ \_ [-\text{voiced}] \]

ééšépehéva'e ~ ééšépehéva'e /ééšé+pehéva'e/ 'it's already good'
énéšépehéva'e ~ énéšépehéva'e /énéšé+pehéva'e/ 'it's okay'

The same rule applies at the boundary between an initial and a following voiceless stop: ($$\text{COMBINE RULES??}\)"

éasèta'xe ~ éasèta'xe /éasè+ta'še/ 'he started to run'
asétanóhtse ~ asétanóhtse /asè+tanóht/ 'Pass it!
nánèshétáno ~ nánèshétáno '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:
Φ → ʔ / V _ + V

This rule is obligatory with the preverb sáa-:

ésáa’a’xaaméhe 'he did not cry'
násáa’éseméséhéhe '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:

Φ → 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 [-obs] → Φ / _ #

mée’e /méen/ 'feather' (cf. méeno /méeno/ 'feathers')
mo’këha /mó’kehàn/ 'moccasin, shoe' (cf. mo’këhanòtse /mókehanot/ 'moccasins, shoes'
mo’éhno’ha /mo’éhno’ham/ 'horse' (cf. mo’éhno’hâmè /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:

Φ → h / e _ t #

PPD (Prepenultimate Devoicing) follows, causing the "e" added by e-Ep to be voiceless.

hóhkéhá’éstse /hóhkeha’ét/ 'hats'
ého’tánéstse /ého’tánét/ 'They (inanimate) are here/there'

21. Complex Syllable Formation (CSF)
A complex syllable is formed when a consonant is followed by a voiceless vowel, /h/, then a voiced vowel. The /h/ becomes aspiration on the consonant.

C → Ch / _ V h V171

tóhohko /tohokon/ [tʰo h k o] 'hammer'
máheń’o /maheön/ [mʰáv o ʔ o] 'house'
éńóvahö’o /éńóvahö/ [í nófʱ aɾ o ʔ o] 'they are slow'

171 V stands for a voiceless vowel here.
páhoeséstotse /pahoéšéstot/ [pʰɔː ʃ iː s t o c] 'cradleboard'

22. **Diphthongization**

The two vowels of a complex syllable form a diphthong:

\[ V \rightarrow [-\text{syl}] / \_ \_ \_ V \]

mo'kéhanótse [m o ʔ kʰv a n o c] 'mocasins, shoes'

náohkéhomösé [n á o kʰo o m ʔ s] 'I regularly cook'

páhoeséstotse [pʰɔː ʃ iː s t o c] 'cradleboard'

nátháévóše [n á th áv o w ʔ ʃ] 'I'm going to lie down'

máhē'ó [mʰ ʔv ō ʔ ʔ] 'house'

Náhkóhá'ē [n á h kʰ á ʔ i] 'Bear Woman'

énahahkahe [i nʰ a h k a h] 'he's energetic'

23. **h-Absorption (h-Ab)**

A phonemic /h/ is absorbed by a preceding or following voiceless vowel:

\[ h \rightarrow \emptyset / V \]

tsééna'héstse [c iː na ʔ s c] 'the one who is old'

ntséháóénástse [c i hːː n á c] 'the one who is praying'

Héstánóhtse! [h ʔstānóc] 'Take it!'

Vonáhō'hohtse! [v o nʰ ʔ ʔ ʔ o c] 'Burn it up!'

24. **High-Raising (HR)**

High-Raising is one of several rules which adjust the pitches (tones) of Cheyenne. Pitch marks used in these rules are: `' (high), `^` (raised high), `¯` (mid), and ` ` (low)\(^{172}\).

A high is pronounced as a raised high when it is followed by a word-final high and not preceded by another high:

\[ ` \rightarrow `^ / \{#\} \_ \_ ` # \{´\} \]

štšé /šē'šé/ 'duck'

sémo /sémón/ 'boat'

éma'ovése /éma'ovésé/

25. **Low-to-High Raising (LHR)**

A low is raised to a high if preceded by a high and followed by a word-final phonemic high:

\[ ` \rightarrow ` / ` ` ` # \]

méšéne /méšené/ 'ticks'

návóómo /návóomó/ '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'
émêhósáne /éméhósané/ 'he loves'
éšášéšévéhe /ésášéšévéhe/ 'he is not a duck'
émá'o /éma'ó/ 'it is not red'

26. **High-Leveling (HL)**

A low is raised to a high if it is preceded and following by high pitches:

\[
\text{FORMULATION} \\
\text{ } \rightarrow \text{' / ' (Y) ($)} \text{' #}
\]

One or more more voiceless syllables can occur between the pitch that is raised and a following high pitch. It appears that this rule only applies when the word-final pitch is phonemically high. This rule is closely related to the preceding rule of LHR and may be part of a single natural rule of pitch assimilation that includes both LHR and HL.

éávóónése /éávoonešé/ 'he's lying fasting'
éstésénéhé'e 'swamp'
ého'néhénoné /ého'néhénoné/ 'he sang a wolf song'

27. **Low-to-Mid Raising (LMR)**

A low is raised to a mid when it precedes a phonemic word-final high and is not preceded by a high. (This second condition can be eliminated from the rule if there is rule ordering and LMR is ordered after LHR.)

\[
\text{FORMULATION} \\
\text{ } \rightarrow \text{` / __ ' #}
\]

kōsa /kosán/ 'sheep (singular)'
heé'e /heé'e/ 'woman'
éhomőse /éhomosé/ 'he is cooking'
etahpeásé /étahe'asé/ 'he has a big belly'

28. **Word-Medial High-Raising (WMHR)**

A high is raised if it follows a high (which is not a trigger for the High Push-Over rule) and precedes a phonetic low:

\[
\text{FORMULATION} \\
\text{ } \rightarrow \text{' / ' ( (C V [-voiced] ) C_o )o __ ' C_o V [-high] [+cont]}
\]

One or more voiceless syllables may come between the two highs. (A devoiced vowel in this process must be phonemically low, not a phonemic high vowel which has been devoiced by the HPO rule.) Many verbal prefixes and preverbs are affected by WMHR.

éhâméstoo'e /éhámehtoe/ 'he sat down'
émêsehe /émésehe/ 'he is eating'
émóna'e /émóna'e/ 'it's new'
tséhnêmenéto /téhnémenéto/ 'when I sang'
nás våamétohêno /nås våamétohêno/ 'I did not give him (obv) to him'
ýssåaméséhêeo /ýs våaméséhêeo/ 'they did not eat'
hsêhevêsêsóneto /téhevêsêsóneto/ 'the one who is your cousin'
mônêsô'häanâmê /mônêsô'häanâmê 'Are you (plural) still hungry?'
nevé'ea'xaâmê! /nevé'ea'xaamê/ 'Don’t cry!

29. Stem-final Raising (SFR)
A stem-final low pitch is raised to a high pitch word-medially (i.e. antepenultimate or before in a word):

\[ V \rightarrow \acute{\_} / \_ \text{stem}_{2} \# \]

As written, SFR applies to any stem-final vowel that is antepenultimate or earlier in a word. It applies vacuously to a stem-final vowel which is already high-pitched. Here are examples of words in which SFR applies to stem-final vowels which have underlying low pitches.

émané-stove 'there is drinking' (cf. émane 'he is drinking')
éta'pôsé-stove 'there is getting cold easily (éta'pose 'he gets cold easily')
nâmësëhëtse 'I ate quickly' (cf. nâmësehe 'he ate')
mêsëhë-stoto 'potatoes'
amåhó'hë-stotësë 'cars' (cf. éamåhøhe 'he's going along by car')
esânëaotsë-heo'o 'they are not sleeping' (cf. énaônësë 'he is sleeping')
esâapëhévaé-hane 'it is not good' (cf. épëhévaé'e 'it is good")
tspëpëhëvaé'tseéëtse 'those (things) which are not good'
ëhe'kotêhë-sëstë 'they are said to be quiet (reportative mode) (cf. éhe'kotáhe 'he is quiet)
é'ameohë-hoo'o 'Wow, he quickly walked!' (preterit mode) (cf. é'ameohe 'he quickly walked')
esâapëhévenöohë-hehono 'Wow, they do not look good!' (cf. épëhévenöohe 'he looks good')

30. High Push-Over (HPO)
A high is realized as a low if it is preceded by a high and followed by a phonetic low:

\[ \acute{\_} \rightarrow \acute{\_} / \acute{\_} \_ \acute{\_} \]

As formulated, HPO must be preceded by HR (High-Raising). HPO applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

néhâoenama /néháóénáma/ 'we (incl) prayed'
némëhotone /némëhótonë/ 'we (incl) love him'
nâmëhosanëmë /nâmëhosanëmë/ 'we (excl) love'

31. High-Lowering (HL)
A high is pronounced as a low preceding a word-final low:

\[ \acute{\_} \rightarrow \acute{\_} / \acute{\_} \_ \acute{\_} \]

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'
moťšeške /mótehk/ 'knife'
éhé’eve /éhé‘ève/

32. **Word-Final Lowering (WFL)**
A word-final vowel is realized as a low pitch. If the word-final vowel is pre-pause, it will be devoiced by the Phrase-Final Devoicing Rule (PFDR).

\[ V \to \ ` / _ \ # \]

návôomônáhkè’è 'I saw a bear'
évôohtámâhê’ô '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.

\[ ` \to \ { ` } / _ \ ? \]
\[ { ` } \]

ó’ôésè’ô /ó’oéson /'clothesline'
óovâ’hasè’ô /óova’hasen /'pump'
éhestô’tonôhnôho. /éhehto’tononhôhô /'he braided his (someone else's) hair.'
tséévèhèst’ámàxe /téevehehta’amañese /'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.\(^{174}\)

\[ \emptyset \to \begin{array}{ccc} V & V & V \\ \alpha \text{ back} & / \gamma \text{ PITCH} & \alpha \text{ back} \\ \beta \text{ high} & \beta \text{ high} & \beta \text{ high} \\ \gamma \text{ PITCH} & (\text{[+obs]} & ) \end{array} \]

VS applies if a voiceless obstruent (/s/, /š/, or /t/) follows the phonemic word-final vowel sequence. Subsequent to Vowel-Stretching, a rule of Vowel Assimilation assimilates /e/ to an immediately preceding vowel.

meo’ô /méon/ 'road, trail'
honoo’ô /honóon/ 'roast'
vee’e /véen/ 'lodge, tepee'
xâö’ô /šoón/ 'skunk'

---
\(^{174}\) This process was first observed in Cheyenne by Algonquianist Ives Goddard and described in a slightly different formulation (1978).
néšéé’ěše /néšeéš/ ‘for two days’

There is a minor exception to this formulation of the VS rule when the phonemic word-final vowel sequences are ea# or oa#. Instead of expected phonetic ea’a# or oa’a#, respectively, most speakers pronounce ea’e# and oa’e#. We suggest that some kind of neutralization rule accounts for this exception. Such a rule may involve something like "strong" and "weak" vowels in Cheyenne, where "o" and "a" are strong vowels and "e" is a weaker vowel used in neutralization contexts such as this. Such known exceptions are:

hēā’e /heá/ ‘maybe’, instead of expected hēā’a
éméa’e /éméa/ 'he gave', instead of expected émea’a
hotóá’e /notóá/ 'buffalo', instead of expected hotóá’a

Another minor exception in the speech of at least some speakers involves retention of high pitch on some phonemic pre-VS penultimate vowels when a lowering of the high pitch is expected. Such exceptions include:

vée’ėse /véées/ 'tooth', instead of expected vee’ėse
séo’otse /séot/ 'ghost, corpse', instead of expected seo’otse

$\text{IS THERE ANY INTERACTION WITH / INFLUENCE FROM IAH (IMPERMANENT ANTEPENULTIMATE HIGH)}??$

Note: not all surface (pronounceable) forms which end with two vowels, a glottal stop, and a word-final vowel have undergone Vowel-Stretching. Such forms which have not undergone VS are:

énaā’e /énnaé’/ 'he doctored (cf. énaa’e /énnae/ 'he died')
náne póó’o /náne póó’o/ '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:

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c}
V & V & V \\
[-back] & [\alpha \text{ back}] & [\alpha \text{ back}] \\
[\beta \text{ high}] & [\beta \text{ high}] & \text{C}
\end{array}
\]

Sometimes this assimilation is not total, but usually it is nearly so. Assimilation occurring to vowels which have undergone Vowel-Stretching is total, and so I write the second vowel in its assimilated form. I do not write non-Vowel-Stretched sequences in their assimilated forms, since they are sometimes not totally assimilated and also since their underlying (phonemic) forms can be more easily recovered from their written forms.

návóomāā’e [náwôomāːʔɪ] 'they saw me'
névóomaene [nîwôomaːfi] 'he saw us (incl)'
ého’oéstse [ihoʔoːsc] 'he cooked it'

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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.

Námôxê'oha môxê'êstoo'o. [ná ňô xʷ i ? ŏ ā # ňô xʷ i ? s t o: ŏ ŏ] 'I wrote a book.'
Nâsâavôomôhe nâhkokhe. [nâssâawô:mô #:nâhkokh] 'I did not see the bear.'

h-Loss also occurs with some word-medial sequences in natural rapid speech:

éméhaemane [í mî:a:ma ňî] 'he used to drink'
étsêhe'kêhâhe [čh i k í ah] 'he is young'
éhohâetonêto [ɪ'oh á:ton í tō] 'it's very cold (weather)'

37. **Labialization**

The consonants "x" and "h" take on the labial quality of a preceding /o/ if they are followed by /e/ or /a/:

\[ C V \rightarrow _{-} w / o _{-} \ [+\text{back}] \_ [+\text{high}] \ [+\text{cont}] \]

oha [ohwâ] 'only'
namôxê'êstoo'o [ná° m ŏxw i ? o í s t o: ŏ ŏ] 'my book'

38. **Palatalization**

Cheyenne /h/ is palatalized if it is preceded by /e/ and followed by /a/ (??) or /o/:

\[ C V \rightarrow _{-} y / e h _{-} [+\text{high}] [+\text{cont}] \]

eho /ého/ [´ i h y ŏ] '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/:

\[ V, h \_ V \rightarrow V, h \_ V \# \]

Méseestse! /mésehe-hť/ 'Eat!'
Në'êsto'haahťse! /në'ehô'hâa-hť/ 'Take your gloves off!'
Po'ôôhtse! /po'oh-ô-hť/ 'Break it off (by tool)!
tsênôvaestse /tê-nôvâhe-hť/ 'the one who is slow'
40. Cliticization

Particles phonologically attach to a word with which they have a grammatical relationship. The particles become "glued" to that word. This attachment process is called cliticization. We indicate cliticization with the "=" sign.

Proclitics attach to the beginnings of words:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow = / \_\_\_ # X \]

hévá=móhe 'apparently, maybe'
hévá=hmémmétanéhevóhe 'maybe they drowned' (1987:4:23)

Enclitics attach to the ends of words:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow = / # \_\_ \]

tá'sé=háma 'Isn't that right?'
nóhásé=háma 'any way'
heá'è=háma 'I guess, maybe'

If a particle ends with "he", this syllable is lost during cliticization:

\[ \{h e\} \rightarrow = / \_\_ # X \]

In the following examples, compare the particles as they are pronounced as single words with their cliticized forms:

tsé'tóhe 'this one (animate)'; tsé'tó=mé'èšévótse 'this baby'
hé'tóhe 'this one (animate)'; hé'tó=mahé'o 'this house'
néhe 'that one (referred to; animate); né=ka'èškóne 'that (referred to) child'
móhe 'True?, Really?'; mó=néhâána? 'Are you hungry?'; mó=héva 'maybe'; mó=néhe 'You mean that one (animate)?'
néhéóhe 'there'; néhéó=Nóávóse 'there at Bear Butte'

41. Glottal Stop Epenthesis (GSEp)

A glottal stop is inserted between a clitic and a following vowel:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow ? / = \_\_ V \]

tsé'tó='éstse'he 'this shirt'
mó='éháohó'ta 'Is it hot?'
mó='èšépèhèva'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\} → óe / __ 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:

náhéne'enóó'e 'they know me' (cf. náhéne'enova 'he knows me')
nánéhóó'e 'they chased me' (cf. nánehova 'he chased me')
nénéhóó'ehe? 'Did he chase you?'
nénéhe?ehe? ?? Does he know you?
návovéstomóéne 'he taught us (excl)' (cf. návovéstomeva 'he taught me')
névovéstomóéne 'he taught us (incl)'
tséhvovéstomóó'ése 'when he taught me'
tséxhéne'enóétse 'when he knew us'

SSuggestions from Rich Rhodes:

h --> s / __ [+obs, -lab]  (i.e., t, s, k, š)
s --> $ / __ [+obs, +back]  (i.e., k, š)

with a codicil that for the speakers who assibilate before p the first rule is:

h --> s / __ [+obs]

But there is also an /x/, which should get swept up in the first rule, and writing /x/ out isn't straightforward.

However, the dictionary examples make it look like there is also a rule, h --> Ø / __x, i.e., there seem to be some examples in the x section that have past meanings but have no h before the x, and listening to them they seem not to be xx.

As for the /hh/ as [xx], a Stampean phonologist would count that as a fortition, rather than as a kind of assimilation, and say that it happens as a single process.

hh --> xx
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