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The Cheyenne Language

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Chief Dull Knife College

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This book first appeared in 1979 as Cheyenne Grammar Notes, a limited printing done by the Bilingual Materials Development Center, Crow Agency, Montana, under U.S. Office of Education Grant Number G007804598.

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

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ISBN: 978-1-105-65006-2

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

Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Acknowledgements

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

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

Other available resources

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

Pónoma'a'èhasenéše'he, Drying Up Moon: March 298

Véhpotseéše'he, Leaf Moon: April 298

Énano'eéše'he, Planting Moon: June 298

Méanééše'he, Summer Moon: July 298

Oenenéše'he, Harvest Moon: August 298

Tonóése'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'xéhe'koneneéše'he, Big Hard Face Moon: December 298

Some alternative names are: 298

He'koneneéše'he, Hard Face Moon: January (instead of November) 298

Tšěške'hohtseéše'he, Little Hoop Moon: February 298

Pónoma'a'éhasenéhe, 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

Sétoveméanééše'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'eneéše'he, Facing Into Moon: October 299

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Abbreviations and symbols

Person abbreviations

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

Pitch symbols

| | |
|------|---|
| ´ | high pitch |
| — | mid pitch ¹ |
| ^ | raised high pitch ² (not marked in this book) |
| ˇ, ` | lowered high pitch ³ (not marked in this book and no longer believed to exist) |
| | low pitch is unmarked |

Other symbols

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

Other abbreviations

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

¹ Mid pitch was marked with the ¨ (umlaut) symbol or ~ (tilde) symbols in earlier publications when the ˉ (macron) symbol was not available. Please do not use 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, émésehe, 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 ˇ (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 States⁵. Cheyenne is spoken in Oklahoma and southeastern Montana. Following are maps on which communities appear where Cheyenne has been spoken in post-reservation times. The communities are listed with both their English and Cheyenne names.

Northern Cheyenne Country:

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

Oklahoma Cheyenne Country:

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

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

Language viability

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

Cheyenne dialects

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

Family, district, and idiolectal differences

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

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

| meaning | pronunciation | another pronunciation |
|-----------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| star | hotohke | hetohke |
| hill | hoéhose | hoéhase |
| my throat | naéstoo'o | naéstoo'e |
| uninvited?? | hópose | hápose |
| for example | hámó'óhtse | hómó'óhtse |
| Listen! | Ótahe! | Átahe! |
| Listen to me! | Áahtovéstse! | Áhahtovéstse! |
| I reached it. | Náhohtamésta. | Náhestamésta. |
| for that reason | hése- | hóse- ⁶ |

Old man speech

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

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

The Suhtai dialect

Many years ago Cheyennes were about to fight a band of people called the Suhtai⁷. But they stopped when they could understand what the Suhtai were saying.⁸ So the Suhtai and Cheyennes became friends and began to camp together. "When this took place the old Suhtai dialect began to be lost. Though it was still spoken by the old people, the children who were born and reared in the Cheyenne camp naturally spoke the dialect of their fellows, and today few old men or women remain who can recall any of the old Suhtai who spoke that dialect." (Grinnell 1928:9) There are Cheyennes today who claim descent from the Suhtai.

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

History of Cheyenne language research

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

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'éstaneo'o 'Indians' in sentence 3 of the story.

⁹ Spelled as Issiwun by Grinnell.

Cheyenne sounds

There are 14 letters in the Cheyenne alphabet¹⁰:

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

Cheyenne vowels

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

Cheyenne a

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

Cheyenne e

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

Cheyenne o

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

Diacritics

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

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

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

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'
ná**h**áeana 'I'm hungry'

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

ma**h**pe 'water'
pó**h**késo 'kitten'
évó**h**ko 'it's bent'
mé**h**ne 'water serpent'
sé**h**pató'òhēō'o 'tepee pin, safety pin'
he**h**peto 'later'

Cheyenne m and n

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

émane [í m a ñ í] 'he drank'
máhpēva [m̥ á p ɪ f á] 'in the water'
máhtamáhááhe [m̥ á t a m^h á: h] 'old woman'

Cheyenne s

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

Cheyenne p, t, and k

Cheyenne p, t, and k¹¹ are voiceless and unaspirated. They sound like the English letters p, t, and k when they follow the letter "s", as in the English words "spill", "still", and "skill."

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

For instance, we can write the word for 'bear' as it sounds to Cheyennes, as nahgo. That's easy. But then it's harder to recognize that what we have written as nahgo still has the meaning of 'bear' when we add the ending to make the word 'bears', nahkóheo'o (or in simpler spelling, nahkoyo'o). As perceived, the "g" sound of 'bear' changes to a "k" sound even though the meaning of 'bear' remains the same when we add the ending to make the word for 'bears'.

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

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

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

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

Cheyenne š

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

¹¹ Linguists call p, t, k stops.

alphabet for Cheyenne. The š symbol¹² has also been used by many linguists to transcribe this sound, called an alveopalatal fricative. It's fine to write this Cheyenne sound with the letters "sh" if you prefer. Do not be confused by the symbol "š" and write the letter "s". The letters "s" and "š" represent different sounds in Cheyenne. It's better to use the letters "sh" if those who are reading your writing do not know how to pronounce the symbol "š".

Authors who write books about Cheyennes often like to include some Cheyenne words. You may be asked to help them spell some Cheyenne words for their book. If their book is for a popular (non-technical) audience, 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'šenovõtse.

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

| meaning | official spelling | newspaper spelling |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Day Walking Woman | Ešeaméhe'e | Ishiamhi'i / Ishiamhi' |
| Day Woman | Ešeeva'e | Ishiiiva'i / Ishiiva' |
| Rising Sun | Eše'he Öhme'ehnéstse | Ishi' Ohmi'ihnsts |
| Two Moon | Eše'he Öhnešeséstse | Ishi' Ohnishists |
| Dusty Nose | Heše'eveesehe | Hishi'iviisih |
| Porcupine | Heškovéstse | Hishkovts |
| Alights On the Clouds | Ho'évãhtoešéstse | Ho'ivahtoishsts |
| Lying Wolf | Ho'nehešeeše | Ho'nihishiish |
| Wooden Thigh | Kamãxevéše'o | Kamaxivshio / Kamaxivshio'o |
| Raccoon | Matšéškome | Machgom |
| Mint Woman | Moxéšeha'e | Moxshiha'i |
| Two Crows | Oköhkeo'o Öhnešese | Okohkeo'o Ohnishis |
| Little Snowbird | Šeheso | Shihiso / Shihis |
| Pine Woman | Šestoto'a'e | Shistota'i / Shisdoda' |
| Little Creek | Tšéške'eo'he'e | Chki'io'hi'i / Chki'io'hi' |

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

Glottal stop

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

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 stop¹³:

with glottal stop

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

without glottal stop

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

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

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

Cheyenne x

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

Cheyenne v

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

| meaning | spelling | phonetic |
|-----------------|--------------|----------|
| dwelling, tepee | vee'e | [v] |
| fat | vetšéške | [v] |
| for four days | névéé'ěše | [v] |
| He's on the go | ééva'xe | [v] |
| fan | vá'vanóhēō'o | [v] |
| cloud | vo'e | [w] |
| bald eagle | vóaxaa'e | [w] |
| deer | váótséva | [w] |
| He fell over | éává'o | [w] |
| I dreamed | náovaxe | [w] |
| It's white | évó'komo | [w] |
| He went to bed | éověše | [w] |

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 maahe 'arrow', naa 'and', and vetšěške 'fat'.

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

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

Voiceless vowels

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

| | |
|-----------|--------------|
| mähpeva | in the water |
| ka'ěškone | child |
| semonötse | boats |
| tähpeno | flute |

Voiceless consonants

Cheyenne consonants m, n, and v, which are normally voiced, are whispered (voiceless) preceding a voiceless vowel. For instance, the first two letters, a consonant and a vowel, of the word mahpe 'water' are both voiced. However, when the locative suffix –va is added to this word, both the "m" and "a" are devoiced (whispered), mähpēva 'in the water', phonetic [m̥äp̥ēf̥ ä]. Notice that the word-final final syllable is also whispered, making the "v" sound like English "f". The "n" is whispered in the first syllable of the word for 'diaper', nēhpe'ēhestötse, 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:

Kásovaahaséstse, néstooheonane, nésto'ane, nemehohtanone.

Young men, our (incl) flag, our (incl) land, we love it.

Northern Cheyenne Flag Song, Busby version, as sung:

Kásovaahaséstse, 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 *néstooheónane* '\$\$CHECK PITCH 'our (incl) flag' and *nésto'ane* 'our (incl) land', but it is clearly heard when sung.

Pitch marks

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

A vowel in the penultimate (next-to-the-last) syllable of a word can have a mid 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:

| | |
|------|-------|
| he'e | liver |
| hē'e | woman |

| | |
|-------|-----------------------|
| hóoma | mosquito (or blanket) |
| hoóma | on the other side |

| | |
|-----------|----------|
| hoēstótse | dress |
| hoéstótse | Read it! |

| | |
|---------|----------|
| vé'ho'e | whiteman |
| vé'hó'e | whiteman |

| | |
|-------------|-----------------------|
| tsénémenése | you who are singers |
| tsénémenese | those who are singers |

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'e 'land' which has just one metrical beat for its one "o" vowel with éhoo'e 'he's (here)' which has two metrical beats for its two "o" vowels. The two "o" vowels of éhoo'e sound like an "o" pronounced twice as long, but phonologically they are two separate vowels.

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

Complex syllables

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

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

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

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

| meaning | word | phonetic |
|---------------------|------------------------|--|
| It's good | é <u>péhé</u> va'e | [í p ^h é v a ʔ í] |
| They (an.) are good | é <u>péhé</u> váheo'o | [í p ^h é v ^h aʔ o ʔ ó] |
| cradleboard | <u>páh</u> oeshéstötse | [p ^h a: š ɪ š t ó c] |
| hammer | <u>tóh</u> ohko | [t ^h o h k ó] |

| | | |
|-----------------|------------------------|---|
| Go to bed! | <u>t</u> áhéověšéstse | [t ^h á ^y o w ī š s c] |
| I'm tired | nák <u>k</u> áhaneotse | [n á k ^h a n i ^y o c] |
| shoes | mo' <u>k</u> éhanótse | [m o ? k ^h y a ñ ô c] |
| They are proper | éonó' <u>h</u> éhe'o | [í o n ó ? ^h a ^y o ? ô] |
| house | <u>m</u> áhēō'o | [m ^h ā ^y ō ? ô] |
| then | <u>n</u> éhe'še | [n ^h i ? š] |
| I caught it | nán <u>h</u> áha'ēna | [n á n ^h a ? ī n á] |
| bears | ná <u>h</u> kóhe'o | [n á h k ^h o ^y o ? ô] |
| they are eating | émés <u>h</u> éhe'o | [í m í s ^h i ^y o ? ô] |

Aspirated consonants

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

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

aspirated

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

unaspirated

éta'pahe 'he is weak'
 éno'kahe 'he is single'
 énétahe 'he is a different one'

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'páhe means 'weak' whether or not we add the plural suffix –o'o to it, as we did here. Cheyenne –no'kahe means 'be single' whether or not we add the question suffix –he to it, as we did for the list. And Cheyenne –nétahe means 'be other' whether or it we turn it into a negative verb as we did in the list.

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

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

| | | |
|-------------|----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| house | <u>m</u> áhēō'o | [m ^h ā ^y ō ? ô] |
| then | <u>n</u> éhe'še | [n ^h i ? š] |
| I caught it | nán <u>h</u> áha'ēna | [n á n ^h a ? ī n á] |

Aspirated nasals sound unusual to anyone who has never heard them before. They are pronounced

more through your nose. Notice the difference in the letter "m", the first letter of these two words:

Ma'heo'o¹⁵ 'God'
máhēō'o 'house'

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

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

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

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

Phonemes

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

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

néše 'Grandchild! (vocative)', néxahe 'my grandchild'
éněšeš'évóéne 'he washed his (own) face', éněšexāhtse 'he gargled'
énéše'o 'there are two of them (an.)', énéxánéstse 'there are two of them (inan.)'
šéše 'duck', šexo 'duck' (obviative)

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

Éhnéméne 'he sang', Éxho'soo'e 'he danced'
Néhmetséstse! 'Give it to me!', Néxhéstánòhtse! '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 *māhe-* 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 *māhe-* 'all'. Petter's analysis led to interesting, but false, theological speculations.

¹⁶ This phonological rule is called š-Backing.

¹⁷ This phonological rule is called h-Dissimilation.

Cheyenne alphabets

Official alphabet

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

Petter alphabet

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

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

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

| meaning | Petter | official spelling |
|----------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| grasshopper | hàkota | hahkota |
| man | hetan | hetane |
| liver | hée | he'e |
| woman | hee | hē'e |
| soup | hòhp | hohpe |
| bear | nàko | nahkohe |
| water | màp | mahpe |
| God | Maheo | Ma'heo'o |
| house | mhayo | máheo'o |
| gopher | eszemae | estsema'e |
| grass | móesz | mo'e'éstse |
| one | nasz | na'éstse |
| alien | noz | notse |
| whiteman | vého | ve'ho'e |
| white woman | véhoa | ve'ho'a'e |
| cloud | voe | vo'e |

| | | |
|------------|------------|---|
| body | mavōxōz | mavoxōtse |
| Cheyennes | Zezestassō | Tsetséhestáhese (simpler spelling Tsitsistas recommended) |
| clothes | honeōnoz | hone'oonōtse |
| my son | nāha | nae'ha |
| his son(s) | hēhya | hee'haho |
| tepee | vē | vee'e |
| dress | hōstoz | hoestōtse |
| it's moist | ehēkōva | ehe'koova |
| he barked | emāe | emaa'e |
| it's empty | evèpeha | evehpeha |
| it's bad | ehavseva | ehavéseva'e |
| he's bad | ehavsevae | ehavésevahe |

Holliman alphabet

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

| meaning | book spellings | Holliman |
|------------|----------------|---------------|
| one | no'ka | no ga |
| two | nexa | ni khi |
| three | na'ha | na ha |
| year | aa'e | ah i |
| night | taa'eva | dii i vi |
| evening | hetoeva | hi doi vi |
| my child | naneso | nii niss sso |
| your child | neneso | ni niss sso |
| bear | nahkohe | na go |
| bears | nahkōheo'o | na ko yoo |
| hawk | aenohe | ii noo |
| hawks | aenōheo'o | ii nho yoo |
| cat | poeso | boi sso |
| turtle | ma'eno | ma i no |
| sun | eše'he | i sshi i |
| trees | hoohtseto | ho zi do |
| snake | še'šenovōtse | sshi no vo zi |
| house | māheo'o | mha yoo |

Phonetic spelling

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

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

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: [tʰsʰtʰsʰtʰsʰtʰsʰ] or [tʰsʰtʰsʰtʰsʰtʰsʰ]. The Cheyenne phonetic spelling of Tsitsistas is easier to read, isn't it?

English plural endings with both phonetic "s" and "z", we would miss the important pattern that many English words are made plural with the letter "s", even though the sound of this plural letter "s" changes to a phonetic "z" in many words. (These are words where the letter before the plural "s" is voiced, that is, the vocal cords in our throats vibrate when we say voiced sounds.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

| phonetic | official | meaning |
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|
|-----------------|-----------------|----------------|

| | | |
|------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| um (or am) | ame | pemmican |
| amshk | aměške | grease |
| boyso (or boiso) | poeso | cat |
| gashgon | ka'ěškone | child |
| gi'iih | ke'eehe | grandma |
| Ipiva. | Epěheva'e. | It's good. |
| Idonit. | Etoneto. | It's cold (weather). |
| Itsisinists. | Etsěhesenestse. | He (or She) speaks Cheyenne. |
| Itsisda. | Etsěhestahe. | He (or She) is a Cheyenne. |
| hiss | hese | fly |
| hochk | ho'tšěške | sinew |
| khao | xao'o | skunk |
| machk | ma'tšěške | bow |
| Maheo | Ma'heo'o | God |
| mhayo | māheo'o | house |
| mochk | motšěške | knife |
| nahgo | nahkohe | bear |
| nahkoyo | nahkóheo'o | bears |
| Nahka | Nahkóha'e | Bear Woman |
| Nahkoso | Nahkóheso | Littlebear |
| nahgo'iih | nahko'eehe | my mother |
| namshim | naměšeme | my grandfather |
| Natsisdah. | Natsěhestahe. | I'm Cheyenne. |
| niho'iih | neho'eehe | my father |
| nish | neše | two |
| nishgi'iih | neške'eehe | my grandmother |
| nits | netse | eagle |
| Nidonshif? | Netoněševe? | What are you doing? |
| Nidonshivih? | Netoněševehe? | What is your name? |
| Nitsistahe? | Netsěhestāhehe? | Are you Cheyenne? |
| Niya'ish | Nea'eše | Thank you |
| okom | o'kóhome | coyote |
| oishkis | oeškese | dog |
| shi'sh | še'še | duck |
| Tsitsistaists | Tsetsěhestaestse | Cheyenne (person) |
| Tsitsistas | Tsetsěhestāhese | Cheyennes |
| Tsisinstsistots | Tsěheseněstsestótse | Cheyenne language |
| vichk | vetšěške | fat |
| waodzif | vaotseva | deer |
| Wohihif | Vooheheve ¹⁹ | Morning Star |



Vooheheve (Wohihif)

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).

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.

šê'se /šé'sé/ 'duck'
émêsehe /émésehe/ 'he is eating'
émôna'e /émóna'e/ 'it's new'
mónésó'hâeanáme /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'
motšěške /mótéhk/ 'knife'
némêhotone /néméhótóne/ 'we (incl) love him'

Impermanent antepenultimate high

Certain phonemic low pitched vowels are pronounced with high pitch if they are in the antepenultimate²⁰ syllable of a word. This high pitch is not derived by a phonological pitch rule. This high pitch only occurs in certain singular forms of the words in which these special high pitches occur. This high pitch disappears in other forms of these words. Because of the impermanent nature of these high pitches, I have called them impermanent antepenultimate high pitches, abbreviated as IAH. Impermanent high pitches occur on all parts of speech: nouns, verbs, and particles. Following are Cheyenne words with impermanent antepenultimate high pitches:

hóma'e /homa'e/ 'beaver' (cf. homā'e beavers)\$\$RECHECK PLURAL PITCHES
ma'háhko'e /ma'hahko'e/ 'badger' (cf. ma'hahkō'e 'badgers')
tšěške'e /tehke'e/ 'a little' (cf. étšěšké'o 'it's little')

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.

éné'ta'e /éne'ta'e/ 'it's important' (cf. éne'ta'ehe 'Is it important?')
 hótame /hotame/ 'dog' (cf. hotāme 'dogs')²¹
 koohkóva'e /koohkova'e/ 'quail, bobwhite' (cf. koohkovā'e 'quails, bobwhites')
 hésta'se /hehta'se/ 'snow' (cf. hesta'sóho 'snow (obv); éhesta'seve 'it is snow, there is snow')
 nóma'ne²² /nomá'ne/ 'fish (singular)' [cf. nomá'ne 'fish (plural)]
 hexóva'e /hešova'e/ 'bedbug' (cf. hexová'e 'bedbugs')
 héta'e /heta'e/ 'gland' (cf. hetā'e 'glands')
 hó'nehe /ho'néhe/ 'wolf' (cf. ho'néheo'o 'wolves')
 hésta'he /hehta'he/ 'umbilical cord'
 oónāha'e /oonaha'e/ 'frog' (cf. oónāhā'e 'frogs')
 hóema /hoema/ 'blanket/mosquito' (cf. hoemaho 'blankets/mosquitos')
 máháeme /mahaemen/ 'corn kernel' (cf. máheemenötse 'corn kernels')
 xáa'e /šae/ 'weasel' (cf. xaeho 'weasels')
 hēna'e /hena'e/ 'goose' (cf. henā'e 'geese')
 hēsško'e /hehko'e/ 'leech' (cf. heškō'e 'leeches')
 má'ome /ma'ome/ 'ice' (cf. ma'oméva 'on the ice')
 ó'he'e /o'he'e/ 'river' (cf. o'hé'e 'at the river', o'hé'éstse 'rivers')
 má'xeme /ma'šemen/ 'apple, plum' [cf. ma'xemeno 'apples (Northern Cheyenne),
 ma'xemenötse 'plums' (Southern Cheyenne)]
 héše'ke /heše'ke/ 'dirt/dust' (cf. éheše'keve 'it's dusty/it's got dirt on it')
 hésevo /hesevon/ 'calf (of leg)' (cf. hesevono 'calves')
 hénóme /henóme/ 'thigh' (cf. henomötse 'thighs')
 héstahke /hestahkeh/ 'twin' (cf. hestáhkeho 'twins')
 mo'óhta'e /mo'ohta'en/ 'turnip', (cf. mo'óhtá'éne 'turnips')
 móneške /moneškeh/ 'bean' (cf. moněškeho 'beans')
 ónonevóneške /ónonevoneškeh/ 'prairie dog' (cf. ónonevoněškeho 'prairie dogs')
 séavóneške /séavoneškeh/ 'woodchuck' (cf. séavoněškeho 'woodchucks')
 náháa'e /nahaeh/ 'my auntie/auntie (voc.)' (cf. náhehaehenötse 'she is my aunt')
 vóhe'e /vohe'e/ 'shoestring' (cf. vohē'éstse 'shoestrings')
 mó'e'e /mo'e'e/ 'blade of grass' (cf. mo'ē'éstse 'grass')
 náhtsemá'eme /nahtema'eme/ 'my blood', hestsema'emēvo their blood, ma'ēva 'in the blood'
 ho'háme'e /ho'hama'e/ 'spring (of water)' (cf. ho'hamé'éva 'at the spring')
 émo'óna'e /émo'ona'e/ 'it's beautiful' (cf. émo'ona'ehe 'Is it beautiful?', émo'onahē 'she's
 beautiful', ésáamo'ona'éháne it's not beautiful
 épéhévatamáno'e /épéhévatamano'e/ 'it's nice weather' (cf. ésáapéhévatamano'éháne 'it's not
 nice weather', épéhévatamano'ehe 'Is it nice weather?')
 épéhévenóno'e /épéhévenono'e/ 'it looks nice' (cf. épéhévenono'ehe 'Does it look nice?')
 éno'ka'e /éno'ka'e/ 'there is one (inan.)' (cf. éno'ka'ehe 'Is there one (inan.)?', éno'kahe 'there
 one (an.)'

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

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

²² The singular is also pronounced as nóma'he.

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

Proper name high pitches

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

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

Parts of speech

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

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

Nouns

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

tse'tohe and he'tohe words

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

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

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

tse'tohe things:



oeškese



poesono



vaotseva



he'eka'ěškone



hoohtsěstse



něxo'mevehe



eše'he

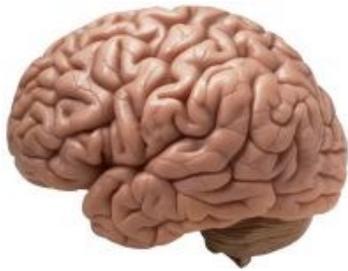


hotohke

²³ These words also mean 'these' if they are said with a group of things. Some people consider these spellings easier: zido and hido. With pitch marks the official spellings are: tsé'tóhe and hé'tóhe.



mo'eško



hestahpe



hestsetato



ho'honaeo'o



estse'he



hone'komono



hohtseme



heevaho

he'tohe things:



hestahpano'e



hestaa'e



he'e



ma'evo



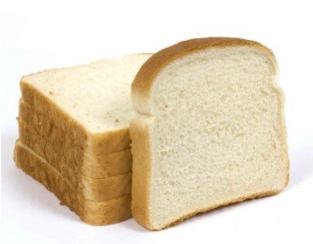
máheo'o



ame'hahtótse



amovóhto'hestótse



kohkonóheo'o



vetšěškeváhono'o



mahpe



mo'eško



hohkéha'e



hoestato



ho'ota



mo'kéhanótse

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

Animacy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Here are lists of some animate and inanimate nouns:

Animate nouns

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

Inanimate nouns

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

| | |
|--------------|-------------|
| évo'sóesēō'o | toy |
| mo'ěškonótse | rings |
| me'ko | head, hair |
| ma'ěxáněstse | eyes |
| maāhe | arrow |
| māheo'o | house |
| he'e | liver |
| he'po | lung |
| ho'ēsta | fire, stove |
| motšěške | knife |
| ta'ta'ohēō'o | key |

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

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

Plurals

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

Animate plural nouns

| meaning | singular | plural |
|---------------------|---------------|---------------|
| ant | hátseške | hátšěškeho |
| baby | mé'ěševótse | mé'ěševoto |
| bear | náhkóhe | náhkóheo'o |
| bee | háhnomá | háhnomáho |
| bird | vé'kése | vé'késeho |
| cat | póeso | póesono |
| child | ka'ěškkóne | ka'ěškkóneho |
| clam | hexovo | hexovono |
| comb | tseene'ěheo'o | tseene'ěheono |
| dog | oeškese | oeškéseho |
| ghost ²⁴ | seo'ótse | séoto |
| dress | hoestótse | hoestoto |
| duck | šé'še | šé'še'o |
| feather | mee'e | méeno |
| finger | mo'ěško | mo'ěškono |
| fly | hése | héseo'o |
| man | hetane | hetaneo'o |
| monster | méhne | méhneo'o |
| nighthawk | pe'e | pé'eo'o |

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

| | | |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|
| pipe | he'ohko | he'óhkono |
| porcupine | heškověstse | heškóveto |
| rabbit | vóhkóóhe | vóhkooheho |
| shirt, coat | éstse'he | éstse'heno |
| tomato | henene | heneno |
| animal | hōva | hováhne |
| chicken | kokòhéáxa | kokòhéaxáne |
| deer | váótséva | váotseváhne |
| sheep | kōsa | kósáne |
| tick | meše | méšéne |
| turtle | ma'ēno | ma'enóné |
| skunk | xāō'o | xaóne |
| badger | ma'háhko'e | ma'hahkō'e |
| beaver | hóma'e | homā'e |
| goose | héna'e | henā'e |
| white man | vé'ho'e | vé'hó'e |
| horse | mo'éhno'ha | mo'éhno'hāme |
| cougar | nanóse'hame | nanósé'háme |

Inanimate plural nouns

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

How many plural suffixes are there?

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

It looks like there are even more plural suffixes for animate nouns, including –ho, -no, -o'o, -ne, and –hne. We can see from mo'éhno'ha 'horse' and mo'éhno'hāme 'horses' that some spelling changes

are required to make some plurals. And there are pitch changes that make some nouns plural, as with *hóma'e* 'badger' and *homā'e* 'badger'.

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

The two animate pluralizers are *-o* and *-é*. The two inanimate pluralizers are *-ot* and *-ét*. (Because of a phonological rule of Cheyenne, these last two will actually be pronounced as *-ótse* and *-étsé*.) If we create an "abstract" spelling for a noun "stem" we can get by with just these four pluralizers. The abstract spelling is either the same as the singular spelling or else halfway between the singular and plural spellings. The abstract spellings can be supported on technical grounds, especially from how the noun stems are spelled in some other words such as equative verbs. We will not discuss the technical issues further now, but it is enough to point out that there are good reasons from a study of the patterns (morphology) of Cheyenne to believe the abstract noun stems allow us to view pluralization of Cheyenne nouns as being simpler than it at first appears. Let's see how this works in the following lists with abstract noun stem spellings. The column for the abstract stem spellings is simply labeled "stem" in these lists, to save space, but there is enough evidence to consider the abstract stem spellings as the actual spellings of the stems. So we will refer to these abstract spellings as stem spellings from now on.

Animate noun stems

Plurals ending in -o

| meaning | singular | stem | plural |
|---------|----------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------|
| ant | <i>hátseške</i> | <i>hátseškeh</i> | <i>hátšěškeho</i> |
| baby | <i>mé'ěševótse</i> | <i>mé'ěševot</i> ²⁶ | <i>mé'ěševoto</i> |
| bean | <i>móneške</i> | <i>móneškeh</i> | <i>móněškeho</i> |
| bear | <i>náhkóhe</i> | <i>náhkóhe</i> | <i>náhkóheo'o</i> |
| bee | <i>hálnoma</i> | <i>hálnomah</i> | <i>hálnomaho</i> |
| bird | <i>vé'kése</i> | <i>vé'keséh</i> | <i>vé'késeho</i> |
| cat | <i>póeso</i> | <i>póesón</i> | <i>póesono</i> |
| child | <i>ka'ěškóne</i> | <i>ka'ěškónéh</i> | <i>ka'ěškóneho</i> |
| comb | <i>tseene'éheo'o</i> | <i>tseene'éheon</i> | <i>tseene'éheono</i> |
| man | <i>hetane</i> | <i>hetane</i> | <i>hetaneo'o</i> |
| duck | <i>šé'še</i> | <i>šé'šé</i> | <i>šé'še'o'o</i> |
| feather | <i>mee'e</i> | <i>méen</i> | <i>méeno</i> |
| rabbit | <i>vóhkóóhe</i> | <i>vóhkóóhéh</i> | <i>vóhkóóheho</i> |

Plurals ending in -e

| | | | |
|--------|-------------|---------------|----------------|
| animal | <i>hōva</i> | <i>hováhn</i> | <i>hováhne</i> |
|--------|-------------|---------------|----------------|

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).

| | | | |
|---------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| chicken | kokohéáxa | kokohéaxán | kokohéaxáne |
| sheep | kōsa | kosán | kósáne |
| skunk | xao'o | xaón | xaóne |
| tick | meše | méšen | méšéne |
| turtle | ma'ēno | ma'enón | ma'enóne |

Inanimate noun stems

Plurals ending in -ótse

| meaning | singular | stem | plural |
|---------|----------|-----------|---------------|
| arm | ma'ahtse | ma'ahtsen | ma'ahtsenótse |
| ax | hohkōxe | hóhkoxeh | hóhkōxehótse |
| bone | he'ko | he'kon | he'konótse |
| shoe | mo'keha | mo'kehan | mo'kéhanótse |

Plurals ending in -éstse

| | | | |
|------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| belt | hoestáto | hoestátón | hoestátónéstse |
| coin | ma'kaata | ma'kaatan | ma'kaatānéstse |
| hat | hóhkéha'e | hóhkéha' | hóhkéhá'éstse |

Deriving singulars and plurals from noun stems

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

Deriving animate singulars and plurals

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

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

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

The stem spelling of šé'šé for 'duck' is the same as its singular spelling šé'še, except for the stem-final high pitch. (The stem-final high pitch cannot be heard when the word is pronounced since the last vowel of a word is whispered and pitch cannot be heard on a whispered vowel.). If we add the

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

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

pluralizer –o to the stem we get šé'šéo. But the plural is actually pronounced as šé'šéo'o.²⁹

Vowel-stretching

Why are the two extra letters -'o added to the –o pluralizer of šé'šéo'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 -ötse 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, -ötse, to the stem for 'ax', hóhkoxeh, we get the spelling hóhkoxehötse. The second "o" is devoiced to ö by a phonological rule, giving us the actual pronunciation spelling of the plural, hóhköxehötse. If we subtract -h from the hóhkoxeh stem, we get the spelling, hóhkoxe. The second "o" is again devoiced to ö by phonological rule. Finally, the high pitched first ó is lowered, resulting in the actual pronunciation spelling of the singular hohkòxe.

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

If we add the other inanimate pluralizer³³ to the stem for 'belt', hoestátón, we get the correct spelling for the plural, 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.

\$\$CHECK TO SEE IF THIS INFO IS ADEQUATELY INCLUDED IN WHAT PRECEDES THIS:

ANIMATE NOUNS taking pluralizer -o

| noun | singular | plural | underlying stem |
|----------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| alien | nótse | nótseo?o | nóte |
| alien (female) | nótá?e | nóta?eo?o | nóta?é |
| ant | hátseške | hátšěškeho | hátehkéh |
| antelope | vo?kaa?e | vo?kaeho | vo?kaeh |
| apple | ma?xeme | ma?xemeno | ma?xamen |
| baby | mé?ěševotse | mé?ěševoto | mé?ěševot |
| ball | + hóhtséme | hóhtsemőno | hóhtemón |
| bandit | šéenováhe | šéenováheo?o | šéenováhé |
| bean | móněške | móněškeho | móněhkéh |
| bear | náhkóhe | náhkóheo?o | náhkóhe |
| bee | hálnoma | hálnomaho | hálnomah |
| beetle | háměško | háměškono | háměhkón |
| bird | + vé?késo | vé?kěseho | vé?keséh |
| blanket | hoema | hoemaho | hoemah |
| bride | móné?e | móné?eo?o | móné?é |
| buffalo | hotóá?a | hotóáo?o | hotóá |
| bullsnake | ne?ē?e | ne?e?eo?o | ne?e?e |
| butterfly | heváváhkema | heváváhkemaho | heváváhkemah |
| button | hone?kōmo | hone?komőno | hone?komón |
| buzzard | oo?he | oo?heo?o | oo?he |
| playing card | mōheněšemo | mōheněšemőno | mōheněšemón |
| cat | póeso | póesőno | póesón |
| cat | póeso | póesőneho | póesőneh |
| kitten | póhkéso | póhkěsono | póhkėsón |
| chief | věho | věhoo?o | věhón |
| child | ka?ěškōne | ka?ěškőneho | ka?ěhkőneh |
| clam | hexōvo | hexovőno | hexovón |
| cockle-burrs | | hálnováso | hálnovás |
| comb | tseene?éheo?o | tseene?éheono | teene?éheon |
| corpse | sěő?ótse | sěoto | sěot |
| coyote | o?kōhōme | o?kōhomeho | o?kōhoméh |
| crane | ne?potātse | ne?potatseo?o | ne?potaté |
| cricket | hěško?sema | hěško?semaho | hěhko?semah |
| crow | ókohke | ókohkeo?o | ókohke |
| curtain | něhpóeseo?o | něhpóeseono | něhpóeseon |
| dog | + oěškēso | oěškěšěho | oěhkeséh |
| dog | hótame | hotameho | hotaméh |
| doll | méno?kēso | méno?kěsőno | méno?kesón |
| dragonfly | hevovetāso | hevovetāsőno | hevovetasón |
| dress | hoestótse | hoestóto | hoestót |
| duck | šě?šě | šě?šěo?o | šě?šě |
| duckling | šě?šěškéso | šě?šěškěsono | šě?šěhkesón |
| eagle | netse | netseo?o | nete |
| bald eagle | vóaxaā?e | vóaxaa?eo?o | vóaxaa?é |

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

| | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| elephant | tse?ěseesěhe | tse?ěseesěheo?o | te?eseesěhé |
| elk | mo?ěhe | mo?ěheo?o | mo?ěhe |
| feather | měě?e | měeno | měen |
| finger | mo?eško | mo?ěškono | mo?ehkon |
| little fish | nomá?hěso | nomá?hesoňo | nomá?heson |
| flicker | vě?ee?e | vě?eeho | vě?eeh |
| fly | hěse | hěseo?o | hěsé |
| fox | ma?ěhoóhe | ma?ěhoóheo?o | ma?ehoóhe |
| glove | to?ha | to?haho | to?hah |
| god | ma?heo?o | ma?heoňo | ma?heoň |
| grasshopper | háhkota | háhkotaho | háhkotah |
| hawk | aénohe | aénoheo?o | aénohe |
| horn (animal) | věvēstse | věvēto | věvēt |
| insect | měškěso | měškěsono | měhkesoň |
| judge | ho?emaněhe | ho?emaněheo?o | ho?emaněhe |
| jug | káso?eě?e | káso?eeho | káso?eéh |
| jug | káso?ěške | káso?ěškeho | káso?ehkéh |
| knee | maněstāne | maněstāneo?o | maněhtāné |
| land-monster | axe | āxeho | axeh |
| log | māxe | māxeho | māxeh |
| lumber | oomāhóo?o | oomāhóono | oomāhóon |
| lumber | oomāhóhko | oomāhóhkono | oomāhóhkon |
| meadowlark | † honóxeāso | honóxeaseo?o | honóxease |
| watermelon | něxo?mévéhe | něxomévéheo?o | něxo?mévéhé |
| kidney | hestsétatse | hestsétato | hehtétat |
| man | hetane | hetaneo?o | hetane |
| young man | kásovááhe | kásovááheho | kásovááhéh |
| old man | † ma?hákěso | ma?hákěseho | ma?hákěséh |
| mockingbird | háestóhe?šěměhe | háestóhe?šěměheo?o | háehtóhe?šěměhé |
| monster | měhne | měhneo?o | měhné |
| moose | māhpěmo?ěhe | māhpěmo?ěheo?o | māhpěmo?ěhe |
| mushroom | hestovo?eško | hestovo?ěškono | hehtovo?ehkón |
| muskrat | heo?kěso | heo?kěsoňo | heo?kesoň |
| napkin | něhe?onáxestótse | něhe?onáxestoto | něhe?onáxehtot |
| nighthawk | pě?e | pě?eo?o | pě?e |
| opossum | oo?kěhevá?séhe | oo?kěhevá?séheo?o | oo?kehevá?séhé |
| otter | † naěne | naěno | naén |
| owl | vě?kěsěheměstaa?e | vě?kěsěheměstaeo?o | vě?kesěhéměhtae |
| owl | městaa?e | městaeo?o | měhtae |
| screech owl | městahke | městáhkeo?o | měhtahke |
| pelican | manehe | maněheo?o | manehe |
| pet | māhtótse | māhtotsěho | mahtotéh |
| peyote | māta | mātaho | mātah |
| pine tree | šěstotó?e | šěstotó?eo?o | šěhtotó?e |
| pinto | vovó?hasěhe | vovó?hasěheo?o | vovó?hasěhé |
| pipe | he?óhko | he?óhkono | he?óhkon |
| pipe | he?óo?o | he?óono | he?óon |
| porcupine | heškóvēstse | heškóvēto | hehkóvet |
| porcupine quill | heškóvetsee?e | heškóvetseeo | hehkóvetéen |
| potato | měsěhestótse | měsěhéstoto | měsehéhtot |

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| queen | véhóná?e | véhona?eo?o | véhóná?é |
| quilt | honó?ko | honó?kono | honó?kon |
| quiver | éstóso | éstósono | éhtosón |
| rabbit | vóhkoehe | vóhkoeheho | vóhkoeh |
| rabbit | vóehe | vóeheho | vóekeh |
| raccoon | matšěškōme | matšěškomeho | matehkoméh |
| rat | nó?kétse | nó?ketseho | nó?keté |
| rattle | šé?šeno | šé?šenono | šé?šénon |
| rock | ho?honáá?e | ho?honáeo?o | ho?honáé |
| rug | séohaseo?o | séohaseono | séohaseon |
| scorpion | vóhkēhevá?séhe | vóhkēhevá?séheo?o | vóhkēhevá?séhé |
| shirt, coat | éstse?he | éstse?heno | éhte?hen |
| snail | néma?ke | néma?keo?o | néma?ke |
| snake | šé?šenovótse | šé?šenovoto | šé?šénovot |
| sock | hoxeo?o | hoxeono | hoxeon |
| squirrel | no?éé?e | no?éeho | no?ééh |
| star | hotóhke | hotóhkeo?o | hotóhké |
| stone | ho?honáhke | ho?honáhkeo?o | ho?honáhké |
| sun | éše?he | éše?heo?o | éše?heo |
| swallow | mésó?ke | mésó?keho | mésó?kéh |
| swan | voestāso | voestāsōno | voehtasón |
| teacher | vovéstomósanêhe | vovéstomósanéheo?o | vovéhtomósanéhé |
| tobacco plug | tse?némoo?o | tse?némooono | te?némóon |
| tomato | + henēne | henēno | henen |
| tree | hoóhtséstse | hoóhtseto | hoóhtet |
| turkey | ma?xē?ne | ma?xe?neo?o | ma?xe?né |
| twin | hestahke | hestáhkeho | hehtahkeh |
| twin girl | hestáhkêhá?e | hestáhkêhá?eo?o | hehtahkehá?é |
| warrior | nótaxe | nótáxeo?o | nótaxe |
| weasel | xāa?e | xáeho | xáéh |
| wolf | ho?nehe | ho?néheo?o | ho?néhe |
| woman | hē?e | he?eo?o | he?é |
| young woman | kāse?ééhe | kāse?éehoho | kase?ééhéh |
| old woman | māhtamáhááhe | māhtamáhááheho | māhtamahááhéh |
| woodchuck | séavoneške | séavoněškeho | séavonehke |
| woodpecker | ko?konóh?e | ko?konóhó?eo?o | ko?konohó?e |

PLURALIZATION: ANIMATE NOUNS having é in pluralizer

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

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

Nouns which retain -n word-internally:

| | | | |
|------------|------------|--------------|-------------|
| gourd | mâho?ôxêno | mâho?ôxénône | maho?oxénón |
| melon | mâhō?o | mâhóône | mahóon |
| cantelope | mâhōhko | mâhóhkône | mahóhkon |
| salamander | heo?ôhtáto | heo?ôhtátône | heo?ohtátón |
| skunk | xāo?o | xaône | xaón |

Nouns with pitch change:

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

Nouns which retain -m word-internally:

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

INANIMATE NOUNS taking pluralizer -ot

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

INANIMATE NOUNS taking pluralizer -ét

| noun | singular | plural | underlying stem |
|---------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| axe | hohkoxe | hohkōxést se | hohkox(əh) |
| bead | onéhavo?ke | onéhavō?kést se | onéhavo?k |
| belt | hoestâto | hoestátónést se | hoehtátón(əh) |
| bow | ma?tšěške | ma?tšěškést se | ma?tehk |
| bowstring | ma?tāno | ma?tanōnést se | ma?tanón |
| branch (tree) | hestaa?e | hestāā?ést se | hehtae(n) |
| cloud | vo?e | vō?ést se | vo? |
| coin | ma?kaēta | ma?kaetānést se | ma?kaetán |
| raw corn | hoókóhtse | hoókóhtsést se | hoókoht |
| corral | ména?o?e | ména?ō?ést se | ména?o? |
| day | ěše | ěšénést se | ěšen |
| eye | ma?éxa | ma?éxānést se | ma?éxán |
| fire | ho?ēsta | ho?éstānést se | ho?ehtán |
| fishhook | nonónóó?e | nonónóó?ést se | nonónóé |
| hat | hóhkéha?e | hóhkéhá?ést se | hóhkeha? |
| hay | mo?e?e | mo?ē?ést se | mo?e? |
| lake | ne?hāne | ne?hanēnést se | ne?hanén |
| land | ho?e | hō?ést se | ho? |
| liver | hē?e | hē?ést se | he?(éh) |
| liver | hē?e | he?ēnést se | he?én |
| medicine | heséeo?ót se | heséēōt sést se | heséeot |
| night | taa?e | taa?ést se | taa? |
| night | taa?e | taa?ēnést se | taa?en |
| rib | hē?pe | hē?pést se | he?p(éh) |
| river | ó?he?e | o?hē?ést se | o?hé? |
| skin | vóhtáne | vóhtānést se | vóhtan |
| forest | ma?tāā?e | ma?tāā?ést se | ma?taé |
| year, winter | āā?e | āā?ést se | aé(n) |

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

Obviatives

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.

\$\$REVISE WHERE NECESSARY

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

| meaning | singular | plural | obviative |
|-------------|--------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| cat | póeso | póesono | póesono |
| dog | oeškése | oeškéseho | oeškéseho |
| child | ka'ěškóne | ka'ěškóneho | ka'ěškóneho |
| tree | hoohtséstse | hoóhtseto | hoóhtseto |
| snake | sé'šenovótse | šé'šenovoto | šé'šenovoto |
| grasshopper | háhkota | háhkotaho | háhkotaho |
| god | ma'hěō'o | ma'heono | ma'heono ³⁴ |
| apple | má'xeme | ma'xemen ³⁵ | ma'xemen ³⁵ |
| my daughter | náhtona | náhtónaho | náhtónaho |
| deer | váótséva | váotseváhne | váotseváhne |
| skunk | xāō'o | xaóne | xaóne |

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

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

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

Examples of obviatives in sentences:

| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| Hetane évóomóho še'xo. | The man saw a duck/ducks (obv). |
| Éonóomaevóho henésonehevóho. | Their children (obv) called them. |
| Oeškése ématómóho xaóne. | The dog smelled a skunk/skunks (obv). |
| Oeškéseho ématómovo xaóne. | The dogs smelled a skunk/skunks (obv). |

³⁴ Or ma'heóneva

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

³⁶ An alternate pronunciation is šé'xóho.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Éméhótoho ³⁷ náahtónaho. | He loves my daughter/daughters (obv). |
| Ka'ěškóne évéstáhémóho heške. | The child helped his mother (obv). |
| Henésono évéstáhémáá'e. | Her child(ren) (obv) helped her. |

Possessives

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

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

The prefixes indicating possession are:

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

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

Ná-mésehe. 'I'm eating.' (or 'I ate.')

Né-mésehe. 'You're eating.' (or 'You ate.')

É-mésehe. 'He (or She) is eating.' (or 'He/She ate.')

Possessee pluralization

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

| unpossessed | possessed |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| sémo 'boat' | hesémo 'his boat' |
| sémonótse 'boats' | hesémonótse 'his boats' |
| mo'keha 'shoe' | namo'keha 'my shoe' |
| mo'kéhanótse 'shoes' | namo'kéhanótse 'my shoes' |

Possessor pluralization

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

| singular possessor | plural possessor |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------|
| namáhēō'o 'my house' | namaheónáne 'our (excl) house' |
| nevee'e 'your tepee' | nevéenēvo 'your (pl) tepee' |
| hesto'e 'his land' | hestō'ěstse 'their lands' |
| nenéso 'your child' | nenésónéhévo 'your (pl) child' |

Inclusive and exclusive 'our' possessors

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

³⁷ Or Éméhoto.

³⁸ The high pitches on verb prefixes become low pitches when the future tense is used. Cf. námésehe 'I'm eating (or 'I ate') with náhtsemésehe 'I will eat.'

person someone is speaking to. In Cheyenne there is no such ambiguity. If Cheyennes say 'our' which includes the person(s) they are speaking to, they use 'our' inclusive pronominal affixes.³⁹ If Cheyennes say 'our' that excludes the person(s) they are speaking to, they use 'our' exclusive pronominal affixes. So, *neváheónane* means 'our house' (which includes you as owner). And *namáheónáne* means 'our house' (which excludes you as owner). Some other inclusive and exclusive first person possessors (corresponding to English 'our') are:

inclusive 'our'

nevéenane 'our (incl) tepee'
neamáho'héstonane 'our (incl) car'
nenésónéhane 'our (incl) child'
néstotséhane 'our (incl) pet'

exclusive 'our'

navéenāne 'our (excl) tepee'
namáho'héstónáne 'our (excl) car'
nánésónéháne 'our (excl) child'
náhtotséháne 'our (excl) pet'

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

inclusive 'our'

nenémenema 'we (incl) sang'
nevóomone 'we (incl) saw him'
néhetaene 'he told us (incl)'

exclusive 'our'

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

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

Obviated possessives

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

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

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

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

Inanimate possessives

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

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

TEMPLATES DISCUSSION

máhēō'o 'house' (possessed)

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

vee'e 'tepee, dwelling' (possessed)

| | | | |
|-----------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| navee'e | my tepee | navéenótse | my tepees |
| nevee'e | your tepee | nevéenótse | your tepees |
| hevee'e | his tepee | hevéenótse | his tepees |
| navéenāne | our (excl) tepee | navéenanótse(ōtse??) | our (excl) tepees |
| nevéenane | our (incl) tepee | nevéenanótse?? | our (incl) tepees |
| nevéenēvo | your (pl) tepee | nevéenevótse | your (pl) tepees |
| hevéenēvo | his (pl) tepee | hevéenevótse | their tepees |

mo'keha 'shoe' (possessed)

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

amáho'hestótse 'car' (possessed)

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

| | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|
| naamáho'hestótse | my car | naamáho'héstotótse | my cars |
| neamáho'hestótse | your car | neamóho'héstotótse | your cars |
| heamáho'hestótse | his car | heamóho'héstotótse | his cars |
| naamáho'héstónáne | our (excl) car | naamáho'héstonanótse | our (excl) cars |
| neamáho'héstonane | our (incl) car | neamáho'héstonanótse | our (incl) cars |
| neamáho'héstóvévo | your (pl) car | neamáho'héstovevótse | your (pl) cars |
| heamáho'héstóvévo | their car | neamáho'héstovevótse | their cars |

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

Dependent stems

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

⁴⁰ From this point on, we will only include the masculine words 'his', 'he', or 'him' in paradigms to save space. Always remember, however, that third person singular in Cheyenne can also be translated with the feminine words 'her' and 'she'.

by themselves are called dependent stems. We mark dependent stems, as we do any bound morphemes, with a hyphen (-) to indicate that they cannot be pronounced by themselves. Here are some dependent stems, along with their possessed forms which can be pronounced as individual words:

-hto'e 'land', 'náhto'e 'my land', néstō'e 'your land', hesto'e 'his/her land'
 -htōtse 'pet', 'náhtōtse 'my pet', néstōtse 'your pet', hestotseho 'his/her pet(s)'
 -'éxa 'eye', na'éxa 'my eye', na'éxánéstse 'my eyes', he'éxánéstse 'his/her eyes'
 -'evo 'nose', na'evo 'my nose', ne'evo 'your nose', he'evo 'his/her nose'
 -me 'older sister', name 'my older sister', hemeho 'his/her older sister'

Dependent stem ma- prefix

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

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

ma'evo 'nose'
 ma'ahtse 'arm'
 manéstāne 'knee'
 máhtáme 'food'

Doublets with the ma- prefix

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

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

ma- forms in word formation

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

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

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

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

Possession suffix -am

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

am⁴¹:

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

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

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

Inanimate dependent stem possessives

Here are some possessed inanimate nouns which have dependent stems:

hóhkěha'e 'hat' (possessive stem –vóhkěha'e)

| | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------|
| navóhkěha'e ⁴³ | my hat | navóhkěhá'ěstse | my hats |
| nevóhkěha'e | your hat | nevóhkěhá'ěstse | your hats |
| hevóhkěha'e | his hat | hevóhkěhá'ěstse | his hats |
| navóhkěha'āne | our (excl) hat | navóhkěha'anótse | our (excl) hats |
| nevóhkěha'ane | our (incl) hat | nevóhkěha'anótse | our (incl) hats |
| nevóhkěha'ěvo | your (pl) hat | nevóhkěha'evótse | your (pl) hats |
| hevóhkěha'ěvo | their hat | nevóhkěha'evótse | their hats |

ho'e 'land' (possessive stem –hto'e)

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

ma'exa 'eye' (possessive stem –'exa)

| | | | |
|-----------|----------------|--------------|-----------------|
| ma'exa | eye | ma'ěxáněstse | eyes |
| na'exa | my eye | na'ěxáněstse | my eyes |
| he'exa | his eye | he'ěxáněstse | his eyes |
| na'ěxáéne | our (excl) eye | na'ěxaenótse | our (excl) eyes |
| ne'ěxaene | our (incl) eye | ne'ěxaenótse | our (incl) eyes |
| ne'ěxáévo | your (pl) eye | ne'ěxaevótse | your (pl) eyes |
| he'ěxáévo | their eye | he'ěxaevótse | their eyes |

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

| | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------|------------------------|
| náhtáme | my food | náhtamótse | my foods ⁴⁴ |
| něstáme | your food | něstamótse | your foods |
| héstáme | his food | hestamótse | his foods |
| náhtámáne | our (excl) food | náhtámanótse | our (excl) foods |

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 hóhkěha'e. It can be pronounced as a word by itself. When it is possessed, it changes to a bound stem that begins with "v", -vóhkěha'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'. \$\$CHECK

| | | | |
|-----------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|
| néstámáne | our (incl) food | néstámanótse | our (incl) foods |
| néstámévo | your (pl) food | néstámévótse | your (pl) foods |
| hestámévo | their food | hestámévótse | their foods |

Animate possessives

Most inanimate nouns require only a possessive prefix to be possessed. But possessed animate nouns require not only a possessive prefix, but also either the possessive suffix –am or they must be dependent stems. For instance, it would not be grammatical to take an animate noun, such as oeškēse 'dog' and only add a possessive prefix, such as na- 'my', creating the word *naoēškēse⁴⁵, intended to mean 'my dog'. Following are the correct ways to speak about a dog that is possessed, as well as other possessives:

Animate possessives with the -am suffix

oeškēse⁴⁶ 'dog' (possessed)

| | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| naoēškéséhame | my dog | naoēškéséhamo | my dogs |
| neoēškéséhame | your dog | neoēškéséhamo | your dogs |
| heoēškéséhamo | his dog(s) | heoēškéséhamo | his dog(s) |
| naoēškéséhamāne | our (excl) dog | naoēškéséhamaneo'o | our (excl) dogs |
| neoēškéséhamane | our (incl) dog | neoēškéséhamaneo'o | our (incl) dogs |
| neoēškéséhamévo | your (pl) dog | neoēškéséhamevoo'o | your (pl) dogs |
| heoēškéséhamevóho | their dog(s) | heoēškéséhamevóho | their dog(s) |

veho 'chief' (possessed)

| | | | |
|----------------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| navéhoname | my chief | navéhonamo | my chiefs |
| nevéhoname | your chief | nevéhonamo | your chiefs |
| hevéhonamo | his chief(s) | hevéhonamo | his chief(s) |
| navéhonamāne | our (excl) chief | navéhonamaneo'o | our (excl) chiefs |
| nevéhonamane | our (incl) chief | nevéhonamaneo'o | our (incl) chiefs |
| nevéhonamévo | your (pl) chief | nevéhonamevoo'o | your (pl) chiefs |
| hevéhonamevóho | their chief(s) | hevéhonamevóho | their chief(s) |

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

| | | | |
|------------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| nama'heóname | my god | nama'heónamo | my gods |
| nema'heóname | your god | nema'heónamo | your gods |
| hema'heónamo | your god(s) | hema'heónamo | your god(s) |
| nama'heónamāne | our (excl) god | nama'heónamaneo'o | our (excl) gods |
| nema'heónamane | our (incl) god | nema'heónamaneo'o | our (incl) gods |
| nema'heónamévo | your (pl) god | nema'heónamevoo'o | your (pl) gods |
| hema'heónamevóho | their god(s) | hema'heónamevóho | their god(s) |

child (biological; possessed)

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| nanéso | my child | nanésoneho | my children |
| nenéso | your child | nenésoneho | your children |
| henésoneho | his child(ren) | henésoneho | his child(ren) |
| nanésónéháne | our (ex) child | nanésónéhaneo'o | our (ex) children |
| nenésónéhane | our (in) child | nenésónéhaneo'o | our (in) children |

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

⁴⁶ Another pronunciation is oeškēso.

| | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| nenésónéhévo | your (pl) child | nenésónéhevoo'o | your (pl) children |
| henésónéhevóho | your (pl) child(ren) | henésónéhevóho | your (pl) child(ren) |

child (possessed)

| | | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| naka'ěškónéhame ⁴⁷ | my child | naka'ěškónéhamo | my children |
| neka'ěškónéhame | your child | neka'ěškónéhamo | your children |
| heka'ěškónéhamo | his child(ren) | heka'ěškónéhamo | his child(ren) |
| naka'ěškónéhamāne | our (ex) child | naka'ěškónéhamane'o | our (ex) children |
| neka'ěškónéhamane | our (in) child | neka'ěškónéhamane'o | our (in) children |
| neka'ěškónéhamēvo | your (pl) child | neka'ěškónéhamevoo'o | your (pl) children |
| heka'ěškónéhamevóho | their child(ren) | heka'ěškónéhamevóho | their child(ren) |

mòxe'ěotsesótse 'picture' (possessed)

| | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|
| namòxe'ěotsesótse | my picture | namòxe'ěotséstoto | my pictures |
| nemòxe'ěotsesótse | your picture | namòxe'ěotséstoto | your pictures |
| hemòxe'ěotséstoto | his picture(s) | hemòxe'ěotséstoto | his picture(s) |
| namòxe'ěotséstónáne | our (excl) picture | namòxe'ěotséstonane'o | our (ex) pictures |
| nemòxe'ěotséstonane | our (incl) picture | nemòxe'ěotséstonane'o | our (in) pictures |
| nemòxe'ěotséstóvévo | your (pl) picture | nemòxe'ěotséstovevoo'o | your (pl) pictures |
| hemòxe'ěotséstovevóho | their picture(s) | hemòxe'ěotséstovevóho | their picture(s) |

Animate dependent stem possessives

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

son (possessed)

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|
| nae'ha | my son | nae'haho | my sons |
| nee'ha | your son | nee'haho | your sons |
| hee'haho | his son(s) | hee'haho | his son(s) |
| nae'hahāne | our (excl) son | nae'hahane'o | our (excl) sons |
| nee'hahane | our (incl) son | nee'hahane'o | our (incl) sons |
| nee'hahēvo | your (pl) son | nee'hahevoo'o | your (pl) sons |
| hee'hahevóho | their son(s) | hee'hahevóho | their son(s) |

daughter (possessed)

| | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| nāhtona | my daughter | nāhtónaho | my daughters |
| nēstona | your daughter | nēstónaho | your daughters |
| hestónaho | his daughter(s) | hestónaho | his daughter(s) |
| nāhtónahāne | our (excl) daughter | nāhtónahane'o | our (excl) daughters |
| nēstónahane | our (incl) daughter | nēstónahane'o | our (incl) daughters |
| nēstónahēvo | your (pl) daughter | nēstónahaveoo'o | your (pl) daughters |
| hestónahévóho | their daughter(s) | hestónahévóho | their daughter(s) |

pet (possessed)

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------|----------------|-----------------|
| nāhtótse | my pet | nāhtotseho | my pets |
| nēstótse | your pet | nēstotseho | your pets |
| hestotseho | his pet(s) | hestotseho | his pet(s) |
| nāhtotséhāne | our (excl) pet | nāhtotséhane'o | our (excl) pets |
| nēstotséhane | our (incl) pet | nēstotséhane'o | our (incl) pets |

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'.

| | | | |
|------------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|
| něstotséhévo | your (pl) pet | něstotséhevoo'o | your (pl) pets |
| hestotséhevohóho | their pet(s) | hestotséhevohóho | their pet(s) |

brother (possessed by female) \$\$RECHECK

| | | | |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| náhtatanéme | my brother | náhtatanemo | my brothers |
| něstatanéme | your brother | něstatanemo | your brothers |
| hestatanemo | her brother(s) | hestatanemo | her brother(s) |
| náhtatanémáne | our (ex) brother | náhtatanémaneo'o?? | our (ex) brothers |
| něstatanémáne | our (in) brother | něstatanémaneo'o?? | our (in) brothers |
| něstatanémévo | your (pl) bro | něstatanémevoo'o?? | your (pl) brothers |
| hestatanémevóho?? | their bro(s) | hestatanémevóho?? | their brother(s) |

grandfather (possessed)

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| naměšéme | my grandfather | naměšemo | my grandfathers |
| neměšéme | your grandfather | neměšemo | your grandfathers |
| heměšemo | his grandfather(s) | heměšemo | his grandfather(s) |
| naměšémáne | our (ex) grandfather | naměšémaneo'o | our (ex) grandfathers |
| neměšémane | our (in) grandfather | neměšémaneo'o | our (in) grandfathers |
| neměšémévo | your (pl) grandfather | neměšémevoo'o | your (pl) grandfathers |
| heměšémevóho | their grandfather(s) | heměšémevóho | their grandfather(s) |

older brother (possessed)

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

older sister (possessed)

| | | | |
|------------|---------------------|-------------|----------------------|
| name | my older sister | nameho | my older sisters |
| neme | your older sister | nemeho | your older sisters |
| hemeho | his older sister(s) | hemeho | his older sister(s) |
| naméháne | our (ex) older sis | naméhane'o | our (ex) o. sisters |
| neméhane | our (in) older sis | naméhane'o | our (in) o. sisters |
| neméhēvo | your (pl) older sis | naméhevoo'o | your (pl) o. sisters |
| heméhevóho | their o. sister(s) | heméhevóho | their o. sister(s) |

mother (possessed)

| | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|------------|--------------------|
| náhko'éehé ⁴⁸ | my mother | ---- | |
| neško | your mother | ---- | |
| heške | his mother | ---- | |
| něškane ⁴⁹ | our (incl) mother | něškane'o | our (incl) mothers |
| něškēvo | your (pl) mother | něškevoo'o | your (pl) mothers |
| heškevóho | their mother(s) | heškevóho | their mother(s) |

relative (possessed) \$\$RECHECK

| | | | |
|--------------|---------------|--------------|----------------|
| navóohestóte | my relative | navóohestoto | my relatives |
| nevóohestóte | your relative | nevóohestoto | your relatives |

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

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

| | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| hevóohestoto | his relative(s) | hevóohestoto | his relative(s) |
| navóohestonāne | our (excl) relative | navóohestonaneo'o | our (excl) relatives |
| nevóohestonane | our (incl) relative | nevóohestonaneo'o | our (incl) relatives |
| nevóohestovēvo | your (pl) relative | nevóohestovevoo'o | your (pl) relatives |
| hevóohestovevóho | their relative(s) | hevóohestovevóho | their relative(s) |

Irregular possessives

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

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

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

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

| | | | |
|--------------|-------------------------------|--------------|------------------------------|
| né'tame | my (fem) brother-in-law | né'tameo'o | my (fem) brothers-in-law |
| é'tame | your (fem) brother-in-law | é'tameo'o | your (fem) brothers-in-law |
| hevétáme | her brother(s)-in-law | hevétáme | her brother(s)-in-law |
| né'tamāne | our (fem excl) brother-in-law | né'tamaneo'o | our (fem excl) bro(s)-in-law |
| é'tamane | our (fem incl) brother-in-law | é'tamaneo'o | our (fem incl) bro(s)-in-law |
| é'tamēvo | your (fem pl) brother-in-law | é'tamevoo'o | your (fem pl) bro(s)-in-law |
| hevétamevóho | their (fem) bro(s)-in-law | hevétamevóho | their (fem) bro(s)-in-law(s) |

friend (male friend of a male; possessed) ⁵¹

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

friend (female friend of a female; possessed) ⁵²

| | | | |
|------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|------------------------|
| nésé'e | my (fem) friend | nése'eo'o | my (fem) friends |
| ésé'e | your (fem) friend | ése'eo'o | your (fem) friends |
| hevése'óho | her (fem) friend(s) | hevése'óho | her (fem) friend(s) |
| nése'āne ⁵³ | our (fem excl) friend | nése'aneo'o | our (fem excl) friends |
| ése'ane ⁵⁴ | our (fem incl) friend | ése'aneo'o | our (fem incl) friends |

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'éháne and navése'āne.

| | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| ése'ēvo | your (fem pl) friend | ése'evoo'o | your (pl fem) friends |
| hevése'evóho | their (fem) friend(s) | hevése'evóho | their (fem) friend(s) |

father (possessed)

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

CAN IT BE FOR PLURAL FATHERS

grandmother (possessed)

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

grandchild (possessed)

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| néxahe | my grandchild ⁵⁶ | néxaho | my grandchildren |
| éxahe | your grandchild | éxaho | your grandchildren |
| hevéxaho | his grandchild(ren) | hevéxaho | his grandchild(ren) |
| néxáháne | our (ex) grandchild | néxahane'o | our (ex) grandchildren |
| éxahane | our (in) grandchild | éxahane'o | our (in) grandchildren |
| éxáhévo ⁵⁷ | your (pl) grandchild | éxahevoo'o | your (pl) grandchildren |
| hevéxahevóho | their grandchild(ren) | hevéxahevóho | their grandchild(ren) |

Mixed paradigm

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

younger sibling (possessed)\$\$\$CHECK

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

Regularized possessives

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

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:

| meaning | older word | newer word |
|--------------------------|------------|-----------------------------|
| my lodge/home | nénóve | navénove ⁵⁸ \$\$ |
| my body?? | nétove | navétove |
| my brother-in-law | né'tóve | navé'tove |
| your brother-in-law | é'tóve | nevé'tove |
| my sibling ⁵⁹ | nésésó | navésésó |
| your sibling | ésésó | nevésésó |

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 póésó. If the letters "hk" are inserted into the middle of this word, we get the diminutive word, póhquésó which mean 'kitten'.

Diminutives sometimes have a teasing meaning, with an affectionate connotation. For instance, you can call a 50-year old man a ma'háhkéséhésó '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'háhkésó. And you could call an even older man a ma'háésó, which is less diminutive than ma'háhkésó.

/-(h)k/ diminutives

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

| regular word | meaning | diminutive | meaning |
|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| améstó'eeseo'o | travois | améstó'keeseo'o | little travois |
| amó'enēō'o | wagon | amó'kenēō'o | children's wagon |
| ao'ésesto | hailstone | ao'késeto | little hailstone |
| hásóo'o | crowbar | hásohko | lance |
| hesó'xo'enēō'o | sled | hesó'xo'eneško | children's sled |
| hóma'e | beaver | hóma'ke | little beaver |
| káso'ee'e | kettle | káso'eške | jug |
| máhēō'o | house | máhěško | shed |
| máhōō'o | melon ⁶¹ | máhōhko | small melon |
| mé'ěševótse | baby | mé'ěškevótse | baby (dim) |
| méstaa'e | owl, spook | méstahke | screech owl |
| mó'ésás'e | calf | mó'késás'e | calf (dim) |
| tóhoo'o | club | tóhohko | hammer |
| ó'he'e | river | ó'he'ke | creek |

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

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

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

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

| | | | |
|-------------|------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| oónáha'e | frog | oonáha'kēso | little frog |
| ho'honáá'e | rock | ho'honáhke | stone |
| sásóóvéta | watersnake | sásóhkóvéta | watersnake (dim) |
| šéštótó'e | pine | šéštótó'ke | little pine |
| tse'némoo'o | tobacco | tsé'némohko | tobacco (dim) |
| váótséva | deer | váhkótséva | little deer |
| vé'ho'e | whiteman | vé'ho'ke | little white boy |
| vé'ho'sēō'o | suitcase | vé'ho'seško | purse, small suitcase |

/-só(n)/ diminutives

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

| regular word | meaning | diminutive | meaning |
|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| É'ometāā'e | Greasy River | É'ometaēso | Little Greasy River |
| heávohe | devil | heávóhéso | little devil |
| he'éhe | maggot | he'éhéso | rice (kernel) |
| hóhkeehe | mouse | hóhkeehēso | little mouse |
| hóhkóxe | ax | hóhkóxéso | little ax |
| hó'nehe | wolf | ho'néhéso | little wolf |
| ka'ěškóne | child | ka'ěškónéhéso | little child |
| káse'ééhe | young lady | kás'eéehéso | young teenage girl |
| kásovááhe | young man | kásovááhēso | young teenage boy |
| kóhkonóhēō'o | bread | kóhkonóheonēso | cracker (od), little bread |
| kokóhéáxa | chicken | kokóhéaxáéso | chick |
| ma'hááhe | old man | ma'háéso | old man |
| gméstaa'e | owl | méstaēso | little owl |
| mo'éhno'ha | horse | mo'éhno'hamēso | colt |
| náhkohe | bear | náhkóhéso | little bear |
| nóma'he | fish | noma'kēso | little fish |
| oeškése | dog | oeškéséhéso | pup |
| vé'kése | bird | vé'késéhéso | little bird |

Double diminutives

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

| regular word | meaning | diminutive | meaning |
|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|------------------|
| hóma'e | beaver | homa'kēso | little beaver |
| ma'ēno | turtle | ma'enó'késo | small turtle |
| ma'hááhe | old man | ma'háhkéso | old man (dim) |
| ma'hááhe | old man | ma'háhkéséhéso | little old man |
| mo'éhno'ha | horse | mo'kéhno'hamēso | colt |
| nóma'he | fish | nomá'héškéso | minnow |
| šé'še | duck | šé'šéškéso | duckling |
| vé'ho'e | whiteman | vé'ho'kēso | little white boy |

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

| | | | |
|-----------|-------------|---------------|-------------------|
| vé'ho'á'e | white woman | vé'ho'ká'késo | little white girl |
| xāō'o | skunk | xaóhkéso | little skunk |

Vocatives

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

| noun | meaning | vocative | meaning |
|----------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| náhko'éehe | my mother | Náhko'e | Mother |
| ného'éehe | my father | Ného'e | Father |
| néške'éehe | my grandmother | Néške'e | Grandmother |
| naměšéme | my grandfather | Náměšeme | My grandfather |
| naměšemo | my grandfathers | Naměšemaséstse | My grandfathers |
| navěškemo | my grandmothers | Néške'éehéhaséstse | My grandmothers |
| ka'ěškóného | children | Ka'ěškónéhaséstse | Children |
| nanésoneho | my children | Nésonéhaséstse | My children |
| nae'ha | my son | Nae'ha | My son |
| náhtona | my daughter | Náhtse?? | My daughter |
| náhtónaho | my daughters | Náhtónahaséstse | My daughters |
| néxahe | my grandchild | Néše | My grandchild |
| he'eo'o | women | He'eséstse | Women |
| hetaneo'o | men | Hetaneséstse | Men |
| kásováaheho | young men | Kásováhéhaséstse | Young men |
| káse'éeheho | young women | Káse'éehéhaséstse | Young women |
| né'tóve | my brother-in-law | Né'tovaséstse | My brothers-in-law |
| véhoo'o | chiefs | Véhonaséstse | Chiefs |
| ho'honáeo'o | rocks | Ho'honáséstse | Rocks |
| máhtamáháaheho | old women | Máhtamáháahéhaséstse | Old women |
| ma'háhkéseho | old men | Ma'háhkéséhehaséstse | Old men |
| nésésone | my siblings | Nésésónéhaséstse | Siblings |
| navo'ėstanemo | my people | Navo'ėstanémaséstse | My people |
| navóohestoto | my relatives | Navóohestonaséstse | My relatives |
| ma'heono | sacred spirits | Ma'heónaséstse | Sacred spirits |

LOCATIVES

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

| | |
|--|---------------------------|
| Tósa'e éhoo'e?, Naa _____? Where is _____? | |
| Éhoo'e máheóne. | He's in the house. |
| hemáheóne. | in his house. |
| máheónéva. | on the house. |
| sémónéva. | in the boat, on the boat. |
| méóne. | on the road. |
| ho'honáéva. | on the rock. |
| hoóhtsetseva. | in the tree. |
| o'hé'e. | at the creek. |
| ma'omeva. | on the ice. |
| máhpeva. | at the water. |
| heamáho'héstóva. | in his car. |

| | |
|--|--------------------|
| Tósa'e éhó'ta móxe'éstoo'o? Where is the book? | |
| Ého'ta máheóne. | It's in the house. |
| sémónéva. | in the boat. |
| táxemeséhéstóva. | on the table. |
| šééšéstóva. | on the bed. |
| a'e he'nétoonéhéva. | near the door. |

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

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| Náooma káhamáxéhéva. | He hit me with a stick. |
| hetóhkonéhéva. | with a dish. |

EXAMPLES IN SENTENCES:

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

Place names

\$\$REVISE, CHECK

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

Vášetaēno –no suffix

Vóhpoométanéno White River Place

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

ETC.\$\$ ANALYZE SUFFIXES MORE

Proper names

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

Noun phrases

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

Quantifier noun phrases

Quantifiers

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

na'ěstse hetane 'one man'
neše he'eo'o 'two women'
háesto ka'ěškóneho 'many children'
tòhkomo káhámáxěstse '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 póeso 'this cat'
tá'tóhe mo'éhno'ha 'that horse'
hé'tóhe móxe'éstoo'o 'this book'

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

Discourse pronouns

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

néhe hetane 'that man' (the one being talking about)
héne móxe'éstoo'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'òhtávè-hohpe 'coffee' (literally, black-broth)
ma'è-ho'évohkòtse 'corned beef' (literally, red-meat)
ma'xè-háhnoma 'bumblebee' (literally, big-bee)
heóve-amáho'hestòtse 'schoolbus' (literally, yellow-car)
táxe-mésèhestòtse 'table' (literally, top-eating.thing)

Compound words composed of 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 pre nouns

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

ma'aatae-me'o 'railroad' (literally, iron-road)
matanaé-ve'ho'e 'policeman' [literally, (badge on) chest-whiteman]
mòxe'èstóoné-máhéó'o 'post office' (literally, letter-house)
séotsé-amáho'hestótse 'hearse' (literally, corpse-car)
vé'ho'é-otóá'e 'buffalo' (literally, whiteman-buffalo)
vé'ho'é-mahpe 'whiskey' (literally, whiteman-water)
véhpotsé-hohpe 'tea' (literally, leaf-broth)

Verbal pre nouns

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

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

Participle phrases

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

hetane tséhéne'enovaestse 'educated man' (lit., man who is educated)
kásovááhe tséháa'èstaestse 'tall young man' (lit., young man who is tall)
ma'háhkéso tséhe'keoméstse 'fat old man' (lit., old man who is fat)
amáho'hestótse tséháoeme 'expensive car' (lit., car that is expensive)

Definiteness

There are no definite or indefinite articles in Cheyenne. Instead, nouns are definite or indefinite depending on 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. Nétáhóhta'haovátse.
Let me tell you a story.
Let me tell you a story.
2. Náhkohe éstaamenéheohtsé'tanoho meo'o.
bear followed it path
A bear was following a path.
3. Hápó'e naháóhe ó'kóhóme móhnéhnéheohtsé'tóhéhe.

Likewise there coyote followed it
Likewise there a coyote was following it.

4. Nèhe'še éstóo'e'ováhtséhoono.
Then they met
Then they met.
5. **Náhkohe** éstatsèhetóhoono **ó'kòhomeho**,
bear told coyote
The bear said to the coyote,
6. "No'héhnéstse!
Move aside
"Move aside!
7. Hé'tóhe nameo'o,"
this my path
This is my path,"
8. éxhetóhoono.
he told him
he told him.
9. "Hova'áhane,
no
"No,
10. hápó'e no'héhnéstse!
likewise move aside
likewise you move aside!
11. Hé'tóhe nameo'o,"
this my path
This is my path,"
12. éxhetaehoono.
he told him
he told him.
13. Tséxhe'éseóo'evotáhtsevöse éxhe'kemé'èhnéhoo'o xao'o.
while they argued slowly appeared skunk
While they were arguing a skunk slowly appeared.
14. "Háhtome!
scram
"Scram!
15. Hé'tóhe nameo'o,"
this my path
This is my path,"
16. éxhetóhoono.
he told them.

he told them.

17. Exhe'kenéma'evonèhnéhoo'o.
he slowly turned around
He slowly turned around.
18. Exhe'kèhešèhosóhnéhoo'o.
he slowly backed up
He slowly backed up.
19. Tséhvóomovóse éstanéšèhe'névo'ahéotséhoono.
when they saw him they took off in two directions
When they saw him they took off in two different directions.
20. Essáanáha'óoméhesesto tósa'e tséhešeasetaxevóse.
they were not caught sight of wherever they took off to
No one ever saw them again, wherever they took off to.

Discourse pronouns and definiteness

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

\$\$EXAMPLES

Deictics

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

Demonstratives

We introduced Cheyenne demonstratives in the Noun phrases section earlier in this book. \$\$COMBINE THE TWO SECTIONS AS WELL AS THE TWO SECTIONS ON DISCOURSE PRONOUNS?? Here we describe the demonstratives more fully. Cheyenne demonstratives are inflected for animacy and distance from the speaker. Demonstratives can modify a noun, to which they phonologically attach as clitics, or they can stand alone as a noun phrase. If they attach to a noun they lose their word-final -he, so, for instance hé'tóhe + motšèške is pronounced as hé'tó=motšèške 'this knife', where the "=" symbol represents the phonological attachment with its smooth flow from the end of the demonstrative to the beginning of the noun.

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

Discourse demonstratives

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

| | |
|------|-------------------------|
| néhe | this, these (animate) |
| héne | this, these (inanimate) |

| | |
|------|-------------------------|
| náhe | that, those (animate) |
| háne | that, those (inanimate) |

Locative particles

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

Currently used locative particles

| | |
|------------|--|
| tséhéóhe | here (proximal; new location in discourse??) |
| hétséhéóhe | over here RECHECK GLOSSES FOR THE LONGER FORMS ?? |
| néhéóhe | there (previously mentioned location) |
| hénéhéóhe | over there (previously mentioned) |
| táháóhe | farther?? there (distal; new location in discourse) |
| hátáháóhe | over there (previously mentioned) |
| náháóhe | farther?? there (distal; previously mentioned location) |
| hánáháóhe | over there (previously mentioned) |

Older locative particles

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

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

Predicative pronouns

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

Inanimate predicative pronouns

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

Animate predicative pronouns

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| tsea'háanéhe | here he is; he's the one (proximal cataphoric/pointing at??) |
| tseá'hanehe?? | (contracted form) |
| tsea'háanevóhe | here they are; they are the ones |
| | |
| nea'háanéhe | he's the one (proximal anaphoric??) |
| néa'hanehe?? | (contracted form) |
| nea'háanevóhe | there they are; they are the ones |
| | |
| táa'háanéhe | he's the one (distal cataphoric) |
| táa'hanehe | (contracted form) |
| táa'háanevóhe?? | there they are; they are the ones |
| | |
| naa'háanéhe | he's the one (distal anaphoric) |
| náa'hanehe | (contracted form) |
| naa'háanevóhe | they are the ones |
| | |
| nevá'hanéhe | he is the one (only about a hero) |

Predicative pronouns in sentences

\$\$INCLUDE EXX. FOR OTHER PREDICATIVE PRONOUNS

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

Temporal deictics

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

| | |
|---------|--------------------------------|
| néhe'še | then (marks temporal sequence) |
|---------|--------------------------------|

| | |
|--------------|------------------------|
| tšéhe'še | at this time |
| nèhe'xóvéva | at that time |
| tséhe'xóvéva | at this time |
| nèhetáa'e | from then on |
| tsèhetáa'e | from this time forward |

Deictic preverbs

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

nè- examples

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

tsè- examples

| | |
|---|---|
| és- tsè -hetóhoono | he told like this (preceding a quote) (preterit mode) |
| é- tsè -hešenéméne ⁶³ | he sang like this |
| tsè -he'xóvéva | at this time |

Speech functions

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

Sentence types

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

| sentence types | speech functions |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| statements | inform |
| interrogatives | question |
| imperatives | command |

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

Statements

Cheyennes inform through statements. Statements typically are composed of a verb which may be accompanied by one or more nouns which the verb tells about. Statements may, however, be other parts of speech, such as a noun or particle which is a response to something someone else says. The

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

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:

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

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

mó- questions

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

Here are examples of Cheyenne *mó-* questions:

| regular word | meaning | questioned word | meaning |
|--------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| tsé'tóhe | this one (animate) | Mó-tsé'tóhe? | This one? |

⁶⁴ This phonological process is called cliticization.

⁶⁵ In Cheyenne questions *mó-* functions like the interrogative tag particle "innit" in the Cheyenne dialect of English, which is contracted from the English words "isn't it?". Unlike the sentence-final word order of English tag words, Cheyenne English "innit" can appear either at the beginning or end of Cheyenne English utterances.

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| hetanéka'ěškóne | boy | Mó-hetanéka'ěškóne? | The boy? |
| Néěšého'soo'e. | You've already danced. | Mó-néěšého'soo'e? | You've already danced? |
| Náméhótáéne. | He loves us (ex). | Mó-náméhótáéne? | He loves us? |
| Éhoo'kōho. | It's raining. | Mó'-éhoo'kōho? ⁶⁶ | It's raining? |
| Néhóxe'āna. | You cleaned it. | Mó-néhóxe'āna? | You cleaned it? |

mó- questions and evidential modes

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

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Mó'-éhoo'kōhónése? | 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 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 tsémésesto? | What did you eat? |
| Hénová'e tséméséstse? | What did he eat? |
| Hénová'e tsého'áheto? | What do you want? |
| Hénová'e tsého'aestse? | What does he want? |
| Hénová'e tsého'tseto? | What do you have? |
| Hénová'e tsého'oestseto? | What are you cooking / boiling? |
| Hénová'e tséhonóhtomo? | What are you baking / roasting? |
| Hénová'e tsépéenomo? | What are you grinding? |
| Hénová'e tsémanéstseto? | What are you making? |
| Hénová'e tsémóxe'óhomo? | What are you writing? |
| Hénová'e tsétoenomo? | What are you holding? |
| Hénová'e tsévéhoohtomáse? | What are you (plural) looking at? |
| Hénová'ehótse tsétoenomo? | What (plural things) are you holding? |

⁶⁶ A glottal stop is inserted between mó- and any vowel that follows it.

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Hénová'ehötse tsévé'hoohtomáse? | What (plural things) are you (plural) looking at? |
| Hénová'e tsémetóhtse? | What did you give him? |
| Hénová'etotse tsémétóhtse? | What (relational) did he give him (obv)? |
| Hénová'etotse tséno'éhneséstse? | What (relational) is he carrying? |

Who questions

Who questions use the interrogative pronouns névááhe 'who?' and névááso 'who?' or a related inflected form, followed by a conjunct participle:

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Névááhe tsénéménéstse? | Who is singing? |
| Névááhe tséháóénáhtse? | Who is praying? |
| Neváaseo'o tséháoenase? | Who (plural) are praying? |
| Névááhe tsévéstomóhtse? | Who is your spouse? (lit., Who is the one you sit with?) |
| Neváasóho tsévéstomose? | Who (obviative) is his spouse? |
| Neváasóho tséméhotovose? | Who (obviative) do they love? |
| Névááhe tsémanestséstse? | Who made it? |
| Névááhe tséhóxe'ānóhtse? | Who cleaned it? |
| Névááhe tsémétata'e? | Who gave it to you? |
| Neváasóho tsémétaa'ése? | Who (obviative) gave it to him? |

Whose questions

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

| | |
|--|--|
| Névááhe tsé- he -vóhkéha'éstse? | Whose hat is this? / Who has on the hat? |
| Névááhe tsé- he -mo'kéhānéstse? | Whose shoe is this? / Who has on the shoe? |
| Névááhe tsé- he -voestóvéstse? | Whose dress is this? / Who has on the dress? |

Which questions

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

| | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Táaso ⁶⁷ vóhpoma'óhtse? | Which one is the salt? |
| Táasévoonéstse nemótšéškehóhtse? | Which are your knives? |
| Táasévoo'e tsévéstomóhtse? | Which is your spouse? |
| Táasévoone tséoomata'óse? | Which ones (animate) hit you? |
| Táasévoone hoemaho tsémanéhōse? | Which shawls did you make? |

Why questions

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

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

⁶⁷ Alternate pronunciations are táase, tóáse, and tóaso.

Hénová'e tsé-**hésé**-háóénáhtse?
 Hénová'éto tsé-**hést**-a'xaneto?
 Hénáá'e tsé-**hése**-aseohtsése?

Why is he praying?
 Why are you crying?
 Why did you (plural) leave?

When questions

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

Tóne'she ého'eóhtse?
 Tóne'she nééváho'eohe?
 Tóne'she néto'seasohtse?

When did he arrive?
 When did you return?
 When are you going to leave?

How long questions

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

Néta-tóne'éše-háomóhtahe?
 Étaohke-tóne'éše-ohénove He'konemáhoéve'ho'éno?
 Hardin?

How long have you been sick?
 How long does it take to get to

Where questions

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

Tósa'e néto'sétséhe'óhtse?
 Tósa'e néohkéhotse'ohe?
 Tósa'e éhoo'e?
 Tósa'e néhohtóva?
 Tósa'e névóómo?
 Tósa'e éhó'ta namóxe'éstoo'o?
 Tósa'e éto'semóheeohtséstove?
 Tósa'e nénéxhéstaha?

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

How questions

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

Né-**tóněše**-véhe?
 Né-**tóněšé**-ho'éhne?
 Né-**tóněšé**-héne'enovo-o'o?
 Né-**tóněše**-táno?
 Né-**tónet**-omóhtahe?
 Né-**tónés**-étsésta?
 Né-**tónés**-étámo?
 É-**tónet**-áho'ta?
 É-**tónet**-oeme?
 É-**tónet**-aeta?

What's your name? (lit., How are you called?)
 How did you come?
 How do you know them?
 How do you feel (mentally/emotionally)?
 How are you (in terms of wellness)? \$\$RECHECK GLOSS
 What do you think of it?
 What do you think of him?
 How is it cooked? (e.g. Is it cooked yet?)
 How much does it cost?
 What size is he?

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| É- tónet -aō'o? | What size is it? |
| É- tónet -ónóto? | How thick is it? |
| É- tóne -'etame? ?? | How deep is it? (e.g. water) |
| É- tóne -'éhotoo'e? | How deep is it? (e.g. a hole or cave) |
| É- tóne -'ého'oésta? | How high is it hanging? |
| É- tóne -'ého'oése? | How high is he hanging? |
| É- tóne -'éstahe? ?? | How tall is he? |
| É- tóne -'éhahe? | How old is he? |
| É- tóne 'xóv-anāno? | How much does it weigh? |
| É- tóne 'xóv-aneta? | How much does he weigh? |
| É- tónet -aa'ene'hō'ta? | How much room is there? |
| É- tóne -'éhoo'e? | How long is he staying / How long did he stay? |
| É- tónet -otse'ohe? | What is his work? |
| É- tóne -'éhoma'ō'e? | How far away is it? |
| É- tónet -óhtáheve? | What color / design is it/he? |
| É- tóne '-éno'e? | How does it taste? |
| É- tóne '-énehe? | How does he taste? |
| É- tónet -átamáno'e? | How is the environment? |
| É- tónet -oéstomo'he? | What kind of personality does he have? |
| É- tónést -áhevónó'e? | What kind (or type) is it? |
| É- tónést -á'e? | How long is his hair? |
| É- tóněš -éa'e? | How does it feel (in texture)? |
| É- tóněš -e'šeme? | What sound does he make? |
| É- tóněs -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- tóněso ? | What is its condition? |
| É- tóněsta ? | What is his condition? |
| É- tóněšé 'tovóho? | What did he do to him? |

-tóněševe 'What is/are ___ doing?'

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

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

'How many' questions

Questions asking how many are formed with the interrogative particle tónesto 'how many?' or

the preverb *tónéstōhe-*, or the initial *tónést-*.

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| Tónesto néoó'hamoo'o? | How many (fish) did you catch? |
| Né- tónéstōhe -aénáma? | How old are you? (lit., How many are you yeared?) |
| É- tonéstōhe -éše'hama? | How many months old is he? |
| Né- tónéstōhe -enō'tse? | How many nights did you camp? |
| É- tónéstōhe -éno'e? | What day of the week is it? (lit., how many days is it?) |
| É- tónést -óxeo'o? | How many of them (an.) are there? |
| É- tónést -ohánéstse? | How many of them (inan.) are there? |

'How many times' questions

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

| | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Tónéstoha ného'soo'e? | How many times did you dance? |
| Tónéstoha éamo'áhoétseo'o? | How many times did they run? |

To what degree questions

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

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

Other question forms

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

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

'What say' questions

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

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Ná- óxò -heve? | What did I say? |
| Né- óxò -heve? | What did you say? |
| É- óxò -hevoo'o? | What did he/she say? |
| É- óxò -hevoōne? | What did they say? |
| É- óxò -henove? | What is said? |
| Né- óxò -hétó? | What did you say to him? |
| É- óxò -hetóho? | What did he say to him (obviative)? |

naa questions

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

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Naa Amé'há'e? | How's Flying Woman? |
| Naa ma'háése? | Where's the old man? |
| Naa neamáho'hestötse? | 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', *tóněše-* 'somehow' (include Rolling Head sentence). 'something', *hénáá'énese* 'something', etc.

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

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

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

Naa hena'hanehe náěšéhóhta'hāne **tónetāa'e** tséhéne'enómo. 'And I have told however much I know.' (1987:97) **CAN tónetāa'e FUNCTION AS A QUESTION WORD??**

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

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

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

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

Naa vé'ho'e mósta-**toněš**eněstomónéhéhe. '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-tóněšévéhe. | I'm not doing anything. |
| Násáa-tóněšetánohe. | I'm not feeling anything. |
| Násáa-tóne'xóvomóhtáhéhe. | I'm not feeling anything. |
| Ésáa-tóněstáhe. | There's nothing wrong with him. |
| Ésáa-tóněsóhane. | There's nothing wrong with it. (??) |
| Ésáa-tóněsóotséhane. | Nothing happened. |
| Násáa-tóněstá'tovóhe. | I didn't do anything to him. |

Content of saying questions and negatives

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

| | |
|-----------------|------------------------|
| Násáa'-óxóhéhe. | I didn't say anything. |
|-----------------|------------------------|

Néstsev'e-óxóhéto!

Don't say anything to him!

hová'éhe and negatives

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

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

Násáaho'áhéhe hová'éhe.

I don't want anything.

Násávóóhtóhe hová'éhe.

I didn't see anything.

'someone' indefinite particles

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

Hovánee'e ésáahoéhe.

No one was there.

\$\$DEVELOP SECTION HERE OR ELSEWHERE IN BOOK, e.g. nevá'eséstse 'someone', nevá'ésesto, nésésesto, néséhoo'o, etc. Also be sure there is/are (a) section in the book which covers the polarity behavior of hová'éhe, hovánee'e, the semantic relationship between hová'éhe and hénáá'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. \$\$CHECK THE EXAMPLES AND GLOSSES

Nésáahe'évèhehe!

Are you not a woman!

Névé'hétónéséve!

Why did you do that!

Névé'hénéméne! ??

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

Névé'héoxóhetoo'o!

Why did you say that to them!

Mónáme'hétone'otse! ??

Nothing would happen to me!

Mónéme'hé-tone'oéto.

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

powerful than you)

Ésáatónésééno'éetòhane!

How does it not stop snowing!

Commands

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

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

Positive commands

Positive commands tell people what to do. Negative commands, which we will illustrate shortly,

tell people what not to do.

Imperative mode commands

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

Singular addressees

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

| | |
|----------------------|------------------------|
| Háméstoo'éstse! | Sit down! |
| He'kotoo'éstse! | Be quiet! / Sit still! |
| Méseestse! | Eat! |
| Né'éstséhneštse! | Come in! |
| Né'tóhkéhá'áhtse! | Take your hat off! |
| E'seéstse'hēnāhtse! | Put your coat on! |
| Né'seéstse'hēnāhtse! | Take your coat off! |
| E'éhā'óhtse! | Put your shoes on! |
| Né'tó'éstse! | Take your shoes off! |
| Táhéovēšéstse! | Go to bed! |
| Áahtovéstse! | Listen to me! |
| Néhmanoxéstse! | Give me a drink! |
| Něše'šévóénéstse! | Wash your face! |
| Něše'šéhe'ónāhtse! | Wash your hands! |
| Vé'hóóhtóhtse! | Look at it! |

Plural addressees

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

| | |
|------------------|------------------------|
| Háméstoo'e! | Sit down! |
| He'kotoo'e! | Be quiet! / Sit still! |
| Mésehe! | Eat! |
| Né'éstséhne! | Come in! |
| E'tóhkéhá'a! | Put your hat on! |
| Né'tóhkéhá'a! | Take your hat off! |
| E'seéstse'hēna! | Put your coat on! |
| Né'seéstse'hēna! | Take your coat off! |
| E'éhā'o! | Put your shoes on! |
| Né'tó'e! | Take your shoes off! |
| Táhéovēše! | Go to bed! |
| Áahtove! | Listen to me! |
| Néhmanoxe! | Give me a drink! |
| Něše'šéhe'óna! | 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/.

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| Háméstoeo'o! | Sit down later! (singular addressee) |
| Háméstoehéne! | Sit down later! (plural addressee) |
| Néhmétseo'o! | Give it to me later! (singular addressee) |
| Néhmétséhéne! | Give it to me later! (plural addressee) |
| Né'évähósého'èhneo'o! | Come again later! (singular addressee) |
| Né'évähósého'èhnéhéne! | Come again later! (plural addressee) |

'should' commands

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

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Né- me' -mésehe. | You should eat. |
| Né- mé' -méséhéme. | You (plural) should eat. |
| Né- me' -hestāna. | You should take it. |
| Né- me' -méhótahtséme. | You should love each other (or, yourselves). |

'should' impersonal commands

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

| | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| É- me' -méséhé-stove. | There should be eating. |
| É- me' -méhótahtsé-stove. | There should be love for one another. |

Negative commands

Negative commands tell people what not to do.

Prohibitives

A command telling more or more people not to do something is called a prohibitive. A prohibitive command is composed of the prohibitive preverb vé'(e)- in a verb with a second person ("you") subject. The preverb is pronounced as vé'e- if the next letter in the word is a vowel. Otherwise, it is pronounced as vé'-.

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| Né- vé' -néhešéve! | Don't do that! (said to one person, a singular addressee) |
| Né- vé' -néhešévéme! | Don't do that! (said to more than one person) |
| Né- vé'e' -a'xaame! | Don't cry! (singular addressee) |
| Né- vé'e' -a'xaaméme! | Don't cry! (plural addressee) |
| Né- vé'e' -oome! | Don't hit me! (singular addressee) |
| Né- vé' -vé'hóhta! | Don't look at it! (singular addressee) |

Né-**vé'**-vé'hóóhtánóvo! Don't look at it! (plural addressee)

Né-**vé'e**-óxoheve! Don't say anything! (singular addressee)

Negative 'should' commands

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

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

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

Né-**mé'**-**sáa**-tséhe'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-**mé'**-**sáa**-néhešévè-stovè-hane. That shouldn't be done.

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

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

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

Rhetorical question commands

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

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

Negative interrogatives

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

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

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

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

Negative prohibitives

Negative prohibitives function as a kind of command. They combine the negative preverb *sáa*-

(with its negative suffix /-hé/) and the prohibitive preverb vé'(e)- in a single verb:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Né- sáa-vé' -méséhé-he?! | Shouldn't you eat?! |
| Né- sáa-vé' -nèhešévé-he?! | Shouldn't you do that?! |
| Né- sáa-vé' -nèhešévé-hé-me?! | Shouldn't you (plural) do that?! |

Hortatives

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

| | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| Némeneha! | Let him sing! |
| Vé'hoohtoha! | Let him look at it! |
| Némenévoha! | Let them sing! |
| Vé'hoohtomávoha! | Let them look at it! |

First person hortatives

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

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| Ná- ta -mésehe! | Let me eat! |
| Ná- ta -vé'hóóhta! | Let me look at it! |
| Né- ta -évo'sóémáne! | Let's play! |
| Né- ta -nèšeasema! | Let's just leave! |

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

| | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| Né- ta-hé -méséhémáne! | Let's eat! |
| Né- ta-hé -ve'hoosanémáne!?? | Let's go look on! (for example, at a powwow) |

Command particles

Some short words called particles function as commands:

| | |
|----------|------------|
| Nóheto! | Let's go! |
| Nóxa'e! | Wait! |
| Ótahe! | Listen! |
| Táaxa'e! | Let's see! |

Mitigation of commands

It has been noted that some command forms are mitigated (milder). They are less direct, for instance, than the most direct commands, such as Méseestse! 'Eat!' and Táhéověšéstse! 'Go to bed!' We must note, however, that, unlike in some other languages, including English, more direct commands are not impolite or rude to use in Cheyenne. It is culturally appropriate to use a direct command with an elderly parent, for instance. Instead of degree of politeness determining the degree of mitigation of a command, it appears that degree of mitigation of Cheyenne commands is determined by degree of social closeness, how familiar a speaker is to the person being addressed by a command.

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

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

Verbs

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

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

Transitivity

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

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

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

Verbs and animacy

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

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

This classification reflects an ergative pattern⁶⁸. That is, animacy is marked for absolutes, i.e.,

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

subjects of intransitive verbs and objects of transitive verbs.

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

| AI | II |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Épéhévahe. 'He's good.' | Épéhéva'e. 'It's good.' |
| Étáhpéta. 'He's big.' | Étáhpé'o. 'It's big.' |
| Nénémenehe? 'Did you sing?' | Éhoo'kōho. 'It's raining.' |
| Éma'ovése. 'He has red hair.' | Éma'ohe? 'Is it red?' |
| Náováxe. 'I dreamed.' | Ésétovoésta. 'It's noon.' |
| Éhenésone. 'She had a child.' | Éháohō'ta. 'It's hot.' |
| Émésehe. 'He's eating.' | Éméséhéstove. 'There is eating.' |

| TA | TI |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Nápéhéváno. 'I fixed him up.' | Nápéhévána. 'I fixed it.' |
| Návóómo. 'I saw him.' | Névóohtahe? 'Did you see it?' |
| Néhoxomohe? 'Did you feed him?' | Násáahestanohe. 'I didn't take it.' |
| Náméhota. 'He loves me.' | Éhó'tse. 'He has it.' |
| Áahtovéstse! 'Listen to me!' | Náááhta. 'I'm listening to it.' |
| Násáa'oomóhe. 'I didn't hit him.' | Násáa'oohtóhe. 'I didn't hit it.' |
| Émevo. 'He ate him (obv).' | Émese. 'He ate it.' |

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

Polarity

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

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

Interrogatives

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

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

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.

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

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

Independent verbs

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

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| Énaóotse. | He's sleeping. |
| Námese. | I'm eating it. |
| Éosepéhévééno'e. | It tastes really good. |
| Nátséhésenéstséme. | We speak Cheyenne. |
| Nésáatséhe'ševóomatséhe. | I never see you. |

Dependent (conjunct) verbs

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

| | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| tséhnaóotsése | when he was sleeping |
| tséhvóonā'o | when it was morning |
| ma'énésétovoésta | when it's afternoon |

Orders

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

Independent order verbs

Some examples of independent order verbs are:

| | |
|------------------|-----------------------------|
| Náho'soo'e. | I danced. |
| Néméséhehe? | Did you eat? |
| Móxháeanáhevóhe. | They must have been hungry. |

Ésáavé'hohtóhe.

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

éóháóénávòhtse

whether they were hungry

máxho'èhnéstse

when he comes

Imperative order verbs

Some examples of imperative order verbs are:

Háméstoo'èstse!

Sit down!

Tàhéověšéstse!

Go to bed!

Né'éváhósého'èhneo'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 mark three evidential modes on verbs: reportative, inferential, and preterit.

Indicative mode

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

Énaóotse.

He's sleeping.

Néhósema.

He told about you.

Ého'ééto.

It's snowing.

Épéhévééno'e.

It tastes good.

Reportatives

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

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Némanémáse. | It is said that you drank. |
| Éhněševátamósesto. | It is said that he took pity on him (obviative). |

Inferentials

A commonly used evidential is the inferential mode⁷⁰. 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⁻⁷¹, and can be translated with words like "He must have ___" or "It must be _____":

| | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| Móhoo'kóhóhanéhe | It must have rained |
| Mónémésèhehéhe | You must have eaten |

\$\$INCLUDE A TEXT WITH INFERENTIALS

Preterit mode

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

\$\$INCLUDE A TEXT WITH PRETERITS

Mirative usage

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

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?

Éméséhevo-he?

Did they eat?

INTRODUCTION TO VERBS (cont'd)

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

INDEPENDENT VERBS

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| náho'soo'e | I danced. |
| némésêhehe | Did you eat? |
| móhnóhonéhevōhe (hetaneo'o) | There must have been five (men). |
| ésâavé'hohtóhe | He didn't look at it. |

CONJUNCT (DEPENDENT) VERBS

| | |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| tséhnéménèse | when he sang |
| tsénéménese | those who are singing |
| éóháóónátse | whether he prayed |
| máxho'ehnéstse | when he comes |

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

Modes are very important in Cheyenne. Verbs will be of different modes depending on how a speaker has come by his knowledge. For instance, if he has been told that something has happened (but has not seen it for himself), he can use verbs in the "Attributive Mode". Such verbs can be translated with English words like "It is said that ___" or "'they' say that ___". Here are some examples: émaneséstse 'It is said that he drank,' and éoomósesto 'It is said that he hit him.'

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

Another mode is the "Mediate Mode". Using this mode seems to give an impression of "distance in space, concepts, or time". Verbs of the

mediate mode are often used in legends and folk-tales. Some examples of verbs in the mediate mode are éhnéménéhoo'o 'he sang' and éhpéhêva'éneho 'it was good'.

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

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

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

Here are some examples using the verb prefixes:

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

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

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

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

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

| | | |
|--|---|--------------|
| é ^é né ^é méne | 3 | he sang |
| hee'haho é ^é né ^é ménóho | 4 | his son sang |

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

Obviation will also occur when two third-persons are referred to by the same verb, such as 'see'. The proximate forms of 'man' and 'woman' are hetane and he'e, respectively. Their obviative forms are hetanóho and he'óho, respectively. Notice what happens in the following sentences when there are two third-persons. Look for obviation changes on the nouns and on the verbs.

| | |
|---|----------------------|
| 1-3 Návóómo hetane. | I saw a man. |
| 1-3 Návóómo he'e. | I saw a woman. |
| 2-3 Né ^é vóómo hetane. | You saw a man. |
| 3-4 Hetane é ^é vóómóho he'óho. | The man saw a woman. |
| 3-4 He'e é ^é vóómóho hetanóho. | The woman saw a man. |

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

| | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 4-3 Heške é ^é vóomaa'e hetané-ka'èš ^é kóne. | His (the boy's) mother saw the boy. |
| 4-3 Heme ^é ho é ^é véstáhémáá'e. | Her big sister helped her. |

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

| | | |
|---------------------------|-----------|--------------|
| 1-3 návóómo | (direct) | I saw him. |
| 2-3 né ^é vóómo | (direct) | You saw him. |
| 3-1 návóoma | (inverse) | He saw me. |
| 3-2 né ^é vóoma | (inverse) | He saw you. |

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The basic structure of a Cheyenne verb is as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

INTRODUCTION TO VERBS(cont'd)

are verbs which usually need some other verb(s) to help them out. From English grammar, this second type of verb is called a "dependent" verb. It 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. ~~REVISIT~~

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

INDEPENDENT VERBS ~~OTHERS~~

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

Modes

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

Outline of the Cheyenne verb system

~~KEEP OUTLINE, OR ONLY USE PROSE~~

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

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

- B. Potential mode
- C. Iterative mode
- D. Generic mode
- E. Interrogative mode
- F. Obligative mode
- G. Optative mode
- H. Inferential Negative mode
- I. Participles
- III. Imperative order
 - A. Direct
 - 1. Immediate
 - 2. Delayed
 - B. Hortative

Examples of verb types

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

| Cheyenne | translation | outline category |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Épèhévahe. | He's good. | I.A.POS.AI |
| Ésáapèhéváhéhe. | He's not good. | I.A.NEG.AI |
| Épèhéváhehe. | Is he good? | I.B.POS.AI |
| Ésáapèhéváhehe? | Isn't he good? | I.B.NEG.AI |
| Mópèhéváhehēhe. | He seems to be good. | I.C.POS.AI |
| (Mó)ho'nópèhevaestse. | He seems to be not good. | II.I.NEG.AI |

...**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) H whenever he is good
 when he is good (in general)
 the one who is good
 whether he is good
 he ought to be good
 I wish he would be good.
 no doubt he is not good

when it was good
 when it is good (unrealized)
 when it rains (unrealized)

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

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

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

Independent Order morphology summary

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

Independent order formula:

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

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

\$\$REVISE

PERSON:

ná- 1

né- 2

é- 3

Tense

h- PST

htse- FUT

VOICE:

-ó DIR

-a(e) INV

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

NUMBER:

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

NEG (negative):

Requires *sáa-* preverb plus following suffixes:

-hé (non-II)
-hanéh (II)

OBVIATIVE:

-(h)ó ~ -(h)o

MODE:

Interrogative

Yes/No Question with suffix

-he INTERROG (occurs after NUMBER)

Yes/No Question with prefix

mó=

Imperative

Immediate:

-t IMPV.SG.ADDRESSEE

Delayed

-o IMPV.SG.ADDRESSEE

-hené IMPV.PL.ADDRESSEE

Hortative

Reportative:

-s

[-má LOCAL.REPORT.FINAL]

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

Preterit

-ho PRET

[-on PRET.PL.FINAL]

Inferential:

mó- ... NEG-hé

Animate Intransitive Independent Indicative verbs

-mésehe 'eat'

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

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

-mane 'drink'

| | |
|------------------------|-----------------|
| Námane | I drank |
| Némane | You drank |
| Émane | He drank |
| Émanóho | He (obv) drank |
| Námanēme ⁷² | We (excl) drank |
| Némanema | We (incl) drank |
| Némanéme | You (pl) drank |
| Émaneo'o | They drank |

/-nomené/ 'drink heated liquid'

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

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

/-hotse'óhe/ 'work'

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

/-hoe/ 'be at'

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

⁷² It is difficult to tell if this penultimate pitch is high or mid, especially if there are one or more preceding low pitches. This difficulty is increased by that fact that relative pitches on Cheyenne words drift slightly lower from the beginnings to the ends of word, unless there is some pitch context that keeps the pitches high.

| | | |
|-----------|----------------------|-------------|
| Náhoo'e | I'm (here) | /ná-hoe/ |
| Néhoo'e | You're (here) | /né-hoe/ |
| Éhoo'e | He's (here) | /é-hoe/ |
| Éhoēho ?? | He (obv) is (here) | /é-hoe-hó/ |
| Náhoēme | We (excl) are (here) | /ná-hoe-mé/ |
| Néhoema | We (incl) are (here) | /né-hoe-ma/ |
| Néhoēme | You (pl) are (here) | /né-hoe-mé/ |
| Éhoeo'o | They are (here) | /é-hoe-o/ |

/-ho'sóe/ 'dance'

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

/-háéaná/ 'hungry'

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

/-háóéaná/ 'pray'

| | |
|-------------|------------------|
| Náháóéána | I prayed |
| Néháóéána | You prayed |
| Éháóéána | He prayed |
| Éháóéanáho | He (obv) prayed |
| Náháóéanáme | We (excl) prayed |
| Néháóéanama | We (incl) prayed |
| Néháóéanáme | You (pl) prayed |
| Éháóéanao'o | They prayed |

-oveše 'go to bed' and -ováxe 'dream'

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

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

⁷³ Common alternative pronunciations are éověšēne and éověšēna.

-véstahe 'help'

| | |
|-------------|------------------|
| Návéstahe | I helped |
| Névéstahe | You helped |
| Évéstahe | He helped |
| Évéstáho | He (obv) helped |
| Névéstáhéme | We (excl) helped |
| Névéstáhema | We (incl) helped |
| Névéstáhéme | You (pl) helped |
| Évéstáheo'o | They helped |

/-méó'é/ 'fight'

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

/-naa'é/ 'doctor'

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

-naóotse 'sleep'

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

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

Cheyennes enjoy pointing out that *énéméne* can mean either 'he sang' or 'he has a crooked face'. They enjoy suggesting that 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 | Nánéméne | I have a crooked face |
| Nénéméne | You sang | Nénéméne | you have a crooked face |
| Énéméne | He sang | Énéméne | He has a crooked face |

⁷⁴ Cf. *énaa'e* 'he died'.

⁷⁵ Cf. *énaeo'o* 'they died'.

| | | | |
|------------|----------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| Énémenóho | He (obv) sang | Énéménóho ⁷⁶ | He (obv) has a crooked face |
| Nánémenēme | We (excl) sang | Nánéménéme | We (excl) have crooked faces |
| Nénémenema | We (incl) sang | Nénémenema | We (incl) have crooked faces |
| Nénémenēme | You (pl) sang | Nénéménéme | You (pl) have crooked faces |
| Énémeneo'o | They sang | Énémeneo'o | They have crooked faces |

-tséhéstahe 'be Cheyenne'

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

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

/-he/ 'say'

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

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

-néehove 'be the one'

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

| | |
|--------------|------------------------------|
| Nánéehove | I am the one. |
| Nénéehove | You are the one. |
| Énéehove | He is the one. |
| Énéehóvóho?? | He (obviative) is the one. |
| Nánéehóvéme | We (exclusive) are the ones. |
| Nénéehóvéma | 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

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

that refers to what the subject of the verb has. 'Have' verbs with incorporated nouns are intransitive. They are different from the transitive verbs –ho'tse 'have (something)', -ho'h 'have (someone)', or –á'en 'own (something or someone)'. Here is the paradigm for the intransitive verb that means 'have a child':

-he-nésone 'have a child'

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

-he-voestove 'have a dress'

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

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

| | |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| Náhemótšeske | I have a knife |
| Éheamáho'héstove | He has a car |
| Náhevéxahe | I have a grandchild(ren) |
| Éhestónahe | He has a daughter(s) |
| Éhee'hahe | He has a son |
| Náhestotsehe | I have a pet |

Animate Intransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs

-mane 'drink'

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

-mésehe 'eat'

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Násáaméséhéhe | I did not eat |
| Nésáaméséhéhe | You did not eat |
| Ésáaméséhéhe | He did not eat |
| Ésáaméséhéheho | He (obv) did not eat |
| Násáaméséhéhéme | We (excl) did not eat |
| Nésáaméséhéhema | We (incl) did not eat |
| Nésáaméséhéhéme | You (pl) did not eat |

Ésáaméséhéhe'o They did not eat

-hotse'ohé 'work'

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

/-ho'sóe/ 'dance'

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

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

-oveše 'go to bed'

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

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

-ováxe 'dream'

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

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

/-hé/ 'say'

| | |
|-----------|-----------------|
| Násáahéhe | I did not say |
| Nésáahéhe | You did not say |

| | |
|-------------|-----------------------|
| Ésáahéhe | He did not say |
| Ésáahéheho | He (obv) did not say |
| Násáahéhéme | We (excl) did not say |
| Nésáahéhema | We (incl) did not say |
| Nésáahéhéme | You (pl) did not say |
| Ésáahéheo'o | They did not say |

-he-nésone 'have a child'

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Násáahenésónéhéhe | I do not have a child |
| Nésáahenésónéhéhe | You do not have a child |
| Ésáahenésónéhéhe | He does not have a child |
| Ésáahenésónéheheho | He (obv) does not have a child |
| Násáahenésónéhéhéme | We (excl) do not have a child |
| Nésáahenésónéhehema | We (incl) do not have a child |
| Nésáahenésónéhéhéme | You (pl) do not have a child |
| Ésáahenésónéheheo'o | They do not have a child |

Animate Intransitive equative verbs

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

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

| | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Éhováheve | It is an animal. | Éhováheveo'o | They are animals. |
| Émé'ěševotseve | He is a baby. | Émé'ěševotséveo'o | They are babies. |
| Énáhkóheve | It is a bear. | Énáhkóhéveo'o | They are bears. |
| Éhoma'eve | It is a beaver. | Éhoma'éveo'o | They are beavers. |
| Évé'késéheve | It is a bird. | Évé'késéheveo'o | They are birds. |
| Éhotóave | It is a buffalo. | Éhotóaveo'o | They are buffaloes. |
| Épóesónéheve | It is a cat. | Épóesónéheveo'o | They are cats. |
| Évéhoneve | He is a chief. | Évéhoneveo'o | They are chiefs. |
| Éka'ěškónéheve | He is a child. | Éka'ěškónéheo'o | They are children. |
| Éó'kóhoméheve | It is a coyote. | Éó'kóhméheveo'o | They are coyotes. |
| Éváotseváheve | It is a deer. | Éváotseváheveo'o | They are deer. |
| Éhoestove | It is a dress. | Éhoestóveo'o | They are dresses. |
| Éšé'ševe | It is a duck. | Éšé'ševeo'o | They are ducks. |
| Énetseve | It is an eagle. | Énetséveo'o | They are eagles. |
| Évóaxaa'eve | It is a bald eagle. | Évóaxaa'éveo'o | They are bald eagles. |
| Émo'éheve | It is an elk. | Émo'éheveo'o | They are elks. |
| Émo'ěškoneve | It is a finger. | Émo'ěškonéveo'o | They are fingers. |
| Énomá'heve | It is a fish. | Énomá'heveo'o | They are fishes. |
| Éhéseve | It is a fly. | Éhéseveo'o | They are flies. |
| Éma'heóneve | It is a sacred power. | Éma'heóneveo'o | They are sacred powers. |

| | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| Émo'éhno'haméheve | It is a horse. | Émo'éhno'haméheveo'o | They are horses. |
| Éhetaneve | He is a man. | Éhetanéveo'o | They are men. |
| Émo'e'háheve | It is a magpie. | Émo'e'háheveo'o | They are magpies. |
| Épé'eve | It is a nighthawk. | Épé'eveo'o | They are nighthawks. |
| Éma'háhkéséheve | He is an old man. | Éma'háhkéséheveo'o | They are old men. |
| Éšéstotó'eve | It is a pine. | Éšéstotó'eveo'o | They are pines. |
| Évóhkooheve | It is a rabbit. | Évóhkoohéveo'o | They are rabbits. |
| Éxaóneve | It is a skunk. | Éxaóneveo'o | They are skunks. |
| Éhotóhkeve | It is a star. | Éhotóhkeveo'o | They are stars. |
| Éhoóhtsetseve | It is a tree. | Éhoóhtsetséveo'o | They are trees. |
| Énótáxeve | He is a warrior. | Énótáxeveo'o | They are warriors. |
| Évé'ho'eve | He is a whiteman. | Évé'ho'éveo'o | They are whitemen. |
| Éhe'eve | She is a woman. | Éhe'éveo'o | They are women. |

Animate Intransitive Independent Interrogative verbs

There are two ways to create yes/no questions⁷⁷ in Cheyenne:

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

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

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

-he suffix yes/no questions

-mane 'drink'

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

-mésehe 'eat'

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

⁷⁷ Also called polar interrogatives.

Éméséhevóhe? Did they eat?

-oveše 'go to bed' interrogatives

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

| | |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| Náověšenahe? | Did I go to bed? |
| Néověšenahe? | Did you go to bed? |
| Éověšenahe? | Did he go to bed? |
| Éověšenaovohe? | Did he (obv) go to bed? |
| Náověšenamehe? | Did we (excl) go to bed? |
| Néověšenámanehe? | Did we (incl) go to bed? |
| Néověšenámehe? | Did you (pl) go to bed? |
| Éověšenavovohe? | Did they go to bed? |

-he-nésone 'have a child' interrogatives

| | |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| Náhenésonehehe? | Do I have a child(ren)? |
| Néhenésonehehe? | Do you have a child(ren)? |
| Éhenésonehehe? | Does he have a child(ren)? |
| Éhenésonehevohe? | Does he (obv) have a child(ren)? |
| Náhenésonehevohe? | Do we (excl) have a child(ren)? |
| Néhenésonehémanehe? | Do we (incl) have a child(ren)? |
| Néhenésonehemehe? | Do you (pl) have a child(ren)? |
| Éhenésonehevohe? | Do they have a child(ren)? |

-he 'say' interrogatives

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

mó- prefix yes/no questions

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

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

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

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

Animate Intransitive Negative Interrogative verbs

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

-he suffix negative questions

| | |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| Nésáméséhehehe? | Didn't you eat? |
| Nésáa'ověšenáhehe? | Didn't you go to bed? |
| Nésáahotse'óhehehe? | Didn't you work? |
| Nésáanaóotséhemehe? | Didn't you (pl) sleep? |
| Ésáatáhpetáhehe? | Isn't he big? |

mó- prefix negative questions

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| Mónésáa'ěšemésehe? | Didn't you eat yet? |
| Mó'ésáa'ověšenáheo'o? | Didn't they go to bed? |
| Mó'ésáanémenéheo'o? | Didn't they sing? |

Animate Intransitive Inferential verbs

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

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

Inferential formula

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

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

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

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

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

There can be one or more preverbs.

There must be a verb stem.

There must be the negative suffix */-hé/*, except that an II (Inanimate Intransitiveverb) 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'

| | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| Mónámanéhēhe ⁷⁹ | I must have drunk. |
| Mónémanéhēhe | You must have drunk. |
| Mómanéhēhe | He must have drunk. |
| Mómanéhevōhe | He (obv) must have drunk. |
| Mónámanéhemanēhe | We (excl) must have drunk. |
| Mónémanéhemanēhe | We (incl) must have drunk. |
| Mónémanéhēmēhe | You (pl) must have drunk. |
| Mómanéhevōhe | They must have drunk. |

/-háeaná/ 'be hungry'

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Mónáháeanáhēhe | I must be hungry. |
| Mónéháeanáhēhe | You must be hungry. |
| Móháeanáhēhe | He must be hungry. |
| Móháeanáhevōhe | He (obv) must be hungry. |
| Mónáháeanáhemanēhe | We (excl) must be hungry. |
| Mónéháeanáhemanēhe | We (incl) must be hungry. |
| Mónéháeanáhēmēhe | You (pl) must be hungry. |
| Móháeanáhevōhe | They must be hungry. |

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

| | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| Mónáháóénáhēhe | I must have prayed. |
| Mónéháóénáhēhe | You must have prayed. |
| Móháóénáhēhe | He must have prayed. |
| Móháóenáhevōhe | He (obv) must have prayed. |
| Mónáháóenáhemanēhe | We (eéxcl) must have prayed. |
| Mónéháóenáhemanēhe | We (incl) must have prayed. |
| Mónéháóenáhēmēhe | You (pl) must have prayed. |
| Móháóenáhevōhe | They must have prayed. |

/-táhoe/ 'ride'

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| Mónátáhoehēhe | I must have ridden. |
| Mónétáhoehēhe | You must have ridden. |
| Mótáhoehēhe | He must have ridden. |
| Mótáhoehevōhe | He (obv) must have ridden. |
| Mónátáhoehemanēhe | We (excl) must have ridden. |
| Mónétáhoehemanēhe | We (incl) must have ridden. |
| Mónétáhoehemēhe | You (pl) must have ridden. |
| Mótáhoehevōhe | 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.

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Mónánéhehēhe. ⁸⁰ | I must have said that. |
| Mónénéhehēhe. | You must have said that. |
| Móhehēhe. | He must have said. |
| Móhehevōhe. | He (obv) must have said. |
| Mónáhehemanēhe?? | We (excl) must have said. |
| Mónéhehemanēhe?? | We (incl) must have said. |
| Mónéhehemēhe?? | You (pl) must have said. |
| Móhehevōhe. | They must have said. |

Inferential pitch template

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

Animate Intransitive Negative Inferential verbs

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

-mésehe 'eat'

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (Mó)ho'nóméséhéto | I must not have eaten. |
| (Mó)ho'nóméséheto | You must not have eaten. |
| (Mó)ho'nóméseestse | He must not have eaten. |
| (Mó)ho'nóméséhetséstse | He (obv) must not have eaten. |
| (Mó)ho'nóméséhétse | We ⁸² must not have eaten. |
| (Mó)ho'nóméséhése | You (pl) must not have eaten. |
| (Mó)ho'nóméséhévóhtse | They must not have eaten. |

-mane 'drink'

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

Animate Intransitive Reportative verbs

Cheyenne speakers use the reportative mode to communicate information they heard from other people. Following Petter (xxxx:xxx), I called this the attributive mode in earlier editions of this

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

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

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

book.⁸³

-mésehe 'eat'

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

-mane 'drink'

| | |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|
| Námanémáse | I are said to have drunk. |
| Némanémáse | You are said to have drunk. |
| Émaneséstse | He is said to have drunk. |
| Émanésesto | He (obv) is said to have drunk. |
| Námanémánése | We (excl) are said to have drunk. |
| Némanémánése | We (incl) are said to have drunk. |
| Némanémése | You (pl) are said to have drunk. |
| Émanésesto | They are said to have drunk. |

/-he/ 'say'

| | |
|------------|--|
| Náhémáse | I am said to have said. \$\$RECHECK PARADIGM |
| Néhémáse | You are said to have said. |
| Éheséstse | He is said to have said. |
| Éhésesto | He (obv) is said to have said. |
| Náhémánése | We (excl) are said to have said. |
| Néhémánése | We (incl) are said to have said. |
| Néhémése | You (pl) are said to have said. |
| Éhésesto | They are said to have said. |

Animate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Násáaméséhéhémáse | I am said to have not eaten. |
| Nésáaméséhéhémáse | You are said to have not eaten. |
| Ésáaméséhéheséstse | He is said to have not eaten. |
| Ésáaméséhéhesesto | He (obv) is said to have not eaten. |
| Násáaméséhéhémánése | We (excl) are said to have not eaten. |
| Nésáaméséhéhémánése | We (incl) are said to have not eaten. |
| Nésáaméséhéhémése | You (pl) are said to have not eaten. |
| Ésáaméséhéhesesto | They are said to have not eaten. |

⁸³ In other writings I have sometimes called this mode a Reportative. More recently Sarah Murray (2010) has also called it a Reportative. I now prefer the label Reportative and use it throughout this edition of this book.

Animate Intransitive Preterit verbs

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

| | | | |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Éhnémenéhoo'o | He sang | Éhnémenéhoono | They sang. |
| Éxhonónéhoo'o | He baked | Éxhonónéhoono | They baked. |
| Éxháoenáhoo'o | He prayed. | Éxháoenáhoono | They prayed. |
| Éxháeanáhoo'o | He was hungry. | Éxháeanáhoono | They were hungry. |
| Éxhováneehoo'o | He was gone. | Éxhováneehoono | They were gone. |
| Éhnaehoo'o | He died. | Éhnaehoono | They died. |
| Éhnaa'éhoo'o | He doctored. | Éhnaa'éhoono | They doctored. |
| 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. |
| Éssáahováneehéhoo'o | He was not gone | éssáahováneehéhoono | They were not gone. |
| Éssánaehéhoo'o | He did not die. | Éssánaehéhoono | They did not die. |
| Éssánaa'éhehoo'o | He did not doctor. | Éssánaa'éhehoono | They did not doctor. |
| Éssáméséhéhéhoo'o | He did not eat. | Éssáméséhéhéhoono | They did not eat. |
| Éssáhéhéhoo'o | He did not say. | Éssáhéhéhoono | 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.

| meaning | command one person | command persons |
|------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Eat! | Méseestse! | Mésehe! |
| Sit down! | Háméstoo'éstse! | Háméstoo'e! |
| Dance! | Ho'soo'éstse! | Ho'soo'e! |
| Go to bed! | Táhéověšéstse! | Táhéověše! |
| Pray! | Háóénáhtse! | Háóéna! |
| Sing! | Néménéstse! | Néméne! |
| Work! | Hotse'óestse! | Hotse'ohe! |
| Get up! | Tō'éstse! | Tō'e! |

| | | |
|-----------|-----------------|-------------|
| Be happy! | Pèhévetānohtse! | Pèhévetāno! |
| Look! | Tsèhetóó'òhtse! | Tsèhetóó'o! |

Animate Intransitive Delayed Imperative

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

| meaning | command one person | command persons |
|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Eat (later)! | Mésèheo'o! | Méséhéhéne! |
| Sit down (later)! | Hámèstoeo'o! | Hámèstoehéne! \$\$RECHECK |
| Dance (later)! | Ho'sóeo'o! | Ho'sóéhéne! |
| Go to bed (later) | Tàhéovèšenao'o! | Tàhéovèšenáhéne! |
| Pray (later)! | Háoena'o! | Háoénáhéne! |
| Sing (later)! | Némeneo'o! | Némenéhéne! |
| Work (later)! | Hotse'óheo'o! | Hotse'óhéne! |
| Get up (later)! | To'eo'o! | To'éhéne! |
| Be happy (later)! | Pèhévetanoo'o! | Pèhévetanóhéne! |
| Look (later)! | Tsèhetóo'oo'o! | Tsèhetóó'óhéne! |

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.

hortatives said about one person

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

meaning

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

hortatives said about more than one person

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

meaning

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

Animate Intransitive Negative Hortative verbs

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

hortatives said about one person

Sáaho'sóeheha!
 Sáaméséhéheha!
 Tásáa'ověšenáheha!
 Sáanémenéheha!
 Sáahotse'óheheha!

meaning

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

hortatives said about more than one person

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

meaning

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

Inanimate Intransitive Independent Indicative verbs

Examples of intransitive verbs with inanimate subjects are:

| | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Éhó'ta. | It's (there). | Ého'tánéstse. | They are (there) |
| Épéhéva'e. | It's good. | Épéhéva'énéstse. | They are good. |
| Éhávéséva'e. | It's bad. | Éhávéséva'énéstse. | They are bad. |
| Étáhpé'o. | It's big. | Étáhpe'ónéstse. | They are big. |
| Étšěšké'o. | It's small. | Étšěške'ónéstse. | They are small. |
| Éséseo. | It's the same. | Éséesónéstse. | They are the same. |
| Ého'éeto. | It's snowing. | ----- | |
| Éhoo'kóho. | It's raining. | ----- | |
| Évó'kómo. | It's white. | Évó'komónéstse. | They are white. |
| Éheóvo. | It's yellow. | Éheóvónéstse. | They are yellow. |
| Émá'o. | It's red. | Éma'ónéstse. | They are red. |
| Éó'o. | It's dry. | Éó'ónéstse. | They are dry. |
| Éhe'kóova. | It's wet. | Éhe'kóovánéstse. | They are wet. |
| Éháenāno. | It's heavy. | Éháenanónéstse. | They are heavy. |
| Ééstóvo. | It's sharp. | Ééstovónéstse. | They are sharp. |
| Épéhéveéno'e. | It tastes good. | Épéhéveéno'énéstse. | They taste good. \$\$RECK |
| Épéhéveméa'ha. | It smells good. | Épéhéveméa'hánéstse. | They smell good. \$\$RECK |

Inanimate Intransitive equative verbs

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

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

Here are some II equatives:

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Émótsšěškeve. | It is a knife. | Émótsšěškévéněstse. | They are knives. |
| Éhe'eve. ⁸⁴ | It is liver. | Éhe'événěstse. | They are livers. |
| Éhesééotseve. | It is medicine. | Éhesééotsévéněstse. | They are medicines. |
| Émo'ěškoneve. ⁸⁵ | It is a ring. | Émo'ěškonévéněstse. | They are rings. |
| Éméoneve. | It is a trail/road. | Éméonévéněstse. | They are trails/roads. |
| Éméta'xe. | It is a scalp. | Éméta'xévéněstse. | They are scalps. |
| Émo'kéhaneve. | It is a shoe. | Émo'kéhanévéněstse. | They are shoes. |

Impersonals

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

| | | | |
|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Émanéstove. | There is drinking. | Émanéstóvéněstse. | There are drinkings. |
| Éméséhéstove. | There is eating. | Éméséhéstóvéněstse. | There are eatings. |
| Éháeanáhtove. | There is hungering. | Éháeanáhtóvéněstse. | There are hungerings. |
| Éháoenáhtove. | There is praying. | Éháoenáhtóvéněstse. | There are prayings. |
| Énémenéstove. | There is singing. | Énémenéstóvéněstse. | There are singings. |
| Ésévanóhtove. | There is sliding. | Ésévanóhtóvéněstse. | There are slidings. |
| Éhenove. | It is said.?? | Éhenóvéněstse.?? | ?? |
| Éhestohe.?? | ?? | Éhestóhéněstse.?? | ?? |

Impersonals with reflexive/reciprocal stems

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

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Éméhotáhtseo'o. | They love themselves/each other. |
| Éméhohtáhtséstove. | There is love for themselves/one another. |
| Éóó'evótáhtseo'o. | They argued with each other. |
| Éóó'evótáhtséstove. | There is arguing with each other. |

Inanimate Intransitive Independent Indicative relational verbs

Unlike animate nouns, inanimate nouns with third person possessors are not marked for obviation. However, II verbs which have subjects possessed by third persons act like they are marked for obviation. But there are some important differences between animate obviation and what could be called inanimate obviation. Because of these differences, those who study Algonquian languages differ on whether to use the label inanimate obviation⁸⁷. 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'ěškoneve '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).

relational verbs⁸⁸. I use the label relational verbs in this book. The Cheyenne relational suffix is –tse. In the following sentence pairs the second sentence has a relational verb:

Namáhēō'o étáhpé'o 'My house is big'; Hemáhēō'o étáhpé'otse 'His house is big (rel).'
 Neamáho'hestótse é má'o 'Your car is red'; Heamáho'hestótse é má'otse 'His car is red (rel).'
 Namóx'éstoo'o éhó'ta 'My book is here'; Hemóxe'éstoo'o ého'tatse 'His book is here (rel).'

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

Namaahe évóhko 'My arrow is bent.'
 Hemaahé évóhkotse 'His arrow is bent (rel).'

Namaahótse évóhkónéstse 'My arrows are bent.'
 Hemaahótse évóhkónetótse 'His arrows are bent (rel).'

Inanimate Intransitive Indicative Negative verbs

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

| | | | |
|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| Ésáaho'táháne. | It is not (here). | Ésáaho'táhanehótse. | They are not (here). |
| Ésáapéhéva'éháne. | It's not good. | Épéhéva'éhanehótse. | They are not good. |
| Ésáahávéséva'éháne. | It's not bad. | Ésáahávéséva'éhanehótse. | They are not bad. |
| Ésáatáhpé'óháne. | It's not big. | Ésáatáhpé'óhanehótse. | They are not big. |
| Ésáatšěške'óháne. | It's not small. | Ésáatšěške'óhanehótse. | They are not small. |
| Ésáaséesóháne. | It's not the same. | Ésáaséesóhanehótse. | They are not the same. |
| Ésáaho'éétáháne. | It's not snowing. | ----- | |
| Ésáahoo'kóhóhane. | It's not raining. | ----- | |
| Ésáavó'komóháne. | It's not white. | Ésáavó'komóhanehótse. | They are not white. |
| Ésáaheóvóháne. | It's not yellow. | Ésáaheóvóhanehótse. | They are not yellow. |
| Ésáama'óháne. | It's not red. | Ésáama'óhanehótse. | They are not red. |
| Ésáa'ó'óháne. | It's not dry. | Ésáa'ó'óhanehótse. | They are not dry. |
| Ésáahe'kóováháne. | It's not wet. | Ésáahe'kóováhanehótse. | They are not wet. |
| Ésáaháenanóháne. | It's not heavy. | Ésáaháenanóhanehótse. | They are not heavy. |
| Ésáa'éstovóháne. | It's not sharp. | Ésáa'éstovóhanehótse. | They are not sharp. |
| Ésáapéhéveéno'éháne. | It tastes good. | Ésáapéhéveéno'énéstse.\$\$ | They do not taste good. |

Impersonal Negative verbs

Impersonals may be negated:

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

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

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

Ésáahenóvéhane.?? It is not said.??

Ésáaméhotáhtséstovéhane. There is not loving each other.

Inanimate Intransitive Independent Indicative Negative relational verbs

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

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

Ésáaheóvohanéhetse. It is not yellow (rel).
Ésáaheóvohanéhenetötse. They are not yellow (rel).

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

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

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

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

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

Ésáaháoenáhtovéhanéhetse. There is not praying (rel).
Ésáaháoenáhtovéhanéhenetötse. 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 –péhéva'e 'be good'. Here are

the forms of the verb with singular and plural subjects:

| | |
|------------------|----------------|
| Épèhéva'e. | It's good. |
| Épèhéva'énéstse. | They are good. |

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

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

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| /é-pehéva'e-nevot-he/ | Are they good? |
|-----------------------|----------------|

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

| | |
|-------------------|----------------|
| Épèhéva'enevotse? | Are they good? |
|-------------------|----------------|

Some other II interrogatives are:

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

Inanimate Intransitive Interrogative relational verbs

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

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

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative verbs

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Ésáaho'táhanehe? | Isn't it (there)? |
| Ésáaho'táhanevotse? | Aren't they (there)? |
| Ésáapéhéva'éhanehe? | Isn't it good? |
| Ésáapéhéva'éhanevotse? | Aren't they good? |
| Ésáatáhpe'óhanehe? | Isn't it big? |
| Ésáatáhpe'óhanevotse? | Aren't they big? |
| Ésáaho'éetóhanehe? | Isn't it snowing? |
| Ésáahoo'kóhóhanehe? | Isn't it raining? |
| Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanehe? | Isn't there hunger? |
| Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanevotse? | Aren't there hungerings? |

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative relational verbs

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Ésáaho'táhanéhetsehe? | Isn't his ___ (there) (rel)? |
| Ésáaho'táhanéhetotsehe? | Aren't his ___ (there) (rel)? |
| Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetsehe? | Isn't his ___ good (rel)? |
| Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetotsehe? | Aren't his ___ good (rel)? |
| Ésáaheóvóhanéhetsehe? | Isn't his ___ yellow (rel)? |
| Ésáaheóvóhanéhetotsehe? | Aren't his ___ yellow (rel)? |
| Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanéhetsehe? | Isn't there hungering (rel)? |
| Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanéhetotsehe? | Aren't there hungerings (rel)? |

mó- prefix Inanimate Intransitive yes/no questions

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

| | |
|---------------------------|------------------------|
| Mó'épéhéva'e? | Is it good? |
| Mó'épéhéva'énéstse? | Are they good? |
| Mó'ésáapéhéva'éhane? | Isn't it good? |
| Mó'ésáapéhéva'éhanehótse? | Aren't they good? |
| Mó'éhó'ta? | Is it (here/there)? |
| Mó'ého'tánéstse? | Are they (here/there)? |
| Mó'éhoo'kóho? | Is it raining? |
| Mó'ésáahoo'kóhóhane? | Isn't it raining? |
| Mó'ého'éeto? | Is it snowing? |

Mó'éméséhéstove?

Is there eating?

Inanimate Intransitive Inferential verbs

Mópéhéva'éhanēhe.

It must be good.

Mópéhéva'éhanevōtse.

They must be good.

Móma'óhanēhe.

It must be red.

Móma'óhanevōtse.

They must be red.

Móheóvōhanēhe.

It must be yellow.

Móheóvōhanevōtse.

They must be yellow.

Móhoo'kóhōhanēhe.

It must have rained.

Móméséhéstovēhanēhe.

There must have been eating.

Móméséhéstovēhanevōtse.

There must have been eatings.

Inanimate Intransitive Inferential relational verbs

Heamáho'hestótse móma'óhanetsēhe.

His car must be red (rel).

Heamáho'héstotótse móma'óhanetsevōtse.

His cars must be red (rel).

Hemōxe'éstoo'o mópéhéva'éhanetsēhe.

His book must be good (rel).

Hemōxe'éstoonótse mópéhéva'éhanetsevōtse.

His books must be good (rel).

Hemáhēō'o móheóvōhanetsēhe.

His house must be yellow (rel).

Hemáheonótse móheóvōhanetsevōtse.

His houses must be yellow (rel).

Inanimate Intransitive Reportative verbs

Ého'tánése.

It's said to be (here/there).

Ého'tánésestótse.

They are said to be (here/there).

Éhoo'kóhónése.

It's said to be raining.

Évóhkónése.

It's said to be bent.

Évóhkonésestótse.

They are said to be bent.

Éma'ónése.

It's said to be red.

Éma'ónésestótse.

They are said to be red.

Éheóvónése.

It's said to be yellow.

Éheóvonésestótse.

They are said to be yellow.

Épéhéva'énése.

It's said to be good.

Épéhéva'énésestótse.

They are said to be good.

Éméséhéstovenése. It's said there is eating.
Éméséhéstovenésestötse. It's said there are eatings.

Inanimate Intransitive Reportative relational verbs

Ého'tátsénése. It's said his ___ is (here/there) (rel).
Ého'tátsenésestötse. It's said his ___ are (here/there) (rel).

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

Éma'ótsénése. It's said his ___ is red (rel).
Éma'ótsenésestötse. It's said his ___ are red (rel).

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

Épéhéva'étsénése. It's said his ___ is good (rel).
Épéhéva'étsenésestötse. It's said his ___ are good (rel).

Éméséhéstóvétsénése. It's said there is eating (rel).
Éméséhéstovetsenésestötse. It's said there are eatings (rel). \$\$GIVE CONTEXT

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs

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

Ésáahoo'kohóhanéhénése. It's said it's not raining.

Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhénése. It's said it's not good.
Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhenésestötse. It's said they are not good.

Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhénése. It's said there is not eating.
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhenésestötse. It's said there are not eatings.

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative relational verbs

Ésáaho'táhanéhetotsenése. It's said his ___ isn't (here/there) (rel).
Ésáaho'táhanéhetotsenésestötse. It's said his ___ aren't (here/there) (rel).

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

Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetotsenése. It's said his ___ is not good (rel).
Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetotsenésestötse. It's said his ___ are not good (rel).

Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetotsenése. It's said there isn't eating (rel).
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetotsenésestötse. It's said there aren't eatings (rel).

Inanimate Intransitive Preterit verbs

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| Ého'táneho! | Surprisingly, it's (here/there)! ⁸⁹ |
| Ého'tánehoonótse! | Surprisingly, they are (here/there)! |
| Éhoo'kóhóneho! | Surprisingly, it's raining! |
| Épèhéva'éneho! | Surprisingly, it's good! |
| Épèhéva'énéhoonótse! | Surprisingly, they are good! |
| Éméséhéstoveneho! | Surprisingly, there is eating! |
| Éméséhéstovenéhoonótse! | Surprisingly, there are eatings! |

Inanimate Intransitive Preterit relational verbs

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Ého'tátseneho! | Surprisingly, his ___ is (here/there) (rel)! |
| Ého'tátsenéhoonótse! | Surprisingly, his ___ are (here/there) (rel)! |
| Éhoo'kóhótseneho! | Surprisingly, it's raining (rel)! |
| Épèhéva'étseneho! | Surprisingly, his ___ is good (rel)! |
| Épèhéva'étsénéhoonótse! | Surprisingly, his ___ are good (rel)! |
| Éméséhéstovetséneho! | Surprisingly, there is eating (rel)! |
| Éméséhéstovetsénéhoonótse! | Surprisingly, there are eatings (rel)! |

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs

| | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| Ésáaho'táhanéneho! | Surprisingly, it's not (here/there)! |
| Ésáaho'táhanénéhoonótse! | Surprisingly, they are not (here/there)! |
| Ésáahoo'kóhóhanéneho! | Surprisingly, it's not raining! |
| Ésáapèhéva'éhanéneho! | Surprisingly, it's not good! |
| Ésáapèhéva'éhanénéhoonótse! | Surprisingly, they are not good! |
| Ésááméséhéstovéhanéneho! | Surprisingly, there is not eating! |
| Ésááméséhéstovéhanénéhoonótse! | Surprisingly, there are not eatings! |

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit relative verbs

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| Ésáaho'táhanéhetotséneho! | Surprisingly, his ___ is not (here/there) (rel)! |
| Ésáaho'táhanéhetotsénéhoonótse! | Surprisingly, his ___ are not (here/there) (rel)! |
| Ésáahoo'kóhóhanéhetotséneho! | Surprisingly, it isn't raining (rel)! |

⁸⁹ English translations are given here with the meaning of surprise, to show that there is a difference in meaning between the II preterits and II indicatives. But the preterits can also have a non-surprisal meaning, as they occur in legends with the past tense, e.g. Vee'e éxho'táneho '(Once upon a time) a tepee was there.'

Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetotséneho! Surprisingly, his ___ isn't good (rel)!
Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetotsénóhoonótse! Surprisingly, his ___ aren't good (rel)!

Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetotséneho! Surprisingly, there is not eating (rel)!
Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetotsénóhoonótse! Surprisingly, there are not eatings (rel)!

Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs

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

/-vóom/ 'see (someone)'

| | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| návóomahtse | I saw myself | névóomóvo | you (pl) saw him |
| névóomatse | I saw you | névóomamovo | you (pl) saw him (obv) |
| návóómo | I saw him | névóomemeno | you (pl) saw us (excl) |
| návóomamóho | I saw him (obv) | névóomahtséme | you (pl) saw yourselves |
| névóomatséme | I saw you (pl) | névóomóvoo'o | you (pl) saw them |
| návóomoo'o | I saw them | | |
| | | návóomāā'e | they saw me |
| névóome | you saw me | névóomāā'e | they saw you |
| névóomahtse | you saw yourself | évóomovo | they saw him (obv) |
| návóómo | you saw him | návóomaeneo'o | they saw us (excl) |
| návóomamóho | you saw him (obv) | névóomaeneo'o | they saw us (incl) |
| névóomemeno | you saw us (excl) | névóomaevoo'o | they saw you (pl) |
| névóomoo'o | you saw them | évóomahtseo'o | they saw themselves ⁹⁰ |
| | | | |
| návóoma | he saw me | návóomāne | I was seen |
| névóoma | he saw you | névóomāne | you were seen |
| évóomahtse | he saw himself | évóome | he was seen |
| évóomóho | he saw him (obv) | návóomanēme | we (excl) were seen |
| návóomaēne | he saw us (excl) | névóomanema | we (incl) were seen |
| névóomaene | he saw us (incl) | névóomanēme | you (pl) were seen |
| névóomaēvo | he saw you (pl) | évóomeo'o | they were seen |
| | | | |
| návóomaetsenoto | he (obv) saw me | | |
| névóomaetsenoto | he (obv) saw you | | |
| évóomāā'e | he (obv) saw him | | |
| évóomahtóho | he (obv) saw himself | | |
| návóomaetsenone | he (obv) saw us (excl) | | |
| névóomaetsenone | he (obv) saw us (incl) | | |
| névóomaetsenōvo | he (obv) saw you (pl) | | |
| évóomaevóho | he (obv) saw them | | |
| | | | |
| névóomatsemeno | we (excl) saw you | | |
| návóomóne | we (excl) saw him | | |
| návóomamone | we (excl) saw him (obv) | | |
| návóomahtséme | we (excl) saw ourselves | | |
| névóomatsemeno | we (excl) saw you (pl) | | |
| návóomóneo'o | we (excl) saw them | | |
| | | | |
| névóomone | we (incl) saw him | | |
| névóomamone | we (incl) saw him (obv) | | |
| névóomahtsema | we (incl) saw ourselves | | |
| névóomóneo'o | we (incl) saw them | | |
| | | | |
| névóomēme | you (pl) saw me | | |

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

/-méót/ 'fight (someone)'

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

| | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------|---------------|--------------------------------------|
| náméotahtse | I fought myself | néméótóvo | you (pl) fought him |
| némeotátse | I fought you | néméotamovo | you (pl) fought him (obv) |
| náméóto ⁹¹ | I fought him | néméoxemeno | you (pl) fought us (excl) |
| náméotamóho | I fought him (obv) | néméótáhtséme | you (pl) fought yourselves |
| néméotatséme | I fought you (pl) | néméotovoo'o | you (pl) fought them |
| náméotoo'o | I fought them | | |
| | | náméótáá'e | they fought me |
| néméoxe | you fought me | néméótáá'e | they fought you |
| néméotahtse | you fought yourself | éméotovo | they fought him (obv) |
| néméóto | you fought him | náméotaeneo'o | they fought us (excl) |
| néméotamóho | you fought him (obv) | néméotaeneo'o | they fought us (incl) |
| néméoxemeno | you fought us (excl) | néméotaevoo'o | they fought you (pl) |
| néméotoo'o | you fought them | éméotáhtseo'o | they fought themselves ⁹³ |
| | | | |
| náméota | he fought me | náméótáne | I was fought |
| néméota | he fought you | néméótáne | you were fought |
| éméotahtse | he fought himself | éméohe | he was fought |
| éméótóho ⁹² | he fought him (obv) | náméotanēme | we (excl) were fought |
| náméótáéne | he fought us (excl) | néméotanema | we (incl) were fought |
| néméotaene | he fought us (incl) | néméotanēme | you (pl) were fought |
| néméótáévo | he fought you (pl) | éméoheo'o | they were fought |
| | | | |
| náméotaetsenoto | he (obv) fought me | | |
| néméotaetsenoto | he (obv) fought you | | |
| éméótáá'e | he (obv) fought him | | |
| éméótáhtóho | he (obv) fought himself | | |
| náméotaetsenone | he (obv) fought us (excl) | | |
| néméotaetsenone | he (obv) fought us (incl) | | |
| néméotaetsenōvo | he (obv) fought you (pl) | | |
| éméotaevóho | he (obv) fought them | | |
| | | | |
| néméotatsemeno | we (ex) fought you | | |
| náméótóne | we (ex) fought him | | |
| náméotamone | we (ex) fought him (obv) | | |
| náméótáhtséme | we (ex) fought ourselves | | |
| néméotatsemeno | we (ex) fought you (pl) | | |
| náméotoneo'o | we (ex) fought them | | |
| | | | |
| néméotone | we (incl) fought him | | |
| néméotamone | we (incl) fought him (obv) | | |
| néméotáhtsema | we (incl) fought ourselves | | |
| néméotoneo'o | we (incl) fought them | | |
| | | | |
| néméóxéme | you (pl) fought me | | |

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

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

⁹³ Or 'they fought each other'

/-het/ 'tell (someone)'

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

| | | | |
|----------------|--------------------------|--------------|------------------------------------|
| náhetahtse | I told myself | néhetóvoo'o | you (pl) told them |
| néhetátse | I told you | | |
| náhéto | I told him | náhetaā'e | they told me |
| náheta móho | I told him (obv) | néhetā'e | they told you |
| néhetatsēme | I told you (pl) | éhetovo | they told him (obv) |
| náhetao'o | I told them | náhetaeneo'o | they told us (excl) |
| | | néhetaeneo'o | they told us (incl) |
| néheše | you told me | néhetaevoo'o | they told you (pl) |
| néhetahtse | you told yourself | éhetáhtseo'o | they told themselves ⁹⁴ |
| néhéto | you told him | | |
| néheta móho | you told him (obv) | náhetaāne | I was told |
| néhešemeno | you told us (excl) | néhetaāne | you were told |
| náhetao'o | you told them | éhestohe | he was told |
| | | náheta nēme | we (excl) were told |
| náheta | he told me | néheta nēma | we (incl) were told |
| néheta | he told you | néheta nēme | you (pl) were told |
| éhetahkse | he told himself | éhestóheo'o | they were told |
| éhetóho | he told him (obv) | | |
| náhetaāne | he told us (excl) | | |
| néhetaene | he told us (incl) | | |
| néhetaēvo | he told you (pl) | | |
| náhetaetsenoto | he (obv) told me | | |
| néhetaetsenoto | he (obv) told you | | |
| éhetā'e | he (obv) told him | | |
| éhetáhtóho | he (obv) told himself | | |
| náhetaetsenone | he (obv) told us (excl) | | |
| néhetaetsenone | he (obv) told us (incl) | | |
| néhetaetsenōvo | he (obv) told you (pl) | | |
| éhetaevo'ho | he (obv) told them | | |
| néhetaatsemeno | we (excl) told you | | |
| náhetaóne | we (excl) told him | | |
| náheta mone | we (ex) told him (obv) | | |
| náhetahtsēme | we (ex) told ourselves | | |
| néhetaatsemeno | we (ex) told you (pl) | | |
| náhetaóneo'o | we (excl) told them | | |
| néhetone | we (incl) told him | | |
| néheta mone | we (in) told him (obv) | | |
| néhetahtsema | we (in) told ourselves | | |
| néhetaóneo'o | we (incl) told them | | |
| néhešēme | you (pl) told me | | |
| néhetaóvo | you (pl) told him | | |
| néheta movo | you (pl) told him (obv) | | |
| néhešemeno | you (pl) told us (excl) | | |
| néhetahtsēme | you (pl) told yourselves | | |

⁹⁴ Or 'they told each other'

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

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

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

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

*nepeʔtešwa:wa.

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

-vovéstomev 'teach (someone)'

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

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| návovéstomévahtse | I taught myself | návovéstomévamone | we (ex) taught him (obv) |
| névovéstomevátse | I taught you | návovéstomévahtsémewe | (ex) taught ourselves |
| návovéstomēvo | I taught him | névovéstomévatsemeno | we (ex) taught you (pl) |
| návovéstomévamóho | I taught him (obv) | návovéstomevóneo'o | we (excl) taught them |
| névovéstomévatsemē | I taught you (pl) | | |
| návovéstomevoo'o | I taught them | névovéstomevone | we (incl) taught him |
| | | névovéstomévamone | we (in) taught him (obv) |
| névovéstomeve | you taught me | névovéstomévahtsemawe | (in) taught ourselves |
| névovéstomévahtse | you taught yourself | névovéstomevóneo'o | we (incl) taught them |
| névovéstomēvo | you taught him | | |
| névovéstomévamóho | you taught him (obv) | névovéstomevēmē | you (pl) taught me |
| névovéstomevemeno | you taught us (excl) | névovéstomevóvo | you (pl) taught him |
| névovéstomevoo'o | you taught them | névovéstomévamovo | you (pl) taught him (obv) |
| | | névovéstomevemeno | you (pl) taught us (excl) |
| návovéstomeva | he taught me | névovéstomévahtsēmeyou | (pl) taught yourselves |
| névovéstomeva | he taught you | névovéstomevóvoo'o | you (pl) taught them |
| évovéstomévahtse | he taught himself | | |
| évovéstomevóho | he taught him (obv) | návovéstomóó'e | they taught me |
| návovéstomóéne | he taught us (excl) | névovéstomóó'e | they taught you |
| névovéstomóene | he taught us (incl) | évovéstomovo | they taught him (obv) |
| névovéstomóévo | he taught you (pl) | návovéstomóeneo'o | they taught us (excl) |
| | | névovéstomóeneo'o | they taught us (incl) |
| návovéstomóetsenoto | he (obv) taught me | névovéstomóevoo'o | they taught you (pl) |
| névovéstomóetsenoto | he (obv) taught you | éhetáhtseo'o | they taught themselves |
| évovéstomóó'e | he (obv) taught him | | |
| évovéstomévahttóho | he (obv) taught himself | návovéstomóne | I was taught |
| návovéstomóetsenone | he (obv) taught us (excl) | névovéstomóne | you were taught |
| névovéstomóetsenone | he (obv) taught us (incl) | évovéstomohe | he was taught |
| névovéstomóetsenōvo | he (obv) taught you (pl) | návovéstomónéme | we (excl) were taught |
| évovéstomóévóho | he (obv) taught them | névovéstomónema | we (incl) were taught |
| | | névovéstomónéme | you (pl) were taught |
| névovéstomévatsemeno | we (excl) taught you | évovéstomóheo'o | they were taught |
| návovéstomevóne | we (excl) taught him | | |

-héne'enov 'know (someone)'

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

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

/-taeváhn/ 'measure (someone)'

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

| | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| nátaeváhestse | I measured myself | nétaeváhamovo | you (pl) m. him (obv) |
| nétaevaestse | I measured you | nétaeváhemeno | you (pl) m. us (excl) |
| nátaeváhno | I measured him | nétaeváhestsēme | you (pl) m. yourselves |
| nátaeváhamóho | I measured him (obv) | nétaeváhnvoo'o | you (pl) measured them |
| nétaeváhetsēme | I measured you (pl) | | |
| nátaeváhnoo'o | I measured them | nátaeváhéé'e | they measured me |
| | | nétaeváhéé'e | they measured you |
| nétaevahe | you measured me | étaeváhnovo | they m. him (obv) |
| nétaeváhestse | you measured yourself | nátaeváheeneo'o | they measured us (excl) |
| nétaeváhno | you measured him | nétaeváheeneo'o | they measured us (incl) |
| nétaeváhamóho | you m. him (obv) | nétaevéheevoo'o | they measured you (pl) |
| nétaeváhemeno | you measured us (ex) | étaeváhestseo'o | they m. themselves |
| nétaeváhnoo'o | you measured them | | |
| | | nátaeváhéne | I was measured |
| nátaevahe | he measured me | nétaeváhéne | you were measured |
| nétaevahe | he measured you | étaevahe | he was measured |
| étaeváhestse | he measured himself | nátaeváhenēme | we (ex) were measured |
| étaeváhnóho ⁹⁷ | he measured him (obv) | nétaeváhenema | we (in) were measured |
| nátaeváhééne | he measured us (excl) | nétaeváhenēme | you (pl) were measured |
| nétaeváheene | he measured us (incl) | étaeváheo'o | they were measured |
| nétaeváhéévo | he measured you (pl) | | |
| | | | |
| nátaeváheetsenoto | he (obv) measured me | | |
| nétaeváheetsenoto | he (obv) measured you | | |
| étaeváhéé'e | he (obv) measured him | | |
| étaeváhestóho | he (obv) measured himself | | |
| nátaeváheetsenone | he (obv) measured us (ex) | | |
| nétaeváheetsenone | he (obv) measured us (in) | | |
| nétaeváheetsenōvo | he (obv) measured you (pl) | | |
| étaeváheevóho | he (obv) measured them | | |
| | | | |
| nétaeváhetsemeno | we (excl) measured you | | |
| nátaeváhnóne | we (excl) measured him | | |
| nátaeváhamone | we (ex) m. him (obv) | | |
| nátaeváhestsēme | we (ex) m. ourselves | | |
| nétaeváhetsemeno | we (ex) m. you (pl) | | |
| nátaeváhnoneo'o | we (excl) m. them | | |
| | | | |
| nétaeváhnone | we (in) measured him | | |
| nétaeváhamone | we (in) m. him (obv) | | |
| nétaeváhestsema | we (in) m. ourselves | | |
| nétaeváhnoneo'o | we (incl) m. them | | |
| nétaeváhéme | you (pl) measured me | | |
| nétaeváhnóvo | you (pl) measured him | | |

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 | námoné'tóó'e | they chose me |
| némoné'továtse | I chose you | némoné'tóó'e | they chose you |
| námonenótse | I chose him | émonénovo | they chose him (obv) |
| námonévonoto | I chose him (obv) | námoné'toeneo'o | they chose us (ex) |
| némoné'tovatsēme | I chose you (pl) | némoné'toeneo'o | they chose us (in) |
| námonénoto | I chose them | némoné'toevoo'o | they chose you (pl) |
| | | émoné'továhtseo'o | they chose themselves |
| némoné'tove | you chose me | námoné'tóne | I was chosen |
| némoné'tovahtse | you chose yourself | némoné'tóne | You were chosen |
| némonenótse | you chose him | émonéstove?? | He was chosen |
| némonévonoto | you chose him (obv) | námoné'tónéme | We (excl) were chosen |
| némoné'tovemenó | you chose us (ex) | némoné'tonema | We (incl) were chosen |
| némonénoto | you chose them | némoné'tónéme | You (pl) were chosen |
| | | émonéstoveo'o?? | They were chosen |
| námoné'tova | he chose me | émonévonoto | He chose him (obv') |
| némoné'tova | he chose you | émonévonovo | They chose him (obv') |
| émoné'tovahtse | he chose himself | | |
| émonénoto | he chose him (obv) | | |
| námoné'tóéne | he chose us (excl) | | |
| némoné'toene | he chose us (incl) | | |
| némoné'tóévo | he chose you (pl) | | |
| | | other verbs with the -'tov final: | |
| námoné'toetsenoto | he (obv) chose me | náho'áhé'tova | He wants me |
| némoné'toetsenoto | he (obv) chose you | náho'áhenótse | I want him |
| émoné'tóó'e | he (obv) chose him | náne'étamé'tova | He depends on me |
| émoné'tóváhtóho? | he (obv) chose himself | náne'étamenótse | I depend on him |
| námoné'toetsenone | he (obv) chose us (ex) | nápéhéve'tova | he was good to me |
| némoné'toetsenone | he (obv) chose us (in) | nápéhévé'tóvo ⁹⁸ | I was good to him |
| némoné'toetsenōvo | he (obv) chose you (pl) | náméanótse | I gave him |
| émoné'tóévóho?? | he (obv) chose them | náméánóne | we (excl) gave him |
| | | éméá'tóó'e | he (obv) gave him |
| némoné'toetsemeno | we (excl) chose you | náno'evéhe'tova | he is named after me |
| námonénóne | we (excl) chose him | náno'evéhenótse | I am named after him |
| námonévonone?? | we (ex) chose him (obv) | náamo'xé'tova | he carried me on his back |
| námoné'tóváhtsēme? | we (ex) chose ourselves | náamo'xenótse | I carried him on my back |
| némoné'tovemenó | we (ex) chose you (pl) | nánomáhtsenótse | I stole him |
| námonénoneo'o | we (excl) chose them | nánomáhtsé'tóó'e | they stole me |
| | | náhestónáhé'tova ⁹⁹ | I am his/her daughter |
| némonénone | we (incl) chose him | náhestónáhenótse | she is my daughter |
| némonévonone | we (incl) chose him (obv) | náhee'hahé'tova | I am his/her son |
| némoné'továhtsema | we (incl) chose ourselves | náhee'hahenótse | he is my son |
| némonénoneo'o | we (incl) chose them | náhee'hahénoto | they are my sons |
| némoné'tovēme | you (pl) chose me | náhešké'tova | I am his/her mother |
| némonénóvo | you (pl) chose him | náheškenótse | she is my mother |
| némonévonovo | you (pl) chose him (obv) | | |
| némoné'tovemenó | you (pl) chose us (ex) | | |
| némoné'tóváhtsēme | you (pl) chose yourselves | | |
| némonénovoo'o | you (pl) chose them | | |

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

The stem is /-péhéve'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)'

| | | | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>násáavóomáhtséhe</i> | I did not see myself | <i>nésáavóomáhtséhéme</i> | you (pl) did not see yourselves |
| <i>nésáavóomatséhe</i> | I did not see you | <i>nésáavóomóhevo'o</i> | you (pl) did not see them |
| <i>násáavóomóhe</i> | I did not see him | <i>nésáavóomaheo'o</i> | they did not see me |
| <i>násáavóomamóheho</i> | I did not see him (obv) | <i>nésáavóomaheo'o</i> | they did not see you |
| <i>nésáavóomatséhéme</i> | I did not see you (pl) | <i>ésáavóomóhevo</i> | they did not see him (obv) |
| <i>násáavóomóheo'o</i> | I did not see them | <i>násáavóomaehéneo'o</i> | they did not see us (excl) |
| <i>nésáavóoméhe</i> | you did not see me | <i>nésáavóomaehéneo'o</i> | they did not see us (incl) |
| <i>nésáavóomáhtséhe</i> | you did not see yourself | <i>nésáavóomaehévo'o</i> | they did not see you (pl) |
| <i>nésáavóomóhe</i> | you did not see him | <i>ésáavóomáhtséheo'o</i> | they did not see themselves |
| <i>nésáavóomamóheho</i> | you did not see him (obv) | <i>násáavóomanéhe</i> | I was not seen |
| <i>nésáavóoméhemeno</i> | you did not see us (ex) | <i>nésáavóomanéhe</i> | you were not seen |
| <i>nésáavóomóheo'o</i> | you did not see them | <i>ésáavóoméhe</i> | he was not seen |
| <i>násáavóomaēhe</i> | he did not see me | <i>násáavóomanéhéme</i> | we (excl) were not seen |
| <i>nésáavóomaēhe</i> | he did not see you | <i>nésáavóomanéhema</i> | we (incl) were not seen |
| <i>ésáavóomáhtsēhe</i> | he did not see himself | <i>nésáavóomanéhéme</i> | you (pl) were not seen |
| <i>ésáavóomóheho</i> | he did not see him (obv) | <i>ésáavóoméheo'o</i> | they were not seen |
| <i>násáavóomaehéne</i> | he did not see us (excl) | | |
| <i>nésáavóomaehene</i> | he did not see us (incl) | | |
| <i>nésáavóomaehévo</i> | he did not see you (pl) | | |
| <i>násáavóomaehétsenoto</i> | he (obv) did not see me | | |
| <i>nésáavóomaehétsenoto</i> | he (obv) did not see you | | |
| <i>ésáavóomaehého</i> | he (obv) did not see him | | |
| <i>násáavóomaehétsenone</i> | he (obv) did not see us (ex) | | |
| <i>nésáavóomaehétsenone</i> | he (obv) did not see us (in) | | |
| <i>nésáavóomaehétsenovo</i> | he (obv) did not see you (pl) | | |
| <i>ésáavóomaehévo</i> | he (obv) did not see them | | |
| <i>nésáavóomatséhemeno</i> | we (ex) did not see you | | |
| <i>násáavóomóhéne</i> | we (ex) did not see him | | |
| <i>násáavóomamóhene</i> | we (ex) did not see him (obv) | | |
| <i>násáavóomáhtséhéme</i> | we (excl) did not see ourselves | | |
| <i>nésáavóomatséhemeno</i> | we (ex) did not see you (pl) | | |
| <i>násáavóomóheneo'o</i> | we (ex) did not see them | | |
| <i>nésáavóomóhene</i> | we (incl) did not see him | | |
| <i>nésáavóomamóhene</i> | we (in) did not see him (obv) | | |
| <i>nésáavóomáhtséhema</i> | we (in) did not see ourselves | | |
| <i>nésáavóomóheneo'o</i> | we (incl) did not see them | | |
| <i>nésáavóoméhéme</i> | you (pl) did not see me | | |
| <i>nésáavóomóhévo</i> | you (pl) did not see him | | |
| <i>nésáavóomamóhevo</i> | you (pl) did not see him (obv) | | |
| <i>nésáavóoméhemeno</i> | you (pl) did not see us (ex) | | |

'not know (someone)'

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

\$\$RECHECK PARADIGM

násáahéne'enóváhtséhe I do not know myself
nésáahéne'enovátséhe I do not know you
nésáahéne'enovóhe I do not know him
nésáahéne'enovamóheho I do not know him (obv)
nésáahéne'enovátséhéme I do not know you (pl)
nésáahéne'enovóheo'o I do not know them

nésáahéne'enovéhe you do not know me
nésáahéne'enóváhtséhe you do not know yourself
nésáahéne'enovóhe you do not know him
nésáahéne'enovamóheho you do not know him (obv)
nésáahéne'enovéhemeno you do not know us (ex)
nésáahéne'enovóheo'o you do not know them

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

násáahéne'enóéhétsenoto he (obv) does not know me
nésáahéne'enóéhétsenoto he (obv) does not know you
ésáahéne'enóéheho he (obv) does not know him
nésáahéne'enóéhétsenone he (obv) does not know us (ex)
nésáahéne'enóéhétsenone he (obv) does not know us (in)
nésáahéne'enóéhétsenovno he (obv) does not know you (pl)
ésáahéne'enóéhevo he (obv) does not know them

nésáahéne'enovátséhemeno we (ex) do not know you
nésáahéne'enovóhéne we (ex) do not know him
nésáahéne'enovamóhene we (ex) do not know him (obv)

násáahéne'enóváhtséhéme we (ex) do not know ourselves
nésáahéne'enovátséhemeno we (ex) do not know you (pl)
nésáahéne'enovóheneo'o we (ex) do not know them

nésáahéne'enovóhene we (incl) do not know him
nésáahéne'enovamóhene we (in) do not know him (obv)
nésáahéne'enóváhtséhémawe (in) do not know ourselves
nésáahéne'enovóheneo'o we (incl) do not know them

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

nésáahéne'enóéheo'o they do not know me
nésáahéne'enóéheo'o they do not know you
ésáahéne'enovóhevo they do not know him (obv)
nésáahéne'enóéhéneo'o they do not know us (excl)
nésáahéne'enóéhéneo'o they do not know us (incl)
nésáahéne'enóéhévo'o they do not know you (pl)
ésáahéne'enóváhtséheo'o they do not know themselves

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

'not choose (someone)'

\$\$RECHECK PARADIGM

násáamoné'továhtséhe I did not choose myself
 násáamoné'tovatséhe I did not choose you
 násáamonéhenötse I did not choose him
 násáamonévòhénoto?? I do not know him (obv)
 násáamoné'tovatséhéme I did not choose you (pl)
 násáamonéhenoto I did not choose them

nésáamoné'tovéhe you did not choose me
 násáamoné'továhtséhe you did not choose yourself
 násáamonéhenötse you did not choose him
 násáamonévòhénoto?? you did not choose him (obv)
 násáamoné'tovèhemeno you did not choose us (ex)
 násáamonéhenoto you did not choose them

násáamoné'tóéhe he did not choose me
 násáamoné'tóéhe he did not choose you
 ésáamoné'továhtséhe he did not choose himself
 ésáamonéhenoto?? he did not choose him (obv)
 násáamoné'tóéhéne he did not choose us (excl)
 násáamoné'toehene he did not choose us (incl)
 násáamoné'tóéhévo he did not choose you (pl)

násáamoné'toehétsenoto he (obv) did not choose me
 násáamoné'toehétsenoto he (obv) did not choose you
 ésáamoné'toehéhe?? he (obv) did not choose him
 násáamoné'toehétsenone he (obv) did not choose us (ex)
 násáamoné'toehétsenone he (obv) did not choose us (in)
 násáamoné'toehétsenovó he (obv) did not choose you (pl)
 ésáamoné'toehévo?? he (obv) did not choose them

nésáamoné'tovatsèhemeno we (excl) did not choose you
 násáamonéhénóné?? we (excl) did not choose him
 násáamonéhenoné?? we (ex) did not choose him (obv)
 násáamoné'továhtséhéme we (ex) did not choose ourselves
 násáamoné'tovatsèhemeno we (ex) did not choose you (pl)
 násáamonéhenoneo'o?? we (ex) did not choose them

nésáamonéhenone we (in) did not choose him
 násáamonévòhónone?? we (in) did not choose him (obv)
 násáamoné'továhtséhéma we (in) did not choose ourselves
 násáamonéhenoneo'o we (in) did not choose them

nésáamoné'tovéhéme you (pl) did not choose me

nésáamonéhénóvo?? you (pl) did not choose him
 násáamonévòhénovo?? you (pl) did not choose him (obv)
 násáamoné'tovèhemeno you (pl) did not choose us (ex)
 násáamoné'továhtséhéme you (pl) did not choose yourselves
 násáamonéhenovoo'o you (pl) did not choose them

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

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

Other negative verbs with the -'tov final:

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

Transitive Animate Interrogative verbs

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

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

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

-vóom 'see (someone)'

| | | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| Návóomáhtsehe? | Did I see myself? | Névóomonehe? | Did we (incl) see him? |
| Névóomatsehe? | Did I see you? | Névóomamonehe? | Did we (in) see him (obv)? |
| Návóomohe? | Did I see him? | Névóomáhtsémanehe? | Did we (in) see ourselves? |
| Návóomamovohe? | Did I see him (obv)? | Névóomonevohe? | Did we (incl) see them? |
| Névóomatsemehe? | Did I see you (pl)? | | |
| Návóomovohe? | Did I see them? | Névóomemehe? | Did you (pl) see me? |
| | | Névóomovohe? | Did you (pl) see him? |
| Névóomehe? | Did you see me? | Névóomamovohe? | Did you (pl) see him (obv)? |
| Névóomáhtsehe? | Did you see yourself? | névóomemenohe? | Did you (pl) see us (excl)? |
| Návóomohe? | Did you see him? | névóomáhtsemehe? | Did you (pl) see yourselves? |
| Névóomamovohe? | Did you see him (obv)? | Névóomovovohe? | Did you (pl) see them? |
| Névóomemenohe? | Did you see us (excl)? | | |
| Névóomovohe? | Did you see them? | Návóomaevohe? | Did they see me? |
| | | Névóomaevohe? | Did they see you? |
| Návóomaehe? | Did he see me? | Évóomovovohe? | Did they see him (obv)? |
| Névóomaehe? | Did he see you? | Návóomaevohe? | Did they see us (excl)? |
| Évóomáhtsehe? | Did he see himself? | Névóomaevohe? | Did they see us (incl)? |
| Évóomovohe? | Did he see him (obv)? | Névóomaevohe? | Did they see you (pl)? |
| Návóomaehe?? | Did he see us (excl)? | Évóomáhtsevohe? | Did they see themselves? |
| Névóomaehe?? | Did he see us (incl)? | | |
| Névóomaevohe? | Did he see you (pl)? | Návóomanehe? | Was I was seen? |
| | | Névóomanehe? | Were you seen? |
| Návóomaetsenotohe? | Did he (obv) see me? | Évóomehe? | Was he was seen? |
| Névóomaetsenotohe? | Did he (obv) see you? | Návóomanémanehe? | Were we (excl) seen? |
| Évóomaevohe? | Did he (obv) see him? | Névóomanémanehe? | Were we (incl) seen? |
| Évóomáhtsevohe? | Did he (obv) see himself? | Névóomanemehe? | Were you (pl) seen? |
| Návóomaetsenonehe? | Did he (obv) see us (excl)? | Évóomevohe? | Were they seen? |
| Névóomaetsenonehe? | Did he (obv) see us (incl)? | | |
| Névóomaetsenovohe? | Did he (obv) see you (pl)? | | |
| Évóomaevohe? | Did he (obv) see them? | | |
| | | Mónévóomo? | Did you see him? |
| Névóomatsemenohe? | Did we (excl) see you? | Mónévóomoo'o? | Did you see them? |
| Návóomonehe? | Did we (excl) see him? | Mónévóomóvo? | Did you (pl) see him? |
| Návóomamonehe? | Did we (ex) see him (obv)? | Mónévóomóvoo'o? | Did you (pl) see them? |
| Návóomáhtsemehe? ¹⁰⁰ | Did we (excl) see ourselves? | | |
| Névóomatsemenohe? | Did we (excl) see you (pl)? | Mónéhéne'enōvo? | Do you know him? |
| Návóomonevohe? | Did we (excl) see them? | Mónéméhóto? | Do you love him? |
| | | Mónéhoxōmo? | Did you feed him? |

Some mó- prefix yes/no questions:

¹⁰⁰ This can also be said as návóomáhtsémanehe.

-moné'tov 'choose (someone)'

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

Námoné'továhtsehe? Did I choose myself?
Némoné'tovatsehe? Did I choose you?
Námonenotse? Did I choose him?
Námonévonotohe? Did I choose him (obv)?
Némoné'tovatsemehe? Did I choose you (pl)?
Námonénotohe? Did I choose them?

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

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

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

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

Námonénonehe? Did we (incl) choose him?
Námonévononehe? Did we (in) choose him (obv)?
Námoné'továhtsémanahe? Did we (in) choose ourselves?
Námonénonevohe? Did we (in) choose them?

Námoné'tovemehe? Did you (pl) choose me?
Námonénovohe? Did you (pl) choose him?
Námonévonovohe? Did you (pl) choose him (obv)?
Námoné'tovemenohé? Did you (pl) choose us (ex)?

Némoné'továhtsemehe? Did you (pl) choose yourselves?
Námonénovohe? Did you (pl) choose them?

Námoné'toevohe? Did they choose me?
Némoné'toevohe? Did they choose you?
Émonénovohe? Did they choose him (obv)?
Námoné'toenevohe? Did they choose us (excl)?
Némoné'toenevohe? Did they choose us (incl)?
Námoné'toevovohe? Did they choose you (pl)?
Émoné'továhtsevohe? Did they choose themselves?

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

Other verbs with the –'tov final:

Náho'áhé'toehe? Does he want me?
Ného'áhenotse? Do you want him?
Náne'étamé'toehe? Does he depend on me?
Námonenotse? Do you depend on him?
Népéhéve'toehe? Was he good to you?
Népéhéve'tovohe? Were you good to him?
Néméanotse? Did you give him?
Néméanovohe? Did you (pl) give him?
Éméa'toevohe? Did he (obv) give him?
Néno'evéhe'toehe? Is he named after you?
Néno'evéhenotse? Are you named after him?
Néno máhtsenotse? Did you steal him?
Néhestónáhé'toehe? Are you his/her daughter?
Néhestónáhenotse? Is she your daughter?
Néhee'hahé'toehe? Are you his/her son?
Néhee'hahenotse? Is he your son?
Néhee'hahénotohe? Are they your sons?
Néhešké'toehe? Are you his/her mother?
Néheškenotse? Is she your mother?

'not see (someone)'

\$\$RECHECK QUESTIONED FORMS

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

Nésáavóoméhehe? Didn't you see me?
Nésáavóomáhtséhehe? Didn't you see yourself?
Nésáavóomóhehe? Didn't you see him?
Nésáavóomamóhevohe? Didn't you see him (obv)?
Nésáavóoméhemenehe?? Didn't you see us (excl)?
Nésáavóomóhevohe? Didn't you see them?

Násáavóomaehehe? Didn't he see me?
Nésáavóomaehehe? Didn't he see you?
Ésáavóomáhtséhehe? Didn't he see himself?
Ésáavóomóhevohe? Didn't he see him (obv)?
Násáavóomaehevohe? Didn't he see us (excl)?
Nésáavóomaehevohe? Didn't he see us (incl)?
Nésáavóomaehevohe? Didn't he see you (pl)?

Násáavóomaehétsenotohe? Didn't he (obv) see me?
Nésáavóomaehétsenotohe? Didn't he (obv) see you?
Ésáavóomaehevohe? Didn't he (obv) see him?
Ésáavóomáhtséhevohe? Didn't he (obv) see himself?
Násáavóomaehétsenonehe? Didn't he (obv) see us (excl)?
Nésáavóomaehétsenonehe? Didn't he (obv) see us (incl)?
Nésáavóomaehétsenovohe? Didn't he (obv) see you (pl)?
Ésáavóomaehevohe? Didn't he (obv) see them?

Nésáavóomatséhemenehe? Didn't we (excl) see you?
Násáavóomóhehehe? Didn't we (excl) see him?
Násáavóomamóhehehe? Didn't we (ex) see him (obv)?
Násáavóomáhtséhehehe? Didn't we (ex) see ourselves?
Nésáavóomatséhemenehe? Didn't we (ex) see you (pl)?
Násáavóomóhehevohe? Didn't we (ex) see them?

Nésáavóomóhehehe? Didn't we (incl) see him?
Nésáavóomamóhehehe? Didn't we (in) see him (obv)?
Nésáavóomáhtséhemenehe? Didn't we (in) see ourselves?

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

Nésáavóoméhehehe? Didn't you (pl) see me?
Nésáavóomóhehehe? Didn't you (pl) see him?
Nésáavóomamóhehehe? Didn't you (pl) see him (obv)?
Nésáavóoméhemenehehe? Didn't you (pl) see us (excl)?
Nésáavóomáhtséhehehe?? Didn't you (pl) see yourselves?
Nésáavóomóhehevohe? Didn't you (pl) see them?

Násáavóomaehevohe? Didn't they see me?
Nésáavóomaehevohe? Didn't they see you?
Ésáavóomóhehevohe? Didn't they see him (obv)?
Násáavóomaehevehehe? Didn't they see us (excl)?
Nésáavóomaehevehehe? Didn't they see us (incl)?
Nésáavóomaehevevohe? Didn't they see you (pl)?
Ésáavóomáhtséhevohe? Didn't they see themselves?

Násáavóomanéhehe? Wasn't I seen?
Nésáavóomanéhehe? Weren't you seen?
Ésáavóoméhehe? Wasn't he seen?
Násáavóomanéhemenehe? Weren't we (excl) seen?
Nésáavóomanéhemenehe? Weren't we (incl) seen?
Nésáavóomanéhehehe? Weren't you (pl) seen?
Ésáavóoméhehehe? Weren't they seen?

Some mó- prefix negative yes/no questions:

\$\$RECHECK

Mónésáavóomóhe? Didn't you see him?
Mónésáavóomóhe'o? Didn't you see them?
Mónésáavóomóhévo? Didn't you (pl) see him?
Mónésáahéne'enovóhe? Don't you know him?
Mónésáahéne'enóéhe? Doesn't he know you?
Mónésáaméhótóhe? Don't you love him?
Mónésáaméhótáéhe? Doesn't he love me?
Mónésáahoxomóhe? Didn't you feed him?
Mónésáamonéhenótse? Didn't you choose him?
Mónésáamonéhenóvo? Didn't you (pl) choose him?
Mó'ésáaho'áhéhenoto? Doesn't he want him (obv)?
Mó'ésáanéhovóheho? Didn't he chase him (obv)?

Transitive Animate Inferential verbs

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

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

-vóom 'see (someone)'

| | | | |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| Mónávóomáhtséhēhe | I must have seen myself | Mónévóomēmehēhe | You (pl) must have seen me |
| Mónévóomatséhēhe | I must have seen you | Mónévóomōhevōhe | You (pl) must have seen him |
| Mónávóomōhēhe | I must have seen him | Mónévóomamōhevōhe | You (pl) must have seen him (obv) |
| Mónávóomamōhevōhe | I must have seen him (obv) | Mónévóomēhemenonēhe | You (pl) must have seen us (ex) |
| Mónévóomatsēhemēhe | I must have seen you (pl) | Mónévóomáhtsēhemēhe | You (pl) must have seen yourselves |
| Mónávóomōhevōhe | I must have seen them | Mónévóomōhevovōhe | You (pl) must have seen them |
| | | | |
| Mónévóomēhēhe | You must have seen me | Mónávóomaehevōhe | They must have seen me |
| Mónévóomáhtséhēhe | You must have seen yourself | Mónévóomaehevōhe | They must have seen you |
| Mónévóomōhēhe | You must have seen him | Mónóomōhevovōhe | They must have seen him (obv) |
| Mónévóomamōhevōhe | You must have seen him (obv) | Mónávóomaehenevonēhe | They must have seen us (ex) |
| Mónévóomēhemenonēhe | You must have seen us (excl) | Mónévóomaehenevonēhe | They must have seen us (in) |
| Mónévóomōhevōhe | You must have seen them | Mónévóomaehevovōhe | They must have seen you (pl) |
| | | | |
| Mónávóomaehēhe | He must have seen me | Mónóomáhtséhēhe | They must have seen themselves |
| Mónévóomaehēhe | He must have seen you | | |
| Mónóomáhtséhēhe | He must have seen himself | Mónávóomanéhēhe | I must have been seen |
| Mónóomōhevōhe | He must have seen him (obv) | Mónévóomanéhēhe | You must have been seen |
| Mónávóomaehenēhe | He must have seen us (excl) | Mónóomēhēhe | He must have been seen |
| Mónévóomaehenēhe | He must have seen us (incl) | Mónávóomanéhemanēhe | We (ex) must have been seen |
| Mónévóomaehēvōhe | He must have seen you (pl) | Mónévóomanéhemanēhe | We (in) must have been seen |
| | | | |
| Mónávóomaehétsenotōhe | He (obv) must have seen me | Mónévóomanéhēmēhe | You (pl) must have been seen |
| Mónévóomaehétsenotōhe | He (obv) must have seen you | Mónóomēhevōhe | They must have been seen |
| Mónóomaehēvōhe | He (obv) must have seen him | | |
| Mónóomáhtsēhevōhe | He (obv) must have seen himself | | |
| Mónávóomaehétsenonēhe | He (obv) must have seen us (ex) | | |
| Mónévóomaehétsenonēhe | He (obv) must have seen us (in) | | |
| Mónévóomaehétsenovōhe | He (obv) must have seen you (pl) | | |
| Mónóomaehēvovōhe | He (obv) must have seen them | | |
| | | | |
| Mónévóomatsēhemenonēhe | We (ex) must have seen you | | |
| Mónávóomōhenēhe | We (ex) must have seen him | | |
| Mónávóomamōhenēhe | We (ex) must have seen him (obv) | | |
| Mónávóomáhtsēhemanēhe | We (ex) must have seen ourselves | | |
| Mónévóomatsēhemenonēhe | We (ex) must have seen you (pl) | | |
| Mónávóomōhenevōhe | We (ex) must have seen them | | |
| | | | |
| Mónévóomōhenēhe | We (in) must have seen him | | |
| Mónévóomamōhenēhe | We (in) must have seen him (obv) | | |
| Mónévóomáhtsēhemanēhe | We (in) must have seen ourselves | | |
| Mónévóomōhenevōhe | We (in) must have seen them | | |

Some other TA inferential verbs:

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|
| Móméhotōhevōhe | He must love him (obv) |
| Mónéméhotaehēhe | He must love you |
| Mónámoné'toehēhe | He must have chosen me |
| Mónémonéhenōtse | You must have chosen him |
| Móného'áhēhenōtse | You must want him |
| Móho'áhēhenotōhe | He must want him (obv) |
| Móhméahénōtōhe | He must have given him (obv) |
| Mónápéotaehēhe | He must hate me |
| Mó'oomaehēvōhe | He (obv) must have hit him |
| Mó'áahtovōhevōhe | He must have heard him (obv) |
| Mónéstahémōhevōhe?? | He must have helped him (obv) |
| Móhestanōhevovōhe | They must have taken him (obv) |
| Móhoxomōhevovōhe | They must have fed him (obv) |
| Móšéxanōhevōhe | He must have freed him (obv) |
| Móna'hohevōhe | He must have killed him (obv) |
| Mótoo'etōhevōhe | He must have tied him (obv) |
| Mónéhovōhevōhe | He must have chased him (obv) |

Transitive Animate Reportative verb 'see' /-vóom/

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Návóomáhtsēmāse | It's said I saw myself | Névóomēmēse | It's said you (pl) saw me |
| Névóomatsēmāse | It's said I saw you | Névóomóvosěstse | It's said you (pl) saw him |
| Návóomosěstse | It's said I saw him | Névóomamóvösesto | It's said you (pl) saw him (obv) |
| Návóomamósesto | It's said I saw him (obv) | Névóomemenöse | It's said you (pl) saw us (ex) |
| Névóomatsēmēse | It's said I saw you (pl) | Névóomáhtsēmēse | It's said you (pl) saw yourselves |
| Návóomósesto | It's said I saw them | Névóomóvösesto | It's said you (pl) saw them |
| | | | |
| Névóomēmāse | It's said you saw me | Návóomaesesto | It's said they saw me |
| Névóomáhtsēmāse | It's said you saw yourself | Névóomaesesto | It's said they saw you |
| Névóomosěstse | It's said you saw him | Évóomóvösesto | It's said they saw him (obv) |
| Névóomamósesto | It's said you saw him (obv) | Návóomaenésesto | It's said they saw us (ex) |
| Névóomemenöse | It's said you saw us (excl) | Névóomaenésesto | It's said they saw us (in) |
| Névóomósesto | It's said you saw them | Névóomaevösesto | It's said they saw you (pl) |
| | | | |
| Návóomaesěstse | It's said he saw me | Évóomáhtsésesto | It's said they saw themselves |
| Névóomaesěstse | It's said he saw you | | |
| Évóomáhtsésesto | It's said he saw himself | Návóomanēmāse | It's said I was seen |
| Évóomósesto | It's said he saw him (obv) | Névóomanēmāse | It's said you were seen |
| Návóomaenesěstse | It's said he saw us (excl) | Évóomesěstse | It's said he was seen |
| Névóomaenesěstse | It's said he saw us (incl) | Návóomanémánése | It's said we (ex) were seen |
| Névóomaevosěstse | It's said he saw you (pl) | Névóomanémánése | It's said we (in) were seen |
| | | | |
| Návóomaetsenósesto | It's said he (obv) saw me | Névóomanēmēse | It's said you (pl) were seen |
| Névóomaetsenósesto | It's said he (obv) saw you | Évóomésesto | It's said they were seen |
| Évóomaesesto | It's said he (obv) saw him | | |
| Évóomáhtsésesto | It's said he (obv) saw himself | | |
| Návóomaetsenónésesto | It's said he (obv) saw us (ex) | | |
| Névóomaetsenónésesto | It's said he (obv) saw us (in) | | |
| Névóomaetsenóvösesto | It's said he (obv) saw you (pl) | | |
| Évóomaevösesto | It's said he (obv) saw them | | |
| | | | |
| Névóomatsemenöse | It's said we (ex) saw you | | |
| Návóomónesěstse | It's said we (ex) saw him | | |
| Návóomamónésesto | It's said we (ex) saw him (obv) | | |
| Návóomáhtsémánése | It's said we (ex) saw ourselves | | |
| Névóomatsemenöse | It's said we (ex) saw you (pl) | | |
| Návóomónésesto | It's said we (ex) saw them | | |
| | | | |
| Névóomónesěstse | It's said we (in) saw him | | |
| Névóomamónésesto | It's said we (in) saw him (obv) | | |
| Névóomáhtsémánése | It's said we (in) saw ourselves | | |
| Névóomónésesto | It's said we (in) saw them | | |

Some other TA reportative verbs:

| | |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| Eméhotösesto | It's said he loves him (obv) |
| Néméhotaesěstse | It's said he loves you |
| Éhetösesto | It's said he told him (obv) |
| Éhetóvösesto | It's said they told him (obv) |
| Éhetaesesto | It's said he (obv) told him |
| Námoné'toesěstse | It's said he chose me |
| Némonénosěstse?? | It's said you chose him |
| Ného'áhénosěstse?? | It's said you want him |
| Ého'áhénösesto | It's said he wants him (obv) |
| Néméanosěstse | It's said you gave him (away) |
| Éméanosésesto?? | It's said he gave him (obv) (away) |
| Nápéotaesěstse | It's said he hates me |
| Éoomaesesto | It's said he (obv) hit him |
| Éáahtovösesto | It's said he heard him (obv) |
| Évéstáhémösesto | It's said he helped him (obv) |
| Éhestanóvösesto | It's said they took him (obv) |
| Éhoxomóvösesto | It's said they fed him (obv) |
| Éšéxanösesto | It's said he freed him (obv) |

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

| | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| Násáavóomáhtséhémāse | It's said I did not see myself |
| Nésáavóomatséhémāse | It's said I did not see you |
| Násáavóomóhesěstse | It's said I did not see him |
| Násáavóomamóhesesto | It's said I did not see him (obv) |
| Nésáavóomatséhémēse | It's said I did not see you (pl) |
| Násáavóomóhesesto | It's said I did not see them |
| | |
| Nésáavóoméhémāse | It's said you did not see me |
| Nésáavóomáhtséhémāse | It's said you did not see yourself |
| Nésáavóomóhesěstse | It's said you did not see him |

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Nésáavóomamóhesesto | It's said you did not see him (obv) |
| Nésáavóoméheménöse | It's said you did not see us (excl) |
| Nésáavóomóhesesto | It's said you did not see them |
| Násáavóomaeheséstse | It's said he did not see me |
| Nésáavóomaeheséstse | It's said he did not see you |
| Ésáavóomahtséheséstse | It's said he did not see himself |
| Ésáavóomóhesesto | It's said he did not see him (obv) |
| Násáavóomaehénéséstse | It's said he did not see us (excl) |
| Nésáavóomaehénéséstse | It's said he did not see us (incl) |
| Nésáavóomaehévöséstse | It's said he did not see you (pl) |
| Násáavóomaehétsenósesto | It's said he (obv) did not see me |
| Nésáavóomaehétsenósesto | It's said he (obv) did not see you |
| Ésáavóomaehésesto | It's said he (obv) did not see him |
| Ésáavóomahtséhesesto | It's said he (obv) did not see himself |
| Násáavóomaehétsenónésesto | It's said he (obv) did not see us (ex) |
| Nésáavóomaehétsenónésesto | It's said he (obv) did not see us (in) |
| Nésáavóomaehétsenóvösesto | It's said he (obv) did not see you (pl) |
| Ésáavóomaehévösesto | It's said he (obv) did not see them |
| Nésáavóomatséhéménöse | It's said we (ex) did not see you |
| Násáavóomóheneséstse | It's said we (ex) did not see him |
| Násáavóomamóhenésesto | It's said we (ex) did not see him (obv) |
| Násáavóomahtséhémánése | It's said we (ex) did not see ourselves |
| Nésáavóomatséhéménöse | It's said we (ex) did not see you (pl) |
| Násáavóomóhenésesto | It's said we (ex) did not see them |
| Nésáavóomóheneséstse | It's said we (in) did not see him |
| Nésáavóomamóhenésesto | It's said we (in) did not see him (obv) |
| Nésáavóomahtséhémánése | It's said we (in) did not see ourselves |
| Nésáavóomóhenésesto | It's said we (in) did not see them |
| Nésáavóoméhémése | It's said you (pl) did not see me |
| Nésáavóomóhevoséstse | It's said you (pl) did not see him |
| Nésáavóomamóhevösesto | It's said you (pl) did not see him (obv) |
| Nésáavóoméheménöse | It's said you (pl) did not see us (ex) |
| Nésáavóomahtséhémése | It's said you (pl) did not see yourselves |
| Nésáavóomóhevösesto | It's said you (pl) did not see them |
| Násáavóomaehésesto | It's said they did not see me |
| Nésáavóomaehésesto | It's said they did not see you |
| Ésáavóomóhevösesto | It's said they did not see him (obv) |
| Násáavóomaehénésesto | It's said they did not see us (ex) |
| Nésáavóomaehénésesto | It's said they did not see us (in) |
| Nésáavóomaehévösesto | It's said they did not see you (pl) |
| Ésáavóomahtséhesesto | It's said they did not see themselves |
| Násáavóomanéhémáse | It's said I was seen |
| Nésáavóomanéhémáse | It's said you were seen |
| Ésáavóoméheséstse | It's said he was seen |
| Násáavóomanéhémánése | It's said we (ex) were seen |
| Nésáavóomanéhémánése | It's said we (in) were seen |

| | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|
| Nésáavóomanéhémèse | It's said you (pl) were seen |
| Ésáavóoméhesesto | It's said they were seen |

Some other TA negative reportative verbs:

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| Esáaméhotóhesesto?? | It's said he does not love him (obv) |
| Nésáaméhotaeheséstse | It's said he does not love you |
| Ésáahetóhesesto | It's said he did not tell him (obv) |
| Ésáahetóhevósesto | It's said they did not tell him (obv) |
| Ésáahetaehésesto | It's said he (obv) did not tell him |
| Násáamoné'toeheséstse | It's said he did not chose me |
| Nésáamonénóheséstse?? | It's said you did not chose him |
| Nésáaho'áhénóheséstse?? | It's said you do not want him |
| Ésáaho'áhénóhesesto?? | It's said he does not want him (obv) |
| Nésáaméanóheséstse?? | It's said you did not give him (away) |
| Ésáaméanóhesesto?? | It's said he did not give him (obv) (away) |
| Násáapéotaeheséstse | 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) |
| Ésáavéstáhéhemósesto?? | It's said he did not help him (obv) |
| Ésáahestanóhevósesto | It's said they did not take him (obv) |
| Ésáahoxomóhevósesto | It's said they did not feed him (obv) |
| Ésáašéxanóhesesto | It's said he did not free him (obv) |

Transitive Animate Preterit verbs

As previously explained, Cheyenne verbs in the preterit mode occur mostly in legends. They can also occur in contemporary contexts when a speaker wishes to convey surprise (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'èhnémoho káhkése o'hé'e!
Wow, I have come close to a river! (Floating Eyes:062)

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

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

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

Some example verbs are included which indicate surprise.

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Éhvóomóhoono | Once upon a time he saw him (obv) |
| Éhvóomaehoono | Once upon a time he (obv) saw him |
| Éhvóomaevóhoono | Once upon a time he (obv) saw them |
| Éhvóomóvóhoono | Once upon a time they told him (obv) |
| Évóomóhoono! | Surprisingly, he saw him! |
| Éxhetóhoono | Once upon a time he told him (obv) |
| Éxhetaehoono | Once upon a time he (obv) told him |
| Éxhetaevóhoono | Once upon a time he (obv) told them |
| Éxhetóvóhoono | Once upon a time they told him (obv) |
| Éhetóhoono! | Surprisingly, he told him! |
| Éhmévóhoono | Once upon a time he ate him (obv) |
| Éhmévaehoono | Once upon a time he (obv) ate him |
| Éhmévaevóhoono | Once upon a time he (obv) ate them |
| Éhmévoóvóhoono | Once upon a time they ate him (obv) |
| Émévóhoono! | Surprisingly, he ate him! |
| Éhvónáho'nóhoono | Once upon a time he burned him (obv) up |
| Éhvónáho'heehoono | Once upon a time he (obv) burned him up |
| Éhvónáho'heevóhoono | Once upon a time he (obv) burned them up |
| Éhvónáho'nóvóhoono | Once upon a time they burned him (obv) up |
| Évónáho'nóhoono! | Surprisingly, he burned him (obv) up! |
| É'a'tásóhoono | Once upon a time he accidentally cut him (obv) |
| É'a'táxeehoono | Once upon a time he (obv) accidentally cut him |
| É'a'táxeevóhoono | Once upon a time he (obv) accidentally cut them |
| É'a'tásóvóhoono | Once upon a time they accidentally cut him (obv) |
| Éa'tásóhoono! | Surprisingly, he accidentally cut him (obv)! |
| Éxho'áhénóhoono?? | Once upon a time he wanted him (obv) |
| Éxho'áhé'toehoono?? | Once upon a time he (obv) wanted him |
| Éxho'áhé'toevóhoono?? | Once upon a time he (obv) wanted them |
| Éxho'áhénóvóhoono?? | Once upon a time they wanted him (obv) |
| Ého'áhénóhoono! | Surprisingly, he wanted him (obv)! |
| Éššéxanóhoono | Once upon a time he freed him (obv) |
| Éššéxanaehoono | Once upon a time he (obv) freed him |
| Éššéxanaevóhoono | Once upon a time he (obv) freed them |
| Éššéxanóvóhoono | Once upon a time they freed him (obv) |
| Éšéxanóhoono! | Surprisingly, he freed him (obv)! |

Transitive Animate Negative Preterit verbs

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| Éssáavóomóhehoono | Once upon a time he did not see him (obv) |
| Éssáavóomaehéhoono | Once upon a time he (obv) did not see him |
| Éssáavóomaehévóhoono | Once upon a time he (obv) did not see them |
| Éssáavóomóhevóhoono | Once upon a time they did not see him (obv) |
| Ésáavóomóhehoono! | Surprisingly, he did not see him (obv)! |

Éssáahetóhehoono
Éssáhetaehéhoono
Éssáhetaehévóhoono
Éssáahetóhevóhoono
Éssáahetóhehoono!

Once upon a time he did not tell him (obv)
Once upon a time he (obv) did not tell him
Once upon a time he (obv) did not tell them
Once upon a time they did not tell him (obv)
Surprisingly, he did not tell him!

Éssáa'a'tásóhehoono
Éssáa'a'táxeehéhoono
Éssáa'a'táxeehévóhoono
Éssáa'a'tásóhevóhoono

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

Transitive Animate Imperative

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

Transitive Animate Immediate Imperative

| meaning | said to one person | said to more than one person |
|----------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Look at me! | Vé'hooméstse! | Vé'hoome! |
| Look at yourself! ¹⁰¹ | Vé'hoomahtséstse! | Vé'hoomahtse! |
| Look at him! | Vé'hoomeha! | Vé'hooma! |
| Look at him (obv)! | Vé'hoomameha! | Vé'hoomama! |
| Look at us! | Vé'hoomemeno! | Vé'hoomemeno! |
| Look at them! | Vé'hoomenáno! | Vé'hooma! |
| Love me! | Méhoxéstse! | Méhoxe! |
| Love yourself! | Méhotahstséstse! | Méhotahkse! |
| Love him! | Méhoxeha! | Méhotah! |
| Love him (obv)! | Méhotameha! | Méhotama! |
| Love us! | Méhoxemeno! | Méhoxemeno! |
| Love them! | Méhoxenáno! | Méhotah! |
| Be good to me! | Péhéve'tovéstse! | Péhéve'tove! |
| Be good to yourself! | Péheve'tovahtséstse! | Péheve'tovahtse! |
| Be good to him! | Péhéve'toveha! | Péhéve'tova! |
| Be good to him (obv)! | Péhéve'tovameha! | Péhéve'tovama! |
| Be good to us! | Péhéve'tovemeno! | Péhéve'tovemeno! |
| Be good to them! | Péhéve'tovenáno! | Péhéve'tova! |
| Measure me! | Taevaestse! | Taevahe! |
| Measure yourself! | Taeváhestséstse! | Taeváhestse! |
| Measure him! | Taeváheha! | Taevaha! |
| Measure him (obv)! | Taeváhameha! | Taeváhama! |
| Measure us! | Taeváhemeno! | Taeváhemeno! |
| Measure them! | Taeváhenáno! | Taevaha! |
| Take pity on me! | Ševátaméstse! ¹⁰² | Ševátame! |
| Take pity on yourself! | Ševátamahtséstse! | Ševátamahtse! |
| Take pity on him! | Ševátameha! | Ševátama! |
| Take pity on him (obv)! | Ševátamameha! | Ševátamama! |
| Take pity on us! | Ševátamemeno! | Ševátamemeno! |
| Take pity on them! | Ševátamenáno! | Ševátama! |

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 Něševátaméstse! 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 Náněševátámo 'I pity him'.

Transitive Animate Delayed Imperative

| meaning | said to one person | said to more than one person |
|------------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| Look at me later! | Vé'hooemo'o! | Vé'hooméhéne! |
| Look at yourself later! | Vé'hoomahtseo'o! | Vé'hoomáhtséhéne! |
| Look at him later! | Vé'hoomoo'o! | Vé'hoomóhéne! |
| Look at him (obv) later! | Vé'hoomamoo'o! | Vé'hoomamóhéne! |
| Look at us later! | Vé'hoomemenoo'o! | Vé'hoomemenoo'o! |
| Look at them later! | Vé'hoomóóno! | Vé'hoomóhéne! |
| Love me later! | Méhoxeo'o! | Méhóxéhéne! |
| Love yourself later! | Méhotahseo'o! | Méhotáhtséhéne! |
| Love him later! | Méhotoo'o! | Méhotóhéne! |
| Love him (obv) later! | Méhotamoo'o! | Méhotamóhéne! |
| Love us later! | Méhoxemenoo'o! | Méhoxemenoo'o! |
| Love them later! | Méhótóóno! | Méhótóhéne! |
| Be good to me later! | Péhéve'toveo'o! | Péhéve'tovéhéne! |
| Be good to yourself later! | Péheve'továhtseo'o! | Péheve'továhtséhéne! |
| Be good to him later! | Péhéve'tovoo'o! | Péhéve'tovóhéne! |
| Be good to him (obv) later! | Péhéve'tovamoo'o! | Péhéve'tovamóhéne! |
| Be good to us later! | Péhéve'tovemenoo'o! | Péhéve'tovemenoo'o! |
| Be good to them later! | Péhéve'tovóóno! | Péhéve'tovóhéne! |
| Measure me later! | Taevaheo'o! | Taeváhéne! |
| Measure yourself later! | Taeváhestseo'o! | Taeváhestséhéne! |
| Measure him later! | Taeváhnnoo'o! | Taevahnóhéne! |
| Measure him (obv) later! | Taeváhamoo'o! | Taeváhamóhéne! |
| Measure us later! | Taeváhemenoo'o! | Taeváhemenoo'o! |
| Measure them later! | Taeváhnóóno! | Taeváhnóhéne! |
| Take pity on me later! | Ševátameo'o! | Ševátaméhéne! |
| Take pity on yourself later! | Ševátamáhtseo'o! | Ševátamáhtséhéne! |
| Take pity on him later! | Ševátamoo'o! | Ševátamóhéne! |
| Take pity on him (obv)! | Ševátamamoo'o! | Ševátamama! |
| Take pity on us! | Ševátamemeno! | Ševátamemeno! |
| Take pity on them! | Ševátamenáno! | Ševátama! |

Transitive Animate Hortative verbs

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

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| Vé'hooma'eha! | Let him look at me! | Vé'hooma'évoha! | Let them look at me! |
| Vé'hoomáta'e! | Let him look at you! | Vé'hoomata'ōse! | Let them look at you! |
| Vé'hoomáhtseha! | Let him look at himself! | Vé'hoomáhtsévoha! | Let them look at themselves! |
| Vé'hoomóha! | Let him look at him (obv)! | Vé'hoomaētse! | Let them look at us! |
| Vé'hoomata'ōse! | Let him look at you (pl)! | Vé'hoomata'ōse! | Let them look at you (pl)! |

Transitive Inanimate Independent Indicative verbs

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

/-vóohtá/ 'see (something)'

| | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Návóohta | I see it | Návóohtanótse | I see them |
| Névóohta | You see it | Névóohtanótse | You see them |
| Évóohtanótse | He sees it | Névóohtanótse | He see's them |
| Évóohtotse | He (obv) sees it | Évóohtotsenótse | He (obv) sees them |
| Návóohtánóne | We (excl) see it | Návóohtanonéstse | We (excl) see them |
| Névóohtanone | We (incl) see it | Névóohtanonéstse | We (incl) see them |
| Névóohtánóvo | You (pl) see it | Névóohtanovótse | You (pl) see them |
| Évóohtánóvo | They see it | Évóohtanovótse | They see them |
| Évóome ¹⁰³ | It is seen | Évóomēnéstse | They are seen |

/-mése/ 'eat (something)'

| | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Námese | I ate it | Námésenótse | I ate them |
| Némese | You ate it | Némésenótse | You ate them |
| Émese | He ate it | Émésenótse | He ate them |
| Éméssetse | He (obv) ate it | Éméssetsenótse | He (obv) ate them |
| Námésénóne | We (excl) ate it | Námésenonéstse | We (excl) ate them |
| Némésenone | We (incl) ate it | Némésenonéstse | We (incl) ate them |
| Émésénóvo | They ate it | Émésenovótse | They ate them |
| Éméséstove ¹⁰⁴ | It was eaten | Éméséstóvénéstse | They were eaten. |

-ho'tsé 'have (something)'

| | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Náhó'tse | I have it | Náho'tsenótse | I have them |
| Néhó'tse | You have it | Ného'tsenótse | You have them |
| Éhó'tse | He has it | Ého'tsenótse | He has them |
| Ého'tsetse | He (obv) has it | Ého'tsétsenótse | He (obv) has them |
| Náho'tsénóne | We (excl) have it | Náho'tsénonéstse | We (excl) have them |
| Ného'tsénone | We (incl) have it | Ného'tsénonéstse | We (incl) have them |
| Ného'tsénóvo | You (pl) have it | Ného'tsénovótse | You (pl) have them |
| Ého'he | It is had | Ého'hēnéstse | They are had |

-ho'ahe 'have (something)'

| | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Náho'ahe | I want it | Náho'áhenótse | I want them |
| Ného'ahe | You want it | Ného'áhenótse | You want them |
| Ého'ahe | He wants it | Ého'áhenótse | He wants them |
| Ého'áhetse | He (obv) wants it | Ého'áhétsenótse | He (obv) wants them |
| Náho'áhénóne | We (excl) want it | Náho'áhénonéstse | We (excl) want them |
| Ného'áhénone | We (incl) want it | Ného'áhénonéstse | We (incl) want them |
| Ného'áhénóvo | You (pl) want it | Ného'áhénovótse | You (pl) want them |
| Ého'áhénóvo | They want it | Ého'áhénovótse | They want them |
| Ého'áhéstove | It is wanted | Ého'áhéstóvénéstse | They are wanted |

¹⁰³ The /-vóohtá/ and -ho'tsé passives take TA stems and II plural suffixes.

¹⁰⁴ The /-mése/ and -ho'ahe stems take the AI /-htove/ impersonal suffix for their passive forms.

-hóxe'ená 'clean (something)'

| | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| Náhóxe'āna | I cleaned it | Náhóxe'ananótse | I cleaned them |
| Néhóxe'āna | You cleaned it | Néhóxe'ananótse | You cleaned them |
| Éhóxe'āna | He cleaned it | Éhóxe'ananótse | He cleaned them |
| Éhóxe'anotse | He (obv) cleaned it | Éhóxe'anótsetse | He (obv) cleaned them |
| Náhóxe'anánóne | We (excl) cleaned it | Náhóxe'anánónéstse | We (excl) cleaned them |
| Néhóxe'anánone | We (incl) cleaned it | Néhóxe'anánónéstse | We (incl) cleaned them |
| Néhóxe'anánóvo | You (pl) cleaned it | Néhóxe'anánovótse | You (pl) cleaned them |
| Éhóxe'anánóvo | They cleaned it | Éhóxe'anánovótse | They cleaned them |
| Éhóxe'ane | It was cleaned | Éhóxe'anānēnéstse | They were cleaned |

-hestá 'say (something)'

| | | | |
|-------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Náhesta | I said it | Náhestanótse | I said them |
| Néhesta | You said it | Néhestanótse | You said them |
| Éhesta | He said it | Éhestanótse | He said them |
| Éhestotse | He (obv) said it | Éhestótsetse | He (obv) said them |
| Náhestánóne | We (excl) said it | Náhestánónéstse | We (excl) said them |
| Néhestánone | We (incl) said it | Néhestánónéstse | We (incl) said them |
| Néhestánóvo | You (pl) said it | Néhestánánovótse | You (pl) said them |
| Éhestánóvo | They said it | Éhestánovótse | They said them |
| Éhestohe | It was said | Éhestóhénéstse | They were said |

-mane 'drink (something)'

| | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| Námane ¹⁰⁵ | I drank it | Námanenótse | I drank them |
| Némane | You drank it | Némanenótse | You drank them |
| Émane | He drank it | Émanenótse | He drank them |
| Émanetse | He (obv) drank it | Émanétsenótse | He (obv) drank them |
| Námanénóne | We (excl) drank it | Námanénónéstse | We (excl) drank them |
| Némanénóvo | We (incl) drank it | Némanénónéstse | We (incl) drank them |
| Émanénóvo | They drank it | Émanénovótse | They drank them |
| Émanéstove ¹⁰⁶ | It was drunk | Émanéstóvéenéstse | They were drunk ¹⁰⁷ |

-é'e'ó'tsé 'break (something)'

| | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------|
| Náé'e'ó'tse | I broke it | Náé'e'ó'tsenótse | I broke them |
| Néé'e'ó'tse | You broke it | Néé'e'ó'tsenótse | You broke them |
| Éé'e'ó'tse | He broke it | Éé'e'ó'tse | He broke them |
| Éé'e'ó'tsetse | He (obv) broke it | Éé'e'ó'tsetsetse | He (obv) broke them |
| Náé'e'ó'tsénóne | We (excl) broke it | Náé'e'ó'tsenonéstse | We (excl) broke them |
| Néé'e'ó'tsenone | We (incl) broke it | Néé'e'ó'tsenonéstse | We (incl) broke them |
| Néé'e'ó'tsénóvo | You (pl) broke it | Néé'e'ó'tsenovótse | You (pl) broke them |
| Éé'e'ó'tsénóvo | They broke it | Éé'e'ó'tsenovótse | They broke them |
| Éé'e'ó'he | It was broken | Éé'e'ó'hénéstse | They were broken |

¹⁰⁵ Námane, Némane, and Émane are identical in pronunciation to the AI verbs meaning 'I drank', 'You drank', and 'He drank', respectively.

¹⁰⁶ This is identical in pronunciation to the impersonal verb meaning 'There is drinking'.

¹⁰⁷ That is, 'They (some inanimate plural liquids) were drunk' not the meaning 'They (some people) were drunk'.

Some other TI Independent Indicative verbs

| | |
|-----------------|------------------------|
| Náa'tāxa. | I accidentally cut it. |
| Éhestāna. | He took it. |
| Náhó'xátsésta. | I'm used to it. |
| Émé'a. | He found it. |
| Nápéhévátsésta. | I like it. |
| Návona'ó'tse. | I lost it. |
| Návonetanó'ta. | I forgot it. |

Some grammatical relationships different from English

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

-háamá'tá

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

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Náháamá'ta na'evo. | My nose hurts. (lit., I hurt to my nose) |
| Náháamá'tanótse na'éxánéstse. | My eyes hurt. (lit., I hurt to my eyes) |

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

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| Náháamá'tóvo namo'ěško. | My finger hurts. (lit., I hurt to my finger) |
| Náháamá'tovoo'o namo'ěškono. | My fingers hurt. (lit., I hurt to my fingers) |

-táa'á 'fit (something)'

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

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Nátáá'a hóhkéha'e. | The cap fits me. (lit., I fit to the cap) |
| Nátáa'anótse hóhkéhá'éstse. | The caps fit me. (lit., I fit to the caps) |

Compare corresponding TA verbs:

Nátáa'ōvo éstse'he.

The shirt fits me. (lit., I fit to the shirt)

Nátáa'ovoo'o éstse'heno.

The shirts fit me. (lit., I fit to the shirts)

'(something) taste good'

In Cheyenne food which gives the sensation of good taste is grammatically the object of the TI verb -pèhéve'áhtá:

Nápèhévé'áhta ho'évohkötse.

The meat tastes good to me. (lit. I good taste to it)

Transitive Inanimate Independent Indicative relational verbs

A TI relational verb refers to action done to something owned by a third person.

-vóohtomóv 'see his _'

| | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| Návóohtomóvo | I see his ___ | Návóohtomóvonótse | I see his ___ (plural) |
| Névóohtomóvo | You see his ___ | Névóohtomóvonótse | You see his ___ (plural) |
| Évóohtomóvo | He sees his (obv) ___ | Évóohtomóvonótse | He sees his (obv) ___ (pl) |
| Návóohtomóvónóne | We (ex) see his ___ | Návóohtomóvononéstse | We (ex) see his ___ (pl) |
| Névóohtomóvonone | We (in) see his ___ | Névóohtomóvononéstse | We (in) see his ___ (pl) |
| Névóohtomóvónóvo | You (pl) see his ___ | Névóohtomóvonovótse | You (pl) see his ___ (pl) |
| Évóohtomóvónóvo | They see his ___ | Évóohtomóvonovótse | They see his ___ (pl) |
| Évóometse | His ___ is seen | Évóomenetótse | His ___ (pl) are seen |

-hestanomóv 'take his _'

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| Náhestanomóvo | I took his ___ | Náhestanomóvonótse | I took his ___ (pl) |
| Néhestanomóvo | You took his ___ | Néhestanomóvonótse | You took his ___ (pl) |
| Éhestanomóvo | He took his (obv) ___ | Éhestanomóvonótse | He took his (obv) ___ (pl) |
| Náhestanomóvónóne | We (ex) took his ___ | Náhestanomóvononéstse | We (ex) took his ___ (pl) |
| Néhestanomóvonone | We (in) took his ___ | Néhestanomóvononéstse | We (in) took his ___ (pl) |
| Néhestanomóvónóvo | You (pl) took his ___ | Néhestanomóvonovótse | You (pl) took his ___ (pl) |
| Éhestanomóvónóvo | They took his ___ | Éhestanomóvonovótse | They took his ___ (pl) |
| Éhestanetse | His ___ was taken | Éhestanenetótse | His ___ (pl) were taken |

-é'e'ó'tov 'break his _'

| | | | |
|------------------|------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Náé'e'ó'tóvo | I broke his ___ | Náé'e'ó'tovonótse | I broke his ___ (pl) |
| Néé'e'ó'tóvo | You broke his ___ | Néé'e'ó'tovonótse | You broke his ___ (pl) |
| Éé'e'ó'tóvo | He broke his (obv) ___ | Éé'e'ó'tovonótse | He broke his (obv) ___ (pl) |
| Náé'e'ó'tóvónóne | We (ex) broke his ___ | Náé'e'ó'tovononéstse | We (ex) broke his ___ (pl) |
| Néé'e'ó'tovonone | We (in) broke his ___ | Néé'e'ó'tovononéstse | We (in) broke his ___ (pl) |
| Néé'e'ó'tóvónóvo | You (pl) broke his ___ | Néé'e'ó'tovonovótse | You (pl) broke his ___ (pl) |
| Éé'e'ó'tóvónóvo | They broke his ___ | Éé'e'ó'tovonovótse | They broke his ___ (pl) |
| Éé'e'ó'hetse | His ___ was broken | Éé'e'ó'henetótse | His ___ (pl) were broken |

Transitive Inanimate Independent Negative Indicative verbs

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

'not see (something)'

| | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Násáavóóhtóhe | I did not see it | Násáavóóhtóhenótse | I did not see them |
| Nésáavóóhtóhe | You did not see it | Nésáavóóhtóhenótse | You did not see them |
| Ésáavóóhtóhe | He did not see it | Ésáavóóhtóhenótse | He did not see them |
| Ésáavóóhtóhetse | He (obv) did not see it | Ésáavóóhtóhétsenótse | He (obv) did not see them |
| Násáavóóhtóhénóne | We (ex) did not see it | Násáavóóhtóhénonéstse | We (ex) did not see them |
| Nésáavóóhtóhénone | We (in) did not see it | Nésáavóóhtóhénonéstse | We (in) did not see them |
| Nésáavóóhtóhénóvo | You (pl) did not see it | Nésáavóóhtóhénovótse | You (pl) did not see them |
| Ésáavóóhtóhénóvo | They did not see it | Ésáavóóhtóhénovótse | They did not see them |
| Ésáavóóméhane | It was not seen | Ésáavóóméhanehótse | They were not seen |

'not eat (something)'

| | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| Násáaméséhe | I did not eat it | Násáaméséhenótse | I did not eat them |
| Nésáaméséhe | You did not eat it | Nésáaméséhenótse | You did not eat them |
| Ésáaméséhe | He did not eat it | Ésáaméséhenótse | He did not eat them |
| Ésáaméséhetse | He (obv) did not eat it | Ésáaméséhetsenótse | He (obv) did not eat them |
| Násáaméséhénóne | We (ex) did not eat it | Násáaméséhénonéstse | We (ex) did not eat them |
| Nésáaméséhenone | We (in) did not eat it | Nésáaméséhénonéstse | We (in) did not eat them |
| Nésáaméséhénóvo | You (pl) did not eat it | Nésáaméséhénovótse | You (pl) did not eat them |
| Ésáaméséhénóvo | They did not eat it | Ésáaméséhénovótse | They did not eat them |
| Ésáaméséstovéhane | It was not eaten | Ésáaméséstovéhanehótse | They were not eaten |

'not have (something)'

| | | | |
|-------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Násáaho'tséhe | I do not have it | Násáaho'tséhenótse | I do not have them |
| Nésáaho'tséhe | You do not have it | Nésáaho'tséhenótse | You do not have them |
| Ésáaho'tséhe | He does not have it | Ésáaho'tséhenótse | He does not have them |
| Ésáaho'tséhetse | He (obv) does not have it | Ésáaho'tséhetsenótse | He (obv) does not have them |
| Násáaho'tséhénóne | We (ex) do not have it | Násáaho'tséhenonéstse | We (ex) do not have them |
| Nésáaho'tséhenone | We (in) do not have it | Nésáaho'tséhenonéstse | We (in) do not have them |
| Nésáaho'tséhénóvo | You (pl) do not have it | Nésáaho'tséhenovótse | You (pl) do not have them |
| Nésáaho'tséhénóvo | They do not have it | Ésáaho'tséhenovótse | They do not have them |
| Ésáaho'héhane | It is not had | Ésáaho'héhanehótse | They are not had |

'not want (something)'

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Násáaho'áhéhe | I don't want it | Násáaho'áhéhenótse | I don't want them |
| Nésáaho'áhéhe | You don't want it | Nésáaho'áhéhenótse | You don't want them |
| Ésáaho'áhéhe | He doesn't want it | Ésáaho'áhéhenótse | He doesn't want them |
| Ésáaho'áhéhetse | He (obv) doesn't want it | Ésáaho'áhéhetsenótse | He (obv) doesn't want them |
| Násáaho'áhéhénóne | We (ex) don't want it | Násáaho'áhéhenonéstse | We (ex) don't want them |
| Nésáaho'áhéhenone | We (in) don't want it | Nésáaho'áhéhenonéstse | We (in) don't want them |
| Nésáaho'áhéhénóvo | You (pl) don't want it | Nésáaho'áhéhenovótse | You (pl) don't want it |
| Ésáaho'áhéhénóvo | They don't want it | Ésáaho'áhéhenovótse | They don't want them |
| Ésáaho'áhéstovéhane | It is not wanted | Ésáaho'áhéstovéhanehótse | They are not wanted |

'not clean (something)'

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Násáahóxe'anóhe | I didn't clean it | Násáahóxe'anóhenótse | I didn't clean them |
| Nésáahóxe'anóhe | You didn't clean it | Nésáahóxe'anóhenótse | You didn't clean them |
| Ésáahóxe'anóhe | He didn't clean it | Ésáahóxe'anóhenótse | He didn't clean them |
| Ésáahóxe'anóhetse | He (obv) didn't clean it | Ésáahóxe'anóhetsenótse | He (obv) didn't clean them |
| Násáahóxe'anóhénóne | We (ex) didn't clean it | Násáahóxe'anóhenonéstse | We (ex) didn't clean them |
| Nésáahóxe'anóhenone | We (in) didn't clean it | Nésáahóxe'anóhenonéstse | We (in) didn't clean them |
| Nésáahóxe'anóhénóvo | You (pl) didn't clean it | Nésáahóxe'anóhenovótse | You (pl) didn't clean them |
| Ésáahóxe'anóhénóvo | They didn't clean it | Ésáahóxe'anóhenovótse | They didn't clean them |
| Ésáahóxe'anéhane | It was not cleaned | Ésáahóxe'anéhanehótse | They were not cleaned |

Transitive Inanimate Independent Negative relational verbs

'not see his (something)'

| | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Násáavóohtomóvóhe | I didn't see his ___ | Násáavóohtomóvóhenótse | I didn't see his ___ (pl) |
| Nésáavóohtomóvóhe | You didn't see his ___ | Nésáavóohtomóvóhenótse | You didn't see his ___ (pl) |
| Ésáavóohtomóvóhe | He didn't see his (obv) ___ | Ésáavóohtomóvóhenótse | He didn't see his (obv) ___ (pl) |
| Násáavóohtomóvóhénóne | We (ex) didn't see his ___ | Násáavóohtomóvóhénonéstse | We (ex) didn't see his ___ (pl) |
| Nésáavóohtomóvóhénone | We (in) didn't see his ___ | Nésáavóohtomóvóhénonéstse | We (in) didn't see his ___ (pl) |
| Nésáavóohtomóvóhénóvo | You (pl) didn't see his ___ | Nésáavóohtomóvóhénovótse | You (pl) didn't see his ___ (pl) |
| Ésáavóohtomóvóhénóvo | They didn't see his ___ | Ésáavóohtomóvóhénovótse | They didn't see his ___ (pl) |
| Ésáavóoméhanéhetse | His ___ was not seen | Ésáavóoméhanéhenetótse | His ___ (pl) were not seen |

'not take his (something)'

| | | | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Násáahestanomóvóhe | I did not take his ___ | Násáahestanomóvóhenótse | I took his ___ (pl) |
| Nésáahestanomóvóhe | You did not take his ___ | Nésáahestanomóvóhenótse | You took his ___ (pl) |
| Ésáahestanomóvóhe | He didn't take his (obv) ___ | Ésáahestanomóvóhenótse | He took his (obv) ___ (pl) |
| Násáahestanomóvóhénóne | We (ex) didn't take his ___ | Násáahestanomóvóhénonéstse | We (ex) took his ___ (pl) |
| Nésáahestanomóvóhénone | We (in) didn't take his ___ | Nésáahestanomóvóhénonéstse | We (in) took his ___ (pl) |
| Nésáahestanomóvóhénóvo | You (pl) didn't take his ___ | Nésáahestanomóvóhénovótse | You (pl) took his ___ (pl) |
| Ésáahestanomóvóhénóvo | They didn't take his ___ | Ésáahestanomóvóhénovótse | They took his ___ (pl) |
| Éhestanéhanéhetse | His ___ was not taken | Ésáahestanéhenetótse | His ___ (pl) were not taken |

'not break his (something)'

| | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Násáa'é'e'ó'tóvóhe | I didn't break his ___ | Násáa'é'e'ó'tovóhenótse | I didn't break his ___ (pl) |
| Nésáa'é'e'ó'tóvóhe | You didn't break his ___ | Nésáa'é'e'ó'tovóhenótse | You didn't break his ___ (pl) |
| Ésáa'é'e'ó'tóvóhe | He didn't break his (obv) ___ | Ésáa'é'e'ó'tovóhenótse | He didn't break his (obv) ___ (pl) |
| Násáa'é'e'ó'tóvóhénóne | We (ex) didn't break his ___ | Násáa'é'e'ó'tovóhénonéstse | We (ex) didn't break his ___ (pl) |
| Nésáa'é'e'ó'tóvóhénone | We (in) didn't break his ___ | Nésáa'é'e'ó'tovóhénonéstse | We (in) didn't break his ___ (pl) |
| Nésáa'é'e'ó'tóvóhénóvo | You (pl) didn't break his ___ | Nésáa'é'e'ó'tovóhénovótse | You (pl) didn't break his ___ (pl) |
| Ésáa'é'e'ó'tóvóhénóvo | They didn't break his ___ | Ésáa'é'e'ó'tovóhénovótse | They didn't break his ___ (pl) |
| Ésáa'é'e'ó'hehanéhetse | His ___ wasn't broken | Ésáa'é'e'ó'hehanéhenetótse | His ___ (pl) weren't broken |

Transitive Inanimate Interrogative verbs

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

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

As with TA verbs, if the indicative form of a verb ends in whispered –otse, the interrogative suffix -he combines with it so the "ó" of the ending is voiced, not whispered. Then the ending is pronounced -otse.

'see (something)'

| | | | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| Návóohtahe? | Did I see it? | Návóohtanotse? | Did I see them? |
| Névóohtahe? | Did you see it? | Névóohtanotse? | Did you see them? |
| Évóohtahe? | Did he see it? | Évóohtanotse? | Did he see them? |
| Évóohtotsehe? | Did he (obv) see it? | Évóohtotsenotse? | Did he (obv) see them? |
| Návóohtanonehe? | Did we (excl) see it? | Návóohtanonevotse? | Did we (excl) see them? |
| Névóohtanonehe? | Did we (incl) see it? | Névóohtanonevotse? | Did we (incl) see them? |
| Névóohtanovohe? | Did you (pl) see it? | Névóohtanovotse? | Did you (pl) see them? |
| Évóohtanovohe? | Did they see it? | Évóohtanovotse? | Did they see them? |
| Évóomehe? | Was it seen? | Évóomenevotse? | Were they seen? |

'want (something)'

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Náho'áhehe? | Do I want it? | Náho'áhenotse? | Do I want them? |
| Ného'áhehe? | Do you want it? | Ného'áhenotse? | Do you want them? |
| Ého'áhehe? | Does he want it? | Ého'áhenotse? | Does he want them? |
| Ého'áhetshehe? | Does he (obv) want it? | Ého'áhetsenotse? | Does he (obv) want them? |
| Náho'áhenonehe? | Do we (excl) want it? | Náho'áhenonevotse? | Do we (excl) want them? |
| Ného'áhenonehe? | Do we (incl) want it? | Ného'áhenonevotse? | Do we (incl) want them? |
| Ného'áhenovohe? | Do you (pl) want it? | Ného'áhenovotse? | Do you (pl) want them? |
| Ého'áhenovohe? | Do they want it? | Ého'áhenovotse? | Do they want them? |
| Ého'áhéstovehe? | Is it wanted? | Ého'áhéstovenevotse? | Are they wanted? |

'take (something)'

| | | | |
|------------------|------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------|
| Náhestanahe? | Did I take it? | Náhestananotse? | Did I take them? |
| Néhestanahe? | Did you take it? | Néhestananotse? | Did you take them? |
| Éhestanahe? | Did he take it? | Éhestananotse? | Did he take them? |
| Éhestanotsehe? | Did he (obv) take it? | Éhestananotse? | Did he (obv) take them? |
| Náhestananonehe? | Did we (excl) take it? | Náhestananonevotse? | Did we (excl) take them? |
| Néhestananonehe? | Did we (incl) take it? | Néhestananonevotse? | Did we (incl) take them? |
| Néhestananovohe? | Did you (pl) take it? | Néhestananovotse? | Did they take them? |
| Éhestanehe? | Was it taken? | Éhestanenevotse? | Were they taken? |

Some mó- prefix TI questions

| | |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Mónévóóhta? | Did you see it? |
| Mó'éhestāna? | Did he take it? |
| Mónéhestanovótse? | Did you (plural) take them? |
| Mónémésenótse? | Did you eat them? |
| Mó'éméséstóvénéstse? | Were they eaten? |

Transitive Inanimate Interrogative relational verbs

'see his (something)'

| | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Návóohtomóvohe? | Did I see his ___? | Návóohtomóvonotse? | Did I see his ___ (plural)? |
| Névóohtomóvohe? | Did you see his ___? | Névóohtomóvonotse? | Did you see his ___ (pl)? |
| Évóohtomóvohe? | Did he see his (obv) ___? | Évóohtomóvonotse? | Did he see his (obv) ___ (pl)? |
| Návóohtomóvononehe? | Did we (ex) see his ___? | Návóohtomóvononevotse? | Did we (ex) see his ___ (pl)? |
| Névóohtomóvononehe? | Did we (in) see his ___? | Névóohtomóvononevotse? | Did we (in) see his ___ (pl)? |
| Névóohtomóvonovohe? | Did you (pl) see his ___? | Névóohtomóvonovotse? | Did you (pl) see his ___ (pl)? |
| Évóohtomóvonovohe? | Did they see his ___? | Évóohtomóvonovotse? | Did they see his ___ (pl)? |
| Évóometsehe? | Was his ___ seen? | Évóomenetsevotse? | Were his ___ (pl) seen? |

'take his (something)'

| | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Náhestanomóvohe? | Did I take his ___? | Náhestanomóvonotse? | Did I take his ___ (plural)? |
| Néhestanomóvohe? | Did you take his ___? | Néhestanomóvonotse? | Did you take his ___ (pl)? |
| Éhestanomóvohe? | Did he take his ___? | Éhestanomóvonotse? | Did he take his (obv) ___ (pl)? |
| Náhestanomóvononehe? | Did we (ex) take his ___? | Náhestanomóvononevotse? | Did we (ex) take his ___ (pl)? |
| Néhestanomóvononehe? | Did we (in) take his ___? | Néhestanomóvononevotse? | Did we (in) take his ___ (pl)? |
| Néhestanomóvonovohe? | Did you (pl) take his ___? | Néhestanomóvonovotse? | Did you (pl) take his ___ (pl)? |
| Éhestanomóvonovohe? | Did they take his ___? | Éhestanomóvonovotse? | Did they take his ___ (pl)? |
| Éhestanetsehe? | Was his ___ taken? | Éhestanetsevotse? | Were his ___ (plural) taken? |

Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative

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

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Násáavóohtóhehe? | Didn't I see it? | Násáavóohtóhenotse? | Didn't I see them? |
| Nésáavóohtóhehe? | Didn't you see it? | Nésáavóohtóhenotse? | Didn't you see them? |
| Ésáavóohtóhehe? | Didn't he see it? | Ésáavóohtóhenotse? | Didn't he see them? |
| Ésáavóohtóhetsehe? | Didn't he (obv) see it? | Ésáavóohtóhetsenotse? | Didn't he (obv) see them? |
| Násáavóohtóhenonehe? | Didn't we (ex) see it? | Násáavóohtóhenonevotse? | Didn't we (ex) see them? |
| Nésáavóohtóhenonehe? | Didn't we (in) see it? | Nésáavóohtóhenonevotse? | Didn't we (in) see them? |
| Nésáavóohtóhenovohe? | Didn't you (pl) see it? | Nésáavóohtóhenovotse? | Didn't you (pl) see them? |
| Ésáavóohtóhenovohe? | Didn't they see it? | Ésáavóohtóhenovotse? | Didn't they see them? |
| Ésáavóoméhanehe? | Wasn't it seen? | Ésáavóoméhanevotse? | Weren't they seen? |

Some other Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative verbs

| | |
|------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Nésáahestanóhehe? | Didn't you take it? |
| Nésáaméséhenovotse? | Didn't you (plural) eat them? |
| Ésáméséstovéhanevotse? | Weren't they (inanimate) eaten? |
| Ésáaho'áhéstovéhanehe? | Wasn't it wanted? |

Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative relational verbs

| | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Násáavóohtomóvohehe? | Didn't I see his ___? | Násáavóohtomóvóhenotse? | Didn't I see his ___ (pl)? |
| Nésáavóohtomóvohehe? | Didn't you see his ___? | Nésáavóohtomóvóhenotse? | Didn't you see his ___ (pl)? |
| Ésáavóohtomóvohehe? | Didn't he see his (obv) ___? | Ésáavóohtomóvóhenotse? | Didn't he see his (obv) ___ (pl)? |
| Násáavóohtomóvóhenonehe? | Didn't we (ex) see his ___? | Násáavóohtomóvóhenonevotse? | Didn't we (ex) see his ___ (pl)? |
| Nésáavóohtomóvóhenonehe? | Didn't we (in) see his ___? | Nésáavóohtomóvóhenonevotse? | Didn't we (in) see his ___ (pl)? |
| Nésáavóohtomóvóhenovohe? | Didn't you (pl) see his ___? | Nésáavóohtomóvóhenovotse? | Didn't you (pl) see his ___ (pl)? |
| Ésáavóohtomóvóhenovohe? | Didn't they see his ___? | Ésáavóohtomóvóhenovotse? | Didn't they see his ___ (pl)? |
| Ésáavóoméhanéhetsehe? | Wasn't his ___ seen? | Ésáavóoméhanéhetotsehe? | Weren't his ___ (pl) seen? |

Transitive Inanimate Inferential verbs

\$\$CHECK YOUNGER SPEAKER dialect: e.g. Mónávóohtáhēhe??

'see (something)'

| | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| Mónávóohtohēhe | I must have seen it | Mónávóohtohenōtse | I must have seen them |
| Mónévóohtohēhe | You must have seen it | Mónévóohtohenōtse | You must have see them |
| Móvóohtohēhe | He must have seen it | Móvóohtohenōtse | He must have seen them |
| Móvóohtohetsēhe | He (obv) must have seen it | Móvóohtohetsenōtse | He (obv) must have seen them |
| Mónávóohtohenonēhe | We (ex) must have seen it | Mónávóohtohenonevōtse | We (ex) must have seen them |
| Mónévóohtohenonēhe | We (in) must have seen it | Mónévóohtohenonevōtse | We (in) must have seen them |
| Mónévóohtohenovōhe | You (pl) must have seen it | Mónévóohtohenovōtse | You (pl) must have seen them |
| Móvóohtohenovōhe | They must have seen it | Móvóohtohenovōtse | They must have seen them |

'take (something)'

| | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Mónáhestanohēhe | I must have taken it | Mónáhestanohenōtse | I must have taken them |
| Mónéhestanohēhe | You must have taken it | Mónéhestanohenōtse | You must have taken them |
| Móhestanohēhe | He must have taken it | Móhestanohenōtse | He must have taken them |
| Móhestanohetsēhe | He (obv) must have taken it | Móhestanohetsenōtse | He (obv) must have taken them |
| Mónáhestanohenonēhe | We (ex) must have taken it | Mónáhestanohenonevōtse | We (ex) must have taken them |
| Mónéhestanohenonēhe | We (in) must have taken it | Mónéhestanohenonevōtse | We (in) must have taken them |
| Mónéhestanohenovōhe | You (pl) must have taken it | Mónéhestanohenovōtse | You (pl) must have taken them |
| Móhestanohenovōhe | They must have taken it | Móhestanohenovōtse | They must have taken them |

'have (something)'

| | | | |
|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Mónáho'tséhēhe | I must have it | Mónáho'tsēhenōtse | I must have seen them |
| Móného'tséhēhe | You must have it | Móného'tsēhenōtse | You must have them |
| Móho'tséhēhe | He must have it | Móho'tsēhenōtse | He must have it |
| Móho'tséhetséhēhe | He (obv) must have it | Móho'tséhetsenōtse | He (obv) must have it |
| Mónáho'tsēhenonēhe | We (ex) must have it | Mónáho'tsēhenonevōtse | We (ex) must have it |
| Móného'tsēhenonēhe | We (in) must have it | Móného'tsēhenonevōtse | We (in) must have it |
| Móného'tsēhenovōhe | You (pl) must have it | Móného'tsēhenovōtse | You (pl) must have it |

Transitive Inanimate Reportative verbs

'see (something)'

| | | | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|
| Návóóhtánöse | I am said to see it | Návóohtanösestötse | I am said to see them |
| Névóóhtánöse | You are said to see it | Névóohtanösestötse | You are said to see them |
| Évóóhtánöse | He is said to see it | Évóohtanösestötse | He is said to see them |
| Évóóhtótsénöse | He (obv) is said to see it | Évóohtótsenösestötse | He (obv) is said to see them |
| Návóóhtánónése | We (ex) are said to see it | Návóohtanónésestötse | We (ex) are said to see them |
| Névóóhtánónése | We (in) are said to see it | Névóohtanónésestötse | We (in) are said to see them |
| Névóóhtánóvöse | You (pl) are said to see it | Névóohtanóvösestötse | You (pl) are said to see them |
| Évóóhtánóvöse | They are said to see it | Évóohtanóvösestötse | They are said to see them |

'take (something)'

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Náhestanánöse | I am said to have taken it | Náhestanánösestötse | I am said to have taken them |
| Néhestanánöse | You are said to have taken it | Néhestanánösestötse | You are said to have taken them |
| Éhestanánöse | He is said to have taken it | Éhestanánösestötse | He is said to have taken them |
| Éhestanótsénöse | He (obv) is said to have taken it | Éhestanótsenösestötse | He (obv) is said to have taken them |
| Náhestanánónése | We (ex) are said to have taken it | Náhestanánónésestötse | We (ex) are said to have taken them |
| Néhestanánónése | We (in) are said to have taken it | Néhestanánónésestötse | We (in) are said to have taken them |
| Néhestanánóvöse | You (pl) are said to have taken it | Néhestanánóvösestötse | You (pl) are said to have taken them |
| Éhestanánóvöse | They are said to have taken it | Éhestanánóvösestötse | They are said to have taken them |

'have (something)'

| | | | |
|----------------|------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Náho'tsénöse | I am said to have it | Náho'tsénösestötse | I am said to have them |
| Ného'tsénöse | You are said to have it | Ného'tsénösestötse | You are said to have them |
| Ého'tsénöse | He is said to have it | Ého'tsénösestötse | He is said to have them |
| Ého'tsétsénöse | He (obv) is said to have it | Ého'tsétsenösestötse | He (obv) is said to have them |
| Náho'tsénónése | We (ex) are said to have it | Náho'tsénónésestötse | We (ex) are said to have them |
| Ného'tsénónése | We (in) are said to have it | Ného'tsénónésestötse | We (in) are said to have them |
| Ného'tsénóvöse | You (pl) are said to have it | Ného'tsénóvösestötse | You (pl) are said to have them |
| Ého'tsénóvöse | They are said to have it | Ého'tsénóvösestötse | They are said to have them |

Some Transitive Inanimate Reportative relational verbs

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Návóohtomóvónöse | I am said to have seen his ___ (rel). |
| Évóohtomóvónöse | He is said to have seen his (obv) ___ |
| Évóohtomóvonösestötse | He is said to have seen his ___ (plural) |

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| Náhestanomóvónöse | I am said to have taken his ___ |
| Éhestanomóvónöse | He is said to have taken his (obv) ___ |
| Éhestanomóvonösestötse | He is said to have taken his (obv) ___ (plural) |

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| Náé'e'ó'tóvónöse | I am said to have broken his ___ |
| Éé'e'ó'tóvónöse | He is said to have broken his (obv) ___ |
| Éé'e'ó'tovonösestötse | He is said to have broken his (obv) ___ (plural) |

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| Náho'tomóvónöse | I am said to have his ___ |
| Ého'tomóvónöse | He is said to have his (obv) his ___ |
| Ého'tomóvonösestötse | He is said to have his (obv) his ___ (plural) |

Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative verbs

'not see (something)'

| | |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Násáavóóhtöhénöse | I am said not to see it |
| Nésáavóóhtöhénöse | You are said not to see it |
| Ésáavóóhtöhénöse | He is said not to see it |
| Ésáavóóhtöhétsénöse | He (obviative) is said not to see it |
| Násáavóóhtöhénónése | We (exclusive) are said not to see it |
| Nésáavóóhtöhénónése | We (inclusive) are said not to see it |
| Nésáavóóhtöhénóvöse | You (plural) are said not to see it |
| Ésáavóóhtöhénóvöse | They are said not to see it |

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Násáavóóhtöhenösestötse | I am said not to see them |
| Nésáavóóhtöhenösestötse | You are said not to see them |
| Ésáavóóhtöhenösestötse | He is said not to see them |
| Ésáavóóhtöhetsenösestötse | He (obviative) is said not to see them |
| Násáavóóhtöhenónésestötse | We (exclusive) are said not to see them |
| Nésáavóóhtöhenónésestötse | We (inclusive) are said not to see them |
| Nésáavóóhtöhenóvösestötse | You (plural) are said not to see them |
| Ésáavóóhtöhenóvösestötse | They are said not to see them |

'not take (something)'

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| Násáahestanóhénöse | I am said not to have taken it |
| Nésáahestanóhénöse | You are said not to have taken it |
| Ésáahestanóhénöse | He is said not to have taken it |
| Ésáahestanóhétsénöse | He (obviative) is said not to have taken it |
| Násáahestanóhénónése | We (exclusive) are said not to have taken it |
| Nésáahestanóhénónése | We (inclusive) are said not to have taken it |
| Nésáahestanóhénóvöse | You (plural) are said not to have taken it |
| Ésáahestanóhénóvöse | They are said not to have taken it |

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Násáahestanóhenösestötse | I am said not to have taken them |
| Nésáahestanóhenösestötse | You are said not to have taken them |
| Ésáahestanóhenösestötse | He is said not to have taken them |
| Ésáahestanóhetsenösestötse | He (obviative) is said not to have taken them |
| Násáahestanóhenónésestötse | We (exclusive) are said not to have taken them |
| Nésáahestanóhenónésestötse | We (inclusive) are said not to have taken them |
| Nésáahestanóhenóvösestötse | You (plural) are said not to have taken them |
| Ésáahestanóhenóvösestötse | They are said not to have taken them |

'not have (something)'

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Násáaho'tséhénöse | I am said not to have it |
| Nésáaho'tséhénöse | You are said not to have it |
| Ésáaho'tséhénöse | He is said not to have it |
| Ésáaho'tséhétsénöse | He (obviative) is said not to have it |
| Násáaho'tséhénónése | We (exclusive) are said not to have it |
| Nésáaho'tséhénónése | We (inclusive) are said not to have it |
| Nésáaho'tséhénóvöse | You (plural) are said not to have it |
| Ésáaho'tséhénóvöse | They are said not to have it |

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Násáaho'tséhenösestötse | I am said not to have them |
| Nésáaho'tséhenösestötse | You are said not to have them |

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Ésáaho'tséhenósestótse | He is said not to have them |
| Ésáaho'tséhetsenósestótse | He (obviative) is said not to have them |
| Násáaho'tséhenónésestótse | We (exclusive) are said not to have them |
| Nésáaho'tséhenónésestótse | We (inclusive) are said not to have them |
| Nésáaho'tséhenóvósestótse | You (plural) are said not to have them |
| Ésáaho'tséhenóvósestótse | They are said not to have them |

'not eat (something)' \$\$CHECK

| | |
|------------------|--|
| Násáméséhénöse | I am said not to have eaten it |
| Nésáméséhénöse | You are said not to have eaten it |
| Ésáméséhénöse | He is said not to have eaten it |
| Ésáméséhétsénöse | He (obviative) is said not to have eaten it |
| Násáméséhénónése | We (exclusive) are said not to have eaten it |
| Nésáméséhénónése | We (inclusive) are said not to have eaten it |
| Nésáméséhénóvöse | You (plural) are said not to have eaten it |
| Ésáméséhénóvöse | They are said not to have eaten it |

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| Násáméséhenósestótse | I am said not to have eaten them |
| Nésáméséhenósestótse | You are said not to have eaten them |
| Ésáméséhenósestótse | He is said not to have eaten them |
| Ésáméséhetsenósestótse | He (obviative) is said not to have eaten them |
| Násáméséhenónésestótse | We (exclusive) are said not to have eaten them |
| Nésáméséhenónésestótse | We (inclusive) are said not to have eaten them |
| Nésáméséhenóvósestótse | You (plural) are said not to have eaten them |
| Ésáméséhenóvósestótse | They are said not to have eaten them |

Some Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative relational verbs \$\$CHECK

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| Ésáavóhtomóvóhénöse. | He is said not to have seen his ___ (rel). |
| Ésáavóhtomóvóhénósestótse. | They are said not to have seen his ___ (pl) (rel). |
| Ésáahestanomóvóhénöse. | He is said not to have taken his ___ (rel). |
| Ésáahestanomóvóhénósestótse. | They are said not to have taken 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)'

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Éhvóhtanoho | Once upon a time he saw it |
| Éhvóhtanóhoonótse | Once upon a time he saw them (inanimate) |
| Éhvóhtanovoho | Once upon a time they saw it |
| Éhvóhtanovóhoonótse | Once upon a time they saw them (inanimate) |
| Éxhestanánoho | Once upon a time he took it |
| Éxhestanánohoonótse | Once upon a time he took them (inanimate) |
| Éxhestanánovoho | Once upon a time they took it |

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Éxhestanánovóhoonótse | Once upon a time they took them (inanimate) |
| Éxho'tsénoho | Once upon a time he had it |
| Éxho'tsénóhoonótse | Once upon a time he had them (inanimate) |
| Éxho'tsénovoho | Once upon a time they had it |
| Éxho'tsénovoho | Once upon a time they had them (inanimate) |
| Éhmésénoho | Once upon a time he ate it |
| Éhmésénóhoonótse | Once upon a time he ate them (inanimate) |
| Éhmésénovoho | Once upon a time they ate it |
| Éhmésénovóhoonótse | Once upon a time they ate them (inanimate) |
| É'amo'enánoho | Once upon a time he rolled it |
| É'amo'enánóhoonótse | Once upon a time he rolled them (inanimate) |
| É'amo'enánovoho | Once upon a time they rolled it |
| É'amo'enánovóhoonótse | Once upon a time they rolled them (inanimate) |

Transitive Inanimate Negative Preterit verbs

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Éssáavóohtóheho | Once upon a time he did not see it |
| Éssáavóohtóhénóhoonótse | Once upon a time he did not see them (inanimate) |
| Éssáavóohtóhénovoho | Once upon a time they did not see it |
| Éssáavóohtóhénovóhoonótse | Once upon a time they did not see them (inanimate) |
| Éssáahestanóhenoho | Once upon a time he did not take it |
| Éssáahestanóhénóhoonótse | Once upon a time he did not take them (inanimate) |
| Éssáahestanóhenovoho | Once upon a time they did not take it |
| Éssáahestanóhenovóhoonótse | Once upon a time they did not see them (inanimate) |

Transitive Inanimate Imperatives

As with the AI and TA paradigms, Cheyenne commands are for either immediate or delayed action. The same word is used to command someone to do something to one thing or more than one thing. For instance, Vé'hóóhtóhtse! can mean either 'Look at it!' or 'Look at them (inanimate)!'

Transitive Inanimate Immediate Imperative

| meaning | said to one person | said to more than one person |
|---------------------|----------------------|------------------------------|
| Look at it/them! | Vé'hóóhtóhtse! | Vé'hoohtome! |
| Take it! | Hestānohtse! | Hestanome! |
| Eat it/them! | Meséstse! | Mese! |
| Bring it/them here! | Néxho'eotsestséstse! | Néxho'eotsestse! |
| Burn it/them up! | Vonáho'hóhtse! | Vonáho'home! |
| Drink it/them! | Manéstse! | Mane! |
| Cut it/them! | Tséhetāxóhtse! | Tséhetāxome! |
| Clean it/them! | Hóxe'ānohtse! | Hóxe'anome! |
| Make it/them! | Manestséstse! | Manestse! |

Transitive Inanimate Delayed Imperative

| meaning | said to one person | said to more than one person |
|---------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| Look at it/them later! | Vé'hoohtomeo'o!! | Vé'hoohtomáhéne! |
| Take it later! | Hestanomeo'o! | Hestanomáhéne! |
| Eat it/them later! | Méseo'o! | Méséhéne! |
| Bring it/them here later! | Néxho'eotséstseo'o! | Néxho'eotséstséhéne! |
| Burn it/them up later! | Vonáho'homeo'o! | Vonáho'homáhéne! |
| Drink it/them later! | Maneo'o! | Manéhéne! |
| Cut it/them later! | Tséhetāxomeo'o! | Tséhetāxomáhéne! |
| Clean it/them later! | Hóxe'anomeo'o! | Hóxe'anomáhéne! |
| Make it/them later! | Manéstseo'o! | Manéstséhéne! |

Transitive Inanimate Hortative verbs

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

| | | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Vé'hoohtoha! | Let him look at it/them! | Vé'hoomévoha! | Let them look at it/them! |
| Hestanoha!! | Let him take it/them! | Hestanomévoha! | Let them take it/them! |
| Néxho'eotséstseha! | Let him bring it/them! | Néxho'eotséstsévoha! | Let them bring it/them! |
| Manéstseha! | Let him make it/them! | Manéstsévoha! | Let them make it/them! |
| Ho'tseha! | Let him have it/them! | Ho'tsévoha! | Let them have it/them! |
| Méseha! | Let him eat it/them! | Mésevoha! | Let them eat it/them! |
| Maneha! | Let him drink it/them! | Manévoha! | Let them drink it/them! |

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs

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

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

| | | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Náa'ta'oo'e | It acc. hit me | Náa'ta'óenótse | They acc. hit me |
| Néa'ta'oo'e | It acc. hit you | Néa'ta'óenótse | They acc. hit you |
| Éa'ta'oo'e | It acc. hit him | Éa'ta'óenótse | They acc. hit him |
| Éa'ta'óetse | It acc. hit him (obv) | Éa'ta'óetsenótse | They acc. hit him (obv) |
| Náa'ta'óénóne | It acc. hit us (excl) | Náa'ta'óenonéstse | They acc. hit us (excl) |
| Néa'ta'óénóvo | It acc. hit you (pl) | Néa'ta'óenovótse | They acc. hit you (pl) |
| Éa'ta'óénóvo | It acc. hit them | E'ta'óenovótse | They acc. hit them |

-ho'éhót 'come to (someone)'

| | | | |
|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|
| Náho'éhótaa'e | It came to me | Náho'éhótaenótse | They came to me |
| Ného'éhótaa'e | It came to you | Ného'éhótaenótse | They came to you |
| Ého'éhótaa'e | It came to him | Ého'éhótaenótse | They came to him |
| Ého'éhótaetse | It came to him (obv) | Ého'éhótaetsenótse | They came to him (obv) |
| Náho'éhótaenóne | It came to us (ex) | Náho'éhótaenonéstse | They came to us (ex) |
| Ného'éhótaenone | It came to us (in) | Ného'éhótaenonéstse | They came to us (in) |
| Ného'éhótaenóvo | It came to you (pl) | Ného'éhótaenovótse | They came to you (pl) |
| Ého'éhótaenóvo | It came to them | Ého'éhótaenovótse | They came to them |

Examples in sentences

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| Káhámáxe éa'ta'oo'e hetane | The stick accidentally hit the man |
| Náa'ta'óenonéstse he'konótse | The bones accidentally hit us |
| Háomóhtáhestótse ého'éhótaetse 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 naamáho'hestótse. | I miss my car. (lit., 'My car causes loneliness to me.') |
| Náhóonósé'otaenótse sémonótse. | I miss the boats. (lit., 'The boats cause loneliness to me.') |

-péhéveahtám 'like to listen to'

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

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Épèhéveahtámaa'e. | 'He likes to listen to it. (lit., 'It causes good listening to him.') |
| Épèhéveahtámaenóvo. | 'They like to listen to it. (lit., 'It causes good listening to them.') |

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Indicative relational verbs

An inanimate subject possessed by a third person can act upon an animate object. Throughout this book we are calling a verb that reflects an action by something possessed by a third person a relational verb.

| | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Náa'ta'óetse | His ___ acc. hit me | Náa'ta'óetsenótse | His ___ (pl) acc. hit me |
| Néa'ta'óetse | His ___ acc. hit you | Néa'ta'poetsenótse | His ___ (pl) acc. hit me |
| Éa'ta'óetse | His ___ acc. hit him | Éa'ta'óetsenótse | His ___ (pl) acc. hit him |
| Náa'ta'óetsenone | His ___ acc. hit us (ex) | Náa'ta'óetsenonéstse | His ___ (pl) acc. hit us (ex) |
| Néa'ta'óetsenone | His ___ acc. hit us (in) | Néa'ta'óetsenonéstse | His ___ (pl) acc. hit us (in) |
| Né'a'ta'óétsénóvo | His ___ acc. hit you (pl) | Né'a'ta'óetsenovótse | His ___ (pl) acc. hit you (pl) |
| Éa'ta'óétsénóvo | His ___ acc. hit them | Éa'ta'óetsenovótse | His ___ (pl) acc. hit them |
| Náho'èhótaetse | His ___ came to me | Náho'èhótaetsenótse | His ___ (pl) came to me |
| Ného'èhótaetse | His ___ came to you | Ného'èhótaetsenótse | His ___ (pl) came to you |
| Ého'èhótaetse | His ___ came to him | Ého'èhótaetsenótse | His ___ (pl) came to him |
| Náho'èhótaetsenone | His ___ came to us (ex) | Náho'èhótaetsenonéstse | His ___ (pl) came to us (ex) |
| Ného'èhótaetsenone | His ___ came to us (in) | Ného'èhótaetsenonéstse | His ___ (pl) came to us (in) |
| Ného'èhótaetsenovó | His ___ came to you (pl) | Ného'èhótaetsenovótse | His ___ (pl) came to you (pl) |
| Ého'èhótaetsenovó | His ___ came to them | Ého'èhótaetsenovótse | His ___ (pl) came to them |

Examples in sentences

| | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| Náa'ta'óetse hemóxe'èstónestótse | His pencil accidentally hit me |
| Hemóxe'èstóonevótse náho'èhótaetsenonéstse | Their books came to us |

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative verbs

'not accidentally hit (someone)'

| | | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Násáa'a'ta'óéhe | It did not acc. hit me | Násáa'a'ta'óhenótse | They did not acc. hit me |
| Nésáa'a'ta'óéhe | It did not acc. hit you | Nésáa'a'ta'óehenótse | They did not acc. hit you |
| Ésáa'a'ta'óéhe | It did not acc. hit him | Ésáa'a'ta'óehenótse | They did not acc. hit him |
| Ésáa'a'ta'óehetse | It did not acc. hit him (obv) | Ésáa'a'ta'óehétsenótse | They did not acc. hit him (obv) |
| Násáa'a'ta'óéhénóne | It did not acc. hit us (ex) | Násáa'a'ta'óéhénonéstse | They did not acc. hit us (ex) |
| Nésáa'a'ta'óéhénone | It did not acc. hit us (in) | Nésáa'a'ta'óéhénonéstse | They did not acc. hit us (in) |
| Nésáa'a'ta'óéhénóvo | It did not acc. hit you (pl) | Nésáa'a'ta'óéhénovótse | They did not acc. hit you (pl) |
| Ésáa'a'ta'óéhénóvo | It did not acc. hit them | Ésáa'a'ta'óéhénovótse | They did not acc. hit them |

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative relational verbs

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| Násáa'a'ta'óehetse | His ___ did not acc. hit me | Násáa'a'ta'óehétsenótse | His ___ (pl) did not acc. hit me |
| Nésáa'a'ta'óehetse | His ___ did not acc. hit you | Nésáa'a'ta'óehétsenótse | His ___ (pl) did not acc. hit you |
| Ésáa'a'ta'óehetse | His (obv) ___ did not acc. hit him | Ésáa'a'ta'óehétsenótse | His (obv) ___ (pl) did not acc. hit him |
| Násáa'a'ta'óehétsénóne | His ___ did not acc. hit us (ex) | Násáa'a'ta'óehétsenonéstse | His ___ (pl) did not acc. hit us (ex) |
| Nésáa'a'ta'óehétsenone | His ___ did not acc. hit us (in) | Nésáa'a'ta'óehétsenonéstse | His ___ (pl) did not acc. hit us (in) |
| Nésáa'a'ta'óehétsénóvo | His ___ did not acc. hit you (pl) | Nésáa'a'ta'óehétsenovótse | His ___ (pl) did not acc. hit you (pl) |
| Ésáa'a'ta'óehétsénóvo | His (obv) ___ did not acc. hit them | Ésáa'a'ta'óehétsenovótse | His (obv) ___ (pl) did not acc. hit them |
| Násáaho'èhótaehetse | His ___ did not come to me | Násáaho'èhótaehétsenótse | His ___ (pl) did not come to me |
| Nésáaho'èhótaehetse | His ___ did not come to you | Nésáaho'èhótaehétsenótse | His ___ (pl) did not come to me |
| Ésáaho'èhótaehetse | His (obv) ___ did not come to him | Ésáaho'èhótaehétsenótse | His (obv) ___ (pl) did not come to him |
| Násáaho'èhótaehétsénóne | His ___ did not come to us (ex) | Násáaho'èhótaehétsenonéstse | His ___ (pl) did not come to us (ex) |
| Nésáaho'èhótaehétsenone | His ___ did not come to us (in) | Nésáaho'èhótaehétsenonéstse | His ___ (pl) did not come to us (in) |
| Nésáaho'èhótaehétsénóvo | His ___ did not come to you (pl) | Nésáaho'èhótaehétsenovótse | His ___ (pl) did not come to you (pl) |

Ésáaho'éhótaehétsénóvo His (obv) __ did not come to them Ésáaho'éhótaehétsenovótse 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'èstónéstotótse

His (another's) pencils did not accidentally hit him

Háomóhtáhestótse ésáaho'éhótaehetse hee'haho

Sickness didn't come to his son.

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Interrogative verbs

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

| | | | |
|------------------|----------------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|
| Náa'ta'óehe? | Did it acc. hit me? | Ná'ta'óenotse? | Did they acc. hit me? |
| Né'a'ta'óehe? | Did it acc. hit you? | Néa'ta'óenotse? | Did they acc. hit you? |
| Éa'ta'óehe? | Did it acc. hit him? | Éa'ta'óenotse? | Did they acc. hit him? |
| Éa'ta'óetsehe? | Did it acc. hit him (obv)? | Éa'ta'óetsenotse? | Did they acc. hit him (obv)? |
| Náa'ta'óenonehe? | Did it acc. hit us (excl)? | Néa'ta'óenonevotse? | Did they acc. hit us (excl)? |
| Néa'ta'óenonehe? | Did it acc. hit us (incl)? | Néa'ta'óenonevotse? | Did they acc. hit us (incl)? |
| Néa'ta'óenovohe? | Did it acc. hit you (pl)? | Néa'ta'óenovotse? | Did they acc. hit you (pl)? |
| Éa'ta'óenovohe? | Did it acc. hit them? | Éa'ta'óenovotse? | Did they acc. hit them? |

-ho'éhót 'come to (someone)'

| | | | |
|--------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Náho'éhótaehe? | Did it come to me? | Náho'éhótaenotse? | Did they come to me? |
| Ného'éhótaehe? | Did it come to you? | Ného'éhótaenotse? | Did they come to you? |
| Ého'éhótaehe? | Did it come to him? | Ého'éhótaenotse? | Did they come to him? |
| Ého'éhótaetsehe? | Did it come to him (obv)? | Ého'éhótaetsenotse? | Did they come to him (obv)? |
| Náho'éhótaenonehe? | Did it come to us (ex)? | Náho'éhótaenonevotse? | Did they come to us (ex)? |
| Ného'éhótaenonehe? | Did it come to us (in)? | Ného'éhótaenonevotse? | Did they come to us (in)? |
| Ného'éhótaenovohe? | Did it come to you (pl)? | Ného'éhótaenovotse? | Did they come to you (pl)? |
| Ého'éhótaenovohe? | Did it come to them? | Ého'éhótaenovotse? | Did they come to them? |

Examples in sentences

| | |
|--|---|
| Kahámáxe né'ta'óehe? | Did a stick accidentally hit you? |
| Pèhévtañohtótse ého'áhótaetsehe hestónaho? | Did happiness come to his daughter (obviative)? |
| Néa'ta'óenovotse he'konótse? | Did bones accidentally hit you (plural)? |

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Interrogative relational verbs

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Náa'ta'óetsehe? | Did his ___ acc. hit me? | Náa'ta'óetsenotse? | Did his ___ (pl) acc. hit me? |
| Néa'ta'óetsehe? | Did his ___ acc. hit you? | Néa'ta'óetsenotse? | Did his ___ (pl) acc. hit me? |
| Éa'ta'óetsehe? | Did his ___ acc. hit him? | Éa'ta'óetsenotse? | Did his ___ (pl) acc. hit him? |
| Náa'ta'óetsenonehe? | Did his ___ acc. hit us (ex)? | Náa'ta'óetsenonevotse? | Did his ___ (pl) acc. hit us (ex)? |
| Néa'ta'óetsenonehe? | Did his ___ acc. hit us (in)? | Néa'ta'óetsenonevotse? | Did his ___ (pl) acc. hit us (in)? |
| Néa'ta'óetsenovohe? | Did his ___ acc. hit you (pl)? | Néa'ta'óetsenonevotse? | Did his ___ (pl) acc. hit you (pl)? |
| Éa'ta'óetsenovohe? | Did his ___ acc. hit them? | Éa'ta'óetsenovotse? | Did his ___ (pl) acc. hit them? |

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Negative Interrogative verbs

| | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Násáa'a'ta'óehehe? | Didn't it acc. hit me? | Násáa'a'ta'óehenotse? | Didn't they acc. hit me? |
| Nésáa'a'ta'óehehehe? | Didn't it acc. hit you? | Nésáa'a'ta'óehenotse? | Didn't they acc. hit you? |
| Ésáa'a'ta'óehehe? | Didn't it acc. hit him? | Ésáa'a'ta'óehenotse? | Didn't they acc. hit him? |
| Ésáa'a'ta'óehetsehe? | Didn't it acc. hit him (obv)? | Ésáa'a'ta'óhetsenotse? | Didn't they acc. hit him (obv)? |
| Násáa'a'ta'óehenonehe? | Didn't it acc. hit us (ex)? | Násáa'a'ta'óehenonevotse? | Didn't they acc. hit us (ex)? |
| Nésáa'a'ta'óhenonehe? | Didn't it acc. hit you (pl)? | Nésáa'a'ta'óehenovotse? | Didn't they acc. hit you (pl)? |
| Ésáa'a'ta'óehenovohe? | Didn't it acc. hit them? | Ésáa'a'ta'óehenovotse? | Didn't they acc. hit them? |

Examples in sentences

| | |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| Hemóxe'éstónestótse néa'ta'óetsehe? | Did his pencil (relational) acc. hit you? |
| Kahámáxe nésáa'a'ta'óehenovohe? | Didn't the stick accidentally hit you (plural)? |

Ditransitive Independent Indicative verbs

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

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

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

/-mét/ 'give (something to someone)'

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

| | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Námétahtse | I gave it to myself | Émétahtsetse | He (obv) gave it to himself |
| Németatse | I gave it to you | Námétaetsenone | He (obv) gave it to us (ex) |
| Náméto | I gave it to him | Némétaetsenone | He (obv) gave it to us (in) |
| Námétamóho | I gave it to him (obv) | Némétaetsenōvo | He (obv) gave it to you (pl) |
| Nématsénóvo | I gave it to you (pl) | Émétaenóvo | He (obv) gave it to them |
| Námétónóvo | I gave it to them | | |
| Németse | You gave it to me | Némétatsemeno | We (ex) gave it to you |
| Némétahtse | You gave it to yourself | Námétóne ¹¹⁰ | We (ex) gave it to him |
| Náméto | You gave it to him | Námétamone ¹¹¹ | We (ex) gave it to him (obv) |
| Némétamóho | You gave it to him (obv) | Námétahtsénóne | We (ex) gave it to ourselves |
| Némétsemeno ¹⁰⁸ | You gave it to us (ex) | Námétatsemeno | We (ex) gave it to you (pl) |
| Námétónóvo | You gave it to them | Námétoneo'o ¹¹² | We (ex) gave it to them |
| Námétaa'e | He gave it to me | Námétone ¹¹³ | We (in) gave it to him |
| Némétaa'e | He gave it to you | Némétamonone | We (in) gave it to him (obv) |
| Émétahtse | He gave it to himself | Némétahtsénone | We (in) gave it to ourselves |
| Émétóho ¹⁰⁹ | He gave it to him (obv) | Námétoneo'o ¹¹⁴ | We (in) gave it to them |
| Námétaenóne | He gave it to us (excl) | Némétsénóvo | You (pl) gave it to me |
| Námétaenone | He gave it to us (incl) | Námétónóvo | You (pl) gave it to him |
| Námétaenóvo | He gave it to you (pl) | Némétamonovo | You (pl) gave it to him (obv) |
| Námétaetse | He (obv) gave it to me | Némétsemeno | You (pl) gave it to us (in) |
| Némétaetse | He (obv) gave it to you | Némétahtsénóvo | You (pl) gave it to yourselves |
| Émétáá'e | He (obv) gave it to him | | |

¹¹⁰ Also Námétónóne

¹¹¹ Also Námétamonone

¹¹² Also Námétónóne

¹¹³ Also Némétónone

¹¹⁴ Also Némétónone

¹⁰⁸ Also Némétsemenone

¹⁰⁹ Or Émeto for some speakers because of its stem-final phonemic high pitch

| | | | |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|---|
| Némétónóvo | You (pl) gave it to them | Námétaenōvo Némétaenōvo | They gave it to me They gave it to you |
| Émétónóvo | They gave it to him (obv) | Émétahtsésenótse | He (obv) gave them to himself |
| Námétaenone | They gave it to us (ex) | Námétaetsenonéstse | He (obv) gave them to us (ex) |
| Némétaenone | They gave it to us (in) | Némétaetsenonéstse | He (obv) gave them to us (in) |
| Némétaenóvo | They gave it to you (pl) | Némétaetsénovótse | He (obv) gave them to you (pl) |
| Émétahtsénóvo | They gave it to themselves | Émétaenovótse | He (obv) gave them to them |
| Námétáne | I was given it | Némétatsemenótse | We (ex) gave them to you |
| Némétáne | You were given it | Námétanonéstse | We (ex) gave them to him |
| Émetse | He was given it | Námétamónonéstse | We (ex) gave them to him (obv) |
| Námétanénone | We (ex) were given it | Námétahtsénonéstse | We (ex) gave them to ourselves |
| Némétanénone | We (in) were given it | Némétatsemenótse | We (ex) gave them to you (pl) |
| Némétanénovo | You (pl) were given it | Némétononéstse | We (ex) gave them to them |
| Émétsénóvo | They were given it | | |
| <i>'give (some things to someone)'</i> | | Némétononéstse | We (in) gave them to him |
| These ditransitive verbs refer to when | | Némétamónonéstse | We (in) gave them to him (obv) |
| plural inanimate objects are given to someone. | | Némétahtsénonéstse | We (in) gave them to ourselves |
| | | Némétononéstse | We (in) gave them to them |
| Námétahtsenótse | I gave them to myself | Némétsenovótse | You (pl) gave them to me |
| Némétatsenótse | I gave them to you | Némétonovótse | You (pl) gave them to him |
| Némétonótse | I gave them to him | Némétamónovótse | You (pl) gave them to him (obv) |
| Námétamonótse | I gave them to him (obv) | Némétsemenótse | You (pl) gave them to us (ex) |
| Némétatsénovótse | I gave them to you (pl) | Némétahtsénovótse | You (pl) gave them to yourselves |
| Námétonovótse | I gave them to them | Némétonovótse | You (pl) gave them to them |
| Némétsenótse | You gave them to me | Námétaenovótse | They gave them to us (ex) |
| Némétahtsenótse | You gave them to yourself | Némétaenovótse | They gave them to us (in) |
| Némétonótse | You gave them to him | Émétaenovótse | They gave them to him (obv) |
| Némétamonótse | You gave them to him (obv) | Námétaenonéstse | They gave them to us (ex) |
| Némétsemenótse | You gave them to us (ex) | Némétaenonéstse | They gave them to us (in) |
| Némétonovótse | You gave them to them | Némétaenovótse | They gave them to you (pl) |
| | | Émétahtsénovótse | They gave them to themselves |
| Námétaenótse | He gave them to me | Námétanenótse | I was given them |
| Némétaenótse | He gave them to you | Némétanenótse | You were given them |
| Émétahtsenótse | He gave them to himself | Émétsenótse | He was given them |
| Námétaenonéstse | He gave them to him (obv) | Námétanénonéstse | We (ex) were given them |
| Námétaenonéstse | He gave them to us (ex) | | |
| Némétaenonéstse | He gave them to us (in) | Némétanénonéstse | We (in) were given them |
| Némétaenovótse | He gave them to you (pl) | Némétanénonovótse | You (pl) were given them |
| | | Émétsenovótse | They were given them |
| Námétaetsenótse | He (obv) gave them to me | | |
| Némétaetsenótse | He (obv) gave them to me | | |
| Émétaenótse | He (obv) gave them to him | | |

/-mét/ 'give (someone to someone)'

These ditransitive verbs refer to when an animate object is given to someone. The abbreviation *obv'* refers to a third person further obviated than than a third person (obviative).

| | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------------------|
| Námétahtsenótse | I gave him to myself | Námétaenovo | They gave him (obv) to me |
| Némétatsenótse | I gave him to you | Némétaenovo | They gave him (obv) to you |
| Námétonoto | I gave him (obv') to him (obv) | Émétonovo | They gave him (obv') to him (obv) |
| Námétamónoto | I gave him (obv') to him (obv) | Námétaenóneo'o | They gave him (obv) to us (ex) |
| Némétatsénóvo | I gave him to you (pl) | Némétaenóneo'o | They gave him (obv) to us (in) |
| Námétonovo | I gave him (obv') to them | Némétaenóvoo'o | They gave him (obv) to you (pl) |
| | | Émétáhtsenovo | They gave him (obv) to themselves |
| Némétsenótse | You gave him to me | Námétanenótse | I was given him |
| Némétahtsenótse | You gave him to yourself | Némétanenótse | You were given him |
| Némétonoto | You gave him (obv) to him | Émétsenoto | He was given him (obv) |
| Námétamónoto | You gave him (obv') to him (obv) | Námétanénóne | We (ex) were given him |
| Némétsemeno | You gave him to us (ex) | Némétanénone | We (in) were given him |
| Némétonovo | You gave him (obv') to them | Némétanénóvo | You (pl) were given him |
| | | Émétsenovo | They were given him (obv) |
| Námétaenoto | He gave him (obv) to me | | |
| Némétaenoto | He gave him (obv) to you | | |
| Émétáhtsénoto | He gave him (obv) to himself | | |
| Émétonoto | He gave him (obv') to him (obv) | | |
| Námétaenone | He gave him (obv) to us (ex) | | |
| Némétaenone | He gave him (obv) to us (in) | | |
| Némétaenovo | He gave him (obv) to you (pl) | | |
| \$\$RECHECK PROX/OBV of secondary object??: | | | |
| Námétaetsenoto | He (obv) gave him (obv') to me | | |
| Némétaetsenoto | He (obv) gave him (obv') to you | | |
| Émétaenoto | He (obv) gave him (obv') to him | | |
| Émétáhtsétsenoto | He (obv) gave him (obv') to himself | | |
| Námétaetsenone | He (obv) gave him (obv') to us (ex) | | |
| Némétaetsenone | He (obv) gave him (obv') to us (in) | | |
| Némétaetsenovo | He (obv) gave him (obv') to you (pl) | | |
| Émétaenovo | He (obv) gave him (obv') to them | | |
| Némétatsemeno | We (ex) gave him to you | | |
| Námétonone | We (ex) gave him (obv) to him | | |
| Námétamónone ¹¹⁵ | We (ex) gave him (obv') to him (obv) | | |
| Námétahtsénóne | We (ex) gave him to ourselves | | |
| Némétatsemeno | We (ex) gave him to you (pl) | | |
| Námétonone | We (ex) gave him (obv) to them | | |
| Némétonone | We (in) gave him (obv) to him | | |
| Námétamónone ¹¹⁶ | We (in) gave him (obv') to him (obv) | | |
| Némétahtsénone | We (in) gave him to ourselves | | |
| Némétonone | We (in) gave him (obv') to them | | |
| Némétsénóvo | You (pl) gave him to me | | |
| Némétonovo | You (pl) gave him (obv) to him | | |
| Námétamovo | You (pl) gave him (obv') to him (obv) | | |
| Némétsemeno | You (pl) gave him to us (ex) | | |
| Némétahtsénóvo | You (pl) gave him to yourselves | | |
| Némétonovo | You (pl) gave him (obv) to them | | |

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.

| | | | |
|--|--|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| Námétahtsénoto | I gave them to myself | Némétahtsénovoo'o | You (pl) gave them to yourselves |
| Némétatsénoto | I gave them to you | Némétonovo | You (pl) gave them (obv) to them |
| Námétonoto | I gave them ¹¹⁷ (obv') to him (obv) | Námétaenovo | They gave them (obv) to me |
| Námétamónoto | I gave them (obv') to him (obv) | Némétaenovo | They gave them (obv) to you |
| Némétatsénovoo'o | I gave them to you (pl) | Émétonovo | They gave them (obv') to him (obv) |
| Námétonovo | I gave them (obv') to them | Námétaenóneo'o | They gave them (obv) to us (ex) |
| Némétsenoto | You gave them to me | Némétaenóneo'o | They gave them (obv) to us (in) |
| Némétahtsénoto | You gave them to yourself | Némétaenóvoo'o | They gave them (obv) to you (pl) |
| Némétonoto | You gave them (obv) to him | Émétáhtsenovo | They gave them (obv) to themselves |
| Némétamónoto | You gave them (obv') to him (obv) | Námétanénoto | I was given them |
| Némétsemenoo'o | You gave them to us (ex) | Némétanénoto | You were given them |
| Némétonovo | You gave them (obv') to them | Émétsenoto | He was given them (obv) |
| Námétaenoto | He gave them (obv) to me | Námétanénoneo'o | We (ex) were given them |
| Némétaenoto | He gave them (obv) to you | Némétanénoneo'o | We (in) were given them |
| Émétáhtsénoto | He gave them (obv) to himself | Némétanénovoo'o | You (pl) were given them |
| Émétonoto | He gave them (obv') to him (obv) | Émétsenovo | They were given them (obv) |
| Námétaenone | He gave them (obv) to us (ex) | | |
| Némétaenone | He gave them (obv) to us (in) | | |
| Námétaenovo | He gave them (obv) to you (pl) | | |
| \$\$RECHECK PROX/OBV status of secondary object??: | | | |
| Námétaetsenoto | He (obv) gave them to me | | |
| Némétaetsenoto | He (obv) gave them to you | | |
| Émétaenoto | He (obv) gave them (obv') to him | | |
| Émétáhtsétsenoto | He (obv) gave them (obv') to himself | | |
| Námétaetsenone | He (obv) gave them (obv') to us (ex) | | |
| Némétaetsenone | He (obv) gave them (obv') to us (in) | | |
| Némétaetsenovo | He (obv) gave them (obv') to you (pl) | | |
| Émétaenovo | He (obv) gave them (obv') to them | | |
| Némétatsemenoo'o | We (ex) gave them to you | | |
| Námétonone | We (ex) gave them (obv) to him | | |
| Námétamóne ¹¹⁸ | We (ex) gave them (obv') to him (obv) | | |
| Námétahtsénoneo'o | We (ex) gave them to ourselves | | |
| Némétatsemenoo'o | We (ex) gave them to you (pl) | | |
| Námétonone | We (ex) gave them (obv) to them | | |
| Némétonone | We (in) gave them (obv) to him | | |
| Némétamóne ¹¹⁹ | We (in) gave them (obv') to him (obv) | | |
| Némétahtsénoneo'o | We (in) gave them to ourselves | | |
| Némétonone | We (in) gave them (obv') to them | | |
| Némétsénóvoo'o | You (pl) gave them to me | | |
| Némétonovo | You (pl) gave them (obv) to him | | |
| Némétamovo | You (pl) gave them (obv') to him (obv) | | |
| Némétsemenoo'o | You (pl) gave them to us (ex) | | |

¹¹⁷ This can also be translated as 'him (obv') since obviatives can be either singular or plural.

¹¹⁸ Also Námétamónóne

¹¹⁹ Also Némétamónone

Some other Ditransitive Independent Indicative verbs

| | |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| Návóo'séhonõtse | I showed them (inan) to him |
| Évóo'séhónoto | He showed them (obv') to him (obv) |
| Návóo'séhaenóne | He showed it to us (exclusive) |
| Návóo'séhaenoto | He showed them (obv) to me |
| Nánomáhtséhaenõtse | He stole them (inanimate) 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 |
| Násáamétóhenõtse | I didn't give them (inanimate) to them |
| Ésáamétaehénóvo | He (obviative) didn't give it to them |
| Násáamétóhénonéstse | We (exclusive) didn't give them (inanimate) to him |
| Nésáamétóhénone | We (inclusive) didn't give it to him |
| Nésáamétaehénovõtse | They didn't give them (inanimate) to you |
| Násáamétaehénovoto | They didn't give him/they (obv) to me |
| Násáanomáhtséhóhenõtse | I did not steal them (inanimate) from him |

Some Ditransitive Independent Interrogative verbs

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| Némétohe? | 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)? |
| Némétaenotse? | Did he give them (inanimate) to you? |
| Némétaenotohe? | Did he give him (obviative) to you? |
| Névóo'séhónovotse??? | Did you (plural) show them (inanimate) to them? |

Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Interrogative verbs

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Nésáamétóhénovohe??? | Didn't you (plural) give it to them? |
| Nésáamétaehenotse? ?? | Didn't he give them (inanimate) to you? |
| Ésáamétahénotohe? | Didn't he (obv) give him (obv') to him? |

Some Ditransitive Independent Inferential verbs

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| Mómétóhenõtse | He must have given them (inanimate) to him (obv) |
| Mónávóo'séhaehenotóhe?? | He must have shown him (obviative) to me |
| Mónánomáhtséhaehéhe | He must have stolen it from me |

Some Ditransitive Imperative verbs

| | |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| Métseha! | Give it to him! |
| Néhmetséstse! ¹²⁰ | Give it to me! |

Some Ditransitive Hortative verbs

| | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|
| Métoha! | Let him give it/them to him (obv)! |
| Vóo'séhóvoha!?? | Let them show it/them to him (obv)! |

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 types¹²¹ 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.

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| tséhnéménèse ¹²² | when/where/since he sang |
| tséhmanéto | when/where/since I drank |
| tséhvóonā'o | when/since it was morning |

Potential

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

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------|
| máhméovóonā'o | when it is morning |
| máhnéxho'ēhnéstse | when he arrives |

Conditional

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

| | |
|------------------------|------------------|
| máhvé'néménéstse | if he sings |
| máhvé'háomóhtáhévóhtse | if they are sick |

Irrealis

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

| | |
|---------------|--|
| vé'néménéstse | if he were a singer / or, if he had sung |
|---------------|--|

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

¹²² Some speakers also say tséhnéménéstse. It is unclear what, if any, difference there is between tséhnéménèse 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.

Épèhévoestomo'he. 'She is kind.' Response: òhnaóotseséstse! 'when she's asleep'
(humorous response about a sister-in-law)
òhméovóna'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 – nèse and sometimes also the preverb kánome-.

hó'nèšenéménéstse even if he sings, even though he sang
hó'nèšè-hoháetonéto even if it is really cold

Contraindicative

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

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

Optative

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

Momóxenéménéstse I wish he would sing.
Momóxé-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 éó-. Note that this use of the term interrogative is different from, although related to, its more common usage referring to a question. The use of the term interrogative for a conjunct mode is established in Algonquian language study. It refers to a kind of embedded question, dependent on some independent order verb.

éónéménéstse whether/if he sang (e.g. I wonder if he sang)
Násáahéne'enóhe éóhoo'kōho I don't know whether/if it rained

Obligative

The obligative uses the prefix áh-. This conjunct mode may be nearly obsolescent. Its meaning

is now commonly expressed with the me'- 'should' preverb in a verb of the independent order.

Áhnémeneséstse

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

Oratio Obliqua

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

\$\$INCLUDE SONG

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

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

Infinitive

\$\$RECHECK: This mode takes the prefix é- plus the me'- 'should' preverb and the heše-complementizer preverb.

éme'heše-néménéstse

how he should sing ??

Negative Inferential

A negative inferential functions as an independent order verb, but has the form of a conjunct order verb. A negative inferential takes an old negative prefix ho'nó-. It optionally takes the inferential prefix mó-.

(Mó)ho'nó-néménéstse

He must not have sung

Ho'nó-hoo'kóhóhanéhe

It must not have rained

Participles

Participles require conjunct suffixes but act as nouns rather than verbs. They can be translated as relative clauses in English. The two most common participle prefixes are tsé- and néh-.

tsénéménéstse

the singer (i.e. the one who sings)

tsénémenese

the singers (those who sing)

tséheškese

the one who is his mother

Tsétséhéstáhesese (Tsitsistas)

Cheyennes (i.e. those who are Cheyennes)

néhnéšése

the two of you

néhno'káhéto

I alone

néstóxétse

all of us

Participles are required when a verb is needed to ask Cheyenne questions about 'What?' (e.g. Hénáá'e) and 'Who?' (e.g. Névááhe): \$\$RECHECK

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Névááhe tsénéménéstse? | Who is singing? |
| Névááhe tséméseestse? ?? | Who is eating? |
| Neváaseo'o tsénaóotsese? ?? | Who (plural) are sleeping? |
| Névááhe tséhestānóhtse? ?? | Who took it? |
| Névááhe tsého'aese? ?? | Who wants it? |
| Névááhe tsého'tséstse? ?? | Who has it? |
| Néváaseo'o tsépéhévatséstse__ ?? | Who (plural) likes them? |
| Hénáá'e tsévóhtomo? ?? | What do you see? |
| Hénáá'e tsého'áheto? ?? | What do you want? |
| Hénová'ehótse tsémésése? ?? | What (plural) did you (plural) eat? |

Conjunct Order morphology summary

("tse" = /te/; "est" = /eht/; /eht/ = "est")

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

AI

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

AI participles

-tó 1
 -to 2
 -ht´ 3
 -tse-se /-te-se/ 3'
 -tsé 1PL
 -sé 2PL
 -se 3PL

AI iterative

-tó 1
 -to 2
 -ht´
 -tse-ht 3' (= 3'-3)
 -tsé 1PL
 -sé 2PL

-vóht 3PL (vó + -ht?)

AI habitual

-tón + -oht 1

-tos + -eht 2

-s + -eht 3

-tse + -eht 3'

-tsé + -eht 1PL

-sé + -eht 2PL

-vos + -eht 3PL

II

There is no sg. suffix, same as independent order.

-et II.PL

TA (needs further analysis and correlation with historical data)

(The appropriate voice morpheme for the person combination precedes the conjunct suffix. A suffix without a segment refers to a tone which affects the preceding vowel.)

-´ 1:2

- 1:3 (i.e. High pitch on the DIR voice morpheme /-ó/ does not occur, unless other segments follow.)

-am + - 1:3' (i.e. an obviative suffix preceding a null suffix that lowers the high pitch of DIR /-ó/)

-esé 1:2PL

-nó 1:3PL

-s 2:3

-to 2(2):1(PL)

-sé 2(2):3(PL)

-a'é + -s (INV-3.CJT) 3:1

-áta'e 3:2 (INV.2.CJT) 3:2

-s´ 3:3'

-tsé 3(PL)():1PL

-sé 3(PL)():2PL

-a'é + -tse + -s (INV-OBV-3.CJT) 3':1

-áta' + -osé 3(PL)'¹-2

-ae + -s (INV-3.CJT) 3':3

-a'é + -vo + -s´ (INV-3PL-3.CJT) 3PL:1

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

-ht 2:3

-a'é + -ht 3:1

-ht' 3:3'
 -ae + -ht 3':3
 -a'é + -vo + -ht' 3PL:1

TI

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

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

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Indicative verbs

/-némené/ 'sing'

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| tséhnémenéto ¹²³ | when I sang |
| tsénémeneto | when you sang |
| tséhnéménése | when he sang |
| tséhnémenetsése | when he (obviative) sang |
| tséhnémenétse | when we sang ¹²⁴ |
| tséhnémenése | when you (plural) sang |
| tséhnémenévöse | when they sang |

-mane 'drink'

| | |
|---------------|---------------------------|
| tséhmanéto | when I drank |
| tséhmaneto | when you drank |
| tséhmanése | when he drank |
| tséhmanetsése | when he (obviative) drank |
| tséhmanétse | when we drank |
| tséhmanése | when you (plural) drank |
| tséhmanévöse | when they drank |

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

| | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| tséxháóénáto | when I prayed |
| tséxháóenato | when you prayed |
| tséxháóénáse | when he prayed |
| tséxháóenatsése | when he (obviative) prayed |
| tséxháóénátse | when we prayed |
| tséxháóénáse | when you (plural) prayed |
| tséxháóénávöse | when they prayed |

-mésehe 'eat'

| | |
|--------------|--------------|
| tséhméséhéto | when I ate |
| tséhméséheto | when you ate |

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.

| | |
|-----------------|-------------------------|
| tséhméseese | when he ate |
| tséhméséhetsése | when he (obviative) ate |
| tséhméséhétse | when we ate |
| tséhméséhése | when you (plural) ate |
| tséhméséhévöse | when they ate |

/-sévanó/ 'ski, skate'

| | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| tséssévanóto | when I skated |
| tséssévanoto | when you skated |
| tséssévánöse | when he skated |
| tséssévanotsése | when he (obviative) skated |
| tséssévanótse | when we skated |
| tséssévanóse | when you (plural) skated |
| tséssévanóvöse | when they skated |

/-oveše(ná)/ 'go to bed'

| | |
|------------------|---------------------------------|
| tsé'ověšenáto | when I went to bed |
| tsé'ověšenato | when you went to bed |
| tsé'ověšése | when he went to bed |
| tsé'ověšenatsése | when he (obviative) went to bed |
| tsé'ověšenátse | when we went to bed |
| tsé'ověšenáse | when you (plural) went to bed |
| tsé'ověšenávöse | when they went to bed |

/-néé/ 'be standing'

| | |
|--------------|----------------------------------|
| tséhnééto | when I was standing |
| tséhnéeto | when you were standing |
| tséhnéé'ése | when he was standing |
| tséhnéetsése | when he (obviative) was standing |
| tséhnéétse | when we were standing |
| tséhnéése | when you (plural) were standing |
| tséhnéévöse | when they were standing |

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

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| tséxhoēto ¹²⁵ | 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) |
| tséxhoētse | when we were (here/there) |
| tséxhoése | when you (plural) were (here/there) |
| tséxhoēvöse | when they were (here/there) |

-éestse 'speak'

| | |
|-----------------|---------------------------|
| tsé'éestséto | when I spoke |
| tsé'éestseto | when you spoke |
| tsé'éestsése | when he spoke |
| tsé'éestsetsése | when he (obviative) spoke |
| tsé'éestsétse | when we spoke |
| tsé'éestsése | when you (plural) spoke |
| tsé'éestsévöse | 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'

| | |
|--------------|----------------------------------|
| ts'é máto | when I took a sweat |
| ts'é máto | when you took a sweat |
| ts'é máse | when he took a sweat |
| ts'é mátsése | when he (obviative) took a sweat |
| ts'é mátsé | when we took a sweat |
| ts'é máse | when you (plural) took a sweat |
| ts'é mávöse | when they took a sweat |

-néhove 'be the one'

Conjunct forms of the verb –néhove take the conjunct indicative third person suffixes and /h- / marker following the tsé- prefix, but have meanings more like participles:

| | |
|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| tséhnééhóvéto | as for myself \$\$RECHECK GLOSSES |
| tséhnééhóveto | as for you |
| tséhnééhovése | as for him/her |
| tséhnééhóvetsése?? | as for him/her (obviative) |
| tséhnééhóvétse | as for us |
| tséhnééhóvése | as for you (plural) |
| tséhnééhóvévöse | as for them |

néh- prefix conjunct verbs

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

'the one alone'

| | |
|-------------------|--------------------------|
| néhno'káhéto | I alone |
| néhno'káheto | you alone |
| néhno'kaese?? | he/she alone |
| néhno'káhetsése?? | he/she (obviative) alone |
| néhno'káhétse?? | we alone |
| néhno'káhése?? | you (plural) alone |
| néhno'káhévöse | they alone |

'both of'

| | |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| néhnéšétse | both of us |
| néhnéšése | both of you |
| néhnéšévöse | both of them |
| néhnéšetsése?? | Both of them (obviative) |

'all of'

| | |
|-------------|---------------------|
| néstóxétse | all of us |
| néstóxése | all of you (plural) |
| néstóxévöse | 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: Máhnémeneto náhtapéhévetanóotse 'When you

sing I'll be happy'.

/-némené/ 'sing'

| | |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| máhnémenéto | when I sing |
| máhnémeneto | when you sing |
| máhnéménéstse | when he sings |
| máhnémenetséstse | when he (obviative) sings |
| máhnémenétse | when we sing |
| máhnémenése | when you (plural) sing |
| máhnémenévóhtse | when they sing |

/-háóená/ 'pray'

| | |
|------------------|---------------------------|
| máxháóenáto | when I pray |
| máxháoenato | when you pray |
| máxháóénátse | when he prays |
| máxháoenatséstse | when he (obviative) prays |
| máxháóénátse | when we pray |
| máxháóenáse | when you (plural) pray |
| máxháóénávóhtse | when they pray |

-mésehe 'eat'

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

/-sévanó/ 'ski, skate'

| | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| másévanóto | when I skate |
| másévanoto | when you skate |
| másévánóhtse | when he skates |
| másévanotséstse | when he (obviative) skates |
| másévanótse | when we skate |
| másévanóse | when you (plural) skate |
| másévanóvóhtse | when they skate |

/-oveše(ná)/ 'go to bed'

| | |
|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| ma'ověšenáto | when I go to bed |
| ma'ověšenato | when you go to bed |
| ma'ověšéstse | when he goes to bed |
| ma'ověšenatséstse | when he (obviative) goes to bed |
| ma'ověšenátse | when we go to bed |
| ma'ověšenáse | when you (plural) go to bed |
| ma'ověšenávóse | when they go to bed |

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

/-némené/ 'sing'

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| tséssáanémenéhéto | when I did not sing |
| tséssáanémenéheto | when you did not sing |
| tséssáanémenéése | when he did not sing |

tséssáanémenéhetsése
tséssáanémenéhétse
tséssáanémenéhése
tséssáanémenéhévöse

when he (obviative) did not sing
when we did not sing
when you (plural) did not sing
when they did not sing

-mésehe 'eat'

tséssáamésèhéhéto
tséssáamésèhéheto
tséssáamééhéése
tséssáamésèhéhetsése
tséssáamésèhéhétse
tséssáamésèhéhése
tséssáamésèhéhévöse

when I did not eat
when you did not eat
when he did not eat
when he (obviative) did not eat
when we did not eat
when you (pl) did not eat
when they did not eat

/-háóená/ 'pray'

tséssáaháóénáhéto
tséssáaháóenáheto
tséssáaháóenáése
tséssáaháóénáhetsése
tséssáaháóénáhétse
tséssáaháóénáhése
tséssáaháóénáhévöse

when I did not pray
when you did not pray
when he did not pray
when he (obviative) did not pray
when we did not pray
when you (plural) did not pray
when they did not pray

/-néé/ 'be standing'

tséssáanééhéto
tséssáahnéeheto
tséssáanééése
tséssáanéehetsése
tséssáanééhétse
tséssáanééhése
tséssáanééhévöse

when I was not standing
when you were not standing
when he was not standing
when he (obviative) was not standing
when we were not standing
when you (plural) were not standing
when they were not standing

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

tséssáahoehēto¹²⁶
tséssáahoeheto
tséssáahoéése
tséssáahoehetsése
tséssáahoehétse
tséssáahoehése
tséssáahoehévöse

when I was not (here/there)
when you were not (here/there)
when he was not (here/there)
when he (obviative) was not (here/there)
when we were not (here/there)
when you (plural) were not (here/there)
when they were not (here/there)

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 |
| másáanémenéhése | when you (plural) do not sing |
| másáanémenéhévòhtse | when they do not sing |

-mésehe 'eat'

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|
| másáaméséhéhéto | when I do not eat |
| másáaméséhéheto | when you do not eat |
| másáamééhééstse | when he does not eat |
| másáaméséhéhetséstse | when he (obviative) does not eat |
| másáaméséhéhétse | when we do not eat |
| másáaméséhéhése | when you (pl) do not eat |
| másáaméséhéhévòhtse | when they do not eat |

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| másáháóénáhéto | when I do not pray |
| másáháóenáheto | when you do not pray |
| másáháóénáéstse | when he does not pray |
| másáháóenáhetséstse | when he (obviative) does not pray |
| másáháóénáhétse | when we do not pray |
| másáháóénáhése | when you (plural) do not pray |
| másáháóénáhévòhtse | 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 |
| másáanéehetséstse | when he (obviative) is not standing |
| másáanééhétse | when we are not standing |
| másáanééhése | when you (plural) are not standing |
| másáanééhévòhtse | when they are not standing |

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

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| másáahoehēto ¹²⁷ | when I am not (here/there) |
| másáahoeheto | when you are not (here/there) |
| másáahoééstse | when he is not (here/there) |
| másáahoehetséstse | when he (obviative) is not (here/there) |
| másáahoehētse | when we are not (here/there) |
| másáahoehése | when you (plural) are not (here/there) |
| másáahoehévòhtse | when they are not (here/there) |

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Habitual verbs

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

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'

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| (òh)naóotsétonòhtse | when I sleep |
| (òh)naóotsétooséstse | when you sleep |
| (òh)naóotseséstse | when he sleeps |
| (òh)naóotsétsee'éstse | when he (obviative) sleeps |
| (òh)naóotsétsee'éstse | when we sleep |
| (òh)naóotsésees'éstse | when you (plural) sleep |
| (òh)naóotsévoséstse | when they sleep |

/-ho'sóe/ 'dance'

| | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|
| xho'sóetonòhtse | when I dance |
| xho'sóetoséstse | when you dance |
| xho'sóeséstse | when he dances |
| xho'sóetseséstse | when he (obviative) dances |
| xho'sóetsee'éstse | when we dance |
| xho'sóosee'éstse | when you (plural) dance |
| xho'sóevoséstse | when them dance |

-mésehe 'eat'

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| to'seméséhétonòhtse | when I'm going to eat |
| to'seméséhétoséstse | when you are going to eat |
| to'seméséhéséstse | when he is going to eat |
| to'seméséhétsee'éstse | when he (obviative) is going to eat |
| to'seméséhétsee'éstse | when we are going to eat |
| to'seméséhésees'éstse | when you (plural) are going to eat |
| to'seméséhévoséstse | when they are going to eat |

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Generic

| | |
|------------------------|------------------------------------|
| sáanaóotséhetonòhtse | when I do not sleep |
| sáanaóotséhtoséstse | when you do not sleep |
| sáanaóotséheséstse | when he does not sleep |
| sáanaóotséhetséstse | when he (obviative) does not sleep |
| sáanaóotséhesees'éstse | when you (plural) do not sleep |
| sáanaóotséhevoséstse | when they do not sleep |

Examples in sentences

| | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| Òhnaóotsétooséstse néohkenésó'enome. ¹²⁸ | When(ever) you sleep you snore. |
| Xho'sóetonòhtse náohkéhohátsé'tóó'e he'eo'o. ¹²⁹ | When I dance the women laugh at me. |
| Tsévéstoemo éohkéhéne'ēna to'seméséhétonòhtse. | My wife knows when I'm going to eat. |
| Ma'heo'o éohkepéhávátséssta òhméhosanétsee'éstse. | God likes it when we love. |

¹²⁸ Some speakers consider the iterative mode more natural: Ho'naóotseto néohkenésó'enome 'Whenever you sleep you snore.'

¹²⁹ Some speakers consider the iterative mode more natural: Ho'ho'sóeto náhkéhohátsé'tóó'e he'eo'o 'Whenever I dance the women laugh at me.'

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Iterative verbs

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

/-némené/ 'sing'

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>hó'némenéto</i> | whenever I sang/sing |
| <i>hó'némeneto</i> | whenever you sang/sing |
| <i>hó'néménéstse</i> | whenever he sang/sings |
| <i>hó'némenetséstse</i> | whenever he (obviative) sang/sings |
| <i>hó'némenétse</i> | whenever we sang/sing |
| <i>hó'némenése</i> | whenever you (plural) sang/sing |
| <i>hó'némenévóhtse</i> | whenever they sang/sing |

-a'xaame 'cry'

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>hó'ea'xaamēto</i> ¹³⁰ | whenever I cried/cry |
| <i>hó'ea'xaameto</i> | whenever you cried/cry |
| <i>hó'ea'xaāméstse</i> | whenever he cried/cries |
| <i>hó'ea'xaametséstse</i> | whenever he (obviative) cried/cries |
| <i>hó'ea'xaamētse</i> | whenever we cried/cry |
| <i>hó'ea'xaamése</i> | whenever you (plural) cried/cry |
| <i>hó'ea'xaaemēvóhtse</i> | whenever they cried/cry |

Examples in sentences

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>Hó'némenéto éhohátseo'o he'eo'o</i> | Whenever I sang, the women laughed |
| <i>Hó'ea'xaameto néohkevéstáhématanó'továtse</i> | 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'

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>Móho'nónemenéto</i> | I must not have sung |
| <i>Móho'nónemeneto</i> | You must not have sung |
| <i>Móho'nónéménéstse</i> | He must not have sung |
| <i>Móho'nónemenetséstse</i> | He (obviative) must not have sung |
| <i>Móho'nónemenétse</i> | We must not have sung |
| <i>Móho'nónemenése</i> | You (plural) must not have sung |

-mésehe 'eat'

| | |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>Móho'nóméséhéto</i> | I must not have eaten |
| <i>Móho'nóméséheto</i> | You must not have eaten |
| <i>Móho'nóméseestse</i> | He must not have eaten |
| <i>Móho'nóméséhetséstse</i> | He (obviative) must not have eaten |
| <i>Móho'nóméséhétse</i> | We must not have eaten |
| <i>Móho'nóméséhévóhtse</i> | They must not have eaten |

/-háóená/ 'pray'

| | |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Ho'nóháóenáto</i> | I must not have prayed |
| <i>Ho'nóhaoenato</i> | You must not have prayed |
| <i>Ho'nóháóénáhtse</i> | He must not have prayed |
| <i>Ho'nóhaoenatséstse</i> | He (obviative) must not have prayed |
| <i>Ho'nóháóénátse</i> | We must not have prayed |
| <i>Ho'nóháóénáse</i> | You (plural) must not have prayed |
| <i>Ho'nóháóénávóhtse</i> | They must not have prayed |

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Participles

/-némené/ 'sing'

| | |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>tsénémenéto</i> | I who sing |
| <i>tsénémeneto</i> | you who sing |
| <i>tsénéménéstse</i> | he who sings |
| <i>tsénémenétsese</i> | he (obviative) who sings |
| <i>tsénémenétse</i> | we who sing |
| <i>tsénémenése</i> | you (plural) who sing |
| <i>tsénémenese</i> | they who sing |

/-hetanéve/ 'be a man'

| | |
|----------------------|-------------------|
| <i>tséhetanévéto</i> | I who am a man |
| <i>tséhetanéveto</i> | you who are a man |

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| tséhetanevéstse | he who is a man |
| tséhetanévetse | he (obviative) who is a man |
| tséhetanévétse | we who are men |
| tséhetanévése | you (plural) who are men |
| tséhetanévese | they who are men |

/-háóená/ 'pray'

| | |
|---------------|--------------------------|
| tséháóenáto | I who pray |
| tséháoenato | you who pray |
| tséháóenáhtse | he who prays |
| tséháoenatse | he (obviative) who prays |
| tséháóénátse | we who pray |
| tséháóenáse | you (plural) who pray |
| tséháoenase | they who pray |

-tséhéstahe 'be Cheyenne'

| | |
|--------------------|--|
| Tsétséhéstáhéto | I who am a Cheyenne |
| Tsétséhéstáheto | you who are a Cheyenne |
| Tsétséhéstaestse | he who is a Cheyenne |
| Tsétséhéstáhétsese | he (obviative) who is a Cheyenne (practical spelling: Tsitsistaists) |
| Tsétséhéstáhétse | we who are Cheyennes (practical spelling: Tsitsistats) |
| Tsétséhéstáhése | you (plural) who are Cheyennes |
| Tsétséhéstáhese | they who are Cheyennes (practical spelling: Tsitsistas) |

-hotse'ohe 'work'

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

Examples in sentences

| | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Tsénémenese étséhéstáheo'o | The singers are Cheyennes |
| Hóhtséme tséheóvaestse étáhpéta | The ball that is yellow is big |
| Hetane tséhotse'óestse?? ékáhaneotse | The man who is working is tired |

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Participles

/-némené/ 'sing'

| | |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| tsésáanémenéhéto | I who do not sing |
| tsésáanémenéheto | you who do not sing |
| tsésáanémenééstse | he who does not sing |
| tsésáanémenéhétsese | he (obviative) who does not sing |
| tsésáanémenéhétse | we who do not sing |
| tsésáanémenéhése | you (plural) who do not sing |
| tsésáanémenéhese | they who do not sing |

/-hetanéve/ 'be a man'

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| tsésáahetanévéhéto | I who am not a man |
| tsésáahetanévéheto | you who are not a man |
| tsésáahetanévééstse?? | he who is not a man |

tsésáahetanéhevetsese
tsésáahetanévéhétse
tsésáahetanévéhése
tséhetanévéhese

she (obviative) who is not a man
we who are not men
you (plural) who are not men
they who are not men

/-háóená/ 'pray'

tsésáaháóenáhéto
tsésáaháóenáheto
tsésáaháóenáéstse??
tsésáaháóenáhetsese??
tsésáaháóenáhétse
tsésáaháóenáhése
tsésáaháóenáhese

I who do not pray
you who do not pray
he who does not pray
he (obviative) who does not pray
we who does not pray
you (plural) who does not pray
they who does not pray

-hotse'óhe 'work'

tsésáahotse'óhéhéto
tsésáahotse'óheheto
tsésáahotse'óééstse??
tsésáahotse'óhehetsese
tsésáahotse'óhéhétse
tsésáahotse'óhéhése
tsésáahotse'óhehese

I who do not work
you who do not work
he who does not work
he (obviative) who does not work
we who do not work
you (plural) who does not work
they who does not work

Examples in sentences

Nánóhtsevátámo tsésáahoééstse??¹³¹

I miss the one who isn't here

Náněševátámo tsésáaháóenáéstse

I pity the one who doesn't pray

Mómáta'eehohevóhe hetanóho tsésáahotse'óhehetsese
who isn't working

He must be angry at the man (obviative)

¹³¹ A participle does not need to have a noun that it modifies.

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Indicative verbs

| | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| tséhvóonā'o | when it was morning |
| tséxhoo'kōho | when it rained |
| tséxhó'ta | when it was (here/there) |
| tséxho'taa'éstse ¹³² | when they (inanimate) were (here/there) |
| tsé'ó'o | when it was dry |
| tsé'ó'oo'éstse | when they (inanimate) were (here/there) |

Examples in sentences:

| | |
|---|---|
| Tséhvóonā'o nátatséhe'ōhtse É'èxováhtóva | This morning I went to Billings |
| Nátavóóhta móxe'éstoo'o tséxhó'ta máheóne | I saw the book when/where it was in the house |

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Indicative Relational verbs

| | |
|------------------------------|---|
| tséhvóona'otse | when it was morning (relational) |
| tséxhoo'kōhotse | when it rained (relational) |
| tséxho'tatse | when it was (here/there) |
| tséxho'tatsee'éstse(éstse??) | when they (inanimate) were (here/there) |

Examples in sentences

In the following sentences the 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'kèšenāhēhe tséhvóona'otse | He must have gotten stuck this morning (relational) |
| Éaseōhtse tséxhoo'kōhotse | He left when it was raining (relational) |

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

| | |
|---------------------|------------------------------|
| tséssáahoo'kōhóhane | when it did not rain |
| tséssáaho'táhane | when it was not (here/there) |

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Generic verbs

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

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------------|
| òhvóona'oo'éstse | in the mornings |
| òhtonétoo'éstse | when it's cold |
| xhoo'kōhoo'éstse | when it rains |
| xho'éetoo'éstse | when it snows |
| to'séháoho'taa'éstse | when it's going to be hot |
| òhméséhéstovee'éstse | when there is eating |

Examples in sentences

| | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| Hátšéškeho éohkéhéne'enánóvo to'séhoo'kōhoo'éstse | Ants know when it's going to rain |
| XHáoho'taa'éstse 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'éstse | when it snows (relational) |
| to'seméséhéstovetsee'éstse | when there's going to be eating (relational) |

Examples in sentences

| | |
|---|--|
| Xho'éetotsee'éstse éohkevá'nenaóotse ma'háhkéso | When it snows (rel) the old man just sleeps. |
| Épéhévetanoo'o óhméséhéstovetsee'éstse | They are happy when there's eating (rel) |

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential verbs

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

| | |
|--------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| (Mó)ho'nóhoo'kōho | It must not have rained |
| (Mó)ho'nópéhéva'e | It must not be good |
| (Mó)ho'nópéhéva'ee'éstse | They (inanimate) must not be good |
| (Mó)ho'nóméséhéstove | There must not have been eating |

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential relational verbs

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| (Mó)ho'nópéhéva'e | It (relational) must not be good |
| (Mó)ho'nóméséhéstove | There must not have been eating (relational) |

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Participles

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| tséheóvo | that which is yellow |
| tséheóvoo'éstse | those which are yellow |
| tséheóvéstséavo'o'e | yellow flower (lit., that which is yellow-headed plant) |
| tséheóvéstséavo'o'ee'éstse | yellow flowers |
| tséhéesevó'ta | that which boils |
| tséhéesevó'taa'éstse | those (inanimate) which are boiling |
| tsépéhéva'e | that which is good |
| tsépéhéva'ee'éstse | those (inanimate) which are good |

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Participles

| | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| tsésáaho'táhane | that which is not (here/there) |
| tsésáaho'táhanéhee'éstse | those which are not (here/there) |
| tsésáaheóvòhane | that which is not yellow |
| tsésáaheóvòhanéhee'éstse | those which are not yellow |
| tsésáapéhéva'éhane | that which is not good |
| tsésáapéhéva'éhanéhee'éstse | those which are not good |

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Relational Participles

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| tséheóvotse | that (relational) which is yellow |
| tséheóvotsee'éstse | those (relational) which are yellow |
| tséhéesevó'tatse | that (relational) which is boiling |
| tséhéesevó'tatsee'éstse | those (relational) which are boiling |

tsépéhéva'etse
tsépéhéva'étsee'estse(??)

that (relational) which is good
those (relational) which are good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Relational Participles

tsésáaho'táhanéhetse
tsésáaho'táhanéhetsee'estse

that (relational) which is not (here/there)
those (relational) which are not (here/there)

tsésáaheóvohanéhetse
tsésáaheóvohanéhetsee'estse

that (relational) which is not yellow
those (relational) which are not yellow

tsésáapéhéva'éhanéhetse
tsésáapéhéva'éhanéhetsee'estse

that (relational) which is not good
those (relational) which are not good

Examples in sentences

Éhestāna ho'évohkōtse tsésáapéhéva'éhanéhetse

He must have taken the meat that (rel) isn't good.

Nátavóóhta hemāhēō'o tsésáaheóvohanéhetse

I saw his house, the one that (rel) isn't yellow.

Transitive Animate Conjunct Indicative verbs

Unlike with independent order verbs, the distinction between exclusive and inclusive 'we' is lost in some person combinations of conjunct verbs (including participles). So when an English translation is given only as 'we', it can mean either exclusive 'we' or inclusive 'we'. Note, also, that some number distinctions are lost in conjunct verbs. For instance, tséhvóomōtse can mean either 'when we saw him' or 'when we saw them'.

-vóom 'see (someone)'

| | | | |
|--------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| tséhvóomáhtsēto | when I saw myself | tséhvóoma'évōse | when they saw me |
| tséhvóomātse | when I saw you | tséhvóomata'ōse | when they saw you |
| tséhvóomo | when I saw him | tséhvóomovōse | when they saw him (obv) |
| tséhvóomamo | when I saw him (obv) | tséhvóomaētse | when they saw us |
| tséhvóomatsēse | when I saw you (pl) | tséhvóomaēse | when they saw you (pl) |
| tséhvóomōno | when I saw them | tséhvóomáhtsēvōse | when they saw themselves |
| | | | |
| tséhvóometo | when you saw me | tséhvóomanēto | when I was seen |
| tséhvóomáhtseto | when you saw yourself | tséhvóomaneto | when you were seen |
| tséhvóomōse | when you saw him | tséhvóomēse | when he was seen |
| tséhvóomamōse | when you saw him (obv) | tséhvóometsēse?? | when he (obv) was seen |
| tséhvóomemenoto | when you saw us (ex) | tséhvóomanētse | when we were seen |
| tséhvóomōse | when you saw them | tséhvóomanēse | when you (pl) were seen |
| | | tséhvóomēvōse | when they were seen |
| | | | |
| tséhvóomā'ēse | when he saw me | Other examples | |
| tséhvóomáta'e | when he saw you | tséhvéstáhémaa'ēse | when he (obv) helped him |
| tséhvóomahtsēse | when he saw himself | tséhméotaa'ēse | when he (obv) fought him |
| tséhvóomōse | when he saw him (obv) | tséxhéne'enóétse | when he knew us |
| tséhvóomaētse | when he saw us | tséhvovéstomóétse ¹³³ | when he taught us |
| tséhvóomaēse | when he saw you (pl) | tséhmaneho | when I made him |
| | | | |
| tséhvóoma'etsēse | when he (obv) saw me | tséhmaneose | when you made him |
| tséhvóomata'ōse | when he (obv) saw you | tséhmaneóse | when he made him (obv) |
| tséhvóomaa'ēse | when he (obv) saw him | tséxho'eotseho | when I brought him |
| tséhvóomáhtsetsēse | when he (obv) saw himself | tséxho'eotseose | when you brought him |
| tséhvóomaētse | when he (obv) saw us | tséxho'eotseóse | when he brought him (obv) |
| tséhvóomaēse | when he (obv) saw you (pl) | tséxho'eotséhótse | when we brought him |
| tséhvóomaēvōse | when he (obv) saw them | tséhnémené'seho | when I made him sing |
| | | | |
| tséhvóomatsemenoto | when we (ex) saw you | tséhnémené'seose | when you made him sing |
| tséhvóomōtse | when we saw him | tséhnémené'séóse | when he made him (obv) sing |
| tséhvóomamōtse | when we saw him (obv) | tsé'ovéstomóó'ēse | when he taught me |
| tséhvóomáhtsētse | when we saw ourselves | tsé'ovéstomoo'ēse | when he (obv) taught him |
| tséhvóomatsemenoto | when we (ex) saw you (pl) | tsé'ovéstomóévōse | when he (obv) taught them |
| tséhvóomōtse | when we saw them | | |
| | | | |
| tséhvóomēse | when you (pl) saw me | | |
| tséhvóomōse | when you (pl) saw him | | |
| tséhvóomamōse | when you (pl) saw him (obv) | | |
| tséhvóomemenoto | when you (pl) saw us (ex) | | |
| tséhvóomáhtsēse | when you (pl) saw yourselves | | |
| tséhvóomōse | when you (pl) saw them | | |

¹³³ Also pronounced as tsé'ovéstomóétse

-héne'enov 'know (someone)'

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

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| tséxhéne'enóvãhtsétó | when I knew myself | tséxhéne'enovatsemenoto | when we (ex) knew you |
| tséxhéne'enovãtse | when I knew you | tséxhéne'enovõtse | when we knew him |
| tséxhéne'enovo | when I knew him | tséxhéne'enóvamõtse | when we knew him (obv) |
| tséxhéne'enóvamó | when I knew him (obv) | tséxhéne'enóvãhtsétse | when we knew ourselves |
| tséxhéne'enóvatsēse? | when I knew you (pl) | tséxhéne'enóvatsemenoto | when we (ex) knew you (pl) |
| tséxhéne'enovōno | when I knew them | tséxhéne'enovõtse | when we knew them |
| | | | |
| tséxhéne'enoveto | when you knew me | tséxhéne'enovēse | when you (pl) knew me |
| tséxhéne'enóvãhtseto | when you knew yourself | tséxhéne'enovōse | when you (pl) knew him |
| tséxhéne'enovōse | when you knew him | tséxhéne'enóvamōse?? | when you (pl) knew him (obv) |
| tséxhéne'enóvamōse | when you knew him (obv) | tséxhéne'enovemenoto | when you (pl) knew us (ex) |
| tséxhéne'enovemenoto | when you knew us (ex) | tséxhéne'enóvãhtsése | when you (pl) knew yourselves |
| tséxhéne'enovōse | when you knew them | tséxhéne'enovōse | when you (pl) knew them |
| | | | |
| tséxhéne'enóó'èse | when he knew me | tséxhéne'enóva'évōse? | when they knew me |
| tséxhéne'enováta'e?? | when he knew you | tséxhéne'enóvata'ōse? | when they knew you |
| tséxhéne'enóvãhtsése | when he knew himself | tséxhéne'enovovōse | when they knew him (obv) |
| tséxhéne'enovómōse | when he knew him (obv) | tséxhéne'enoētse | when they knew us |
| tséxhéne'enoētse | when he knew us | tséxhéne'enoēse | when they knew you (pl) |
| tséxhéne'enoēse | when he knew you (pl) | tséxhéne'enóvãhtsévōse | when they knew themselves |
| | | | |
| tséxhéne'enova'etsése? | when he (obv) knew me | tséxhéne'enonēto | when I was known |
| tséxhéne'enata'ōse?? | when he (obv) knew you | tséxhéne'enoneto | when you were known |
| tséxhéne'enoo'èse | when he (obv) knew him | tséxhéne'enoese | when he was known |
| tséxhéne'enóvãhtsetsése | when he (obv) knew himself | tséxhéne'enóhetsése?? | when he (obv) was known |
| tséxhéne'enoētse | when he (obv) knew us | tséxhéne'enonētse | when we were known |
| tséxhéne'enoēse | when he (obv) knew you (pl) | tséxhéne'enonēse | when you (pl) were known |
| tséxhéne'enoēvōse | when he (obv) knew them | tséxhéne'enonóhévōse | when they were known |

Transitive Animate Conjunct Potential verbs

-vóom 'see (someone)'

| | |
|-------------------|------------------------------|
| máhvóomáhtsēto | when I see myself |
| máhvóomātse | when I see you |
| máhvóomo | when I see him |
| máhvóomamo | when I see him (obv) |
| máhvóomatsēse | when I see you (pl) |
| máhvóomōno | when I see them |
| máhvóometo | when you see me |
| máhvóomáhtseto | when you see yourself |
| máhvóomóhtse | when you see him |
| máhvóomamóhtse | when you see him (obv) |
| máhvóomemenoto | when you see us (ex) |
| máhvóomōse | when you see them |
| máhvóomā'ěstse | when he sees me |
| máhvóomáta'e | when he sees you |
| máhvóomahtsěstse | when he sees himself |
| máhvóomóhtse | when he sees him (obv) |
| máhvóomaētse | when he sees us |
| máhvóomaēse | when he sees you (pl) |
| máhvóoma'etsēse | when he (obv) sees me |
| máhvóomata'ōse | when he (obv) sees you |
| máhvóomaa'ěstse | when he (obv) sees him |
| máhvóomáhtsetsēse | when he (obv) sees himself |
| máhvóomaētse | when he (obv) sees us |
| máhvóomaēse | when he (obv) sees you (pl) |
| máhvóomaēvōse | when he (obv) sees them |
| máhvóomatsemenoto | when we (ex) see you |
| máhvóomōtse | when we see him |
| máhvóomamōtse | when we see him (obv) |
| máhvóomáhtsētse | when we see ourselves |
| máhvóomatsemenoto | when we (ex) see you (pl) |
| máhvóomōtse | when we see them |
| máhvóomēse | when you (pl) see me |
| máhvóomōse | when you (pl) see him |
| máhvóomamōse | when you (pl) see him (obv) |
| máhvóomemenoto | when you (pl) see us (ex) |
| máhvóomáhtsēse | when you (pl) see yourselves |
| máhvóomōse | when you (pl) see them |
| máhvóoma'évóhtse | when they see me |
| máhvóomata'ōse | when they see you |
| máhvóomovóhtse | when they see him (obv) |
| máhvóomaētse | when they see us |

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|
| máhvóomaēse | when they see you (pl) |
| máhvóomáhtsēvóhtse | when they see themselves |
| máhvóomanēto | when I am seen |
| máhvóomaneto | when you are seen |
| máhvóoméstse | when he is seen |
| máhvóometsēse?? | when he (obv) is seen |
| máhvóomanētse | when we are seen |
| máhvóomanēse | when you (pl) are seen |
| máhvóomēvóhtse | when they are seen |

Other examples

| | |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------|
| máhvéstáhémaa'ěstse | when he (obv) helps him |
| máhméotaa'ěstse | when he (obv) fights him |
| máxhéne'enóétse | when he knows us |
| máhvovéstomóétse ¹³⁴ | when he teaches us |
| máxho'eotseho | when I bring him |
| máxho'eotseose | when you bring him |
| máxho'eotseóse | when he brings him (obv) |
| máxho'eotséhótse | when we bring him |
| máxhéne'enóó'ěstse | when he knows me |
| máxhéne'enoó'ěstse | when he (obv) knows him |
| ma'ovéstomóó'ěstse | when he teaches me |
| ma'ovéstomoo'ěstse | when he (obv) teaches him |
| máxhéne'enóévóhtse | when he (obv) knows them |
| ma'ovéstomóévóhtse | when he (obv) teaches them |
| ma'éestséstovo | when I speak to him |
| máxheto | when I tell him |
| máxháoena'tovo | when I pray to him |
| másé'a'hamo | when I throw him in |

Examples in sentences

Máhnóhtséstovóhtse néstsevéstáhema.
When you ask him, he'll help you.

Máhméótóhtse náhtseaseóhtse.
When he fights him (obv), I'll leave.

Máhvéstáhémaa'ěstse náahhtsepéhévetāno.
When he (obv) helps him, I'll be happy.

¹³⁴ Also pronounced as ma'ovéstomóétse

Transitive Animate Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

-vóom 'see (someone)'

| | |
|----------------------|------------------------------|
| tséssáavóomáhtséhéto | when I did not see myself |
| tséssáavóomáhétse | when I did not see you |
| tséssáavóomóhevo | when I did not see him |
| tséssáavóomamóhevo | when I did not see him (obv) |
| tséssáavóomatséhése | when I did not see you (pl) |
| tséssáavóomóhevóno | when I did not see them |

| | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| tséssáavóoméheto | when you did not see me |
| tséssáavóomáhtséheto | when you did not see yourself |
| tséssáavóomóhevöse | when you did not see him |
| tséssáavóomamóhevöse | when you did not see him (obv) |
| tséssáavóomèhemenoto | when you did not see us (ex) |
| tséssáavóomóhevöse | when you did not see them |

| | |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| tséssáavóoma'éése | when he did not see me |
| tséssáavóomáheta'e | when he did not see you |
| tséssáavóomáhtsése | when he did not see himself |
| tséssáavóomóése | when he did not see him (obv) |
| tséssáavóomaehétse | when he did not see us |
| tséssáavóomaehése | when he did not see you (pl) |

| | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| tséssáavóoma'éhetsése | when he (obv) did not see me |
| tséssáavóomata'óhése | when he (obv) did not see you |
| tséssáavóomaeēse | when he (obv) did not see him |
| tséssáavóomáhtséhetsése | when he (obv) did not see himself |
| tséssáavóomaehétse | when he (obv) did not see us |
| tséssáavóomaehése | when he (obv) did not see you (pl) |
| tséssáavóomaehevöse | when he (obv) did not see them |

| | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| tséssáavóomatséhemenoto | when we (ex) saw you |
| tséssáavóomóhétse | when we saw him |
| tséssáavóomamóhétse | when we saw him (obv) |
| tséssáavóomáhtséhétse | when we saw ourselves |
| tséssáavóomatséhemenoto | when we (ex) saw you (pl) |
| tséssáavóomóhétse | when we saw them |

| | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| tséssáavóoméhése | when you (pl) did not see me |
| tséssáavóomóhése | when you (pl) did not see him |
| tséssáavóomamóhése | when you (pl) did not see him (obv) |
| tséssáavóomèhemenoto | when you (pl) did not see us (ex) |
| tséssáavóomáhtséhése | when you (pl) did not see yourselves |
| tséssáavóomóhése | when you (pl) did not see them |

| | |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|
| tséssáavóoma'éhevöse | when they did not see me |
| tséssáavóomata'óhése | when they did not see you |
| tséssáavóomóhevöse | when they did not see him (obv) |
| tséssáavóomaehétse | when they did not see us |
| tséssáavóomaehése | when they did not see you (pl) |
| tséssáavóomáhtséhévöse | when they did not see themselves |

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| tséssáavóomanéhéto | when I was not seen |
| tséssáavóomanéheto | when you were not seen |
| tséssáavóomeēse | when he was not seen |
| tséssáavóoméhetsése?? | when he was not seen |

| | |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| tséssáavóomanéhétse | when we were not seen |
| tséssáavóomanéhése | when you (pl) were not seen |
| tséssáavóoméhévöse | when they were not seen |

Other examples\$RECHECK

| | |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| tséssáavéstáhémaēse | when he (obv) did not help him |
| tséssáméotaēse?? | when he (obv) did not fight him |
| tséssáahéne'enóéhétse | when he did not know us |
| tséssáavovéstomóéhétse ¹³⁵ | when he did not teach us |
| tséssáaho'eotséhevo | when I did not bring him |
| tséssáaho'eotséhevöse | when you did not bring him |
| tséssáaho'eotseóése?? | when he did not bring him (obv) |
| tséssáaho'eotséhóhétse | when we did not bring him |
| tséssáahéne'enóéése | when he did not know me |
| tséxhéne'enoēese | when he (obv) did not know him |
| tséssáa'ovéstomóése | when he did not teach me |
| tséssáa'ovéstomoeese | when he (obv) did not teach him |
| tséssáahéne'enóéhévöse | when he (obv) did not know them |
| tséssáa'ovéstomóéhévöse | when he (obv) did not teach them |

¹³⁵ Also pronounced as tsésáa'ovéstomóétse

Transitive Animate Conjunct Iterative verbs

\$\$RECHECK

-vóom 'see (someone)'

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|
| hó'vóomáhtsēto | whenever I saw myself | | |
| hó'vóomātse | whenever I helped you | hó'vóomēse | whenever you (pl) saw me |
| hó'vóomo | whenever I saw him | hó'vóomōse | whenever you (pl) saw him |
| hó'vóomamo | whenever I saw him (obv) | hó'vóomamōse | whenever you (pl) saw him (obv) |
| hó'vóomatsēse | whenever I saw you (pl) | hó'vóomemenoto | whenever you (pl) saw us (ex) |
| hó'vóomōno | whenever I saw them | hó'vóomáhtsēse | whenever you (pl) saw yourselves |
| | | hó'vóomōse | whenever you (pl) saw them |
| hó'vóometo | whenever you saw me | | |
| hó'vóomáhtseto | whenever you saw yourself | hó'vóoma'évōse | whenever they saw me |
| hó'vóomōhtse | whenever you saw him | hó'vóomata'ōse | whenever they saw you |
| hó'vóomamōhtse | whenever you saw him (obv) | hó'vóomovōhtse | whenever they saw him (obv) |
| hó'vóomemenoto | whenever you saw us (ex) | hó'vóomaētse | whenever they saw us |
| hó'vóomōse | whenever you saw them | hó'vóomaēse | whenever they saw you (pl) |
| | | hó'vóomáhtsēvōhtse | whenever they saw themselves |
| hó'vóomā'éstse | whenever he saw me | | |
| hó'vóomáta'e | whenever he saw you | hó'vóomanēto | whenever I was seen |
| hó'vóomáhtséstse | whenever he saw himself | hó'vóomaneto | whenever you were seen |
| hó'vóomōhtse | whenever he saw him (obv) | hó'vóomēse | whenever he was seen |
| hó'vóomaētse | whenever he saw us | hó'vóometséstse?? | whenever he (obv) was seen |
| hó'vóomaēse | whenever he saw you (pl) | hó'vóomanētse | whenever we were seen |
| | | hó'vóomanēse | whenever you (pl) were seen |
| hó'vóoma'etséstse | whenever he (obv) saw me | hó'vóomēvōhtse | whenever they were seen |
| hó'vóomata'ōse | whenever he (obv) saw you | | |
| hó'vóomaa'éstse | whenever he (obv) saw him | Other examples | |
| hó'vóomáhtsetséstse | whenever he (obv) saw himself | hó'vé'hóomōhtse | whenever he looked at him (obv) |
| hó'vóomaētse | whenever he (obv) saw us | hó'méótótse?? | whenever we fought him |
| hó'vóomaēse | whenever he (obv) saw you (pl) | hó'méótá'éstse | whenever he fought me |
| hó'vóomaēvōhtse | whenever he (obv) saw them | hó'totóxemáta'e | whenever he discussed you |
| | | hó'hoxomaētse | whenever he fed us |
| hó'vóomatsemenoto | whenever we (ex) saw you | hó'mé'ovo | whenever I found him |
| hó'vóomōtse | whenever we saw him | hó'mé'óó'éstse | whenever he found me |
| hó'vóomamōtse | whenever we saw him (obv) | hó'oomā'éstse | whenever he hit me |
| hó'vóomáhtsētse | whenever we saw ourselves | | |
| hó'vóomatsemenoto | whenever we (ex) saw you (pl) | | |
| hó'vóomōtse | whenever we saw them | | |

Transitive Animate Conjunct Generic verbs

Conjunct generic mode verbs state a kind of generalization. These verbs have a broad time idea of 'when', similar to the meaning of English 'whenever', but without the idea of repeated action which is communicated by the conjunct iterative mode. The generic mode is similar to what has been called a generic aspect for some languages, although the Cheyenne generic need not state an action that is continuously occurring. The *oh-* prefix is often omitted.

-vóom 'see (someone)'

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| òhvóomáhtsétonóhtse | when I see myself |
| òhvóomatsétoeséstse | when I see you |
| òhvóomoo'éstse | when I see him |
| òhvóomamoo'éstse | when I see him (obv) |
| òhvóomatsésee'éstse | when I you (pl) |
| òhvóomótonóhtse | when I see them |
| òhvóométoeséstse | when you see me |
| òhvóomáhtsétoeséstse | when you see yourself |
| òhvóomoséstse | when you see him |
| òhvóomamoséstse | when you see him (obv) |
| òhvóomemenoséstse | when you see us (ex) |
| òhvóomósee'éstse | when you see them |
| òhvóoma'eséstse | when he sees me |
| òhvóomata'oséstse | when he sees you |
| òhvóomáhtseséstse | when he sees himself |
| òhvóomoséstse | when he sees him (obv) |
| òhvóomaetsee'éstse | when he sees us |
| òhvóomaesee'éstse | when he sees you (pl) |
| òhvóoma'étseséstse | when he (obv) sees me |
| òhvóomata'ótseséstse | when he (obv) sees you |
| òhvóomaeséstse | when he (obv) sees him |
| òhvóomáhtsétseséstse | when he (obv) sees himself |
| òhvóomaetsee'éstse | when he (obv) sees us |
| òhvóomaesee'éstse | when he (obv) sees you (pl) |
| òhvóomaevoséstse | when he (obv) sees them |
| òhvóomatsemenoséstse | when we (ex) see you |
| òhvóomótsee'éstse | when we see him |
| òhvóomamótsee'éstse | when we see him (obv) |
| òhvóomáhtsétsee'éstse | when we see ourselves |
| òhvóomatsemenoséstse | when we (ex) see you (pl) |
| òhvóomótsee'éstse | when we see them |
| òhvóomesee'éstse | when you (pl) see me |
| òhvóomósee'éstse | when you (pl) see him |
| òhvóomamósee'éstse | when you (pl) see him (obv) |
| òhvóomemenoséstse | when you (pl) see us (ex) |
| òhvóomáhtsésee'éstse | when you (pl) see yourselves |
| òhvóomósee'éstse | when you (pl) see them |
| òhvóoma'évoséstse | when they see me |
| òhvóomata'ósee'éstse | when they see you |
| òhvóomóvoséstse | when they see him (obv) |

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| òhvóomaetsee'éstse | when they see us |
| òhvóomaesee'éstse | when they see you (pl) |
| òhvóomáhtsévoséstse | when they see themselves |
| òhvóomanétonóhtse | when I am seen |
| òhvóomanétoeséstse | when you are seen |
| òhvóomeséstse | when he is seen |
| òhvóometséstse?? | when he (obv) is seen |
| òhvóomanétsee'éstse | when we are seen |
| òhvóomanésee'éstse | when you (pl) are seen |
| òhvóomevoséstse?? | when they are seen |

Other examples

| | |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| òhméhotatsétoeséstse | when I love you |
| òhméhotoo'éstse | when I love him |
| òhméhotatsésee'éstse | when I love you (pl) |
| òhméhotovonótse | when I love them |
| òhméhoxetoséstse | when you love me |
| òhméhotoséstse | when you love him |
| òhméhotósee'éstse | when you love them |
| òhméhota'eséstse | when he loves me |
| òhméhotata'oséstse | when he loves you |
| òhméhotoséstse | when he loves him (obv) |
| òhméhotaetsee'éstse | when he loves us |
| òhméhotaesee'éstse | when he loves you (pl) |
| òhméhotosee'éstse | when we (ex) love them |
| òhméhoxesee'éstse | when you (pl) love me |
| òhméhotósee'éstse | when you (pl) love him |
| òhméhoxemenoséstse | when you (pl) love us (ex) |
| òhméhota'évoséstse | when they love me |
| òhméhotata'ósee'éstse | when they love you |
| òhméhotovoséstse | when they love him (obv) |
| òhméhotaetsee'éstse | when they love us |

'\$\$RECHECK:

| | |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| òhvé'hoomoo'éstse | when I look at him |
| òxho'eotséhoo'éstse?? | when I bring him |
| o'ovéstomóó'éstse?? | when he teaches me |
| òhvovéstomóetsee'éstse?? | when he teaches us |
| òxhéne'enóó'éstse?? | when he knows me |
| òxhéne'enoo'éstse?? | when he (obv) knows him |
| òhvéstáhémaestse | when he (obv) helps him |
| o'ovéstomoo'éstse?? | when he (obv) teaches him |
| òxhéne'enóevoséstse?? | when he (obv) knows them |
| o'ovéstomóevoséstse?? | when he (obv) teaches them |

Transitive Animate Conjunct Participles

/-méhót/ 'love (someone)'

\$\$RECHECK

| | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| tséméhotáhtsēto | I who love myself |
| tséméhótátse | I who love you |
| tséméhoto | the one I love |
| tséméhotamo | I who love him (obv) |
| tséméhotatsēse | I who love you (pl) |
| tséméhótóno | those I love |
| tséméhoxeto | you who love me |
| tséméhotáhtseto | you who love yourself |
| tséméhotóhtse | the one you love |
| tséméhotamóhtse | you who love him (obv) |
| tséméhoxemenoto | you who love us (ex) |
| tséméhótóse | the ones you love |
| tséméhótá'éstse | the one who loves me |
| tséméhotata'e | the one who loves you |
| tséméhotáhtsētse | the one who loves himself |
| tséméhotose | the one who loves him (obv) |
| tséméhotaētse | the one who who loves us |
| tséméhotaēse | the one who loves you (pl) |
| tséméhota'etsese | he (obv) who loves me |
| tséméhotata'ótse | he (obv) who loves you |
| tséméhotaese | he (obv) who loves him |
| tséméhotáhtsétse | he (obv) who loves himself |
| tséméhotaētse | he (obv) who loves us |
| tséméhotaēse | he (obv) who loves you (pl) |
| tséméhotaevose | he (obv) who loves them |
| tséméhotatsemenoto | we (ex) who love you |
| tséméhótótse | we who love him |
| tséméhotamótse | we who love him (obv) |
| tsémého'táhtsétsee'e | we who love ourselves |
| tséméhototsee'e | we who love them |
| tséméhóxése | you (pl) who love me |
| tséméhótóse | you (pl) who love him |
| tséméhotamōse | you (pl) who love him (obv) |
| tséméhoxemenoto | you (pl) who love us (ex) |
| tséméhotáhtsésee'e | you (pl) who love yourselves |
| tséméhotōsee'e | you (pl) who love them |
| tséméhota'ese | those who love me |
| tséméhotata'ōse | those who love you |
| tséméhotovose | the one(s) (obv) they love |
| tséméhotaetsee'e | those who love us |
| tséméhotaesee'e | those who love you (pl) |
| tséméhotáhtsese | those who love themselves |
| tséméhototsese | the one (obv) who loves him (obv') |
| tséméhotanēto | I who am loved |
| tséméhotaneto | you who are loved |
| tséméhoestse | the one who is loved |

| | |
|------------------|----------------------------|
| tséméhohetsese?? | the one (obv) who is loved |
| tséméhotanētse | we who are loved |
| tséméhotanēse | you (pl) who are loved |
| tséméhohe | those who are loved |

Other examples

| | |
|----------------------|------------------------------|
| tsévóomo | the one who I see |
| tsévóomata'ótse | he (obv) who sees me |
| tsévóomótse | he (obv) who sees him (obv') |
| tsévóométsese | he (obv) who is seen |
| tséméoto | the one I fight |
| tsévéstoe | my spouse ¹³⁶ |
| tsévéstoe | your spouse |
| tsévéstoe | his/her spouse (obv) |
| tsévóostomóó'éstse?? | the one who teaches me |
| tsévóostomóétse | the one who teaches us |
| tséhéne'enóó'éstse?? | the one who knows me |
| tséhéne'enóétse?? | the one who knows us |
| tsévéstáhe | the one I help ?? |
| tsévéstáhémóse | the one (obv) he helps ?? |
| tséhoxomaētse | the one who feeds us ?? |

¹³⁶ Literally, 'the one who I sit with', i.e. 'the one I am married to'

Transitive Animate Conjunct Participle kinship terms

§§SHOULD SOME OF THESE BE MOVED TO THE AI Participle section, e.g. my father, etc.?

To save space and make meanings easier to understand, these participles are translated (glossed) as if they were possessed nouns. But they are actually not possessed nouns. For instance, in the earlier section of this book on possessed nouns, we saw that the possessed noun meaning 'my father' is ného'ééhe. 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'.

father

| | | | |
|-------------|----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| tséhéhéto | my father | tséhéhetono | my fathers |
| tshéheto | your father | tséhéhétóse | your fathers |
| tséhéhese | his father(s) | tséhéhese | his father(s) |
| tséhéhétse | our father | tséhéhetsee'e | our fathers |
| tséhéhése | your (plural) father | tséhéhesee'e | your (plural) fathers |
| tséhéhevose | their father(s) | tséhéhevose | their father(s) |

mother

| | | | |
|-------------|----------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| tséheškéto | my mother | tséheškétono | my mothers |
| tséhešketo | your mother | tséheškétóse | your mothers |
| tséheškese | his/her mother(s) | tséheškese | his/her mother(s) |
| tséheškétse | our mother | tséheškétsee'e | our mothers |
| tséheškése | your (plural) mother | tséheškésee'e | your (plural) mothers |
| tséškévose | their mother(s) | tséhešévose | their mother(s) |

daughter

| | | | |
|------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| tséhestónáhéto | my daughter | tséhestónáhetonno | my daughters |
| tséhestónáheto | your daughter | tséhestónáhétóse | your daughters |
| tséhestónáhese | his/her daughter(s) | tséhestónáhese | his/her daughter(s) |
| tséhestónáhétse | our daughter | tséhestónáhétsee'e | our daughters |
| tséhestónáhése | your (plural) daughter | tséhestónáhesee'e | your (plural) daughters |
| tséhestónáhevose | their daughter(s) | tséhestónáhevose | their daughter(s) |

Other participle kinship term person combinations

Kinship terms exist in full TA participle paradigms, with person combinations besides those just listed. Following are some other person combinations for kinship term participles.

| | |
|--------------------|---------------------------------------|
| tséhešké'toveto | you who have me for a mother |
| tséhešké'tovése | you (plural) who have me for a mother |
| tséhešké'tóó'estse | the one who has me for a mother |
| tséhešké'toese | those who have me for a mother |
| tséhešké'tovātse | I who have you for a mother |

Transitive Animate Conjunct Absentative Participles

Conjunct participles take an absentative suffix¹³⁷ 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.

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------------------------|
| tséheškévoo'o | the one who is my absent mother |
| tsétó'omemáxamoo'o | the one (obviative) who I shot stiff |

\$\$RECHECK ?? the following "tentative" forms from earlier editions of book:

| | |
|------------------|--|
| tséhéhevòse | the one who is your absent father |
| tséhéhévótse | the one who is our absent father |
| tséhéhévóse | the one who is your (plural) absent father |
| tséhéhevoomoo'o | those who are my absent fathers |
| tséheškévoomoo'o | those who are my absent mothers |

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Indicative verbs

TI verbs are inflected (marked) for person of their subject. Unlike TA conjunct verbs, they are not inflected for number of their objects. So, for instance, tséhvóóhtō means either 'when he saw it' or 'when he saw them (inanimate)'.

Unlike with TI independent order verbs, there is no difference in pronunciation between the conjunct order TI verbs which refer to exclusive 'we' and inclusive 'we'.

Speakers differ on whether the last vowel is "e" or "o" on first and second person singular subject verbs which have a TI theme of -om. So, for instance, 'when I saw it' is pronounced both as tséhvóóhtómo and tséhvóóhtóme.

'see (something)'

tséhvóóhtómo / tséhvóóhtóme
tséhvóóhtomo / tséhvóóhtome
tséhvóóhtō
tséhvóóhtotsése
tséhvóóhtomátse
tséhvóóhtomáse
tséhvóóhtomēvose
tséhvóome??
tséhvóomee'éstse

when I saw it / them
when you saw it / them
when he saw it / them
when he (obviative) saw it / them
when we saw it / them
when you (plural) saw it / them
when they saw it / them
when it was seen??
when they (inanimate) were seen??

'listen to (something)'

tsé'áahtómo / tsé'áahtóme
tsé'áahtomo / tsé'áahtome
tsé'áahtō
tsé'áahtotsése
tsé'áahtomátse
tsé'áahtomáse
tsé'áahtomēvose
tsé'áahtohe ??
tsé'áahtohee'éstse ??

when I listened to it / them
when you listened to it / them
when he/she listened to it / them
when he (obviative) listened to it /them
when we listened to it / them
when you (plural) listened to it / them
when they listened to it / them
when it was listened to
when they (inanimate) were listened to

'eat (something)'

tséhméséto
tséhméseto
tséhmesése
tséhmésetsése
tséhmésétse
tséhmésése
tséhmésévose
tséhméséstove
tséhméséstovee'éstse??

when I ate it / them
when you ate it / them
when he/she ate it /them
when he (obviative) ate it /them
when we ate it / them
when you (plural) ate it / them
when they ate it /them
when it was eaten
when they (inanimate) were eaten

'have (something)'

tséxho'tsēto
tséxho'tseto
tséxhó'tsése
tséxho'tsetsése

when I had it / them
when you had it / them
when he/she had it / them
he he/she (obviative) had it / them

tséxho'tsétse
tséxho'tsése
tséxho'tsévòse(ēvòse??)

when we had it / them
when you (plural) had it / them
when they had it / them

'take (something)'

tséxhestanōmo / tséxhestanōme
tséxhestanomo / tséxhestanome
tséxhestāno
tséxhestanotsése
tséxhestanomátse
tséxhestanomáse
tséxhestanomévòse(ēvòse??)

when I took it / them
when you took it / them
when he took it / them
when he/she (obviative) took it / them
when we took it / them
when you (plural) took it / them
when they took it / them

'want (something)'

tséxho'áhéto
tséxho'áheto
tséxho'aese
tséxho'áhetsése
tséxho'áhétse
tséxho'áhése
tséxho'áhévòse

when I wanted it / them
when you wanted it / them
when he/she wanted it / them
when he/she (obviative) wanted it / them
when we wanted it / them
when you (plural) wanted it / them
when they wanted it / them

Examples in sentences

Tséhvóóhtóme ho'évohkòtse námesé.

'When I saw the meat I ate it.'

Tsé'ěšéááhto némenestòtse náéestséstòvo.

'After he listened to the radio I talked to him.'

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Negative verbs

'see (something)'

tséssáavóóhtóhémo / tséssáavóóhtóheme
tséssáavóóhtóhemo / tséssáavóóhtóheme
tséssáavóóhtóēse
tséssáavóóhtóhetsése
tséssáavóóhtómáhétse
tséssáavóóhtómáhése
tséssáavóóhtóméhévòse

when I did not see it / them
when you did not see it / them
when he did not see it / them
when he/she (obviative) did not see it / them
when we did not see it / them
when you (plural) did not see it / them
when they did not see it / them

'take (something)'

tséssáahestanóhéme
tséssáahestanóheme
tséssáahestananóése
tséssáahestanóhetsése
tséssáahestanómáhétse
tséssáahestanómáhése
tséssáahestanóméhévòse

when I did not take it / them
when you did not take it / them
when he did not take it / them
when he/she (obviative) did not take it / them
when we did not take it / them
when you (plural) did not take it / them
when they did not take it / them

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Generic verbs

TI conjunct generic verbs take suffixes like those of TA conjunct generic verbs. As with other conjunct generic verbs the òh- prefix is often omitted by Cheyenne speakers.

'see (something)'

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| òhvóohtomonòhtse | when I see it / them |
| òhvóohtomosèstse | when you see it / them |
| òhvóohtosèstse | when he/she sees it / them |
| òhvóohtotsesèstse | when he/she (obviative) sees it / them |
| òhvóohtomátsee'èstse | when we see it / them |
| òhvóohtomásee'èstse | when you (plural) see it / them |
| òhvóohtomévosèstse | when they see it / them |

'take (something)'

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| xhestanomonòhtse | when I take it / them |
| xhestanomosèstse | when you take it / them |
| xhestanosèstse | when he/she takes it / them |
| xhestanótsesèstse | when he/she (obviative) takes it / them |
| xhestanomátsee'èstse | when we take it / them |
| xhestanomásee'èstse | when you (plural) take it / them |
| xhestanomomévosèstse | when they take it / them |

'cook (something)'

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| xho'oestsétonòhtse | when I cook it / them |
| xho'oestsétosèstse | when you cook it / them |
| xho'oestsèsèstse | when he/she cooks it / them |
| xho'oestsétsesèstse | when he/she (obviative) cooks it / them |
| xho'oestsétsee'èstse | when we cook it / them |
| xho'oestsésee'èstse | when you (plural) cook it / them |
| xho'oestsévosèstse | when they cook it / them |

Examples in sentences

Òhvóohtomonòhtse vétsèškévahonoo'o náohkev'éšepéhévetāno. 'When I see frybread I get happy.'

Xho'oestsèsèstse váotseváheho'évohkòtse náhkema'xemésehe. 'When she cooks deer meat I eat a lot.'

Transitive Inanimate Conjoint Participles

Unlike with other conjoint verb modes, conjoint participles are inflected for number of their objects by some speakers. Other speakers, however, use the singular object forms to refer to both singular and plural objects.

'see (something)'

| | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| tsévóóhtómo ¹³⁸ | what I saw | tsévóohtomonóhtse | those that I saw |
| tsévóohtomo | what you saw | tsévóohtomoséstse | those that you saw |
| tsévóóhto | what he saw | tsévóohtoséstse | those that he saw |
| tsévóóhtótsese | what he (obv) saw | tsévóóhtótseséstse | those that he (obv) saw |
| tsévóohtomátse | what we saw | tsévóohtomátsee'éstse | those that we saw |
| tsévóohtomáse | what you (pl) saw | tsévóohtomásee'éstse | those that you (pl) saw |
| tsévóohtomévoše | what they saw | tsévóohtomévoséstse | those that they saw |

'eat (something)'

| | | | |
|--------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------------|
| tséméséto | what I ate | tsémésétonóhtse | those which I ate |
| tséméseto | what you ate | tsémésétošéstse | those which you ate |
| tséméséstse | what he ate | tséméséséstse | those which he ate |
| tsémésétsese | what he (obv) ate | tsémésétseséstse | those which he (obv) ate |
| tsémésétse | what we ate | tsémésétseséstse | those which we ate |
| tsémésése | what you (pl) ate | tséméséseš'éstse | those which you (pl) ate |
| tsémésévoše | what they ate | tsémésévošéstse | those which they ate |

'take (something)'

| | | | |
|------------------|--------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|
| tséhestanómo | what I took | tséhestanomonóhtse | those which I took |
| tséhestanomo | what you took | tséhestanomoséstse | those which you took |
| tséhestānóhtse | what he took | tséhestanoséstse | those which he took |
| tséhestanótsese | what he (obv) took | tséhestanótseséstse | those which he (obv) took |
| tséhestanomátse | what we took | tséhestanomátsee'éstse | those which we took |
| tséhestanomáse | what you (pl) took | tséhestanomásee'éstse | those which you (pl) took |
| tséhestanomévōše | what they took | tséhestanomévōšéstse | those which they took |

'want (something)'

| | | | |
|----------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| \$\$RECHECK | | | |
| tsého'áhéto | what I want | tsého'áhétonóhtse | those that I want |
| tsého'áheto | what you want | tsého'áhétošéstse | those that you want |
| tsého'aestse | what he wants | tsého'áhéséstse?? | those that he wants |
| tsého'áhétsese | what he (obv) wants | tsého'áhétseséstse | those that he (obv) wants |
| tsého'áhétse | what we want | tsého'áhétsee'éstse | those that we want |
| tsého'áhése | what you (pl) want | tsého'áhéseš'éstse | those that you (pl) want |
| tsého'áhévōše | what they want | tsého'áhévōšéstse | those that they want |

'make (something)'

| | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| tsémanéstséto | what I made | tsémanéstsétonóhtse | those which I made |
| tsémanéstseto | what you made | tsémanéstsétošéstse | those which you made |
| tsémanéstséstse | what he made | tsémanéstseséstse | those which he made |
| tsémanéstséstsese | what he (obv) made | tsémanéstséstseséstse | those which he (obv) made |
| tsémanéstsétse | what we made | tsémanéstsétsee'éstse | those which we made |
| tsémanéstsése | what you (pl) made | tsémanéstsésee'éstse | those which you (pl) made |
| tsémanésévōše | what they made | tsémanéstsévošéstse | those which they made |

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 tsévoohtomo? | What did you see |
| Hénová'e tsémésoto? | What did you eat? |
| Hénová'ehötse tsémanéstsetonóhtse? | What (plural) did you make? |
| Nápéhévátséta tséhó'tséstse. | I like what he had. |
| Tsémanéstseto épéhéva'e. | What you made is good. |

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Negative Participles

'see (singular object)'

| | |
|----------------------|------------------------------------|
| tsésáavóohtohémo | what I didn't see |
| tsésáavóohtohemo | what you didn't see |
| tsésáavóohtóéstse | what he/she didn't see |
| tsésáavóohtohetsese | what he/she (obviative) didn't see |
| tsésáavóohtomáhétse | what we didn't see |
| tsésáavóohtomáhése | what you (plural) didn't see |
| tsésáavóohtoméhévöse | what they didn't see |

'see (plural object)'

| | |
|----------------------------|--|
| tsésáavóohtohemonóhtse | those that I didn't see |
| tsésáavóohtohemoséstse | those that you didn't see |
| tsésáavóohtoheséstse | those that he/she didn't see |
| tsésáavóohtohetseséstse | those that he/she (obviative) didn't see |
| tsésáavóohtomáhetsée'éstse | those that we didn't see |
| tsésáavóohtomáhese'e'éstse | those that you (plural) didn't see |
| tsésáavóohtoméhevoséstse | those that they didn't see |

'make (singular object)'

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|
| tsésáamanéstséhéto | what I didn't make |
| tsésáamanéstséheto | what you didn't make |
| tsésáamanéstséeéstse | what he/she didn't make |
| tsésáamanéstséhetsese | what he/she (obviative) didn't make |
| tsésáamanéstséhétse | what we didn't make |
| tsésáamanéstséhése | what you (plural) didn't make |
| tsésáamanéstséhévöse | what they didn't make |

'make (plural object)'

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| tsésáamanéstséhetonóhtse | what I didn't make |
| tsésáamanéstséhetoséstse | what you didn't make |
| tsésáamanéstséhéséstse | what he/she didn't make |
| tsésáamanéstséhetseséstse | what he/she (obviative) didn't make |
| tsésáamanéstséhetséee'e'éstse | what we didn't make |
| tsésáamanéstséhese'e'éstse | what you (plural) didn't make |
| tsésáamanéstséhévoséstse | what they didn't make |

Other examples

| | |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------|
| tsésáahestanóhémo | what I didn't take |
| tsésáahestanóhemeséstse | those which he/she didn't take |
| tsésáaméséhéto | what I didn't eat |
| tsésáaméséheto | what you didn't eat |
| tsésáaméséeéstse | what he/she didn't eat |

| | |
|------------------------|------------------------------|
| tsésáaho'tséheto | what you didn't take |
| tsésáaho'tséhevoséstse | those which they didn't take |

Examples in sentences \$\$RECHECK/#3 "I'm looking for those who don't have them"??)

| | |
|---|---|
| Tsésáméséheto éoseepéhévééno'e. | What you didn't eat tastes very good. |
| Tsésáahestanóéstse ésó'hó'ta.?? | What he didn't take is still here. ?? |
| Nánóhtsevóohtanótse tsésáaho'tséhevoséstse. | I'm looking for those (in) that they don't have. ?? |

Ditransitive Conjoint Indicative verbs

Ditransitive conjoint indicative verbs look like Transitive Animate Conjoint Indicative verbs. (\$\$RECHECK THAT). Ditransitive conjoint verbs are inflected for person and number ?? of the subject of the verb as well as the indirect object (morphosyntactic primary object). Animacy and number of the semantic secondary object (the thing or person which is given) are not marked on the conjoint ditransitives, as they are on independent order ditransitive verbs. So when the thing given is translated as "it" in the following verbs, the translation could also be "him", "her", or "them (inanimate or animate)".

\$\$RECHECK??

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|
| tséhmétahtséto | when I gave it to myself | tséhmétatse | when I gave it to you | tséhmétatsemenoto | when we (ex) gave it to you |
| tséhmétatse | when I gave it to you | tséhmétamōtse | when I gave it to him | tséméhótótse | when we gave it to him |
| tséhmeto | when I gave it to him | tséhmétahtsétse | when I gave it to him (obv) | tséhmétotse?? | when we gave it to him (obv) |
| tséhmétamo | when I gave it to him (obv) | tséhmétotse?? | when I gave it to you (pl) | | when we gave it to ourselves |
| tséhmétatsése | when I gave it to you (pl) | | when I gave it to them | | when we gave it to them |
| tséhmétóno | when I gave it to them | | | | |
| tséhmétseto | when you gave it to me | tséméhótsése | when you gave it to me | tséméhótótse | when you (pl) gave it to me |
| tséhmétahtseto | when you gave it to yourself | tséméhótótse | when you gave it to yourself | tséhmétamōse | when you (pl) gave it to him |
| tséhmetōse | when you gave it to him | tséhmétamōse | when you gave it to him | tséhmétsemenoto | when you (pl) gave it to him (obv) |
| tséhmétamōse | when you gave it to him (obv) | tséhmétahtsése | when you gave it to him (obv) | tséhmétōse?? | when you (pl) gave it to us (ex) |
| tséhmétsemenoto | when you gave it to us (ex) | tséhmétōse?? | when you gave it to us (ex) | | when you (pl) gave it to yourselves |
| tséméhótótse | when you gave it to them | | when you gave it to them | | when you (pl) gave it to them |
| tséhmétá'ése | when you gave it to me | tséhméta'ese | when you gave it to me | tséhméta'ese | when they gave it to me |
| tséhmétata'e | when he gave it to you | tséhmétata'ose | when he gave it to you | tséhmétovōse | when they gave it to you |
| tséhmétahtsése | when he gave it to himself | tséhmétaetse?? | when he gave it to himself | tséhmétaese?? | when they gave it to him (obv) |
| tséhmétōse | when he gave it to him (obv) | tséhmétahtsévōse | when he gave it to him (obv) | | when they gave it to us |
| tséhmétaētse | when he gave it to us | | when he gave it to us | | when they gave it to you (pl) |
| tséhmétaēse | when he gave it to you (pl) | | when he gave it to you (pl) | | when they gave it to themselves |
| tséhmétaevōse | when he gave it to them | | when he gave it to them | | |
| tséhméta'etsése | when he (obv) gave it to me | tséhmétotsese | when he (obv) gave it to him (obv') | | |
| tséhmétata'ótsése | when he (obv) gave it to you | | | | |
| tséhméta'etsése | when he (obv) gave it to him | tséhmétanēto | when it was given to me | | |
| tséhmétahtsésése | when he (obv) gave it to himself | tséhmétaneto | when it was given to you | | |
| tséhmétaētse | when he (obv) gave it to us | tséhmétseese | when it was given to him | | |
| tséhmétaēse | when he (obv) gave it to you (pl) | tséhmétsetsése?? | when it was given to him (obv) | | |
| tséhmétaevōse | when he (obv) gave it to them | tséhmétanētse | when it was given to us | | |
| | | tséhmétanēse | when it was given to you (pl) | | |
| | | tséhmétsevōse | when it was given to them | | |

Examples in sentences

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| tséhmeto oeškéseho | when I gave him a dog/dogs (obviative) \$\$ADD MAIN VERBS |
| tséhmeto motšěške | when I gave him a knife |
| tséhmeto mótšěškehótse | when I gave him knives |
| tséhmétóno še'xo | when I gave them a duck/ducks (obviative) |

| | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| tséhmétóno sémonótse | when I gave them boats (inanimate) |
| tséhmetóse póesono | when you gave him a cat/cats (obviative) |
| tséhmetóse sémonótse | when you gave him boats |
| tséhmétsemenoto oeškeso | when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) a dog |
| tséhmétsemenoto oeškéseho | when you (sg/pl) gave us (ex) dogs |
| tséhmétsemenoto sémonótse | when you (sg/pl) gave us boats |
| tséhmétá'ése oeškéseho | when he gave me a dog/dogs (obviative) |
| tséhmétá'ése motšěške | when he gave me a knife |
| tséhmétá'ése mótšěškehótse | when he gave me knives |
| tséhmétóse oeškéseho | when he gave him (obviative) a dog/dogs (obviative) |
| tséhmétóse še'xo | when he gave him (obviative) a duck/ducks (obviative) |
| tséhmétóse sémo | when he gave him (obviative) a boat |
| tséhmétóse sémonótse | when he gave him (obviative) boats |
| tséhméta'etsése sémo hee'haho | when his son (obv) gave me a duck/ducks (obv) |
| tséhméta'etsése še'xo hee'haho | when his son (obv) gave me a boat |

Ditransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

| | |
|-------------------------|--|
| tsésáamétáhtséhéto sémo | when I did not give myself a boat |
| tsésáamétóhevo še'xo | when I did not give him (obv) a duck/ducks (obv) |

Ditransitive Conjunct Indicative relational verbs

\$\$RECHECK (from Petter 1952:105 ??)

| | |
|---------------|---|
| tséhmétsevo | when you gave his ____ to me |
| tséhmétsevoše | when you (pl) gave his ____ to me / us (ex) |
| tséhmétatsevo | when I gave his ____ to you |
| etc. | |

Ditransitive Conjunct Participles\$\$RECHECK

??

| | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| tsémétáhtsétó | what I gave myself | tsémétaēse | what he gave you (pl) |
| tsémétátse | what I gave you | | |
| tsémétó | what I gave him | tséméta'etsese | what he (obv) gave me |
| tsémétamo | what I gave him (obv) | tsémétata'ótse | what he (obv) gave you |
| tsémétatsēse | what I gave you (pl) | tsémétaese(tsémétaa'ése??) | what he (obv) gave him |
| tsémétóno | what I gave them | tsémétahtsétse | what he (obv) gave himself |
| | | tsémétaētse | what he (obv) gave us |
| tsémétseto | what you gave me | tsémétaēse | what he (obv) gave you (pl) |
| tsémétáhtseto | what you gave yourself | tsémétaevose | what he (obv) gave them |
| tsémétóhtse | what you gave him | | |
| tsémétamóhtse | what you gave him (obv) | tsémétatsemenoto | what we (ex) gave you |
| tsémétsemenoto | what you gave us (ex) | tséméhótótse | what we gave him |
| tsémétóse | what you gave them | tsémétamótse | what we gave him (obv) |
| | | tsémétahtsétse | what we gave ourselves |
| tsémétá'éstse | what you gave me | tsémétotsee'e | what we gave them |
| tsémétata'e | what he gave you | | |
| tsémétahtséstse | what he gave himself | tséméhótsése | what you (pl) gave me |
| tsémétóhtse | what he gave him (obv) | tséméhótóse | what you (pl) gave him |
| tsémétaētse | what he gave us | tsémétamōse | what you (pl) gave him (obv) |

| | | | |
|----------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| tsémétsemenoto | what you (pl) gave us (ex) | tsémétotsese | what he (obv) gave him (obv') |
| tsémétáhtsése | what you (pl) gave yourselves | | |
| tsémétòsee'e | what you (pl) gave them | | |
| tséméta'ese | what they gave me | tsémétanēto | what I was given |
| tsémétata'ōse | what they gave you | tsémétaneto | what you were given |
| tsémétovose | what they gave him (obv) | tsémétseestse | what he was given |
| tsémétaetse?? | what they gave us | tsémétsetséstse?? | what he (obv) was given |
| tsémétaese?? | what they gave you (pl) | tsémétanētse | what we were given |
| tsémétáhtsese | what they gave themselves | tsémétanēse | what you (pl) were given |
| | | tsémétsese | what they were given |

Examples of ditransitive participles in sentences

| | |
|----|----------------------------------|
| ?? | What did you give him? |
| ?? | What did he give him (obv)? |
| ?? | What did he (obv) give him? |
| | What (plural) did you give him? |
| | What (animate) did you give him? |
| | Who gave it to you? |
| | Who gave it to him (obv)? |
| | Who (obv) gave it to him? |

Complex sentences

Now that we have examined independent and dependent (conjunct) verbs, we can study complex sentences in Cheyenne. A complex sentence contains at least two verbs, one of which is dependent upon the other, typically called the main (or matrix) verb.

Cheyennes often utter complex sentences in which there is a conjunct verb which has some kind of temporal or adverbial relationship to the main verb of a sentence:

\$\$EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS

Less frequently and probably much less frequently than in English, Cheyennes utter sentences in which the dependent verb is a complement of the main verb. A complement verb acts something like an object to the main verb. In English we might say, "I'm know that you've been sick." The clause "that you've been sick" is the complement to the main verb "know." This complement acts as an object to "know", tell us what it is that the speaker knows.

Here are some examples of sentences with complement verbs found in Cheyenne texts:

\$\$EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS, INCLUDING FROM THE BROTHERS-IN-LAW TEXT

If you are studying Cheyenne, trying to obtain complex sentences with complements, be cautious in your study. Try not to ask Cheyenne speakers to directly translate English sentences with complements to Cheyenne. It may be possible to get literal translations of such English sentences, but 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.

| | |
|----------------|------------------|
| Náméséhétáno. | I want to eat. |
| Nánaóotsétáno. | 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. |
| Návóomáhtsétáno. | I want to be seen. |
| Évóomáhtsétanoo'o. | They want to be seen. |
| Návéstáhémáhtsétáno. | I want to be helped. |
| Návéstáhémáhtsétanó'tóvo. | I want to be helped by him. |
| Véstáhémáhtsétanó'toveha! | Want to be helped by him! |
| Návóo'séhátanó'tóvo. | I want to show it to him. |
| Náhestanátanó'ta. | I want to take it. |
| Námésetanó'ta. | I want to eat it. |
| Námésetanó'tanótse. | I want to eat them (inanimate). |

Word order

It is important to know what order words should appear in in any language. In some languages, such as English, word order can tell us who is doing what to whom, as in the sentence "John kissed Mary." In this English sentence we can tell from the word order that John is the one who did the kissing and Mary is the who who was kissed. In a language like English we say that word order is syntactically determined, that is, the grammar (syntax) of the language determines the order of words such as subjects, objects, and verbs in a sentence.

Many languages, including Cheyenne, do not have word order that is determined by grammatical relationships such as subjects and direct objects. Instead, word order of subject and object nouns in Cheyenne sentences is determined by how speakers organize information in their speech context. For such languages we say that word order is pragmatically determined.

So two different systems determine word order in English and Cheyenne. This is why it is very important that sentences not be translated from English to Cheyenne using the same word order that the sentence had in English. Instead, it is important to follow the Cheyenne rules for word order, which have to do with matters such as what is in focus in a Cheyenne speaker's mind. If you are a Cheyenne speaker, try not to think about the words of an English sentence if you are translating something from English to Cheyenne. Instead, just try to think about the meaning of the Cheyenne sentence and what you have already said in Cheyenne that is related to that sentence. Then try to say

the sentence "the Indian way", saying it as naturally as if you did not know any English and were just talking in Cheyenne.

Fixed word orders

There are some fixed word orders in Cheyenne. Quantifiers precede the nouns they modify, as do demonstrative pronouns:

haesto ka'ěškóneho 'many children'
na'ěstse amáho'hestótse 'one car'
neše he'eo'o 'two women'

Question words (interrogative pronouns) occur as the first element in a sentence:

Hénová'e tséméseto? 'What did you eat?'
Névááhe tsévéhonevístse? 'Who is the boss?'
Tóne'she nééváho'ěhóo'óhtse? 'When did you get back home?'
Tósa'e néhoo'e? 'Where do you live?'

\$\$STUDY NATURAL TEXTS TO SEE IF THERE MIGHT BE A PREDOMINANT ORDER OF CONJUNCT VERBS PRECEDING INDEPENDENT VERBS

Word order and speech context

Cheyenne subject and object nouns occur in an order determined by the speech context. That is, their order is pragmatically determined. Elena Leman (1999) has researched the pragmatic factors that determine word order in Cheyenne. \$\$ (GIVE EXAMPLES FROM HER BOOK) She discovered that a word that is "newsworthy"¹³⁹ occurs as the first element¹⁴⁰ 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 néohkenéheto'eétahe! 'Always you're doing that!'

Naa móséškanetsénoonáhe mósto'sevéseéetséhe'óhtséhēhe tséhmóheehohtséstovetse. 'And the bat (in contrast to the animals and birds mentioned in the preceding sentences in this story) was also going to go to where there was a meeting.' (The Bat story, in the Texts section of this book)

\$\$ (OTHER EXAMPLES?)

If you are a Cheyenne speaker and someone asks you how to translate an English sentence to Cheyenne, do not copy the order of words in the English sentence. Cheyenne word order is different from English word order in sentences. English sentences usually have a required word order based on English syntax (grammar), namely, subject nouns come before their verbs and object nouns follow them. Cheyenne grammar does follow this syntactic order for words in a sentence. A Cheyenne sentence which follows the English word order may not sound wrong by itself, but it will not have the best word order unless it follows the natural order for words as a Cheyenne conversation or other discourse progresses.

¹³⁹ The "newsworthiness" concept has been described by Mithun (1987).

¹⁴⁰ Or it can be the second position if the first position is a discourse connector such as naa 'and'.

Free word order

Linguists often refer to languages such as Cheyenne as free word order (or nonconfigurational) languages. In such languages subject and object nouns, verbs, and sometimes other sentence elements can occur in any order. But what these linguists actually mean by the term free word is that the order of words is not determined by the syntax of the language. Instead, Cheyenne, like many other languages, has word order which is determined by the speech context (known as pragmatics), rather than syntax.

Basic word order and naturalness

Linguists refer to basic word order in languages in terms of the abbreviations S, V, and O, where S = Subject, V = Verb, and O = Object. English is an SVO language because in a typical English sentence the subject comes before the verb and if there is an object it comes after the verb. For instance, if there is a man we've been talking about and he shot a deer we could say what happened in English as "The man shot a deer." "The man" is S (Subject). The verb (V) is "shot". And the O (Object) is "a deer".

Sometimes linguists ask if Cheyenne is an SVO language, or if it has some other basic word order, such as SOV. To answer this question, we must return to the observations just made, that overall Cheyenne word order in sentences is not determined by syntax, but, instead, by speech context (pragmatics). So we really cannot say that Cheyenne has a basic word order such as SVO.

Next, it should be noted that it is rare in Cheyenne for both a subject and object noun to occur with a verb. If you study natural Cheyenne texts, such as those which appear in the Texts section of this book, you will find very few sentences with subject and object nouns along with a verb. So it's basically a moot question to ask what is the basic word order in Cheyenne, in terms of linguistic symbols such as S, V, and O.

It is important for Cheyenne sentences to be grammatically correct as well as natural. So, if you are a Cheyenne speaker and someone asks you to translate an English sentence with both a subject and object noun, hesitate before simply translating the English sentence word for word. For instance, hesitate before translating an English sentence such as "The man saw a deer" to Cheyenne. It is possible to translate this sentence directly to Cheyenne as: *Hetane móhvóomóhevóhe váotseváhne*. That is a grammatical sentence in Cheyenne. But this sentence would not occur naturally in Cheyenne as often as it might in English.

Instead, in natural Cheyenne, speakers would more likely express the same meaning in more than one sentence. Typically, a Cheyenne speaker would introduce the man in a sentence such as: *Hetane mó'ameohtséhēhe* 'A man was going along.' Then in the next sentence it can be said what the man saw, as in: *Móhvóomóhevóhe váotseváhne* 'He saw a deer.' (The Cheyenne word for 'man', *hetane*, would not usually be repeated in the second sentence.)

It's just not natural to try to get too much information into a single Cheyenne sentence. For that matter, it probably isn't natural in English either, at least not for a sentence uttered by itself without any preceding context.

An important principle for translation of anything into any language, including Cheyenne, is to avoid asking (and answering) the question "Can you say this in your language?" Instead, it is better to ask the question, "Is this said in your language?" or "How do you naturally express this meaning in

your language?" It is not only important to say things grammatically correct in a language, but also to say them naturally.

Study of natural texts, including conversations, speeches, and stories, in Cheyenne can help us understand natural ways of speaking Cheyenne. We must always be cautious about directly translating anything from English, or any other language, to Cheyenne. Instead, we must try to say things in Cheyenne as they would be said if they were part of a natural conversation between fluent Cheyenne speakers.

Default pragmatic word order

Even though we cannot speak of a basic word order in Cheyenne, there is a strong tendency for certain word orders to occur. These word orders are pragmatically determined, but so prevalent that some people might like to refer to them as basic word orders.

Subject nouns which are non-contrastive and definite (already established in a discourse) occur following the verb they are associated with much more often than they do preceding that verb. Notice that in the following text there 72 "sentences," including the title and ending (which is not a full sentence). Of the 72 sentences, only 6 have SV order, while there are 20 sentences with VS order. 36 sentences have no subject noun at all. In most of (count them??) the VS occurrences of the subject noun are definite and non-contrastive. Subject nouns that precede verbs are boldfaced in this text. Subject nouns that follow verbs are boldfaced and italicized.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.001

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|---------------------|------|-------|------------|--------|------|
| vého | tséxhénòhtsevóómòse | | | | | |
| vého | tsé- | h- | hé- | nòhtsevóom | -ó | -s |
| chief | CNJ- | OBL- | PURP- | look.for | -DIR | -3 |
| na | px- | tns- | pv- | vta | -voice | -pro |

| | | |
|-------------|--|------|
| kásováaheho | | |
| kásováahéh | | -o |
| young man | | -OBV |
| na | | -num |

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|--------|-------|-------------------|--|------|
| tséto'séhevéxahese | | | | | |
| tsé- | to'se- | he- | véxahe | | -se |
| CNJ- | PROS- | have- | have.child-in-law | | -OBV |
| px- | pv- | r- | vai | | -pro |

| | | |
|-----------|----------|------|
| hestónaho | | |
| he- | htónah | -o |
| 3PS- | daughter | -OBV |
| pro- | na | -num |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------|------------|--------|------|------|
| tséto'sevéstoemótsese | | | | | |
| tsé- | to'se- | véstoem | -ó | -tse | -se |
| CNJ- | PROS- | married.to | -DIR | -OBV | -OBV |
| px- | pv- | vta | -voice | -pro | -pro |

A chief when he went to look for a young man to be his son-in-law, who would marry his daughter.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.002

éxxaemáhé'tánèse

é- h- xae- máhé'tá -né -s
 3- PST- simply- all.camped -FII -RPT
 pro- tns- pv- vii -sfx -mode
 There were many tepees.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.003

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----|--------|---------|-------------------------|---------|--|--|--|---------------------|
| naa | h'ó'xe | táháóhe | tséstaénoneo'tséstove | | | | | <i>máhtamáháúhe</i> |
| naa | ho'oxé | táháóhe | tsé- h- ta- énoneo'tsé | -htóve | | | | máhtamáháahéh |
| and | end | there | CNJ- OBL- TRL- end.camp | -IMPERS | | | | old.woman |
| p | p | p | px- tns- dir- vai | -fii | | | | na |

éhvéeséstse

é- h- véé -sest
 3- PST- camp -RPT
 pro- tns- vai -mode
 And at the edge there where the camp ended an old lady camped.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.004

hevéxaho

| | | | | |
|-----------------|------|-------------------|-------|------|
| he- véxah | -o | é- h- néše'ená | -sest | -o |
| 3PS- grandchild | -OBV | 3- PST- live.with | -RPT | -OBV |
| pro- na | -num | pro- tns- vai | -mode | -num |

Her grandson lived with (her).

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.005

éxhoháeanáhtóvénése

| | | | |
|----------------------|---------|------|-------|
| é- h- ho- háeaná | -htóve | -né | -s |
| 3- PST- very- hungry | -IMPERS | -FII | -RPT |
| pro- tns- REDUP- vai | -fii | -sfx | -mode |

There was great hunger.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.006

| | | | |
|-----------------|------------------|-----------|-----|
| <i>tsé'tóhe</i> | <i>kásováúhe</i> | néšéé'èše | naa |
| tsé'tóhé | kásováahéh | néšéé'èše | naa |
| this | young man | 2.days | and |
| pro | na | p | p |

na'hēē'èše

na'hēē'èše

3.days

p

éstaohkevoneotseséstse

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------|
| é- h- ta- ohke- voneotse | -sest |
| 3- PST- TRL- HABIT- disappear | -RPT |
| pro- tns- dir- pv- vii | -mode |

For two days and for three days this young man would disappear.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.007

| | | | | | | | |
|------------|----------------------------------|----------|--|--|--|--|----------|
| hevámóhe | móstaohkékénése'néváhéhe | | | | | | |
| hevá=móhe | mó- h- ta- ohke- hé- nése'névá | -hé | | | | | -hé |
| apparently | INF- PST- TRL- HABIT- PURP- hunt | -NEG.SFX | | | | | -INF.SFX |
| p | mode- tns- dir- pv- pv- vai | -sfx | | | | | -sfx |

Apparently he would go to hunt.
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.008

| | | | | |
|------|------|--------|----------------------|-------|
| é- | h- | ohke- | ho'o'xe | -sest |
| 3- | PST- | HABIT- | arrive.carrying.game | -RPT |
| pro- | tns- | pv- | vai | -mode |

| | |
|---------|------|
| taa'eva | |
| taa'e | -vá |
| night | -OBL |
| ni | -sfx |

He would bring home game at night.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.009

| | | | | | |
|------|------|--------|---------|-------|---------------------|
| é- | h- | ohke- | ó'èsóvá | -sest | <i>máhtamáhááhe</i> |
| 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

| | | | | | |
|------|------|--------|-------------|-------|-----------|
| 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

| | |
|---------|----------|
| něhě'še | ame |
| něhe'šé | ame |
| then | pemmican |
| p | ni |

| | | | | | | |
|-------|------|--------|--------|--------|----------|----------|
| 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- | h- | ohke- | mése | -hé | -nó | -vo | -hé | <i>něhněšévose</i> | něh- | něše | -vó | -s |
| INF- | PST- | HABIT- | eat | -NEG.SFX | -FTI | -3PL | -INF.SFX | CJT.PPL- | two | -3PL | -3 | |
| mode- | tns- | pv- | vti | -sfx | -sfx | -num | -sfx | px- | vai | -num | -pro | |

hevéxaho

| | | |
|------|------------|------|
| he- | véxah | -o |
| 3PS- | grandchild | -OBV |
| pro- | na | -num |

They would eat it, the two of them, her grandson (and her).
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.013

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|---------|------------------------|---------------|-------|--|--|---------------|
| naa | nēhē'se | é'amēhóo'xeváhnesēstse | | | | | hetane |
| naa | nēhe'sé | é- h- ame- | hóo'xeváhné | -sest | | | hetane |
| and | then | 3- PST- along- | announce.walk | -RPT | | | man |
| p | p | pro- tns- i- | vai | -mode | | | na |

And then a man was announcing.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.014

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------|-------|--|--|--|--|
| tséheto'honée'tatse | | é'amēhnesēstse | | | | | |
| tsé- | heto'honée'tá | -tse é- h- amehné | -sest | | | | |
| CNJ- | be.at.camp.edge | -OBV 3- PST- walk | -RPT | | | | |
| pfx- | vii | -pro pro- tns- vai | -mode | | | | |

Along the edge of camp he walked.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.015

vo'ěstane
vo'ěstane
person
na

| | | | |
|-------------------|--------|------|-------------|
| némó'otaēvo | | | vého |
| né- mó'ot | -ae | -vó | vého |
| 2- invite.to.meal | -INV | -2PL | chief |
| pro- vta | -voice | -num | na |

"A person (?), ... the chief has invited you (plural),

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.016

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------|--------|-----------------------|--------|------|--|--|--|--|
| éto'senóhtsevóome | | tséto'sevéstoēmóhtse | | | | | | |
| é- to'se- nóhtsevóom | -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 | | | | |

| | | | |
|---------------|-------|--|--|
| éxhesēstse | | | |
| 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'xevasēstse | | | |
| é- h- hetóo'xevá | -sest | | |
| 3- PST- so.announce | -RPT | | |
| pro- tns- vai | -mode | | |

He announced that way.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.018

| | | | |
|-------------|-------------|----|--|
| vee'e | éxho'tánese | | |
| é- h- ho'tá | -né | -s | |

3- PST- be.at -FII -RPT
 pro- tns- vii -sfx -mode

vá'òhtámo'héé'e
 vá'òhtámo'héé'e
 place-of-honor

p
 A tepee was there in the place-of-honor.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.019

nèhē'še
 nèhe'sé
 then

p

éstamásómoheeohtsésesto

| | | | | | | |
|------|------|------|-----------|------------|-------|------|
| é- | h- | ta- | másó- | móheeohtsé | -sest | -o |
| 3- | PST- | TRL- | suddenly- | meet | -RPT | -3PL |
| pro- | tns- | dir- | pv- | vai | -mode | -num |

kásováaheho

hetaneo'o

| | | | |
|------------|------|--------|------|
| kásováahéh | -o | hetane | -o |
| young man | -3PL | man | -3PL |
| na | -num | na | -num |

Then they gathered, young men, men.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.020

éhmo'onátamaaheséstse

| | | | |
|------|------|----------------------|-------|
| é- | h- | mo'onátamaahe | -sest |
| 3- | PST- | beautiful.appearance | -RPT |
| pro- | tns- | vai | -mode |

She was beautiful.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.021

éxhoeséstse

káse'ééhe

vá'òhtáma
 vá'òhtáma
 place-of-honor
 p

| | | | | |
|------|------|-------|-------|-------------|
| é- | h- | hoe | -sest | káse'éehéh |
| 3- | PST- | be.at | -RPT | young.woman |
| pro- | tns- | vai | -mode | na |

The young lady was in the place-of-honor.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.022

éhněšema'xemóhee'éstsehněsesto

hetaneo'o

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|------|------|-----------|--------|---------|-----|----------|-------|------|--------|------|
| é- | h- | něše- | ma'xe- | móhee- | '- | éstsehně | -sest | -o | hetane | -o |
| 3- | PST- | continue- | much- | gather- | EP- | enter | -RPT | -3PL | man | -3PL |
| pro- | tns- | pv- | pv- | pv- | pv- | vai | -mode | -num | na | -num |

Many men gathered-came inside.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.023

nèhē'še

tsé'tóhe

kásovááhe

nèhe'sé

tsé'tóhé

kásováahéh

then

this

young man

p

pro

na

éstséhetósesto

| | | | | | | |
|------|------|------|------|--------|-------|------|
| é- | h- | tsè- | het | -ó | -sest | -o |
| 3- | PST- | CAT- | tell | -DIR | -RPT | -OBV |
| pro- | tns- | pv- | vta | -voice | -mode | -num |

hevěškemo

| | | |
|------|-------------|------|
| he- | věškem | -o |
| 3PS- | grandmother | -OBV |
| pro- | na | -num |

Then this young man said to his grandmother.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.024

něške'e

něške'e

Grandmother!

voc

tavésétséhe'òhtséstse

| | | | |
|------|-------|-------------|-------|
| ta- | vése- | tséhe'ohtsé | -sest |
| TRL- | with- | go.to | -RPT |
| dir- | pv- | vai | -mode |

éxhetósesto

| | | | | | |
|------|------|------|--------|-------|------|
| é- | h- | het | -ó | -sest | -o |
| 3- | PST- | tell | -DIR | -RPT | -OBV |
| pro- | tns- | vta | -voice | -mode | -num |

"Grandmother, you, too, go there!" he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.025

tàhéaahtomónéstse

| | | | |
|------|-------|-----------|-------|
| ta- | hé- | áahtomóné | -ht |
| TRL- | PURP- | listen | -IMPV |
| dir- | pv- | vai | -mode |

"Go to listen!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.026

tàhéene'enoveha

| | | | | |
|------|-------|---------|------|-----------|
| ta- | hé- | héne'en | -ov | -eha |
| TRL- | PURP- | know | -FTA | -2:3.IMPV |
| dir- | pv- | vta | -sfx | -sfx |

tséto'séhevéxahéstovéstse

| | | | | | |
|------|--------|-------|-----------------|---------|------|
| tsé- | to'se- | he- | véxahé | -htóve | -ht |
| CNJ- | PROS- | have- | have.grandchild | -IMPERS | -3 |
| pfx- | pv- | r- | vta | -fii | -pro |

éxhetósesto

| | | | | | |
|------|------|------|--------|-------|------|
| é- | h- | het | -ó | -sest | -o |
| 3- | PST- | tell | -DIR | -RPT | -OBV |
| pro- | tns- | vta | -voice | -mode | -num |

Go to find out who is going to be son-in-law!" he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.027

| | | | | |
|---------|----------|-----------------|-----------|--|
| hé'tóhe | ame | tan'o'ehtseo'o | | |
| hé'tóhe | ame | ta- no'eohtsé | -o | |
| this | pemmican | TRL- walk.carry | -IMPV.DEL | |
| pro | ni | dir- vai | -mode | |

éxhetósesto

| | | | | | |
|------|------|------|--------|-------|------|
| é- | h- | het | -ó | -sest | -o |
| 3- | PST- | tell | -DIR | -RPT | -OBV |
| pro- | tns- | vta | -voice | -mode | -num |

"This pemmican, take it along!" he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.028

| | | | | |
|---------------|----------|------------------|-----------|-----------|
| vá'netšéške'e | | něšea'kóestseo'o | | |
| vá'ne- | tšéške'e | něše- | a'kóestse | -o |
| just- | a little | continue- | bundle | -IMPV.DEL |
| pv- | p | pv- | vti | -mode |

"Just a little one, make a package!"

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.029

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------|----------|-------|--------|---------|
| máhto'seéšeéneéestséstove | | | | | |
| máh- | to'se- | éše- | éne- | éestse | -htóve |
| IRREAL- | PROS- | already- | stop- | speak | -IMPERS |
| pfX- | pv- | pv- | pv- | vai | -fii |

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|------|--------|--------|----------|-------------------------------|
| manésto'séhóehneto | | | | | o'ha'enomeo'o |
| máh- | neh- | to'se- | hóehné | -to | o'ha'en -om -e -o |
| IRREAL- | CIS- | PROS- | emerge | -CNJ.SFX | drop -FTI -IMPV.SFX -IMPV.DEL |
| pfX- | dir- | pv- | vai | -sfx | vti -sfx -sfx -mode |

éxhetósesto

| | | | | | |
|------|------|------|--------|-------|------|
| é- | h- | het | -ó | -sest | -o |
| 3- | PST- | tell | -DIR | -RPT | -OBV |
| pro- | tns- | vta | -voice | -mode | -num |

When the talking is about over, when you're going out, drop it!" he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.030

| | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---------|------|-------|
| naa | éxhoháeanáhtóvéne | | | |
| naa | é- h- hoháeaná | -htóve | -né | -s |
| and | 3- PST- very hungry | -IMPERS | -FII | -RPT |
| p | pro- tns- vai | -fii | -sfx | -mode |

And there was great hunger.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.031

něhē'she
 něhe'shé
 then
 p

| | | | | | |
|--------------------------|------|------------|-------------|----------|----------|
| móstavésétséhe'ohtséhéhe | | | | | |
| mó- | h- | ta- vése- | tséhe'ohtsé | -hé | -hé |
| INF- | PST- | TRL- with- | go.to | -NEG.SFX | -INF.SFX |
| mode- | tns- | dir- pv- | vai | -sfx | -sfx |

néhe máhtamáhúáhe

néhe máhtamáhááhéh
 that old.woman
 pro na
 Then that old lady also went there.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.032

néhě'she
 néhe'sé
 then
 p

tsétó'mēhestóese
 tsé- tó'me- het -óh -e -s
 CNJ- right.away- tell -PSV -PSV -3
 pfx- pv- vta -voice -voice -pro

móhnēhešěvéhéhe
 INF- PST- do that -NEG.SFX -INF.SFX
 mó- h- nēhešěvé -hé -hé
 mode- tns- vai -sfx -sfx
 Then exactly what she had been told, she did it.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.033

tséstó'seéšééneéestséstove
 tsé- h- to'se- éše- éne- éestse -htóve
 CNJ- OBL- PROS- already- stop- speak -IMPERS
 pfx- tns- pv- pv- pv- vai -fii

éhněxhóehneséstse
 é- h- neh- hóhné -sest
 3- PST- CIS- emerge -RPT
 pro- tns- dir- vai -mode
 When the talking was about over, she came out.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.034

néxahe
 néxahe
 my.grandchild
 na

nátó'séhéhomóhtōvo
 ná- to'se- hé- homóht -ov -ó
 1- PROS- PURP- cook.for -FTA -DIR
 pro- pv- pv- vta -sfx -voice

éxheséstse
 é- h- he -sest
 3- PST- say -RPT
 pro- tns- vai -mode
 "I'm going to cook for my grandson," she said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.035

mó'ohaehēhe
 mó- h- ohaé -hé -hé

INF- PST- arise -NEG.SFX -INF.SFX
 mode- tns- vai -sfx -sfx
 She got up.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.036

móhnèxhóehnéhēhe
 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

móstatsšeo'ha'enòhēhe
 mó- h- ta- tšēše- o'ha'en -ó -hé -hé
 INF- PST- TRL- now- drop -FTI -NEG.SFX -INF.SFX
 mode- tns- dir- pv- vti -theme -sfx -sfx
 She dropped that (thing).

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.038

tséstao'seéšéhóva'xèse
 tsé- h- ta- to'se- éše- hóva'xe -s
 CNJ- OBL- TRL- PROS- already- go out -3
 pfx- tns- dir- pv- pv- vai -pro

he éxheséstse
 hé é- h- he -sest
 hey 3- PST- say -RPT
 p pro- tns- vai -mode
 When she was about to go outside, "Hey!" she said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.039

nóoo néxahe hexo'èhaéenenáhtsestótse
 nóoo néxahe he- xo'èhaénén -ahtse -htot
 wow! my.grandchild 3PS- salve.tears -REFL -NOM
 p na pro- vta -sfx -sfx

náxamae'o'ha'enomóvo
 ná- xamae- 'l- o'ha'en -om -ó -vó
 1- ordinary- EP- drop -FTI -FTI -RELAT
 pro- pv- pv- vti -sfx -theme -pro

éxheséstse
 é- h- he -sest
 3- PST- say -RPT
 pro- tns- vai -mode
 "Oh! My grandson's ointment, I dropped it," she said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.040

éstaéva'eotseséstse
 é- h- ta- éva'eotse -sest
 3- PST- TRL- change -RPT
 pro- tns- dir- vai -mode
 She turned around.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.041

éhne'éváhóséheseváenánóse
 é- h- neh- éva- hóse- heseváen -á -nó -s
 3- PST- CIS- back- again- pick.up.quickly -FTI -FTI -RPT
 pro- tns- dir- pv- pv- vti -theme -sfx -mode

héne ame
 héné ame
 that pemmican
 pro ni
 She quickly picked back up that pemmican.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.042

nóxa'e
 nóxa'e
 Wait!
 p

éstáhetaesesto
 é- h- ta- het -ae -sest -o
 3- PST- TRL- tell -INV -RPT -OBV
 pro- tns- dir- vta -voice -mode -num

tsé'tóhe vého
 tsé'tóhé vého
 this chief
 pro na
 "Wait!" this chief told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.043

táaxa'e héne
 táaxa'e héné
 let's.see that
 p pro

néstóxanome
 néh- tóxan -om -e
 CIS- pass.around -FTI -IMPV
 dir- vti -sfx -sfx

éxheséstse **néhe vého**
 é- h- he -sest néhe vého
 3- PST- say -RPT that chief
 pro- tns- vai -mode pro na
 "Let's see, pass that around!" that chief said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.044

éstatóxanesése

é- {pro} h- {tns} ta- {dir} tóxan {vti} -é -s -e -s -é
 3- PST- TRL- pass.around
 éstatóxánése??

hótáhtse **ame**
 hótáhtse ame
 unexpectedly pemmican
 p ni
 It was passed around, behold, (it was) pemmican!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.045

nóoo éhpéhéveéno'énése
 nóoo é- h- péhéve- éno'e -né -s
 wow! 3- PST- good- taste -FII -RPT
 p pro- tns- pv- fii -sfx -mode
 Oh! It tasted good.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.046

néhe hetane
 néhe hetane
 that man
 pro na

é'onéha'enānōse
 é- h- onéha'en -an -ó -s
 3- PST- loose -by.hand -FTI -RPT
 pro- tns- vti -fti -theme -mode
 That man unwrapped it.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.047

éhmésénōse
 é- h- mése -nó -s
 3- PST- eat -FTI -RPT
 pro- tns- vti -sfx -mode
 He ate it.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.048

néhē'she
 néhe'sé
 then
 p

éstséhetósesto
 é- h- tsé- het -ó -sest -o
 3- PST- CAT- tell -DIR -RPT -OBV
 pro- tns- pv- vta -voice -mode -num

néhe máhtamáháaheho táaxa'e
 néhe máhtamáháahéh -o táaxa'e
 that old.woman -OBV let's.see
 pro na -num p
 Then he told that old lady,

éxahe náto'seéestséstōvo

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|------|--------|----------|------|--------|
| éxahe | ná- | to'se- | éestsést | -ov | -ó |
| your.grandchild | 1- | PROS- | speak.to | -FTA | -DIR |
| na | pro- | pv- | vta | -sfx | -voice |

"Let's see, your grandson, I'm going to talk to him.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.049

| | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------|--------------|--|--------|--|
| náto'sevé'hóómo | | | | | |
| ná- | to'se- | vé'hóóm | | -ó | |
| 1- | PROS- | look.at.s.o. | | -DIR | |
| pro- | pv- | vta | | -voice | |

| | | | | | |
|-------------|------|------|--------|-------|------|
| éxhetósesto | | | | | |
| é- | h- | het | -ó | -sest | -o |
| 3- | PST- | tell | -DIR | -RPT | -OBV |
| pro- | tns- | vta | -voice | -mode | -num |

I'm going to see him," he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.050

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------|-------------|-------|--------------|------|------|--------|-------|------|--|
| néstsehe'óhtsee'ése | | | éxhetaesesto | | | | | | |
| néh- | tséhe'ohtsé | -es | é- | h- | het | -ae | -sest | -o | |
| CIS- | go.to | -HORT | 3- | PST- | tell | -INV | -RPT | -OBV | |
| dir- | vai | -sfx | pro- | tns- | vta | -voice | -mode | -num | |

"Let him come over!" he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.051

| | | | | | | |
|--------------------|------|------|-------|---------|---------------------|---------------|
| tséstaéváho'ēhnése | | | | | <i>máhtamáhááhe</i> | |
| tsé- | h- | ta- | éva- | ho'ehné | -s | máhtamáhááhéh |
| CNJ- | OBL- | TRL- | back- | come | -3 | old.woman |
| px- | tns- | dir- | pv- | vai | -pro | na |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------|------|----------|---------------|------|--------|----------|------|-----------------|------|
| éxhóhta'haovósesto | | | | | | hevéxaho | | | |
| é- | h- | hóhta'ha | | -ov | -ó | -sest | -o | he- véxah | -o |
| 3- | PST- | tell | story to s.o. | -FTA | -DIR | -RPT | -OBV | 3PS- grandchild | -OBV |
| pro- | tns- | vta | | -sfx | -voice | -mode | -num | pro- na | -num |

When the old lady returned, she told her grandson. (Does máhtamáhááhe go with the preceding or following verb??)

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.052

| | | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------|------|---------|-------------|-------|-----|----------|
| náéšenéhešéve | | | | tséhešéheto | | | |
| ná- | éše- | nè- | hešévé | tsé- | heše- | he | -to |
| 1- | already- | ANA- | do that | CNJ- | how- | say | -CNJ.SFX |
| pro- | pv- | pv- | vai | px- | pv- | vai | -sfx |

"I have done what you told me.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.053

| | | | |
|---------------|------|-----------|--------|
| néne'onóomāne | | | |
| né- | neh- | onóom | -ané |
| 2- | CIS- | call.s.o. | -PSV |
| pro- | dir- | vta | -voice |

| | | | | | |
|--------------|------|------|------|-------|------|
| éxhetaesesto | | | | | |
| é- | h- | het | -ae | -sest | -o |
| 3- | PST- | tell | -INV | -RPT | -OBV |

pro- tns- vta -voice -mode -num
You are invited," she told him.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.054

éstaosáanenèhe'òhtsesèstse

| | | | | | |
|------|------|------|---------|------------|-------|
| é- | h- | ta- | osáane- | nèhe'ohtsé | -sest |
| 3- | PST- | TRL- | so- | go there | -RPT |
| pro- | tns- | dir- | pv- | vai | -mode |

nèhe kásovááhe

nèhe kásovááhéh
that young man
pro na

That young man went there.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.055

éstáho'èhnesèstse

| | | | | |
|------|------|------|---------|-------|
| é- | h- | ta- | ho'ehné | -sest |
| 3- | PST- | TRL- | come | -RPT |
| pro- | tns- | dir- | vai | -mode |

He arrived.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.056

éhnòhtsèstóesesto

| | | | | | | |
|------|------|----------|--------|-------|------|-------------|
| é- | h- | nòhtsèst | -óe | -sest | -o | vého |
| 3- | PST- | ask s.o. | -INV | -RPT | -OBV | chief |
| pro- | tns- | vta | -voice | -mode | -num | na |

He was asked by the chief.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.057

néhoháeesenèhémèse

| | | | | |
|------|--------|----------------|--------|-------|
| né- | ho- | háeesenehe | -mé | -s |
| 2- | very- | have.much.food | -1/2PL | -RPT |
| pro- | REDUP- | vai | -num | -mode |

"You (pl) have plenty to eat.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.058

hóxe'anáhtseo'o

| | | |
|---------|--------|-----------|
| hóxe'an | -ahtse | -o |
| clean | -REFL | -IMPV.DEL |
| vta | -sfx | -mode |

Prepare (lit., clean) yourself!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.059

néxhéseeheo'o

| | | | |
|------|-------|---------|-----------|
| néh- | hé- | éseehe | -o |
| CIS- | PURP- | move.in | -IMPV.DEL |
| dir- | pv- | vai | -mode |

tséhéóhe
tséhéóhe
here

p
Move in here!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.060

| | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------------|--------|--|--|--|
| nénéehove | nétavóomátse | | | | |
| né- néehóve | né- ta- vóom | -atse | | | |
| 2- be the one | 2- HORT- choose | -1:2 | | | |
| pro- vai | pro- pv- vta | -voice | | | |

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|--------|------|--|--|--|
| tséto'sevéstoēmóhtse | | | | | |
| tsé- to'se- véstoem | -ó | -ht | | | |
| CNJ- PROS- married.to | -DIR | -3 | | | |
| px- pv- vta | -voice | -pro | | | |

náhtona
na- htónah
1PS- daughter
pro- na

| | | | | | |
|---------------|--------|-------|------|--|--|
| éxhetaesesto | | | | | |
| é- h- het | -ae | -sest | -o | | |
| 3- PST- tell | -INV | -RPT | -OBV | | |
| pro- tns- vta | -voice | -mode | -num | | |

You are the one, I select you to marry my daughter," he told him.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.061

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|--------|-------|--|--|
| é'oseepéhévetanóotseséstse | | | | | |
| é- h- osee- péhévetanóotse | | -sest | | | |
| 3- PST- very- happy quickly | - | become | -RPT | | |
| pro- tns- pv- vai | | | -mode | | |

néhe kásovááhe
néhe kásovááhéh
that young man
pro na
That young man became very happy.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.062

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|-------|--|--|--|--|
| héhe'e éxheséstse | | | | | |
| héhe'e é- h- he | -sest | | | | |
| yes 3- PST- say | -RPT | | | | |
| p pro- tns- vai | -mode | | | | |

"Yes," he said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.063

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|-------|--|--|--|
| naa néhe káse'ééhe | éhmo'onátamaaheséstse | | | | |
| naa néhe káse'ééhéh | é- h- mo'onátamaahe | -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

éstaéváhó'ohtseséstse

é- h- ta- éva- hoo'òhtsé -sest
 3- PST- TRL- back- go home -RPT
 pro- tns- dir- pv- vai -mode
 He went back home.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.065

hevėškemo
 he- vėškem -o
 3PS- grandmother -OBV
 pro- na -num

móstanėhetòhevõhe
 mó- h- ta- nè- het -ó -hé -vo -hé
 INF- PST- TRL- ANA- tell -DIR -NEG.SFX -OBV -INF.SFX
 mode- tns- dir- pv- vta -voice -sfx -pro -sfx
 He told that to his grandmother.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.066

éstano'vé'òhtsémòsesto
 é- h- ta- no'- vé'òhtsém -ó -sest -o
 3- PST- TRL- also- accompany -DIR -RPT -OBV
 pro- tns- dir- pv- vta -voice -mode -num

tséohkėhoo'xevátsese
 tsé- ohke- hoo'xevá -tse -se
 CNJ- HABIT- announce -OBV -OBV
 pfx- pv- vai -pro -pro

He went with the one who announced.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.067

éhnėxhoo'xevásėstse *nėhe hetane*
 é- h- neh- hoo'xevá -sest nėhe hetane
 3- PST- CIS- announce -RPT that man
 pro- tns- dir- vai -mode pro na
 That man announced.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.068

néhnóhtó'énóhtse
 néh- nóhtó'en -ó -ht
 CIS- fetch.by.wagon -FTI -IMPV
 dir- vta -theme -mode
 "Come after it!"

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.069

né'amėhnėstse
 néh- amėhnė -ht
 CIS- walk -IMPV
 dir- vai -mode
 Walk toward (me)!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.070

néhnó'otsėstsėstse *nėstáme*

| | | | | | |
|------|-----------|--------|-------|------|-------|
| néh- | nó'otsest | -é | -ht | ne- | htámé |
| CIS- | fetch | -FTI | -IMPV | 2PS- | food |
| dir- | vti | -theme | -mode | pro- | ni |

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|------|------|---------|-------|-------------|
| éstáhestóheséstse | | | | | vého |
| é- | h- | ta- | hestóhe | -sest | vého |
| 3- | PST- | TRL- | called | -RPT | chief |
| pro- | tns- | dir- | vii | -mode | na |

Come after your food!" the chief was told.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.071

| | | | |
|-----|---------|-------------|------------------|
| naa | néhē'še | néhe | kásovááhe |
| naa | néhe'sé | néhe | kásováahéh |
| and | then | that | young.man |
| p | p | pro | na |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|------|------|------|-------|--------------|------|-------|------|--|
| éstanéhešeamáhénósesto | | | | | | | | | |
| é- | h- | ta- | nè- | heše- | amáhé | -no | -sest | -o | |
| 3- | PST- | TRL- | ANA- | how- | receive s.o. | -FTA | -RPT | -OBV | |
| pro- | tns- | dir- | pv- | | pv- vta | -sfx | -mode | -num | |

| | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|------|------|
| tsémo'onátamaahétsese | | | |
| tsé- | mo'onátamaahe | -tse | -se |
| CNJ- | beautiful.appearance | -OBV | -OBV |
| px- | vai | -pro | -pro |

| | |
|------|-------------|
| néhe | káse'ééhe |
| néhe | káse'ééhéh |
| that | young.woman |
| pro | na |

And then that's how this young man received the young lady who was beautiful.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.072

| |
|--------------|
| hena'háanéhe |
| hena'háanéhe |
| that's.it |
| pro |
| That's all. |

Word formation

Cheyenne words are often made up of smaller parts (morphemes). These parts are like building blocks.

Noun formation

A noun may consist of a single morpheme. The following nouns cannot be divided into any smaller meaning parts:

| | |
|---------|--------------|
| ame | 'pemmican' |
| hē'e | 'woman' |
| hetane | 'man' |
| hohpe | 'soup' |
| šé'sé | 'duck' |
| vé'ho'e | 'non-Indian' |

vo'e 'cloud'

Prenoun compounds

A noun may consist of a prenoun plus a noun that can exist as a single word by itself:

ma'aatae-meo'o 'railroad, train' (literally, iron-road)
mo'òhtáe-vé'ho'e 'Negro' (literally, black-non-Indian)

A noun may consist of a noun which acts as a prenoun plus another noun:

he'é-ka'ěškóne 'girl' (literally, woman-child)
hetané-ka'ěškóne 'boy' (literally, man-child)

A noun may consist of a noun which acts as a prenoun plus a noun final that cannot exist by itself:

vé'ho'é-otóá'e 'cow' (literally, whiteman-buffalo)

A noun may consist of a prenoun plus a noun final:

Óoe-tane 'Crow' (literally, crow-person)
món-é'e 'bride' (literally, new-woman)

Noun-verb compounds

A noun may consist of a verb plus a noun:

mòxe'ěstone-máhēō'o 'school' (literally, writing-house)
ame'há-ve'ho'e 'pilot' (literally, flying-non-Indian)
homósé-ve'ho'e 'cook' (literally, cooking-non-Indian)

A noun may consist of an initial, an optional medial, plus a noun final:

ěškóse-esé-hotame¹⁴¹ 'pig' (literally, sharp-nose-domesticated.animal)
ka'-éné-hótame 'bulldog, cat'¹⁴² (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal)
vóhp-ó'ha 'white horse' (literally, white-horse)¹⁴³
to-óom-ášé'se-stótse 'soda pop, cold drink' (lit., cool-liquid-drink-NOM)
Mo'òhtáv-áhahtá-tane 'Blackfeet Indian' (lit., black-foot-person)

Nominalization

A noun may be consist of verb stem plus a nominalizer (a suffix that turns a verb into a noun):

ame'ha-htótse 'airplane' (literally, flying-thing)¹⁴⁴

¹⁴¹ Historically, hótame referred to a dog. Later, the word oeškése was used to mean 'dog'. When that happened, hótame narrowed in meaning to refer to a special kind of dog, such as a 'hound' (e.g. greyhounds and rottweilers). But it also broadened in meaning to refer, more generally, to a domesticated animal.

¹⁴² Southern Cheyennes have used the word ka'énéhótame to refer to a cat. They also use the word póése for a cat, perhaps borrowing it from Northern Cheyennes, who themselves may have borrowed it as a sound translation from the English word "pussy". Petter (1915:215) lists the word ka'eeséhotame (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal) for 'cat'. Petter began his work in Oklahoma, before moving to Montana perhaps Southern Cheyenne have used both ka'énéhótame and ka'eeséhotame 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.

méséhe-stótse 'food' (literally, eating-thing)
 éškòs-éné-hé 'greyhound' (literally, sharp-face-being)¹⁴⁵
 tséhe'ése-esé-he 'elephant' (literally, long-nose-being)
 vovéstomósané-he 'teacher' (literally, teaching-being)
 hoéstónéhe-he 'student' (literally, writing-being)

Verb formation

As we have already seen in discussion of verbs, Cheyenne verbs can be long, consisting of many morphemes. Independent order verbs typically are made up of a pronominal prefix, optional tense markers, preverbs that have aspectual and adverbial meanings, then a verb stem, then one or more suffixes which typically give information about person, number, and mode.

Pronominal prefixes

Pronominal prefixes are high pitched except when they precede the future tense marker:

| | |
|-----|------------------------------------|
| ná- | first person (e.g. I, we) |
| né- | second person (you, you plural) |
| é- | third person (he, she, animate it) |

Pronominal prefixes plus future tense -htse

| | |
|---------------------|------------------------------|
| náhtse- | first person + future tense |
| néhtse- | second person + future tense |
| tse- ¹⁴⁶ | third person + future tense |

Tense

Cheyenne marks two tenses: h- 'past' and -htse 'future' on its verbs. Verbs which are unmarked for tense refer to the present or recent past. Preterit, which is a tense in some languages, is not a tense in Cheyenne. Instead, the Cheyenne preterit is a mode.

Unmarked tense

The following verbs are unmarked for tense. They may refer either to the present or recent past.

| | |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| Návóómo. | 'I see him', or 'I saw him'. |
| Énéméne. | 'He's singing', or 'He sang'. |
| Ého'sóeo'o. | 'They are dancing', or 'They danced'. |

Past tense

Past tense is marked with phonemic /h-/, which has the following pronunciations:

1. [s] preceding [t] or [s] (with [ss] pronounced twice as long as a single [s])
2. [š] preceding [k]
3. ['] preceding a vowel
4. [x] preceding [h]

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'késtáhe. | 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-tséhetósesto. | 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

\$\$RECHECK TO DETERMINE IF /neh-/ WAS IN ERROR AS FAR PAST IN THE EARLIER GRAMMAR??

| | |
|-----------------|----------------------------|
| Ná-nèh-vóómo. | I saw him a long time ago. |
| É-nèh-mésehe. | He ate a long time ago. |
| É-nèx-ho'soo'e. | He danced a long time ago. |

Future tense

Future tense is marked by htse-. Instead of their usual high pitch, pronominal prefixes are pronounced with low-pitched vowels preceding future tense. Because the low-pitched vowel precedes /h/, the vowel is also whispered (devoiced). The third person prefix /é-/ is omitted before the future tense marker and then the future tense marker is shortened to tse-. Examples of verbs with the future tense follow:

| | |
|----------------------|---|
| Nà-htse-mésehe. | I shall eat. |
| Né-stse-vé'nèhešéve! | Don't do that (in the future)! |
| Tse-néveóhta. | (The cow) will have four legs. (said by Sweet Medicine) |

Future tense plus translocative

If the future tense marker precedes the ta- translocative directional, the two morphemes combine as /hta-/ which retains both the future tense and translocative meanings.

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Nà-hta-vé'háhtse. | I will go along. |
| Né-sta-éváhósevóomátse. | 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- nĕx -ho'ĕhne. | He's coming. |
| É- ne' -amoo'kōho. | Rain is approaching. |
| É- nĕs -tsĕheta'hāhtse. | He threw it toward here (that is, toward the speaker). |

Imperative cislocatives

| | |
|----------------------------|--------------------|
| Nĕh -metsĕstse! | Give it to me! |
| Nĕx -hĕstānōhtse! | Bring it to me! |
| Nĕs -tsĕhe'ooestse! | Come here quickly! |

Translocative

The directional that indicates action away from a speaker is called a translocative. It is spelled ta-.

| | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------|
| É- tā -hĕmanohe. | He went for water. |
| É- ta -ĕĕeta'ĕhne ĕĕe'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. Nĕ-sta-**ĕvā**-**hōse**-vōo-m-ātse.
2-FUT-TRL-back-again-see-AOAM-INV:1
I will see you again.
2. Ná-**ohkĕ**-**sāa**-'-**onĕ**'**seóme**-**pĕhĕve**-tsĕhĕst-o'anĕ-he.
1-HAB-not-EP-truly-well-Cheyenne-pronounce-NEG
I truly do not pronounce Cheyenne well.
3. Mó'-**ohkĕ**-**hĕse**-**ĕve**-ahto-ĕĕenā-hĕ-he.
Q-HAB-why-about-bury-lie-NEG-INF¹⁴⁷
That must be why he lies around buried hiding. (The Bat)
4. Tse-nĕs-**sāa**-'-**ĕvā**-**ho'e**-anōhe-ohtsé-he.
FUT-CIS-not-EP-back-arrive-down-go-NEG

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-**něšě-hetóse-ame**-néhov-ó-sest-o.
3-FUT-TRL-continue-continually-chase-DIR-RPT-OBV
It's said he kept on following them.
6. Né-něs-**to'sě-hé**-hěhpöheh-a.
2-CIS-going.to-PURP-scare-INV
He is going to come to scare you.
7. Né-**to'se-vá'ne-oněsě**-hěhpöheh-a.
2-going.to-only-try-scare-INV
He is only going to try to scare you.
8. É-h-ne'-**osáane-ée-něše**-to-táha'há-htsé-nò-se.
3-PST-CIS-commence-about-continue-REDUP-throw.on-FTI-IOAM-RPT
It's said he began to throw it on.
9. Nè-stà-**hóse-ně-heše**-mét-áne.
2-FUT-TRL-again-ANA-REL-give.s.t.-PSV
It will again be given to you this way.
10. É-s-ta-**éva-ně-heše-ho'**-hóo'-òhtsé-sest-o.
3-PST-TRL-back-ANA-manner-arrive-home-go-RPT-3PL
It's said they arrived back home that way.
11. Tse-**méo-hóe**-évo'soo'e.
FUT-morning-out-play
He will come out to play early in the morning.
12. tsé-s-tà-**hósě-hé**-manoe-se
CNJ-PST-TRL-again-PURP-fetch.water-3
when she went again to get water
13. Mó-něs-**tóněšě-hósě**-sòhp-o'e-ohé-tò-hané-he.
Q-CIS-how-again-through-roll-motion-FII-NEG.II-INF
Somehow it must have rolled through again.
14. Ná-to'se-**vá'ne-tšěške'**-mé'ést-á.
3-going.to-just-little-explain-IOAM
I'm just going to explain it a little.
15. tsé-**ohke-ée-méhae**-ne'étam-ése
CNJ-HAB-about-used.to-depend.on-2PL
what you (plural) used to depend on

16. É-s-ta-**éšě-hetóse-ma'xe**-mé'èstom-ósane-séstse.
3-PST-TRL-already-big-explain-DETRANS-RPT
It's said he was constantly explaining a lot. (Sweet Medicine)
17. É-h-**ne'-osáane-másó**-ame-méohé-sest-o.
3-PST-CIS-commence-all.group-along-run-RPT-3PL
It's said they all started running.
18. É-s-tá-**xamae-másó-ésè**-ho'óo't-ov-àhtsé-sest-o.
3-PST-TRL-simply-all.group-in-pile-FTA-RECIP-RPT-3PL
It's said they simply all piled in on each other.
19. É-x-**he'ké-hešě-hosó**-hné-hoo'o.
3-PST-slowly-REL-backwards-walk-PRET
Once upon a time he slowly went backwards.
20. É-s-ta-**éšě-hó'ke**-éx-áho'h-á-no-ho.
3-PST-TRL-already-necessarily(??)-complete-by.heat-IOAM-IOAM-PRET
Once upon a time he had to finish cooking it.
21. É-s-ta-**ohké-hóe-hé**-evo'sóe-hoo'o.
3-PST-TRL-HAB-out-PURP-play-PRET
Once upon a time he used to go out to play.
22. É-'-**óhké-sáa-sé'hove-éva**-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-éva-asè**-hóo'-òhtsé-me.
1-TRL-soon-back-start-home-go-1PL
We soon started to go back home.

Preverbs list

Here are some of the most commonly occurring preverbs. In this list a vowel which is in parentheses () will occur if the next morpheme begins with a vowel.

| | | | |
|----------|----------------|-----------|--------------------|
| áahtse'- | simultaneously | éne- | end, stop |
| áhane- | extremely | ése- | in, into |
| a'ene- | forever | éšě- | already |
| ame- | along | éva- | back |
| anóhe- | down | háanae- | heavy, respected |
| ase- | start | háe- | much |
| e'(e)- | upward | hávéséve- | badly |
| e'se- | afraid to | he- | have |
| émoose- | secretly | hé- | for the purpose of |

| | | | |
|-----------|----------------------|-------------|--------------------|
| hehpe- | more | no'hé- | aside |
| he'ame- | up | nó'se- | over |
| he'aná- | easily | nonáháxe- | might |
| he'ke- | slowly, softly | ohke- | regularly |
| he'kone- | hard | o'ome- | bypass |
| heóme- | too much | ó'ose- | mistakenly |
| hése- | for such reason | onáxe- | might |
| heše- | manner | oné'seóme- | truly |
| hetóeve- | in evening | onése- | try to |
| hetóse- | continually | onó'e- | proper |
| hetaa'- | to such extent | osáane- | commence |
| hóe- | out from | osee- | intense |
| ho'(e)- | arrive | páháve- | good, well |
| hóose- | go home | péhéve- | good, well |
| hoove- | mistakenly | sáa- | not |
| hóse- | again | sé'e- | down into |
| hóxe'e- | cleanly | sé'hove- | suddenly |
| kánome- | although | sétove- | middle |
| mae- | all over | sóhpe- | through |
| máhe- | all | só'(e)- | still |
| máhove- | tiredly | taa'éve- | at night |
| ma'heóne- | sacredly | tae- | exactly |
| má'se- | complete | ta'e- | disappear |
| ma'xe- | big, much | taome- | by self |
| másó- | suddenly, in a group | táve- | slightly |
| méhae- | used to | táxe- | on top |
| me'- | should | to'se- | going to |
| mé'(e)- | appear | tóněse- | how?, somehow |
| méo- | early morning | tóxe- | along the edge |
| móne- | recently | tse- | referring forward |
| ne- | referring back | tšěhe'še- | never |
| neh- | toward, cislocative | tšěške'- | little |
| nésta- | previously | váhtome- | nevertheless |
| něše- | continue | vá'ne- | just |
| něšená- | while | vá'ose- | complete |
| něševe- | fast | vé'(e)- | prohibit |
| nétáhéve- | differently | vése- | with |
| nóhtove- | know how to | xae-, xamae | simply, ordinarily |
| no'- | also, included | xanove- | straight |

Aspectual preverbs

\$\$ADD GLOSSES:

Some preverbs are primarily aspectual in nature, including:

ase-
éne-

éše-
méhae-
hetóse-
móne-
nèše-
ohke-
osáane-
má'se-
nonáháxe- / onáháxe- / onáxe-
to'se-

Examples with aspectual preverbs

Máheameóestse nêhéno é-**méhae**-'éevó'estanéheve. All Runner used to live there. (1987:182)

Tse-**nonáháxe**-pe'pe'eotse.

There might be trouble. (1987:27)

É'-**osáane**-asénoovósesto.

He began to sing to them. (1980:45:18)

\$\$ADD MORE EXAMPLES

Path preverbs

Other preverbs indicate a path for the action of the verb:

anóhe-
e'(e)-
ése-
he'ame-
hóe-
no'hé-
sé'e-
sé'hove-
sóhpe-
só'(e)-
táxe-
tóxe-

Examples with path preverbs

Quantity preverbs

Some preverbs communicate information about quantity and intensity:

áhane-
háe-
hehpe-
heóme-
máhe-
ma'xe-
osee-

táve-
tšěške'-

Examples with quantity preverbs

Quality preverbs

Other preverbs focus on quality:

hávéséve-
hóxe'e-
pèhéve-
véhone-
xae-, xamae-

Examples with quality preverbs

Temporal preverbs

Some preverbs focus on time:

a'ene-
hetóeve-
méo-
taa'éve-

Examples with temporal preverbs

Important preverb combinations

Some combinations of preverbs coalesce (contract together):

ta- + to'se- > tao'se-

Tšěške'e né-**tao'se**-vá'néhóhta'haovatsénóvo naměšéme. 'I'm going to tell you (pl) a little about my (great) grandfather.' (1987:17)

Certain combinations of preverbs communicate unique information about aspect and modality:

ěšě-hó'ko-: of necessity

É-**ěšě-hó'ko**-mésehe. 'He HAD to eat.' (for example, he said he wasn't going to eat, but I told him to stay and eat, so he had to eat).

ěšě-to'se-: on the verge of

Mó-**ěšě-to'se**-hestsevévěšéhéhe. 'He's about to grow horns.' (fig. =he's "crazy")

me'-hé-: emphatic

Né-**me'-hé**-vonetanó'továtse! 'I would NEVER forget you!'

me'-hó'ke-: should have

Né-**me'-hó'ke**-mé'ěstomeve. 'You should have told me.'

oh-to'se-: almost but failed

Ná-**oh-to'sé**-hovánee'e. 'I almost died.'

sáa-tóněše-: cannot, unable to

Ná-**sáa-tóněšě**-tséhe'òhtséhe. 'I am not able to go (there).'

És-**sáa-tóněše**-éne-e'kóo'óheséstse. 'It's said he just couldn't stop looking out.' (1987:298)

sáa-tšéhe'se-: never

Né-**sáa-tšéhe'se**-vóomatséhe. 'I never see you.' (= I haven't seen you in ages)

tó'e-ase-: almost

Náhóhpo éheše'hāna; mó-**tó'e-ase**-ávoonéhéhe. 'He ate up absolutely all of his food; he must have been (almost) starved.'

tó'-tae-

tóněšě-hé-

vé'-hé-

\$\$OTHERS??

\$\$FULL VERB EXAMPLES??

Verb stem formation

Verb stems are the central core of verbs. Verb stems are built from roots, initials, medials, and finals. Even though pronominal prefixes are not part of verbs stems, they will be included in our examples, following, so that there are complete verbs which may be pronounced as words.

Roots

A verb stem may consist of just a root. A root cannot be divided into any smaller meaning parts, nor does it need any other parts to complete its meaning. A root can stand alone as a complete verb, as long as it has any required grammatical affixes, such as person prefixes and suffixes. Here are some Cheyenne roots:

| root | meaning |
|--------------|------------------|
| -a'xaame | cry |
| -ase | leave |
| /-émá/ | take a sweat |
| -émòhóne | hunt |
| -he'ke | be tender |
| /-hoe/ | be at |
| -ho'ahe | want |
| /-ho'sóe/ | dance |
| /-homosé/ | cook |
| /-hotse'óhe/ | work |
| /-mae/ | bark (of a dog) |
| -mane | drink |
| -mésehe | eat |
| /-mó'é/ | invite to a meal |
| /-naa'é/ | doctor |

| | |
|-----------|-------------------|
| /-nae/ | die |
| /-néé/ | be standing |
| /-némené/ | sing |
| /-néne/ | nurse (of a baby) |
| -nomáhtse | steal |
| /-ohaé/ | arise |
| /-sévanó/ | skate, slide |
| /-to'é/ | get up (from bed) |
| /-véé/ | camp |

Examples of verbs with roots

| | |
|------------|--------------------------|
| Éa'xaame. | He's crying. |
| É-éma. | He's having a sweat. |
| Ná-ho'ahe. | I want (it). |
| Ná-hoo'e. | I'm (here). |
| É-mane. | He's drinking. |
| É-mésehe. | He's eating. |
| É-mó'e. | He's inviting to a meal. |
| É-néé'e. | He's standing. |

Initials

Initials are the first meaning part of many Cheyenne verb stems. An initial requires at least a medial or final to be a complete verb stem. Here are some of the most commonly used Cheyenne initials:

| initial | meaning | | |
|----------------|----------------|----------------|---------------------|
| | | én- | end |
| | | ést- | into |
| á'(k)av- | droop | éstov- | blow |
| áhan- | extreme | éš-/éx- | already/finish |
| áv- | fall over | éškos- | pointed |
| a'e'- | separate (be) | év- | about |
| a'enó'n- | dark | éxov- | warm |
| a'k- | round | e'(k)os- | turn over |
| a'kón- | squat | e'- | up |
| a't-/a's- | accidentally | e's- | dress |
| ae'ta'é- | face | e't-/e's- | fear |
| aéstom- | false | e'xov- | peel |
| ahko'- | roll | há- | much |
| ahto('h)- | under | háa'es(t)- | long |
| am- | along | háahk- | small (very) |
| ames(t)- | crosswise | háahp- | large |
| an- | down | hánoht-/hános- | back (head posture) |
| ane'k- | prick | hávésév- | bad |
| ase(t)- | away/start | hahé- | rub |
| axe- | scratch | hahp- | fasten |
| é'(k)om- | oily | hé'hév- | suck |
| é'- | break | hé'he(šk)- | wrinkled |
| ém(ooh)- | secretly | | |

| | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| héesev- | boil | hótoxá- | crisscross |
| héhnov- | patient | hóvoht-/hóvos- | store |
| héhpoh- | frighten | hóx-/hóht- | around (tie) |
| héne'h- | stiff | hóxe'- | clean |
| héstov- | both sides | hóxov- | across |
| héšk- | nick | ho'- | arrive |
| hévoe- | wring | ho'óx- | last |
| he'am- | up/above | ho'sot- | dirty |
| he'aná- | easy | ho'tov- | loose |
| he'e(n)- | spare | ho'xès(t)- | belong |
| he'hem- | sprinkled | ho'xo'- | against (press) |
| he'k(e)- | soft | hohát- | laugh |
| he'k- | pierce | hoham- | prefer |
| he'kon- | hard | hohkó's- | purple |
| he'kot- | quiet | hohpé- | sweat |
| he'né- | separate | hohpo'- | gather |
| he'xóv- | degree | homóhe- | noisy |
| heamá- | side | honát- | subside |
| hehp- | beyond | honó- | roast/bake |
| heóm- | excessive | hoó'h- | overheard |
| heóv- | yellow | hoó'sot- | unskilled |
| hesé- | ridge | hoón- | shut |
| hes(e)- | cramp | hoon- | restrain/forbid |
| hesó'x- | slippery | hosó- | backwards |
| hest- | take | hosotóm- | rest |
| hestóx- | last/behind | hotám- | turn around |
| hesto'to(n)- | braid | hovéo'(k)- | shade |
| hestom- | hinder | hovo'e- | envelope/surround |
| heškóv- | thorny | hox- | rotten |
| het-/heš- | thus | hoxo'ohtsév- | green |
| hetóm- | true/correct | kás- | short |
| hó'os-/hó'oht- | against (lean) | káhan- | tired |
| hó'tah- | defeat | káhko(n)- | thin |
| hó'tová- | extinguish | ka'- | short |
| hó'x- | accustomed to | kó'kon- | peck/knock |
| hóe'tó- | back/behind | kóe(n)- | hit (with s.t.) |
| hóe- | out | koom- | still |
| hóhee- | swaddle/wrap | má't-/má's- | complete/finish |
| hóhp- | melt | máhe(t)- | all |
| hóm- | disembark | máhov- | tired of |
| hómest- | escape | ma'(k)- | red |
| hóna'(ov)- | add | ma'(k)es(t)- | forward |
| hóné(')- | pile | ma'haa'- | big |
| hóoht-/hóo'- | home | ma'heón- | sacred |
| hóom- | shelter/protect | mamahk- | curly |
| hótoaná- | difficult | mamée- | rub |

| | | | |
|-----------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| mano'- | together | nohtóv- | know how |
| max- | touch | nomon- | drowsy |
| mé'- | appear | noné'k- | smear/streaked |
| mé's-/mé'h- | hairy | nonótov- | hurry |
| mén- | dig | nonom- | quiver |
| me'to'- | exchange | noón- | brown (faded) |
| móhe- | gather | nooht- | omit |
| món- | new | ó'- | dry |
| mo'(k)ohtá(v)- | black | ó'oht-/ó'os- | mistake |
| mo'on- | beautiful | ó'x- | split/half |
| momáta'- | angry/mean | ónést- | open |
| moméh- | lumpy/curdled | óněš- | pain |
| moméno'- | bunched | o'a'- | sharp |
| momése- | sort | o'ha'- | miss |
| móx- | brush | o'hém- | scarce |
| ná'som- | wither/stale | o'om- | bypass |
| náno't-/náno's- | supreme/best | o'otóm- | full |
| náha'- | catch | oéhnov- | patient |
| náhah- | wild | oév- | scabby |
| náhahk- | energetic | oes- | discharge |
| náhest- | avoid/forbid | ohas- | shine |
| nae- | numb | omóm- | cry/tear |
| nanévesév- | clear/transparent | oné'xov- | peel (thin surface) |
| né't-/né's- | extract/doff | oné(st)- | test |
| néhov- | stand/arise | onéha'- | untie |
| ném- | slanted | oném- | twisted |
| néma'- | circular/revolve | onéněš- | break/damage |
| nés-/něš- | two | onésova- | apart |
| netáhév- | different | onéstahk- | round/circular |
| név- | four | one'seóm- | true/real |
| něh(e)- | wipe | onó- | ashore |
| nehp- | cover/obstruct | ono'- | proper |
| neó'k- | tight fit | ononés(t)- | confused |
| nes-/něš- | heat/hot | ononov- | confused |
| něše'(h)- | wash | oo'(k)- | bare |
| něšev- | rapid | oo'há- | examine |
| něxahp- | dull | otá'tav- | blue |
| něxoóht- | cute | ota- | pierce through |
| nó'es(t)- | over | otó'xov- | skill |
| nó'oes- | hide | ov- | prostrate |
| nóht- | approach | ová'k- | round (formed) |
| nóon- | dried up/brown | ována'xa- | peace |
| nóv- | slow/late | ováne'- | stab |
| no'- | include | oxés(t)- | side/other way |
| no'hé- | aside | páháv- | good |
| no'k- | one/alone | páho(n)- | stuck to |

| | | | |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|--------------------|
| pa'(k)- | lump/knob/hump | tónet-/tóněš- | how? |
| páhpon- | flat on top | tóoxe'- | copy |
| pano'- | spread on | tóv- | stubborn |
| pé(n)- | grind | tóva- | imitate/pattern |
| péhp- | loose/shaggy | tóx- | edge/around |
| péhév- | good | tòhovó- | gap (cf. slit) |
| pe'pe'- | rough/troubled | to(n)- | cold |
| pó'(k)- | gray | toést- | string (e.g. bead) |
| pó'- | explode/pop | toe(n)- | hold |
| pó(n)- | hit/slap | tòhkom- | few |
| póh- | swell | tomòht-/tomòs- | raise |
| pónoma'- | uncovered | toox- | low |
| po'- | off of | tovó'k- | slit (cf. gap) |
| popé'- | rough | tséo'- | sprawl |
| sé'- | into/center | tséva(n)- | dusty |
| sé'h-/sé'š- | awake | tséhés(t)- | Cheyenne |
| sé'ho'- | stake in | tséhe'ès(t)- | long |
| sé'se(n)- | scrape | tséhe'kès(t)- | short |
| sé(hp)- | stretch | tšěške'- | small |
| séet- | same | vá'òht-/vá'òs- | complete |
| sét-/sěš- | remain | vé'h- | contain |
| sétov- | middle | vé'ke- | sweet |
| sóhkom- | slender | vé'òhk- | bitter/sting/pain |
| sóhp- | through | vé's- | rapid |
| sóv- | diminish | véhon- | chiefly |
| šé(š)-/šé(x)- | free | véhp- | empty/hollow |
| táh-/táx- | top | vén- | disagreeable/cross |
| tátse- | antagonize | vés(t)- | with |
| táv- | goofy | ve'ev- | concave |
| ta'- | disappear | vó'(k)om- | white |
| ta'ov- | angry | vó'ho'- | light/shine |
| ta'p- | weak | vó'n- | light |
| ta'ta'- | open/unlock | vó(hp)- | light (color) |
| taeváh- | measure | vóeše- | rejoice |
| táhpe'- | big | vóhk- | bend |
| tam- | stubby | vóho'oes- | discard |
| tó'ès(t)- | long | vóhpon- | strict |
| tó'h- | stop | vóon- | all night |
| tó'hov- | between | vós- | hole/depression |
| tó'kes(t)- | short | vóvo'k- | naked |
| tó'om- | steady/firm | von- | remove |
| tó'ov- | for good | vonó- | lift |
| tó(n)ov- | thick | vovéh- | scarred |
| tóhp- | poke | vovó'h- | spotted (white) |
| tóhto(n)- | flat | vovó- | first/ahead |
| tóhtom- | aimless | xá'xán- | massage |

xanov-
xo'-
xo'xon-

straight
salve (put on)
dent

Initials and medials

We will study medials more thoroughly shortly. A verb stem may consist of an initial plus a medial:

| | |
|------------------|--|
| É-momóht-óhtá. | He has diarrhea. (lit., he-move-stomach) |
| É-nèšè'x-ahtse. | He gargled. (lit., he-wash-mouth) |
| É-pèhéve-'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-pèhév-o'o'e. | It's a good field. (lit., it-good-vegetation) |

Initials, medials, and finals

A verb stem may consist of an initial, medial, and final:

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| É-háahpe'-éen-oo'e. | The snow is deep. (lit., it-deep-snow-lie) |
| É-am-óov-ā'a. | He moved the water with his foot. (lit., he-along-water-by.foot) |
| Ná-to-óom-ān-a. | I cooled the liquid by hand. (lit., I-cool-water-by.hand-IOAM) |

Medials

Medials are noun-like meaning parts that are included in some verbs. Many body parts have medial forms in Cheyenne. Sometimes the spelling of a body part medial is unrelated to the spelling of the noun for that same body part. Some other things have medial forms, as well. Some medials have no noun counterpart.

Body part medials

| meaning | medial | noun |
|---------------|--------------|-------------------------|
| ankle | -noná | honono |
| arm | -na'evá | ma'ahtse ¹⁴⁸ |
| back | -'pa'oná | ma'pa'o |
| belly | -asé | matoněše |
| blood | -ma'emá | ma'e |
| breast, udder | -tanahá | matāna |
| calf | -sevá | hésevo |
| ear | -'está | máhtovóo'otse |
| elbow | -htsé'ooná | máhtsé'oo'o |
| eye | -'éxané | ma'exa |
| face | -éné | ----- |
| finger | -(hk)osé | mo'ěško |
| foot / feet | -hahtá | ----- |
| hair | -ovésé, -a'é | me'ko |

¹⁴⁸ Ma'ahtse includes the hand and forearm.

| | | |
|--------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|
| hand | -he'oná | ----- |
| head | -htséá, -a'é | me'ko |
| heart | -htáhá | hēsta |
| hip | -šéoná | heše'o |
| leg | -(hk)óhtá | máhtse'ko |
| mouth | -ahtse(ná) | mahtse |
| nape | -hane'é | ??maháne'e ¹⁴⁹ |
| navel, umbilical cord | -hta'né | héstá'he |
| neck | -notová | he'ótse |
| penis | -ohosé | vétoo'ótse |
| nose | -esé | ma'evo |
| stomach, abdomen, bowels | -ohtá | matoněše |
| testicle | -ta'xevá | ta'xevótse |
| thigh | -nómá | hénóme |
| throat | -éstooná | maéstoo'o |
| tongue | -tanevá | vétanove |
| tooth | -onené | vée'ése |
| vagina | -ahá | ma'kěsta |

Examples of verbs with body part medials

Body part medials are boldfaced in the following verbs:

| | |
|---|---|
| Nánémo- noná -otse. | I twisted my ankle. |
| Náé'è- škóhtá -xe. | I fell and broke my leg. |
| Énéxoós- éne . | He has a cute face. |
| Éma'e- esé -vose. | He has a red nose from the cold. |
| Něše'šé- he'óná -htse! | Wash your hands! |
| Éhese- na'éva -otse. | He has cramps in his arms. |
| Éhese- nomá -otse. | He has cramps in his thigh. |
| Éoókóhkeve- notōva . | He has a black dirty neck. (lit., he-crowlike-neck) |
| Étséhe'se- na'éva . | He has long arms. |
| Étotšěške'e-' ěsta . | His ears stick out. |
| Évóhpe- taněva . | He has thrush. (lit., he-white-tongue) |
| Nápóe- stséá -hno. | I punched him in the head. |
| Étáhpe'- ase . | He has a big belly. |
| Éó'- óhta . | He is constipated. (lit., he-dry-bowels) |
| Éhévoe- tanáhá -no'hāme. | He's milking. (lit., he-squeeze-udder-livestock). |
| Náéxovè- hahtá -ho'he. | I'm warming my feet. (lit., I-warm-foot-by.heat) |
| Éhéšk- onené -'o. | He (especially a dog) is showing his teeth (for example, when snarling at someone). |
| Něstsev'é'hetséhéhno éše'he! Něstsematse- ōse . | 'Don't point at the sun (or moon)! You'll get an infected finger.' |
| Taa'ěva něstsev'é'novo'eohtséme! Méstaa'e něstseném- áhtsená -o'haěvo. | 'Don't eat outside at night! A ghost will give you Bell's palsy (lit., crooked mouth).' |

¹⁴⁹ Rarely used as a noun.

Other medials

| meaning | medial | noun |
|---------------|--------|---------------------------|
| ground, land | -óma' | ho'e |
| husband | -éhamá | naéhame ¹⁵⁰ |
| snow | -éen | hésta'se |
| strand | -ón(e) | ----- |
| water, liquid | -óom | mahpe |
| wood | -ó'(e) | ----- |
| wife | -'evá | náhtse'eme ¹⁵¹ |

Examples of verbs with other medials

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Ée'- óma' -o'e. | It's upward sloped ground. |
| Évóhp- een -oo'e. | The ground is covered with white snow. |
| Éanóh- óné -ána. | He lowered it with a rope. |
| Éto- óom -áše'se. | He's drinking a cool liquid. |
| Évon- ó'é -ma. | He was lost in thick bushes. |
| Énéše-' éva . | He has two wives. |

Finals

Finals are the last meaning part of many verb stems before any grammatical suffixes occur referencing person, number, animacy, obviation, and mode. Finals can be categorized into two groups, concrete finals and abstract finals.

Concrete finals

Concrete finals specify what kind of an instrument, position, or action was used to carry out what the verb, as a whole refers to, such as whether the action was done by hand, foot, mouth, heat, cutting, standing, sitting, lying down, flying, or running. Here are some common concrete finals in Cheyenne:

Instrumental finals

Instrumental finals tell what kind of an instrument was used to perform the action of the verb:

| meaning | final |
|-------------|--|
| by foot | -a' |
| by hand | -an, -en |
| by cutting | -as (TA), -es (TA), -ax (TI), -ex (TI) |
| by mouth | -óm (TA), -óht (TI) |
| by tool | -oh(n) |
| by heat | -(a)ho'h(n) |
| by cold | -ose (AI), -ohta (II) |
| by liquid | -óová |
| by speaking | -em |

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).

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| by thinking, regard | -átam (TA), -átsest (TI) |
| by hearing | -aht |

Examples of verbs with instrumental finals

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Nápo'- ōhn -o. | I broke him off with a tool. (lit., I-off-by.tool-him) |
| Nápo'- ēs -o. | I cut him off. (lit., I-off-by.cutting-him) |
| Éa't- āx -a. | He accidentally cut it. (lit., I-accidentally-by.cutting-it) |
| Nápéhév- átám -o. | I like him (lit., I-good-regard-him) |
| Étšěške'- óova . | It shrunk from washing. (lit., it-small-by.water) |
| Éta'p- ose . | He gets cold easily. (lit., he-weak-by.cold) |
| Éhe'kon- ōhta . | It's frozen. (lit., it-hard.by.cold) |
| Návon- āhō'h -a. | I burned it up. (lit., I-remove-by.heat) |
| Énomon- e'hāna . | He fell asleep eating (lit., he-drowsy-eat) |
| Nápéhév- ém -o. | I spoke well of him. (lit., I-well-by.speaking-him) |
| \$\$MORE | |

Positional finals

Positional finals indicate a position or posture in which the action of a verb is performed:

| meaning | final |
|----------------|-----------------------------|
| hang | -oése(ná) (AI), -oéstá (II) |
| lie | -eše(ná) (AI), -eha (II) |
| sit | /-oe/ |
| stand | /-óé/ |

Examples of verbs with positional finals

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Ésétov- oésta . | It's noon. (lit., it-middle-hang) |
| Éov- ēše . | He went to bed. (lit., he-prostrate-lie) |
| Návéh-p- ěšé -mo. | I emptied him. (e.g. a jug; lit., I-empty-lie-him) |
| Éháóená- óó'e . | He prayed standing up. (lit., he-pray-stand) |
| Énomon- oo'e . | He fell asleep sitting. (lit., he-drowsy-sit) |

Action finals

Action finals tell what kind of general action was done. An initial with an action final further describes the kind or path of the action:

| meaning | final |
|----------------|--------------|
| carry on back | -o'xe |
| dance | -ohomó'he |
| drink | -asé'še |
| eat | -e'haná |
| fall | -a'ó |
| flow | -'sevó |
| fly | -e'há |
| go | -ohtsé |
| housework | -mosé |
| jerk | -a'xe |

| | |
|----------------|------------|
| rapid movement | -ohe |
| ride horseback | -a'hasó'he |
| roll | -ó'(e) |
| run | -o'áhéotse |
| sew | -nó'é |
| sing | -noné |
| sleep | -énóme |
| sound | -évone |
| walk | -(e)hné |

Examples of verbs with action finals

| | |
|------------------------|--|
| É-én- o'xe . | He unburdened. (lit., he-stop-carry.on.back) |
| Éam- ó' -éna. | He hauled it by wagon. (lit., he-along-roll-FTI-it) |
| Éhosó- hne . | He walked backwards. (lit., he-backwards-walk) |
| Énéhe- mōse . | She does housework quickly. (lit. he-quickly-do.housework) |
| Éánohe-' sēvo . | It's flowing down. (lit., it-down-flow) |
| Éhahpe- nó'e . | She's sewing. (lit., she-fasten-sew) |
| Námá's- énome . | I got enough sleep. (lit., I-complete-sleep) |
| \$\$ | |

Abstract finals

Abstract finals convey less specific information than do concrete finals:

| meaning | final |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| AI characteristic | -ahe |
| II characteristic | -a'e |
| II marker | -ó |
| AI action final | -sané |
| AI physical condition | -omóhtahe |
| detransitivizer | -ósané |
| impersonal | -stove / -htove / -nove |
| mental state | -tanó |
| resultative | -otse |
| slow process | -ohtsé |
| TA object agreement (TAOM) | -m |
| TI object agreement (TIOM) | -ht |
| TA object agreement (TAOM) | -t |
| TA final | -ov |
| transitivizer (TR) | -'tov |
| TA causative | -seh |

Examples of verbs with abstract finals

The abstract finals in the following verbs are preceded by hyphens and boldfaced:

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Épéhév- ahe . | He is good. |
| Épéhév- a'e . | It is good |
| Éhe'kot- ahe . | He is a quiet person. |

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| Éotá'tav- ahe . | He's blue. |
| Éotá'tav- o . | It's blue |
| Éhe'kon- ahe . | He's hard. |
| Éhe'kon- o . | It's hard. |
| Éméhoht- ahe . | He is a loving person. |
| Éméhó- sáne . | He loves. |
| Évovéstom- ósáne . | He's teaching |
| Éáaht- ósáne . | He listens (to people). |
| Émásetsést- ósáne . | He welcomes (people). |
| Éháoená- htove . | There is praying. |
| Éméséhé- stove . | There is eating. |
| Émané- nove . | There is drinking (same as Émané-stove) |
| Nápéhév- omóhtahe . | I feel good (physically). |
| Náhá- omohtahe . | I'm sick. |
| Nápéhéve- tāno . | I'm happy. (lit., I-good-mental.state) |
| Návóó- m-o . | I saw him. (lit., I-see-TAOM-him) |
| Épéhévé-' tov -óho. | He was good to him (obviative) (lit., he-good-TR-obv) |

\$\$MORE

Relative roots

In Algonquian language relative roots, preverbs, and initials relate the verb they are in to something preceding or following in the speech context. Cheyenne *heše-* functions as a relative preverb and as a complementizer in dependent verbs of complex sentences, which is a kind of relative function. The initial *heš-/het-*¹⁵² performs the same anaphoric discourse function as does the *heše-* relative preverb. The preverb *né-* can precede a relative root or initial to further specify that it refers back to something preceding in the speech context. That is, it is an anaphoric marker. The preverb *tsé-* can precede a relative root or initial to specify that it refers forward to something yet to be said. So, *tsé-* is a cataphoric marker. Relative roots, preverbs, and initials are boldfaced in the following examples:

\$\$EXAMPLES

Examples with relative roots

Oóxésta ná-**hesta**. '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-**heše**-véhe. 'Youngman, that's how I am called (named).'

Táháóhe hák'ó'e tósa'e hoháá'ése móstá-**hešé**-hétoo'èhehevóhe. 'Far away somewhere that's where they were taken to prison.' (1987:185)

Examples with the relative initial

Mónáoseeháeanáhéhe; náhahpo ná-**heš**-e'hāna. '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- \$\$DEVELOP THIS SECTION OR COMBINE IT WITH THE PREVIOUS SECTION ON 'have' stems UNDER AI VERBS

Instrumentals

Instrumentals are language forms that indicate the tools or means used to do actions. Cheyenne has two ways of expressing that someone is doing something "with" or "by means of" something:

1. Instrumental preverb vé'se-
2. Instrumental suffix -vá

Ná-**vé'se**-mésehe ane'kōhomó'héstótse. I ate with a fork.
Námésehe ane'kōhomó'héstó-**va**. I ate with a fork.

\$\$ARE THE EXAMPLES FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF THE BOOK NATURAL ENOUGH TO INCLUDE?? TRY TO INCLUDE SOME NATURAL EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS BELOW.

Instrumental preverb vé'se-

The preverb vé'se- is used to indicate that the action or state of a verb was accomplished or reached by means of something.

Návésé-ooma káhámáxe. ??

He hit me with a stick.

Ho'évohkótse ná-vé'sé-háomóhtáhéotse.

The meat made me sick.

Kokóhéáxa ná-vé'sé-háomóhtáhéotsenótse.

The chicken (animate) made me sick. \$\$IS

THIS A NATURAL EXAMPLE??

Instrumental suffix -vá

The suffix /-vá/¹⁵⁴ marks a noun which is used to perform some action.

Náooma káhámáxéhé-**va**.

He hit me with a stick.

Náa'taxestse mótšěšké-**va**.

I accidentally cut myself with a knife.

Use of both the instrumental preverb and suffix

It is possible for both the instrumental preverb and instrumental suffix to be used in the same sentence: \$\$HOW NATURAL IS THIS??

Ná-**vé'se**-oó'xoemāhāne hóhkóxé-**va**.

I chopped wood with an ax. \$\$RECHECK

Other examples

Náoo'xoemāhāne hóhkóxéva.

I chopped wood with an ax.

Návéséoó'xoemāhāne hóhkóxe.

I chopped wood with an ax.

¹⁵⁴ Because of word-final devoicing, the high pitch on this suffix is not heard when a word on which it occurs is pronounced. But the high pitch does cause the preceding syllable to be pronounced higher than a low pitch.

Hé'tóhe ná-vé'šé-hetótaetāno. ?? This makes me happy.

Ho'évohkótse nápénóha ho'honáéva. I ground ?? meat with a rock.

Máhaemenótse nápénóhanótse ho'honáéva. I ground corn¹⁵⁵ 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:

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| Náháoéna | I prayed |
| Náháoenvomotāho | I prayed for him |
| Néháoenvomotahtse | I prayed for you |
| Néháoenvomotatsemeno | We (exclusive) prayed for you (sg/pl). |

-vomotah can also express a substitutive meaning, which is a kind of benefactive meaning. A substitutive meaning communicates the idea that someone does something in place of someone else.

Náhotse'óhevomotāho I worked for him (that is, I worked in his place).

The English sentence "I worked for him" is ambiguous in that it can mean that I worked in his place. Or, it can also mean that I worked for someone who would earn money. Cheyenne uses a different ending on its verb for 'work' to express the idea of working for someone as employment:

| | |
|----------------|---|
| Náhotse'ota | I worked for him (that is, he employed me) |
| Náhotse'óto | He worked for me (that is, I employed him) |
| Nátotse'ótoo'o | They worked for me (that is, I employed them) |

Other benefactive finals

Some abstract TA finals can express a benefactive meaning with certain verb stems:

| | |
|------------|-------------------------------|
| Nánéméne. | I sang. |
| Nánémeōvo. | I sang for him (benefactive). |
| Nánémeova. | He sang for me (benefactive). |

| | |
|---------------------|------------------------------|
| Náhonóhta. | I baked it. |
| Náhonóhtomēvo. | I baked it for him. |
| 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.

| | |
|--|---|
| Nánéméné'sého. Nánéméné'seha. | I made him sing. (without the final, Énéméne = He sang) He made me sing. |
| Náméséhé'sého. Náovésená'sého. Nánaóotsé'sého. Náhotse'óhé'sého.?? Náhomósé'sého. | I made him eat. I made him go to bed. I made him sleep. I made him work. I made him cook. |
| Náméséhé'séhatsenótse.?? Náméséhé'séhatsénoto.?? Éméséhé'séhónoto.?? Néméséhé'séseótse.?? | I made you eat him (e.g. a duck). I made you eat them (animate). He made him (obv) eat him (obv). You made me eat him. |
| Návóó'sého. Návóó'séhonótse | I showed it to him (lit. I caused him to see it). I showed them (inan) to him. |

Other causative finals

Some other, more abstract finals, combine with some verb roots to have a causative kind of meaning:

-m abstract TA final

Some TA verbs with an abstract final sometimes communicate a causative meaning:

| | |
|----------------|--|
| Éhohátsemóho. | He made him (obv) laugh. (Éhohatse = He laughed) |
| Éhetótaemóho. | He made him (obv) rejoice. |
| Éháestáhémóho. | He angered him (obv). |

\$\$OTHER FINALS?

Reduplication

\$\$CREATE THIS SECTION, REFERRING TO ELENA'S PAPER ON reduplication

Particles

In this book we consider any part of speech other than nouns and verbs to be particles. We introduced particles at the beginning of this book. We mentioned that possible subtypes of particles are demonstratives, indefinite pronouns, interrogative particles, numbers, conjunctions (connectives), exclamations (??), epistemic particles (??), and location particles. \$\$REVISE AND COORDINATE THIS LIST WITH THE LIST IN THE PARTS OF SPEECH SECTION

\$\$DEVELOP THIS SECTION

Conjunctions

Conjunctions, also known as connectives, are words which connect other words or longer stretches of speech together:

| | |
|------|------|
| naa | and |
| máto | also |
| oha | only |

| | |
|---------|---------|
| nèhe'še | then |
| nonohpa | so that |

Some connectives occur in combinations:

| | |
|----------|----------|
| naa māto | and also |
| naa oha | but |

\$\$GIVE EXAMPLES. INCLUDE DESCRIPTION AND EXAMPLES OF DISCOURSE USE OF naa to mark discourse "episodes" (paragraphs?).

Demonstratives

Demonstratives are particles which point to things in the speech context. Demonstratives are marked for animacy and distance from a speaker. They are not marked for number (singular or plural):

| | |
|----------|------------------|
| tsé'tóhe | this (animate) |
| hé'tóhe | this (inanimate) |
| tá'tóhe | that (animate) |
| há'tohe | that (inanimate) |

Demonstratives can modify a noun which they precede:

| | |
|--------------------|--------------|
| tsé'tóhe ka'èškóne | this child |
| hé'tóhe máheonótse | these houses |
| tá'tóhe mo'éhno'ha | that horse |
| há'tóhe máhēō'o | that house |

Demonstratives can stand alone, referring to something which is not overtly mentioned by name:

| | |
|----------|----------------------|
| tsé'tóhe | this one (animate) |
| hé'tóhe | this one (inanimate) |
| tá'tóhe | that one (animate) |
| há'tóhe | that one (inanimate) |

Discourse demonstratives

Another set of demonstratives refers to things which have already been spoken about in some speech context. We call these discourse demonstratives. Discourse demonstratives can modify a following noun or stand alone.

| | |
|------|---|
| néhe | this one referred to in the more recent discourse (animate) |
| héne | this one referred to in the more recent discourse (inanimate) |
| náhe | that one which speaker assumes hearer knows about (animate) |
| háne | that one which speaker assumes hearer knows about (inanimate) |

Indefinite pronouns

| | |
|--------------|--------------------|
| hová'éhe | something, nothing |
| hovánee'e | no one |
| nevá'eséstse | someone |
| nevá'ésesto | |
| néséhoo'o | |

néséhoono
nésévoohé
hénáá'énése

hénése
hénésehe
Móhenéséhanehe
\$\$OTHERS

Interrogative particles

Interrogative particles ask questions: \$\$GLOSS THESE PARTICLES

névááhe
névááso
neváaseo'o
neváasóho
hénová'e
hénová'ehótse
hénová'éto
hénová'etotse
hénová'etse
hénová'étsénése
hénová'etotsénése
hénáá'e
hénáá'énése
tóné'she
tósá'e

\$\$ADD OTHERS

Command particles

Some particles function as commands:

| | |
|----------|--|
| Nóheto! | Let's go! |
| Nóxa'e! | Wait! |
| Ótahe! | Listen! |
| Táaxa'e! | Let's see! (\$\$FUNCTIONS AS COMMAND??) |

Location particles

Location particles refer to locations:

| | |
|----------|-------|
| áhtóno'e | under |
| anóheto | below |
| he'ama | up |
| heama | side |
| táxeto | top |
| tóxehe | edge |

tséhéóhe
néhéóhe
táháóhe
näháóhe

hétséhéóhe
hénéhéóhe
hátáháóhe
hánáháóhe
\$\$OTHERS??

Epistemic particles

\$\$REVISE TITLE AND CONTENT

Epistemic particles are important for communicating how Cheyenne speakers relate to what they are saying. They are especially useful in conversation as Cheyenne interact with each other. They are to a dialogue something like what seasoning is to food. Without these particles Cheyenne utterances would be less flavorful. Following are a number of these particles, with attempts to translate them to English. The late linguist Robert Longacre referred to particles like these as "mystery particles". That is an good label for particles which are so important to a discourse, yet are sometimes mysteriously difficult to analyze and define. \$\$INCLUDE EXAMPLES

| | |
|------------|---|
| óotāma | especially |
| hotáhtse | unexpectedly, lo and behold |
| aose | right? |
| ta'se | like |
| hámó'óhtse | for instance |
| mé'tó'e | on the other hand |
| ónétáhtse | instead |
| ótséhámóhe | oops |
| hé | Oh, I made a mistake |
| ta'sótse | I mistakenly thought (contracted from ta'se hotáhtse) |
| héva | maybe |
| hēā'e | maybe |
| héá'éháma | maybe |
| tá'séháma | maybe |
| nóháse | anything, whatever |
| nóháséháma | just any way |
| hévámóhe | I guess, apparently |

Exclamatory particles

Exclamatory particles express strong feelings, typically of surprise or amazement. Cheyenne exclamatory particles traditionally have different pronunciations for females and males. Cheyenne exclamatory particles function like English interjections.

| | |
|---------------|---|
| Šaa! / Éaa! | Wow! (traditionally said by males, but said today by some females also) |
| Náoo! / Nóoo! | Wow! (said only by females) |

Hesévávo! / Sévávo! Wow! / Amazing

Emphatic particles

Some particles are created by adding the suffix -to to a preverb. These particles have a more emphatic meaning than the preverbs they are created from. \$\$RECHECK CLAIM

| | |
|-------------|-----------------|
| ameto | as time goes on |
| anóheto | down |
| hehpeto | later |
| hóseto | again |
| oné'seómeto | truly |
| sóhpeto | through |
| táxeto | on top |

Examples with emphatic particles

hehpeto tsé'éšeméose Tséhe'èsta'éhe 'after the battle with Long Hair (Custer)' (1987:59)

Naa néhe'se hóseto, "Amèške néstseó'komatsénoho vóohe." 'And then again (he would say), "Fat, I'll take a small bite of you, stop."' (Croft 1988:18)

Numbers

Cheyenne numbers are expressed through several well developed systems. One set of numbers is used for counting how many things there are. Another set of numbers is used for counting how many times some action is done. Another set of numbers is used for counting groups. Some numbers are particles. Others are parts of verbs. Let's examine the various number systems. \$\$REVISE (include nó'kóve, number preverbs, how many overnights, numbers of days: néšéé'éstse, etc.)

Cheyennes usually teach children Cheyenne numbers in bilingual school programs. They teach children to count in Cheyenne, since they, the teachers, were taught to count in English when they were in school. But it is likely that number counting was never a natural Cheyenne activity--and it probably is not a natural activity for learning to speak English, either. And it is questionable how useful reciting numbers is for learning to converse in Cheyenne.

If you are a Cheyenne language teacher, I would encourage you to teach children numbers in natural ways, rather than teaching them a list of numbers and asking them to recite them. For instance, you might show them three balls and ask them, in Cheyenne, of course, how many balls there are. Ask them how many times they have played hand games. Teach them to ask how many months old a baby is and teach them how to give right answers to such a question.

Try to avoid teaching any lists of words, whether they are lists of number, colors, or animals. Speakers of any language do not normally recite lists of words. Instead, people naturally use words as they experience life. Try to remember how you were taught to understand and speak Cheyenne, and then try to teach that same way to children in Cheyenne language programs. The main point is: Make language teaching natural. Just keep speaking in Cheyenne to children, just as parents speak any language to their children. Parents keep talking to their children even though their children don't understand every word right away. But by repeating words and sentences over and over when it is the right time to say them in natural speech contexts, children begin to understand the words, whether it is "Don't do that!" in English or its equivalent "Névénéhešéve!" 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.

| | |
|--------------------------|-----|
| na'ěstse | 1 |
| neše | 2 |
| na'he | 3 |
| neve | 4 |
| noho | 5 |
| naesohto | 6 |
| nésohto | 7 |
| na'nohto | 8 |
| sóohto | 9 |
| máhtohto | 10 |
| (máhtóhtò)hóhtáhna'ěstse | 11 |
| (máhtóhtò)hóhtáhneše | 12 |
| nésó'e | 20 |
| nésó'e hóhtáhna'ěstse | 21 |
| nésó'e hóhtáhneše | 22 |
| nésó'e hóhtáhna'he | 23 |
| na'nó'e | 30 |
| na'nó'e hóhtáhnoho | 35 |
| névó'e | 40 |
| nóhóno'e | 50 |
| naesóhtóhnó'e | 60 |
| nésóhtóhnó'e | 70 |
| na'nóhtóhnó'e | 80 |
| sóohtóhnó'e | 90 |
| no'ka máhtóhtóhnó'e ?? | 100 |

Examples of numbers of things

| | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| na'ěstse hetane | one man |
| na'ěstse káhámáxe | one stick |
| neše máheonótse | two houses |
| neve he'eo'o | four women |
| noho ka'ěškóneho | five children |
| naesohto póesono | six cats |
| nésó'e mo'kèhanótse | 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'nóhtoha | 8 times |
| sóhtoha | 9 times |
| máhtóhtoha | 10 times |
| (máhtóhtòh)hóhtáhno'ka | 11 times |
| (máhtóhtòh)hóhtáhnexa | 12 times |
| nésó'e | 20 times (same pronunciation as for 20 things) |
| no'ka máhtóhtóhnó'e | 100 times (same pronunciation as for 100 things) |
| no'ka vonoéstónéstóva | 1000 times (lit., once lost-count) |

Examples of numbers of times

1. Nó'ka nénaeotse. 'You fainted one time.'
2. no'ka ho'né'ěstóva 'one step length' (lit., 'once by step'; this is approximately one yard)
3. nexa hámohtséhnéstóva tsénehe'ésévoénéstse 'twice tepee raising that's how long his face is' (This is a funny phrase said by a lady related to a man who had a long face, whom she wished to shame for having beaten his wife. It can be paraphrased as something like "his face is so long he could pitch two tepees on it".)
4. Neva náhoxéhé'šéva.?? 'Four times I pledged to put on a Sun Dance.'

Numbers of groups

These numbers tell how many groups there are. A group can be a pair, a band, etc. A group number is composed of a number stem plus the group suffix /-óvé/.

| | |
|---------------|--------------|
| nó'kóve | one group |
| nésóve | two groups |
| ná'nóve | three groups |
| névóve | four groups |
| nóhónóve | five groups |
| naesóhtóhnóve | six groups |

| | |
|---------------|--------------|
| nésòhtóhnóve | seven groups |
| na'nóhtóhnóve | eight groups |
| sóhtóhnóve | nine groups |
| máhtóhtóhnóve | ten groups |

Examples of numbers of groups

| | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|
| nésóve mo'kèhanótse | two pairs of shoes |
| névóve xamaevo'èstaneo'o | four tribes of Indians |
| nóhónóve nótaxeo'o | five bands of warriors |

Numbers of days

A number preverb can occur with a noun suffix /-éš/ meaning 'day' to indicate how many days (actually overnights) of time have elapsed.

| | |
|-------------|------------------------|
| no'kēē'ěše | one day ¹⁵⁶ |
| néšéé'ěše | two days |
| na'hēē'ěše | three days |
| névéé'ěše | four days |
| nóhonéé'ěše | five days |

Examples in sentences:

Néšéé'ěše náéváho'eóhtse. 'I returned four days ago.'

Névéé'ěše móhnéma'eméohéhevohe. '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-éno'e. | It's the second day of the week. |
| Nána'he-enō'tse. | I camped three nights. |
| É-na'he-némeneo'o. | There are three of them singing. |
| É-néve-éno'e. | It was four overnights ago. |
| Vé'ho'éotóá'e tse-néve-óhta. | The cow will have four legs. (Sweet Medicine's prophecy) |
| É-nóhone-aénáma. | He is five years old. |

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-névanēne. | He did it four times. |
| É-nóhon-oeme. | He/It costs five (dollars). |

Number roots

Number roots occur with both animate and inanimate subjects. Animate subjects can be of any person, first, second, third, or obviated:

Animate subjects

| | |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|
| É-no'kahe. | There is one of him/her. |
| É-néše'o. | There are two of them (animate). |
| Ná-néséme. | There are two of us (exclusive). |
| É-na'heo'o. | There are three of them (animate). |
| É-néveo'o. | There are four of them (animate). |
| É-nóhoneo'o. | There are five of them (animate). |
| É-naesóhtóxeo'o. | There are six of them (animate). |
| É-na'nóhtóxeo'o. | There are eight of them (animate). |
| É-sóhtóxeo'o. | There are nine of them (animate). |
| É-máhtóhtóxeo'o. | There are ten of them (animate). |
| É-néso'òheo'o. | There are twenty of them (animate). |
| É-néso'o'ēnēstse. | There are twenty of them (inanimate). |

Inanimate subjects

| | |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------|
| É-nó'ka'e. | There is one of it. |
| É-néxānēstse. | There are two of them (inanimate). |
| É-na'hānēstse. | There are three of them (inanimate). |
| É-névānēstse. | There are four of them (inanimate). |
| É-nóhonānēstse. | There are five of them (inanimate). |
| É-naesóhtóhānēstse. | There are six of them (inanimate). |
| É-nésóhtóhānēstse. | There are seven of them (inanimate). |
| É-na'nóhtóhānēstse. | There are eight of them (inanimate). |
| É-sóhtóhānēstse. | There are nine of them (inanimate). |
| É-máhtóhtóhānēstse. | There are ten of them (inanimate). |

Numbers as participles

Number roots occur in participles that refer to either animate or inanimate things. The participles can take subjects of any person, first, second, third, or obviated:

Animate Intransitive participles

| | |
|----------------------------|---|
| tsé-no'kaestse | the one (animate) which is one in number |
| tséh-no'káhéto | by myself, I alone \$\$\$CONTRAST WITH THE NEXT ONE |
| néh-no'káhéto | I alone |
| néh-néšése | both of you (plural) |
| tsé-néšese | the two of them (animate) |
| tsé-na'hese | the three of them (animate) |
| tsé-névese | the four of them (animate) |
| tsé-nóhonese | the five of them (animate) |
| tsé-naesóhtóxese | the six of them (animate) |
| hotóhkeo'o tsé-nésóhtóxese | the seven stars (Cheyenne for the Pleiades constellation) |
| tsé-na'nóhtóxese | the eight of them (animate) |
| tsé-sóohtóxese | the nine of them (animate) |
| tsé-máhtóhtóxese | the ten of them (animate) |

Inanimate Intransitive participles

| | |
|-------------|--|
| tsé-nó'ka'e | that which is number one \$\$\$RECHECK GLOSSES |
| tsé-néxa'e | that which is number two |
| tsé-na'ha'e | that which is number three |
| tsé-néva'e | that which is number four |

Ordinal numbers

Ordinal numbers tell what place something has in sequential order. The Cheyenne final /-a'ónétó/ indicates number sequence. Ordinal numbers can be expressed in either the independent or conjunct orders, as shown in the following examples (the conjunct order examples begin with tsé-):

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| É-no'ka'ónéto. | It is the first one. |
| tsé-no'ka'ónéto | the first one |
| É-néxa'ónéto. | It is the second one |
| tsé-néxa'ónéto | the second one |
| tsé-na'ha'ónéto | the third one |
| É-néva'ónéto. | It is the fourth one. |
| tsé-nóhona'ónéto | the fifth one |
| tsé-naesóhtóhna'ónéto | the sixth one |
| tsé-nésóhtóhna'ónéto | the seventh one |
| tsé-na'nóhtóhna'ónéto | the eighth one |
| tsé-sóohtóhna'ónéto | the ninth one |

\$\$\$CHECK FOR EXAMPLES WITH ANIMATE SUBJECTS, e.g. 'he is the second one'

Group number verbs

Cheyenne verbs can take a number initial plus an AI /-óvahe/ or II /-óvátó/ final indicating a group. This final is related to the /-óvé/ suffix we saw on particles for numbers of groups.

| | |
|-------------------|------------------------------------|
| É-nésováheo'o. | There are three groups (animate). |
| É-névováheo'o. | There are four groups (animate). |
| É-névóvátónéstse. | There are four groups (inanimate). |

Numbers in days of the week

Numbers are used in names for some of the Cheyenne days of the week. Note that in Oklahoma the first day begins on Tuesday, while in Montana the first day begins on Monday. Here are some of the ways to say the Cheyenne days of the week. For other ways, see the later section of this book on Days of the week in the larger section on words for Time in Cheyenne. To make them easier to see, numbers in the names for days of the week are highlighted here:

Oklahoma days of the week

Here are days of the week for Oklahoma, as listed by Cheyenne language teacher Lenora Holliman:¹⁵⁷

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| Éno'keéno'e. | Tuesday (lit., 'It's the first day.') |
| Énéšeéno'e. | Wednesday (lit., 'It's the second day.') |
| Éna'heéno'e. | It's Thursday (lit., 'It's the third day.') |
| Énéveéno'e. | It's Friday (lit., 'It's the fourth day.') |
| Étšěške'ma'heóneéševe. | It's Saturday (lit., 'It's the little holy day.') |
| Éma'heóneéševe. | It's Sunday (lit., 'It's the holdy day.') |
| Éénema'heóneéševe. | It's Monday (lit., 'It's the end of the holy day.') |

Montana days of the week

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| No'ka éšeēva | Monday (lit., 'on the first day') |
| Nexa éšeēva | Tuesday (lit., 'on the second day') |
| Na'ha éšeēva | Wednesday (lit., 'on the third day') |
| Neva éšeēva | Thursday (lit., 'on the fourth day') |
| Nóhona éšeēva | Friday (lit., 'on the fifth day') |
| Tšěške'ma'heóneéšeēva | Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day') |
| Ma'heóneéšeēva | Sunday (lit., 'on the holy day') |

Language change

Changes occur over time in every language. Sounds and meanings of Cheyenne words have experienced such historical changes.

Cheyenne has descended from Proto-Algonquian (PA), the ancestor of all the Algonquian languages. Through careful study linguists are able to observe changes which have occurred in the sounds and grammar between Proto-Algonquian and each of its descendant languages, including Cheyenne.

We have also been able to observe further changes taking place in the Cheyenne language in the past few decades. Let's outline some of the main changes which have occurred in the long history that has led to the current sounds and grammar of Cheyenne.

Proto-Algonquian to Cheyenne changes

Following are some Cheyenne words with their Proto-Algonquian (PA) source words (etyma). Proto-words are marked with the asterisk (*), following standard practice.

¹⁵⁷ From Internet webpage: <http://www.swosu.edu/academics/catc/dictionary/c04.aspx>

ame (PA *pemyi, "grease")
 he'e (cf. PA *weθkweni, "his liver")
 hē'e (PA **eθkwe·wa, "woman")
 hetane (PA *er\$enyiwa, "man")
 matana (PA *meθenyi, "milk")
 šé' še
 sémo
 xāō' o
 pe' e
 netse
 hotóá' e
 neše
 na' he
 \$\$RECHECK PA AND ADD MORE EXAMPLES

PA:Cheyenne correspondences

Common Cheyenne reflexes of PA are:

| PA | Cheyenne |
|------------|----------|
| *a | o |
| *e | a |
| *o | e |
| \$\$others | |

More recent Cheyenne sound changes

We can observe some changes in Cheyenne from published records. Other changes have been personally observed.

h-addition

We have noted that PA nouns that began with a vowel now begin with the letter "h" in Cheyenne. Most of this change occurred before the end of the 1800s when Petter began his study of Cheyenne. However, Petter (1915) did record some Cheyenne nouns which he heard beginning with a vowel, which later began with "h":

| meaning | Petter | modern Cheyenne |
|--------------|-----------|---|
| ant | azesc | hátseške |
| ball | oxzem | hóhtséme |
| Sioux | Ohoomoheo | Ho'óhomo'eo'o |
| grass | oxoozz | cf. hoxo'óhtsévo'éstse 'grass' \$\$DELETE EXAMPLE?? |
| \$(OTHERS??) | | |

Simplification

Simplification of sound sequences and regularization of grammatical patterns commonly occur in languages. We observe both forms of language change in Cheyenne.

Loss of voiceless syllables

Younger Cheyenne speakers simplify the sounds of some words. They drop the sounds of some words, especially some voiceless syllables which are difficult to hear. Here are some words with their traditional pronunciation and pronunciations by many younger speakers today:

| meaning | traditional pronunciation | younger speaker pronunciation |
|--------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|
| old woman | máhtamáhááhe | tamáháahe |
| book | móxe'éstoo'o | xe'éstoo'o |
| I asked him | nánòhtséstóvo | nánéstóvo |
| berries | menòtse | menéstse ?? |
| your pet | néstòtse | stòtse |
| Kills On the Water | Máhpevana'hāne | Pevana'hāne |
| I see you | névóomatse | névóoméstse ?? |

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:

| meaning | phonemic | proximate | obviative |
|---------|---------------|------------|--------------|
| woman | /he'é/ | hē'e | he'óho |
| man | /hetane/ | hetane | hetanóho |
| clock | /éše'he/ | éše'he | éše'hóho |
| Sioux | /ho'óho'mo'é/ | Ho'óhomō'e | Ho'óhomo'óho |

We can see that the obviative suffix on these nouns is –óho. However, if a noun ended with a phonemic high pitch, it traditionally would take a low pitched suffix:

| meaning | phonemic | proximate | obviative |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|
| fly (insect) | /hésé/ | hése | heso |
| rock | /ho'honáé/ | ho'honáá'e | ho'honaa'o |
| alien | /nóte/ | notse | noto |
| nighthawk | /pé'e/ | pe'e | pe'o |
| duck | /šé'šé/ | šé'še | še'xo |

Pitches of obviatives and their suffixes alternated between high and low depending on the phonemic pitch of the penultimate (next-to-the-last) vowel.¹⁵⁸ For several decades many fluent speakers have

¹⁵⁸ For further details, see my article, Leman, Wayne. 1987. Cheyenne Obviation Pitch Alternations. In Papers of the Eighteenth Algonquian Conference, ed. William Cowan, pp. 173-186. Ottawa: Carleton University.

been regularizing these alternations so that obviatives take only the single suffix /-óho/. So, the obviative nouns in the preceding list are increasingly pronounced as in the following list:

| meaning | phonemic | proximate | obviative |
|--------------|------------|------------|--------------------------|
| fly (insect) | /hésé/ | hése | hésóho (\$\$ RECHECK) |
| rock | /ho'honáé/ | ho'honáá'e | ho'honáóho(\$\$ RECHECK) |
| alien | /note/ | notse | nótóho(\$\$ RECHECK) |
| nighthawk | /pé'e/ | pe'e | pé'óho |
| duck | /šé'šé/ | šé'še | šé'xóho |

The same regularization is occurring with verbs which are marked for obviation:

| meaning | phonemic stem | older | newer |
|------------------------------|---------------|-------------|------------------|
| he (obv) is praying | /-háóéná/ | éháoenaho?? | éháóénáho ??\$\$ |
| he loves her (obv) | /-méhót/ | éméhoto | éméhótóho |
| he fought him (obv) | /-méót/ | éméoto | éméótóho |
| he ate him (obv) | /-mév/ | émevo | émévóho |
| he (obv) invited to feast | /-mó'é/ | émo'o | émó'óho |
| she suckled him (obv) | /-néh/ | éneho | énéhóho |
| he (obv) is nursing | /-néne/ | éneho | énénoho |
| there are two of them (obv) | /-néše/ | énexo | énéxóho |
| there are four of them (obv) | /-néve/ | énevo | énévóho |
| he hates him (obv) | /-péót/ | épéoto | épéótóho |

The older pronunciation has a low-pitched ending if the stem-final vowel is high-pitched. The regularized pronunciation has a high pitch on the first vowel of the obviative suffix, regardless of the pitch of the stem-final vowel.

Regularization of the TI theme sign

A increasing number of speakers regularize the TI theme sign to /á/ instead of retaining the older /ó/ theme sign which occurred in TI negative verbs. The theme sign vowels are underlined in these examples:

| positive | meaning | older negative | newer negative | meaning |
|--------------------|------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| návóóht <u>a</u> | I saw it | násáavóóht <u>ó</u> he | násáavóóht <u>á</u> he | I did not see it |
| éhestān <u>a</u> | he took it | ésáahestan <u>ó</u> he | ésáahestan <u>á</u> he | he did not take it |
| náhéne'ēn <u>a</u> | I know it | násáhéne'en <u>ó</u> he | násáhéne'en <u>á</u> he | I do not know it |

Regularization of irregular possessives

We previously mentioned that Cheyennes have been changing irregular possessive prefixes so that they are regular. We repeat a few examples here:

| irregular | regular |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| nénove 'my home' \$\$RECHECK | navénove ?? |

| | |
|--------------------|-------------|
| nétove | navétove ?? |
| néséne 'my friend' | navéséne ?? |

Idiolectal changes

Some changes in Cheyenne are focused more in the speech of

Semantic change

Not only do sounds change over time, but meanings of 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 tòhévetse, phonetically [tʰoʷvɪc]. This is a sound translation from the English term "two bits" which was used commonly in the past to refer to a 25 cent coin.

A century or so ago Cheyennes adapted the name of the capital of the United States, Washington, pronouncing it as Vášétaēno. This is a sound translation of the word "Washington" plus the Cheyenne locative suffix –no which means 'place'.

Loan translations

Cheyennes traditionally had no greetings or leavetakings. After bilingualism with English increased, Cheyennes literally translated English greetings and leavetakings to Cheyenne. These have been used for several decades by at least some Cheyenne speakers.

Greetings

Pévevóona'o 'Good morning'

Péveéšeeva 'Good day'

Pévêhetóéva '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'

Épévééšeeve 'It's a good day'
Épévèhetóeve 'It's a good evening'
Épévetaa'eve 'It's a good night'

Good-bye

The English leavetaking 'good-bye' (historically shortened from "God be with you") has not been literally translated to Cheyenne. Instead, Cheyennes have borrowed English "See you later!" as a leavetaking used by many speakers today. Cheyennes have adapted this borrowing to be pronounced as a fully inflected verb:

Néstaévahósevóomatse 'I'll see you again later.'

Other loan translations

The Cheyenne verb náé'ahé means 'I am out of money' (literally, 'I-broken'). This appears to be a semantic borrowing from the English idiom "I am broke". The Cheyenne sign that accompanies this verb is the same sign used for something that is literally broken.

Other semantic borrowings are: \$\$

Cheyennes enjoy translating other English idioms literally to Cheyenne and then laughing about how silly they sound. Some examples are:

Né(tó'tae)pónóhta \$\$\$? toóneoheo'o! You hit the nail on the head!

We're scraping the bottom of the barrel.\$\$

During one work session an elder and I literally translated an English idiom to Cheyenne:

É-ma'xemené-he'anáto 'It's plum easy'

The Cheyenne word for 'plum' is má'xeme. We used it as a preverb along with the Cheyenne verb stem /-he'anátó/ meaning. We then had fun combining this new preverb with other verbs, such as Éma'xenéhotoanáto 'It's plum difficult'. Cheyennes enjoy playing with words.

If enough Cheyennes like the literally translated idioms they sometimes become more widely used.

Creation of new words

Cheyennes create new words when the need arises. Some created words have been used for so long that they are no longer thought of as new words. Others are more recently minted. Some have been created recently but are not in common usage.

Older created words

Here are some words which were created when Cheyennes encountered new things and needed names for them. These words have been a regular part of the Cheyenne language for many years:\$\$

cow
stable
coffee

tea
airplane
buggy
car
battery
tire
schoolbus
school
post office
desk
pencil
chair
basketball
newspaper
tribal office
tribal council
casino
movie theater
policeman
doctor
soldier
diabetes
pneumonia
tuberculosis
cancer
venereal disease
Thanksgiving

Recently created words

Here are some words recently created which are not widely used, but they could be if more Cheyennes knew about them:

\$\$ (see file DKMC signs.doc)
\$\$ (see file Medical Terms.doc)
Storybook
Bulletin board
Computer
Blender
microwave
High pitch mark
Mountain Dew
Wrist watch
RV

The Cheyenne lexicon

The lexicon of a language is its entire inventory of words (vocabulary) and other important meaning parts (morphemes). The lexicon also should indicate relationships among the words. The Cheyenne lexicon is found in dictionaries of Cheyenne. The most recent dictionary is titled Cheyenne Dictionary. We have attempted to include all the words and lexical relationships among them in the Cheyenne Dictionary. We have attempted to write the words in the dictionary are accurately as possible. An online version of this dictionary can be accessed at this Internet address:

<http://cdkc.edu/cheyennedictionary/index.html>

The online dictionary includes links to audio files so that thousands of the words and other morphemes in the dictionary can be heard.

Study of the Cheyenne lexicon is very interesting. Through study of the Cheyenne lexicon we can learn so many interesting things about how Cheyenne speakers say words.

One word or two words

An interesting thing to learn when studying the lexicon of a language is whether it uses one or more words for something. Different languages use different numbers of words to refer to the same thing. Such differences between languages are interesting. If all the flowers in the world had the same color and shape, flowers would be a little boring. It's the same way with languages. If all languages said everything the same way, they would not be as interesting as they are. Differences among flowers, animals, people, cultures, and languages are interesting and beautiful. Just because one language says something one way and another language says it a different way is not a cause for shame or a feeling that one language is better than another language, regardless of what you might have been taught about your language by schoolteachers or others.

Monomials

If a language uses a single word for something, that word is called a monomial. Some English monomials are "baby", "child", "dog", "water", "tree", and "always". Cheyenne has monomials (single words) that match those English words: mé'ěšvótse 'baby', ka'ěškóne 'child', oeškēse 'dog', mahpe 'water', hoohtséstse 'tree', and mé'ěstse 'always'.

Binomials

Sometimes one language requires two or more words to say the same thing said in another language by only one word. A two word phrase that refers to something is called a binomial. Cheyenne speakers use a single word (monomial), kásovááhe, that requires two words (binomial) to say the same thing in English, "young man". English uses one word (monomial), "boy", that requires a compound word to say the same thing in Cheyenne, hetané-ka'ěškóne, literally "male-child". For now, we will consider a compound word as a kind of binomial (double word). Which is the better way of referring to a boy, the single English word "boy" or the Cheyenne double word, "hetané-ka'ěškóne"? Hopefully, you will answer that neither one is better. Both are good, appropriate ways to say the same thing in each language.

With that understanding, that each way of saying something is good, let us compare some monomials (single words) and binomials (double words) of Cheyenne and English:

monomial

binomial

| | |
|---------------|---------------------|
| kásovááhe | young man |
| káse'éehe | young woman |
| ma'háhkéso | old man |
| máhtamáhááhe | old woman |
| boy | hetané-ka'ěškóne |
| girl | he'é-ka'ěškóne |
| school | móxe'ěstóne-máhēō'o |
| hestonóvónó'e | drymeat pole |

words or sentences

Sometimes a language can say something with a single word that is said by an entire sentence in another language. Cheyenne verbs are single words (monomials), often with several smaller parts (morphemes). But Cheyenne single word verbs usually must be translated as entire sentences in English. Neither way is better than the other. Both ways of saying the same thing are good:

| monomial | sentence |
|-------------------------|---|
| Émésehe. | He (or She) is eating (or He, or She, ate). |
| Ékoká'a'xe. | He (or She) is jumping. (or He, or She, was jumping.) |
| Náháéána. | I'm hungry. |
| Nééšemésehéhe? | Did you already eat? |
| Épéhéva'e. | It's good. |
| Éhoo'kōho. | It's raining. |
| Nésáatséheševóomatséhe. | I never see you. ?? |

Semantic ranges

Sometimes a word in one language does not exactly match a word (or words) in another language. The words in the different languages might have slightly different meanings. Or they might share some of the same meanings, but have some meanings that are not the same. Again, this does not mean that one of the languages is better than the other language. It just means that the languages have different ways of saying things.

The set of meanings that a word has is called its semantic range. Often the semantic ranges of words between languages do not match up exactly. This makes the job of translating between these language more difficult, but not impossible.

Cheyenne and English have different semantic ranges for words having to do with siblings. For instance, in the Cheyenne language there are several words that refer to sibling relationships: older sibling, younger sibling, older brother, younger brother, sibling/cousin, etc. **\$\$DESCRIBE THE DETAILS, TRY TO SHOW THEM WITH SEMANTIC RANGE CIRCLES**

\$\$DEVELOP THIS SECTION Even if something cannot be said as concisely in one language as it is said in another language, usually there is some way to express the same meaning, even if it takes more words than another languages uses to do so.

It isn't said

Some things are simply not said, at least not yet, in a language. That does not mean, however, that they cannot be said in that language. I am often asked how to say something in Cheyenne.

Sometimes I have to answer, "I don't know. I have never heard that said. But if Cheyennes decide to say that in Cheyenne, it can be said and it might become a regular part of the language." Here are some things which I don't think are said yet in Cheyenne:

Happy birthday!
Merry Christmas!

Again, just because these things are not said in Cheyenne, does not mean that English is a better language than Cheyenne. It just means that Cheyennes have not felt a need yet, or a strong enough need, to say these things in Cheyenne. In the case of "Merry Christmas!", the concept of Christmas was brought to the Cheyennes, probably in the 1800s. So, obviously, Cheyennes would not have said "Merry Christmas!" before they knew about Christmas. Cheyennes do just fine today saying things like "Merry Christmas!" in English and other things, if they wish, in Cheyenne.

Lexical relationships

Lexical relationships are systematic relationships among the words of a language. Following are descriptions of some of the most important lexical relationships in Cheyenne. ~~\$\$\$FILL OUT THIS SECTION; IMPORT WHAT CAN BE USED FROM MY PAPER ON SEMANTIC CATEGORIZATION OF THE CHEYENNE LEXICON~~

Plurals

Animacy pairs

Diminutives

Antonyms

Synonyms

Hyponyms

Figurative language

Figurative language is the use of speech to express meanings different from the literal meanings of words used. Cheyenne figurative language includes metaphors, similes, and idioms. In examples that follow, the literal meaning of an expression is given in parentheses after its figurative meaning.

| | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Énéšetaneva.?? | He lies. (lit., he is two-tongued). |
| Éhéstova'kehe. | He is duplicitous. (lit., he is dual-natured??) |
| Ého'néhevéhōhtse. | She outsmarts men. (lit., she has wolf footprints) |
| Épéeeēse. | He is a hellraiser. (lit., he has a ground up nose) |
| Éhesó'xotoo'ēsta.?? (Éhesó'xo'ēsta??) | He doesn't listen. (lit., he has slippery ears) |
| Énéhestáha. | He's gets angry easily. (lit., he is quick-hearted) |
| ó'kóhóme | sly, conniving person (lit., coyote) |
| Éó'kóhoméheve'éxáne. | He is sly/he cheats. (lit., he has coyote eyes) |
| Énéhpoése ma'ēno. | It's foggy. (lit., the turtle is hanging shrouded) |
| Náméváá'e. | They gossiped about me. (lit., they ate me) |
| Heávohe nétáxe'há'tova. | You are in a bad mood. (lit., the devil is hanging over you) |

| | |
|---|--|
| Hesevávónó'e a'e hestonovónó'e! Vó'kéme éhonóva. Old Man Winter is hanging drymeat) | Wow, that's amazing! (lit., wow, close to a drymeat rack) It has snowed and snow is hanging on tree branches. (lit., never (lit., when frogs have teeth) |
| oonáhā'e máxhevéesēvóhtse | He's "crazy". (lit., he's about to have horns) |
| Móéšétó'séhestsevévěšéhéhe. | He's angry. (lit. The mad drummer came to him) |
| Ého'eohé'tóó'e hávésévevéhanéheho. | I'm going to be stubborn. (lit., I'm going to swallow a rock) |
| Náto'semáhééto ho'honáá'e. | I got up really early. (lit., I put on my shoes with the morning star) |
| Névááhe tséheaxévonéstse? based on the image of the lead cow wearing a bell) | Who is the boss? (lit., Who has the bell? This idiom is based on the image of the lead cow wearing a bell) |
| Éhonē'a vé'ho'émahpe. | He drinks all the time. (lit., he is clothed with whiskey) |
| Émaa'e. | He's courting. (lit., he's barking) |
| Étaoméhótsenóhtóvenéstse napáhpóneehéhame. | My stomach is growling. (lit., my tapeworm can almost talk by itself) |

Semantic domains

Semantic domains are how speakers of a language group words according to how they belong together in topics. Speakers of a language group words together as they view that they belong together. The culture of the speakers determines how the groupings of words are made. Groups of words that belong together, according to speakers of a language, are called semantic domains. Some Cheyenne semantic domains have been influenced by interaction between traditional Cheyenne culture and other cultures, especially those of the vé'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.

Birds

Trees

OTHER SEMANTIC DOMAINS

Colors

Fluent Cheyenne speakers have traditionally referred to various colors. Some of the words for colors can be used about almost any object. Other words are only used for certain purposes, such as the various colors of horses.

For several decades Cheyenne children have been taught Cheyenne colors in bilingual education programs. FILL OUT THIS SECTION AND INCLUDE COLOR SECTION FROM THE FIRST EDITIONS OF THIS BOOK

| | |
|----------------------|--|
| étônetôhtâhave | What color is he? What color is it? |
| étônetôhtâháveo?o | What color are they (an)? |
| étônetôhtâhávénestse | What color are they (inan)? |
| étônetova | What color is his fur, How is he furred? |
| étôneto?ééva | What color is his skin? |

| meaning | It is ____. | He is ____. |
|--------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| black | émo?ôhtávo | émo?ôhtávahe |
| black | émo?kôhtávo | émo?kôhtávahe |
| blue | éotá?távo | éotá?tavahe |
| brown | émôšéškáno | émôšéškanaha |
| brown, tan | énoóno | énoónaha |
| gray | épó?o | |
| green | éhoxo?ôhtsévo | éhoxo?ôhtsévahe |
| orange | éma?éheóvo | éma?éheóvahe |
| pink | éma?ómo?ôhtsévo | éma?ómo?ôhtsévahe |
| purple | éhoxôhkó?so | éhoxôhkó?sahe |
| red | émá?o | éma?ēta |
| turquoise | éhoxo?ôhtséve-otá?távo | éhoxo?ôhtséve-otá?tavahe |
| white | évó?ómo | évô?omahe |
| white | évó?kómo | évô?komahe |
| white, light | évôhpo | évôhpahe |
| yellow | éheóvo | éheóvahe |

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| éheóvóva | He is yellow-furred. |
| épêhévóva | He has nice fur. |
| évó?néóva | He (e.g. a horse) is bay-colored. |
| éhohkó?sóva | He is chestnut-colored. |
| émo?ôhtáexamanóva | He is brown-black--colored. |
| émo?évâhetóva | He is buckskin. |
| énoónóva | He is tan-colored. |
| évovó?hase | He is pinto. |

COLOR PARTICIPLES:

| | |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| tséheóvo | the yellow one (inan) |
| tséheóvoo?éstse | the yellow ones (inan) |
| tséheóvaestse | the yellow one (an) |
| tséheóvahese | the yellow ones (an) |
| tséma?etase | the red ones (an) |
| tsévô?komoo?éstse | the white ones (inan) |

COLORS AS "ADJECTIVES":

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| heóve-mee?e | yellow feather |
| heóve-máheo?o | yellow house |
| otá?tave-amáho?hestótse | blue car |
| vôhpe-nákhoe | polar bear (white-bear) |

COLORS IN VERB CONSTRUCTIONS:

| | |
|------------------|---------------------|
| éheóvovése | He has yellow hair. |
| éma?eēse | He has a red nose. |
| émôšéškané?éxáne | He has brown eyes. |

Kinship terms

| the one who is ____ | the one who is my ____ | meaning |
|----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|
| tséhêhestovêstse | tséhéhéto | father, paternal uncle |
| tséheškéstovêstse | tséheškéto | mother, maternal aunt |
| tséheměšémestovêstse | tséheměšéméto | grandfather, fa-in-law |
| tséhevěškemestovêstse | tséhevěškéméto | grandmother, mo-in-law |
| tséhee?hahéstovêstse | tséhee?hahéto | son |
| tséhestónâhéstovêstse | tséhestónâhéto | daughter |
| tséhevéxahéstovêstse | tséhevéxahéto | grandchild |
| tséhestatanémestovêstse | tséhestatanéméto | brother (of female) |
| tséhemêhéstovêstse | tséhemêhéto | older sister |
| tséhevásemestovêstse | tséheváseméto | younger sibling |
| tséhe?néhestovêstse | tséhe?néhéto | older brother |
| tséhevésêsônéstovêstse | tséhevésêsónéto | sibling (incl. cousin) |
| tséheaxáa?éhemestovêstse | tséheaxáa?éhéméto | sister(man's), sis-in-law(fem) |
| tséhešéstovêstse | tséhešéto | maternal uncle |
| tséheškamóonéstovêstse | tséheškamóonéto | maternal aunt, stepmother |
| tséhehaehéstovêstse | tséhehaehéto | paternal aunt |
| tséhevétaméstovêstse | tséhevétaméto | cross sibling-in-law |
| tséhevé?tovêstovêstse | tséhevé?tovéto | brother-in-law (man's) |
| tséhe?hamêhéstovêstse | tséhe?hamêhéto | cross niece |
| tséhetsénotâhéstovêstse | tséhetsénotâhéto | cross nephew |
| tséhestse?émestovêstse | tséhestse?éméto | wife |
| tséheehaméstovêstse | tséheehaméto | husband |
| tséhestónâhamóonéstovêstse | tséhestónâhamóonéto | niece, stepdaughter |
| tséhee?hahamóonéstovêstse | tséhee?hahamóonéto | nephew, stepson |
| tséhehamóonéstovêstse | tséhehamóonéto | paternal uncle, stepfather |
| tséhenésónêhéstovêstse | tséhenésónêhéto | child |

(Note: see other material on kinship terms under TRANSITIVE ANIMATE CONJUNCT PARTICIPLES.)

Medical terms

| | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| Néto'sevé'hoomátse. | I'm going to check you. |
| Tósa'e néháama'ta? | Where do you hurt? |
| Tósa'e néôněšeotse? | Where do you have pain? |
| Néhâamá'tahe netoněše? | Does your belly hurt? |
| Néhôse'ehe? | Are you pregnant? |
| Nétóněstôhêeše'hama? | How many months (pregnant) are you? |
| Néôněšeotsehe hetséóhe? | Does it hurt here? |
| Néaseóněšeohtsehe, OR, Néanétanohe? | Have you started labor? |
| Né'seestse'henátse! | Take your shirt, coat, off! |
| Né'to'xôhtaachtse! | Take your pants off! |
| Ma'xe-omotoméstse! | Take a deep breath! |
| Eneomotómeotséstse! | Stop breathing! |
| Náto'sevé'hóóhta něstovoo'ótse. | I'm going to look at your ear. |
| Néto'sésónoomāne. | You are going to have an x-ray. |
| Néhoveóó'éstse! | Stand up! |
| Háméstoo'éstse! | Sit down! |
| Náto'seááhta něstsesta. | I'm going to listen to your heart. |
| Něstsesta épêhêva'e. | Your heart is good. |
| Nétóněstôhéáénáma? | How old are you? |
| Étóněstôhêeše'hama? | How many months old is he? |
| Nétatóné'ésšêháomóhtahe? | How long have you been sick? |
| Nétônětomóhtahe? | How do you feel? |
| Néhavěsévomóhtahehe? | Do you feel bad? |
| Héhe'e, náhavěsévomóhtahe. | Yes, I feel bad. |
| Náhâomóhtahe. | I feel sick. |
| Nétóněstôhnóóhne? | How many children have you borne? |
| Néhâamá'továhtsehe? | Did you hurt yourself? |
| Nétône'xovêháomóhtahe? | How sick do you feel? |
| Nátšěške'hâomóhtahe. | I'm a little sick. |
| Náhoháehâomóhtahe. | I'm really sick. |
| Névê'keemáhpevomóhtahehe? | Are you a diabetic? |
| Návê'keemáhpevomóhtahe. | I'm a diabetic. |
| Néněšêho'hehe? | Do you have a fever? |
| Néohkepêhévenaóótsehe, OR, Néohkepêhévenomehe? | Do you sleep well? |
| Néo'óhtahe? | Are you constipated? |
| Némomóhtóhtahe? | Do you have diarrhea? |
| Námomóhtóhta. | I have diarrhea. |
| He'tohe heséeo'ótse amêhestanomeo'o! | Take this medicine! |
| He'tohe heséeo'ótse amemane'o! | Drink this medicine! |
| No'ka hestanomeo'o māsáa'ésšémésêhêheto! | Take one before you eat! |
| Nexa hestanomeo'o māsáa'ésšenaóotsêheto! | Take two before you sleep! |
| Na'éstse hestanomeo'o neve no'ka-ešeeva! | Take one four times per day! |
| Évê'ôhkeohtsehe? | Is it a sharp pain? |
| Néohkêheheotseotsehe? | Do you vomit? |
| Náhtsema'eme éhe'amoésta. | My blood pressure is high. |
| Néhe'haehe? | Do you cough? |
| Náhe'haa'e. | I cough, have a cold. |

Names

Taste

Time

Terms having to do with telling time and passage of time are one of the semantic domains of the Cheyenne lexicon. Time was traditionally noted in Cheyenne by the position of the sun, seasons of the year, and months. As Cheyennes have been increasingly influenced by the dominant culture surrounding them, this influence is reflected in terms for telling time, with adoption of terms for days of the week. There has also been some shift from using animate subjects with verbs for telling time to inanimate ones.

Traditionally, time was noted in Cheyenne by the position of the sun. Since *éše'he* 'sun' is animate, any verbs explicitly or implicitly referring to the position of the sun required animate subjects. Cheyennes extended use of the word for 'sun' to refer to clocks. Oklahoma Cheyennes also adopted an additional word for 'clock', *kó'ko'èhasēō'o*, which literally means 'ticking thing'. This word is also animate.

Questions about time

Tóne'she ého'oése éše'he? ??

What time is it? (lit., When has the sun arrived hanging?)

Tóne'she ého'oésta?

What time is it? (lit., When has it arrived hanging?)

Étóne'ého'oése (éše'he)?

What time is it? [lit. How high is he (the sun) hanging?]

Étóne'ého'oésta?

What time is it? (lit., How high is it hanging?)

Times of the day

Independent order verbs can be used to refer to times of a day:

Éasevó'néóhtse.

It's daybreak. (lit. it's starting to get light)

Éhosóvoománo'e.

It's dawn.

Éhosóvoomaeōhtse.

It's dawning.

Éméovóonā'o.

It's early morning.

Évóonā'o

It's morning.

Éméséhévoésta.

It's noon. (lit., it's eating time)

Ésétovoésta.

It's noon.

Ééšé(hehpè)sétovoésta.

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]

Éhetóeve.

It's evening.

Étaa'eve.

It's night.

Ésétóhtaa'eve.

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

tséxhetóeve

when it was evening

| | |
|------------------|----------------------|
| tséstaa'eve | when it was night |
| tséssétóhtaa'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 |
| máxhetóeve | when it is evening |
| ?? | when it is night |
| mássétóhtaa'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 |
| hetóeva | in the evening |
| taa'ēva | at night |
| sétóhtaa'ēva | at midnight, in the middle of the night |
| oéšeēva | daily |
| totáa'ēva | nightly |

Hours

There are commonly used forms for telling time by hours. The forms occur as independent or conjunct order verbs. Conjunct verbs occur either in the indicative mode to refer to time which is past, or the potential mode to refer to time which is in the future.

Independent order time verbs

| | |
|------------------------|------------------|
| Ééšeno'kòxe'ohe. | It's 1 o'clock. |
| Ééšenésòxe'ohe. | It's 2 o'clock. |
| Ééšena'nòxe'ohe. | It's 3 o'clock. |
| Ééšenévòxe'ohe. | It's 4 o'clock. |
| Ééšenóhonòxe'ohe. | It's 5 o'clock. |
| Ééšenaesóhtòxe'ohe. | It's 6 o'clock. |
| Ééšenésóhtòhnòxe'ohe. | It's 7 o'clock. |
| Ééšena'nóhtòxe'ohe. | It's 8 o'clock. |
| Ééšésóohtòxe'ohe. | It's 9 o'clock. |
| Ééšemáhtóhtòxe'ohe. | It's 10 o'clock. |
| Ééšéhóhtáhno'kòxe'ohe. | It's 11 o'clock. |
| Ééšéhóhtáhnésòxe'ohe. | It's 12 o'clock. |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Éésénésòxe'ohe tséhvóonā'o. | It's 2 o'clock in the morning. |
| Éésémahtóhtòxe'ohe tséstaa'eve.?? | It's 10 o'clock at night. |
| Neva o'xe ééséhehpoésta. | It's 4:30. |

Past hours

| | |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| tséhno'kòxe'ohe | when it was 1 o'clock |
| tséhnésòxe'ohe | when it was 2 o'clock |
| tséhna'nòxe'ohe | when it was 3 o'clock |
| tséhnévòxe'ohe | when it was 4 o'clock |
| tséhnóhonòxe'ohe | when it was 5 o'clock |
| tséhnaesóhtòxe'ohe | when it was 6 o'clock |
| tséhnésóhtóhnòxe'ohe | when it was 7 o'clock |
| tséhna'nóhtòxe'ohe | when it was 8 o'clock |
| tséssóhtòxe'ohe | when it was 9 o'clock |
| tséhmahtóhtòxe'ohe | when it was 10 o'clock |
| tséxhóhtáhnò'kòxe'ohe | when it was 11 o'clock |
| máxhóhtáhnésòxe'ohe | when it was 12 o'clock |

Future hours

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| máhnò'kòxe'ohe | when it's 1 o'clock |
| máhnésòxe'ohe | when it's 2 o'clock |
| máhna'nòxe'ohe | when it's 3 o'clock |
| máhnévòxe'ohe | when it's 4 o'clock |
| máhnóhonòxe'ohe | when it's 5 o'clock |
| máhnaesóhtòxe'ohe | when it's 6 o'clock |
| máhnésóhtóhnòxe'ohe | when it's 7 o'clock |
| máhna'nóhtòxe'ohe | when it's 8 o'clock |
| másóhtòxe'ohe | when it's 9 o'clock |
| máhmahtóhtòxe'ohe | when it's 10 o'clock |
| máxhóhtáhnò'kòxe'ohe | when it's 11 o'clock |
| máxhóhtáhnésòxe'ohe | when it's 12 o'clock |

Seasons

Names for the seasons are constructed from a noun stem and the temporal / locative suffix

/-vá/:

| | |
|-------------|--------------|
| aénéva | winter |
| matsé'oméva | spring |
| méanéva | summer |
| tónóéva | fall, autumn |

Months

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

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

In the following lists a Cheyenne name for a month is given first, then its literal meaning, then a month on the "white" calendar that it may correspond to:

Hohtseéše'he, Hoop Moon: January
Ma'xèhohtseéše'he, Big Hoop Moon: February
Pónoma'a'èhasenééše'he, Drying Up Moon: March
Véhpotseéše'he, Leaf Moon: April

Énano'eéše'he, Planting Moon: June
Méanééše'he, Summer Moon: July
Oenenééše'he, Harvest Moon: August
Tonóéše'he, Cool Moon: September
Sé'énéhe, 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'xèhe'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'èhasenéhe, Drying Up: March (or April)
Heše'kévénéhe, Dusty Face: March (also, variant Heše'événéhe)
Heše'événéheéše'he, Dusty Face Moon: March (or April)
Véhpotseéše'he, Leaf Moon: May (perhaps part of April also)
É'omeéše'he, Fattening Up Moon: latter part of June and first part of July

Sétoveméanééše'he, Midsummer Moon: July
 Hémostséeše'he, Breeding Moon: latter part of August and first part of September
 Tonóvevéše'he, Cool Moon: September
 Sé'eneéše'he, Facing Into Moon: October
 Se'ma'omeveéše'he, Starting To Freeze Moon: October
 Heše'kévénéstse, Dirt In the Face (Moon): October
 Sétoveaéneéše'he, Midwinter Moon: December

Days of the week

In Oklahoma the first day of the week begins on Tuesday, while in Montana the first day begins on Monday. Following are Cheyenne names for days of the week.

Montana days of the week

| | |
|-----------------------|---|
| No'ka éšeēva | Monday (lit., 'on the first day') |
| Nexa éšeēva | Tuesday (lit., 'on the second day') |
| Na'ha éšeēva | Wednesday (lit., 'on the third day') |
| Neva éšeēva | Thursday (lit., 'on the fourth day') |
| Nóhona éšeēva | Friday (lit., 'on the fifth day') |
| Tšěške'ma'heóneéšeēva | Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day') |
| Ma'heóneéšeēva | 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.') |
| Énéšeéno'e. | Wednesday (lit., 'It's the second day.') |
| Éna'heéno'e. | It's Thursday (lit., 'It's the third day.') |
| Énéveéno'e. | It's Friday (lit., 'It's the fourth day.') |
| Étšěške'ma'heóneéšeēve. | It's Saturday (lit., 'It's the little holy day.') |
| Éma'heóneéšeēve. | It's Sunday (lit., 'It's the holdy day.') |
| Éénema'heóneéšeēve. | 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 |
| Tséstšěške'ma'heóneéšeēve?? | when it was Saturday |
| Tséhma'heóneéšeēve | 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 |
| Máhtšěške'ma'heóneěšeeve?? | when it is Saturday |
| Máhma'heóneěšeeve?? | 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:

| | |
|------------------------|---|
| Étaněšeéno'e. | It was two days (lit., overnights) ago. |
| É-aměstòheéno'e. | It is a week. |
| ma'taaměstòheéno'e | in the coming "days" (lit., overnights) |
| ma'táhóseaměstòheéno'e | next week |

-éno'tse final

The verb final –éno'tsé refers to how many nights of camping:

| | |
|----------------|-----------------------|
| Éno'keenō'tse. | He camped one night. |
| Éněseenō'tse. | He camped two nights. |

\$\$GET DATA FROM DICTIONARY

Numbers of days

Numbers of days can refer to how many days ago something happened or how many days it will be until something happens in the future:

| | |
|-----------------|------------|
| no'kēē'ěše | one day |
| néšéé'ěše | two days |
| na'hēē'ěše | three days |
| névéé'ěše | four days |
| nóhonéé'ěše | five days |
| naesóhtòhéé'ěše | six days |
| nésóhtòhéé'ěše | seven days |
| na'nóhtòhéé'ěše | eight days |
| sóóhtòhēē'ěše | nine days |
| máhtóhtòhéé'ěše | ten days |

Numbers of weeks

\$\$??

Numbers of months

\$\$Number of months old, etc.

A number preverb plus the verb stem -ěše'hamá refers to how many months old someone is or how many months have transpired: ??

| | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|
| Éno'keése'hāma.?? | He's one month old. |
| Énéveése'hāma. ?? | He's four months old. |

Other preverbs can occur with this verb stem:

| | |
|---|--|
| Étónéstóhe-ése'hāma? pregnant is she? | How many months old is he?/ How many months |
| Énéhestóhe-ése'hāma. she is due to deliver her child). | That's how many months she has (= her months are up; |

Numbers of years

\$\$He's so many years old, etc.

| | |
|---------------|---------------------|
| Éno'keaénáma. | He's one year old. |
| Énéseaénáma. | He's two years old. |

A number plus the noun stem –aa'e 'year' tells how many years something occurred or how many years ago something occurred:

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| no'keāā'e | for one year |
| néšeāā'e | for two years |
| na'heāā'e | for three years |
| No'keāā'e étanéhe'xove. | It's been one year ago. |

Temporal particles

Some particles refer to time:

| | |
|------------|--------------------------------|
| á'e | soon ¹⁶⁰ |
| ta'e | until |
| hehpeto | later |
| nenóveto | shortly, a little while later |
| maato | in the future ¹⁶¹ |
| hákó'e | far in the past ¹⁶² |
| tótseha | long ago |
| évaveto | back then |
| nómóse | a long time |
| séetó'e'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 Háκό'e can also refer to far distance.

hehpe'xóvéva
nenóve'xóvéva
móne'xóvéva??
hó'ótóva
háne aénéva

later
a little while later

sometime
last year

Temporal preverbs

Some preverbs refer to time in relation to the action of the verb stem which they precede:

| | |
|----------|-----------------------|
| háa'éše- | for a long time, late |
| nenóve- | for a short while |
| he'éše- | as long as |
| he'se- | during |
| éše- | already |
| móne- | recently |
| nésta- | previously |
| vone'se- | for a long time |
| vóone- | all night |
| sé'hove- | suddenly |

Examples of verbs with temporal preverbs

\$\$CITE EXAMPLES FROM DICTIONARY

Onomatopoeia

Some words sound like the things they refer to. This association between the sounds of things and activities and words that refer to them is called onomatopoeia. There are a number of words in Cheyenne which are onomatopoeic. Often the onomatopoeia is found in repetition of Cheyenne sounds, related to as reduplication. Onomatopoeic words need to appear in a thorough lexicon of the Cheyenne language.

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| šé'šeno | rattle |
| šé'šenovõtse | snake |
| Évávaaha. | He's swinging. |
| heváváhkema | butterfly |
| po'po'ého'hóvahtótse | firecracker, motorcycle |
| Épó'ého'he. | He was fired / He had a blowout. |
| pó'ého'hémahpe | beer (lit., exploding water) |
| pó'po'ého'hémáhaemenótse | popcorn (lit., popping corn kernels) |
| Épá'panestse. | He repeatedly farted. |
| kokòhéáxa | chicken |
| kó'konòxe'èstónestótse | typewriter (lit., pecking thing) |
| kó'ko'èhasēō'o | clock (lit., ticking thing; an Oklahoma Cheyenne word) |
| hevovetāso | whirlwind, dragonfly |

Translation

\$\$DEVELOP THIS SECTION ON TRANSLATION TO AND FROM CHEYENNE. Describe literal and idiomatic translation. (Include mention of the late Tom Gardner's stating that we needed "thought translation", which would be a good way of referring to idiomatic translation.) Include translation of figures of speech. Address the issue that some things said in one language sometimes do not have a translation equivalent in another language, e.g. Merry Christmas, Happy Birthday. Address the difference between: (1) Can this be said? vs. (2) Is this actually said? Discuss the CAN(A) acronym standard for acceptable translation: Clear, Accurate, Natural, (Acceptable). \$\$DEFINE SOURCE AND TARGET LANGUAGES.

Literal translation

A literal translation translates the form of the individual parts of an expression in the source language (the language you are translating from). All around the world many people assume that a literal translation is the best and most accurate kind of translation. But literal translation often are not adequate. Often they communicate a different meaning from the meaning of the original source language expression. And one of the most basic principles to follow for accuracy in translation is not to change the meaning during translation.

Cheyennes find great humor in literal translations which have some translations have made which do not communicate the right meaning. \$\$INCLUDE EXAMPLES FROM PAPER ON CHEYENNE TRANSLATION HUMOR, INCLUDING THE STORY OF "slide home" Cheyennes laugh at these stories because they recognize that the literal translation was not adequate to translate the intended meaning. So what principles should be followed to make a translation that is adequate? We try to answer this important question in the next section.

Translation equivalence

Literal translations are often not adequate because they sound unnatural. And they often do not communicate the original meaning very well. Instead of translating literally, better translation may be found by using translation equivalents which are already in use in the language and function as close as possible to how an expression functions in the translation source language.

When translating from one language to another, it is helpful to try to find the closest natural translation equivalent as possible. By this we mean that a translation should be natural in the target language and also has the same meaning as what you are translating from in the source language. Translation equivalence is a complicated topic that deserves much more attention 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'hahtótse, literally 'flying thing'. The

Cheyennes did the same thing when they created the word for 'car, automobile'. They took a verb already widely used by Cheyennes, -amáho'he 'to go along by heat' and turned it into nouns, animate amáho'héhe and inanimate amáho'hestótse, both meaning 'going along by heat thing'.

The Cheyenne words for 'airplane' and 'car' clearly and naturally communicate the function of these two forms of transportation. We can follow this principle whenever we are asked to translate something from English to Cheyenne. We can try to find an expression already in Cheyenne which functions in the same way as the English expression functions.

With the principle of translation equivalence in mind, let's think about translating a common English expression to Cheyenne. English speakers use the expression "Happy New Year!" to celebrate the beginning of a new year. Cheyennes do not say "Happy New Year!" in the Cheyenne language. So how might we translate "Happy New Year!" to Cheyenne, without creating an expression that sounds unnatural? Instead of focusing on trying to literally translate the individual words of the English expression, we can look for any expression already in use in Cheyenne that could function as a some kind of equivalent to "Happy New Year!" The closest expression already in use in Cheyenne is Aa'e émóna'e which literally means "The year is new." Now, this expression doesn't initially sound like it has the same meaning as English "Happy New Year!" But it is what Cheyennes have said at the beginning of a new year, for as long as they have known about the ending and beginning of a year. Even though the English and Cheyenne expressions do not literally mean the same thing, the Cheyenne saying can be at least a first candidate as a translation equivalent, since it performs much of the same cultural function. For both English and Cheyenne, the two expressions are what people say to note the beginning of a new year. The two expressions are as close as we can find without creating a new expression that would literally mean "Happy New Year!" But how would one even try to say in Cheyenne that a new year is happy?! Translation is difficult. Of course, Aa'e émóna'e says nothing about "happy" and for some Cheyennes it might be important to include the meaning of "happy" in a translation of "Happy New Year!" So, we can consider revising the Cheyenne expression already in use

by adding Pevetano! 'Be happy!' to it. Would the final expression of Aa'e émóna'e, pevetano! Sound natural in Cheyenne. I think it would. Does it include the idea of happiness? Yes. Does it include the idea of a new year. Yes, it does. It is worth testing this new translation to see how acceptable it is to other Cheyenne speakers.

Translation adequacy

Here are two of the most important principles to follow when translating.

Accurate

Does the translation have the same meaning as the original? Accuracy is not a matter of keeping the form of the original, but, rather translating the original meaning however it is actually said in the translation language.

Translation of Ó'kóhomóxháaheta to English as Little Wolf was clear and natural, but not accurate. Its meaning was actually Little Coyote.

Natural

The literal translation of "Hang around!" to Cheyenne was perhaps accurate, but it was not natural. It is not how Cheyennes would actually express the meaning of the English expression.

In order for a translation to be both clear and natural, it must respect the grammatical patterns of the both the source and target languages. Every language is different from every other language. If you are translating from English to Cheyenne, or from Cheyenne to English, it is important not to try to force either language to use the grammatical patterns of the other language.

Some grammatical relationships different from English

In this section we describe some ways that the grammatical patterns of English and Cheyenne do not match, yet it is possible to translate accurately and naturally between these languages, while respecting these differences.

There are many interesting differences between how the grammars of Cheyenne and English express some semantic relationships. By pointing out these differences, we are not suggesting that either language is inferior, non-standard, or "backwards". On the contrary, both languages are grammatically logical and beautiful in how they express the intended meanings. For examples of other Cheyenne verbs which have different grammatical relationships from English to express the same semantic relationships, see the end of the next major section of this book, Transitive Inanimate Independent Indicative verbs.

'-háamá'tov 'hurt (to someone)'

The Cheyenne TA verb –háamá'tov grammatically treats an animate body part that hurts as its direct object:

| | |
|------------------------------|------------------|
| Náháamá'tóvo namo'ěško. | My finger hurts. |
| Náháamá'tovoo'o namo'ěškono. | My fingers hurt. |

The first example can be literally translated as 'I hurt to my finger.' This literal translation sounds odd in English, but there is nothing odd about the Cheyenne verb. In spite of what some Cheyennes believe and have said, based on what they have learned, explicitly or implicitly, from teachers and

administrators in English schools, there is nothing "backwards" about the Cheyenne language. Each language is beautiful and has unique ways of saying things. Just because a language expresses something in a different grammatical way from another language does not make that language backwards, ugly, or in any way inferior to any other language.

'fit (something)'

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

So, if you are translating a Cheyenne sentence such as Nátáá'e hóhkéha'e, an accurate and natural translation in English would be "The cap fits me," even though the literal translation would be 'I fit to the cap.' This literal translation would be accurate in English, but not natural. A translation must be both accurate and natural for it to be an adequate translation.

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Nátáá'a hóhkéha'e. | The cap fits me. (lit., I fit to the cap) |
| Nátáa'anótse hóhkéhá'éstse. | The caps fit me. (lit., I fit to the caps) |

Compare corresponding TA verbs:

| | |
|--------------------------|--|
| Nátáa'ōvo éstse'he. | The shirt fits me. (lit., I fit to the shirt) |
| Nátáa'ovoo'o éstse'heno. | The shirts fit me. (lit., I fit to the shirts) |

'(something) taste good'

In Cheyenne the food which gives the sensation of good taste is grammatically the object of the TI verb –péhéve'áhta:

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Nápéhévé'áhta ho'évohkótse. | The meat tastes good to me. (lit. I good taste to it) |
|-----------------------------|---|

'think well of (someone)'

In Cheyenne the person who is thought well of is grammatically the semantic subject (causer of the thinking well) of the TA verb –péhévoemeh 'cause (someone) to value good.'

| | |
|----------------|---|
| Nápéhévoemeha. | I think well of him. (= 'He is of good value to me.') |
| Nápéhévoemēho. | 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 translate 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 "Kovaaahē", by Josephine Glenmore (Montana)

Na'éstse káse'éehe éhnohtséstovósesto heške,
One young woman asked her mother,

“Éohkéóxóhevoōne oonáhá'e óhmónenéstoohévoséstse?”
“What do they say, frogs, when they first croak (in the spring)?”

“Héméhe, naa kováááhe, éohkéhevoōne, éxheséstse.
“Oh, well, 'kovaaahē,' they say,” she said.

naa éxhohátse'tóheséstse máhtamáhááhe,
And she was laughed at, the old lady, (because)

Kovááhe móxheševéhehevóhe hevéxaho.
Kovaahe he was named, her son-in-law.

If a woman wants her son-in-law to fetch some water or firewood, she can speak about him, in his hearing, with words like these:

Tell that lazy husband of yours to get some water. \$\$

Brothers-in-law are expected to tease each other within Cheyenne culture. Such teasing has become an art form. Language forms and quality of speech are influenced by the effort to tease, sometimes close to the point of shaming, a brother-in-law in front of others.

The following story illustrates brother-in-law teasing. Notice all the direct in-your-face kind of speech in this text. This is characteristic of teasing speech. \$TRY TO FIND SPECIFIC LANGUAGE FORMS TO COMMENT ABOUT IN THIS TEXT

The Brothers-in-law¹⁶³

Tséhéno he'ameo'hé'e éhéstahe hetane. Aénóhenéstoohe éohkéhestohe.
There up the river he is from, a man. Hawk Howler he is called.

Naa náohkéevená'so'éémahtséme¹⁶⁴. Néhéstoha óhvóomoo'éstse tséhéóhe máhoéve'ho'eno,
And we always tease each other. Every time whenever I see him here in town,

náohkéévèho'èhota. "Né'tóve," náohkéheta. "Hémanóxeha!
he always comes to me. "My brother-in-law," he says to me. "Give him a drink!"

É'tóve ééveota'hoháóéne," náohkéheta. "Nésáa'aéstorméhevé'tove'tovatséhe,"
Your brother-in-law is very thirsty," he says to me. "You are not my brother-in-law for nothing,"

náohkéheta.
he tells me.

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.

"Nétóněševěhev'é'tove'továtse nēhe'še?" náhéto.
"How am I a brother-in-law to you then?" I told him.

"Heé, naa némáhevěstoemoo'o naaxaa'éhemo, nēhéne'enovátse," náheta.
"Yes, and you married all my sisters, I know you," he told me.

"Hová'áháne, néevenetsé'e," náhéto. "Mónéohkevá'nenēhesétamēhéhe," náhéto.
"No, you are lying," I told him. "You must just think of me that way," I told him.

"Hová'áháne, néotá'pēhévēhéne'enovátse. Némáhevěstoemoo'o naaxaa'éhemo," náheta.
"No, I know you very well. You married all my sisters," he told me.

"Nonótovéhémanōxeha é'tóve!" náheta. "Náota'eévēháóéne," éhevoo'o.
"Hurry give a drink to your brother-in-law!" he told me. "I am very thirsty," he said.

Naa vo'ěstane ōhtsévēho'ēhótaetsee'ěstse tséohkeévēhešemoméno'eóestove
And whenever a person comes to us where they always stand in bunches

tséhéóhe máhoéve'ho'eno náohkēhósema, "Tsé'tóhe né'tóve," náohkēheta,
here in town, he always tells about me, "This one, my brother-in-law," he says about me,

"émáhevěstoemóho naaxaa'éhemo. Hená'hanetséhe / nánēhešēhev'é'tovenótse," náohkēheta.
"he married all my sisters. That's how I am a brother-in-law to him," he says about me.

Naa nēhe'še hó'ótóva táháóhe Nomá'heo'hé'e mótaéetséhe'ōhtséhéhe.
And then all of a sudden over there to Kingfisher¹⁶⁵ he must have gone.

Násáanáhaxeévavóomóhe. Étaněšéháa'xóvetse.
I had not seen him for awhile. Quite a while went by.

Naa hó'ótóva náhóseévavóomo. Tséhéno éne'ameōhtse háp'o'e
And all of a sudden I saw him again. Here he was coming along just

tséstaameohtsevo. Sé'ea'e éne'éexaéméné'o. Naa náho'ēhóto.
when I was going along. Right away he was smiling. And I went to him.

"Éaa! Tósa'e néa'enēháse?" náhéto. "Nésáatsēhe'ševóomatséhe," náhéto.
"My! Where have you been all the time?" I said to him. "I never see you," I said to him.

"Naa táháóhe Nomá'heo'hé'e nátaéetséhe'ōhtse. Náhá'ohē / náévea'eno'e," náheta.
"Well, over there to Kingfisher I went. There I stayed all this time," he told me.

"Hénáá'e náháóhe tsétáhésea'enoeto? Hea'e náháóhe nétáhe'étáno tósa'e
"Why there did you stay so long? Maybe there you wanted a woman somewhere at

Nomá'heo'hé'e," náhéto.
Kingfisher," I told him.

"Heé, ovánéhoo'ěstse! Hea'e nēhéne'enōvo Kēhaéné'e. Náháóhe náho'ēhóto,
"Hey, keep quiet! Maybe you know Squint Eye Woman. There I came to her.

¹⁶⁵ Literally, 'Fish River'.

náhó'xatamáotsé'tóvo," náheta //
I got used to her," he told me.

"Héhe'e," náhéto. "Naa néohkého'é'ěšenoto neaxaa'éhemo. Néhe Kéha'ené'e
"Yes," I told him. "And you always accuse me of your sisters. That Squint Eye Woman

náhe'haméhenotse, mónétaěšěhevэхahé'tovatsěhéhe," náhéto. "Né'tóve,
is my niece, you must (therefore) already be my son-in-law," I told him. "Brother-in-law,

néohkévé'eéváheše. Naměšeme né'ohkéhešěstse néhe'še.
don't again call me that. Father-in-law, always call me from now on.

Nétaěšěhevэхahé'tovatsémoho!¹⁶⁶ náhéto.
You are already now my son-in-law!" I told him.

"Hová'áháne," éhevoo'o. "Néěšetá'hóxěhev'é'tove'továtse,
"No," he said. "I am so used to being a brother-in-law to you,

ésáatóněšěevanetahéveotsěhane," náheta.
it cannot be made different," he said to me.

"Heé, hé'tóhe émóná'e, nétaěšemónenohóeve," náhéto.
"Hey, this is brand new, this is the first time you've been married," I told him.

"Něstatséeněšěhevэхahé'továtse. 'É'tóve, hémánoxeha!
"You are just going to be my son-in-law. 'Your brother-in-law, give him a drink!'

néohkéheše," náhéto." "Naa néhe'še háp'o'e hétsetseha, 'Hémánoxeha
you always tell me," I told him. "And from now on likewise now, 'Give a drink to

neměšeme!' nétáhetátse," náhéto. "Nenátsěhe'ohťsešěstse tsěhóóhe
your father-in-law!" let me tell you," I told him. "Come take me here

pó'ěho'hé-máhpe-máheóne néhe'še néhma'xěhémánoxěstse!" náhéto.
to the saloon¹⁶⁷ then give me a big drink!" I told him.

Éhohatse. "He'e, táxó'e něstsésáa'éneněhéhe, vo'ěstane
He laughed. "Hey, again and again don't keep repeating that, someone

něstsenéstova. Něstaée'avó'ěstomo'he (?),
will hear you. You will have them all start thinking that way,

náhtsenóhpaohkéémaeněsétamāne. Nává'neohkévééestséstōvo tsé'tóhe Kéhaéné'e,"
I will be thought of that way. I always just talk to this Squint Eye Woman,"

éhevoo'o.
he said.

¹⁶⁶ This appears to be a mirative usage of a preterit. Usually preterits occur with third person arguments, but this verb shows that a local verb can be marked as a preterit as well.

¹⁶⁷ Literally, 'popping-water-house-LOCATIVE'.

"Heé, nééšetaomevé'néhetóhta'haove naa," náhéto.
"Hey, you had already told me that story yourself and," I told him.

"Náhtaémaenéhetoo'o tsé'tóhe tséohkeéveévéhnese vo'éstaneo'o," náhéto,
"I'm going to tell all these who go around, people," I told him,

"tsetamáhehéne'enohe tséhešéhevéxahé'továtse,"¹⁶⁸ náhéto.
"so then it will all be known that you are my son-in-law," I told him.

"Nésáatónéšenonáháxe'tanóhe," náhéto. "Ohkeéepéhe'tovéstse, ohkeéehémanóxeváenéstse
"You have no way to get out of it," I told him. "Always treat me good, always give me a drink

má'ohkevóometo nonóhpa néstanéhešepéhevéhevéxahé'továtse!" náhéto //
whenever you see me so that way you will be a good son-in-law to me!" I told him.

Éhohatse. "Táxó'e néstaa'avó'éstomo'he (?)
He laughed. "Again and again you will have them start thinking that way.

néšenó'ka néhešeha!" 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'evéhetóhta'haneto," náhéto.
the way you always tell the story," I told him.

"Naa náoné'se'oméhetóme, éamáhehéne'enohe," éhevoo'o.
"Well, I really tell the truth., it is all known," he said.

"Heé, névááhe tsémáhehéne'ēno? Névá'neéé'ohkeno'kenéheve¹⁶⁹
"Hey, who is it that knows all of it? You are the only one who says that

naa," náhéto. "Vo'éstane náohkésáa'éetšéhe'senéhetaéhe," náhéto.
and," I told him. "No one ever told me that," I told him.

Nátaéeněseameoó'evótáhtséme. Hená'hanéhe héne
We went along quarreling with each other. That's it, that's

náohkeéenéhešená'so'eémahtséme tsé'tóhe hetane, Aénóhenéstoohe
how we always tease each other, this man, Hawk Howler,

tséohkéhestoestse.
as he is called.

¹⁶⁸ These two words form a complex sentence in Cheyenne. There is an independent order verb of knowing followed by its complement in the conjunct order. The conjunct verb takes the complementizer preverb heše-.

¹⁶⁹ The preferred order of morphemes in this word would be néohkevá'neéeno'kenéheve.

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'
pápááhe 'ride on back'
etc??

Affected speech

Cheyenne speakers can create various kinds of social affect by varying their speech styles.

Exaggeration

A syllable of a word can be lengthened to exaggerate the word:

tóotseha 'a very long time ago' (lengthened version of tótseha 'long ago')
Névááááhe? 'Who?!' (this lengthened version of Névááhe typically indicates that the speaker emphatically does not know who someone is)
Névááááso? 'Who?!' (emphasized form of Névááso?)
Náooó! ?? Wow! (emphasized form of Náoo! 'Wow!')
Véetsēno! Exactly! (emphasized form of vétsēno 'right then')

Tight mouth ?? speech

Sometimes speakers, especially women, tighten their mouths and make them rounder to pronounce some words. This creates a special effect that indicates ___ ??

Cheyenne dialects

\$\$COMBINE WITH FIRST FIRST DISCUSSION OF CHEYENNE DIALECTS??

Cheyenne speakers and non-Cheyenne researchers sometimes refer to two of Cheyenne, Northern Cheyenne (spoken in Montana) and Southern Cheyenne (spoken in Oklahoma). Some people go even farther and speak of the "Northern Cheyenne Language." Many Cheyennes speak of language differences between Cheyenne spoken in Oklahoma and Montana. Some "Northerners", for instance, say that you can spot a speaker from Oklahoma after listening to just a few words of their speech.

My own research confirms that there are some slight differences in Cheyenne spoken in these two locations. As far as I have been able to determine, there are no differences in pronunciation or grammar. There are, however, a few words which are different between Montana and Oklahoma. Speakers from one location perfectly understand these words spoken in the other location. Are these word differences enough to say that there are two different dialects of Cheyenne? The answer to this

question depends on whether you want to look only at technical linguistic data or also at how speakers of the language actually feel about their language differences.

Because Cheyenne speakers from Montana and Oklahoma so strongly perceive there to be a dialect difference, and because they tease each other so much about those differences, these perceptions themselves **create** a sociological reality of a dialect difference. It would not be proper to say, therefore, that there is **not** a Northern versus Southern dialect of Cheyenne. We simply need to be aware what we are referring to when we speak of these "dialects." These are real dialects in the minds of the speakers, themselves, and that is a very important sociological (and sociolinguistic) reality.

On the other hand, we can also point out that there are very few actual linguistic differences between the Cheyenne spoken in Montana and that spoken in Oklahoma. In fact, it is more likely that there are some greater differences in the Cheyenne spoken by different Cheyenne families than there are between speakers from the North and South but these, also, are rather minimal, and often consist of little more than whether or not some people have a slight lisp, pronounce one vowel of a morpheme differently from other speakers, or have some similar small phonetic differences.

I have not heard any Northern vs. Southern dialectal differences in the morphology (grammar) of nouns or verbs. And I am not aware of any differences in the way words or morphemes are pronounced between Oklahoma and Montana speakers.

There are, however, a few individual words which are generally recognized to be used differently by Oklahoma and Montana speakers, even though they are not pronounced differently. Following is the entire list of such words which I have been given by Cheyenne speakers so far. But even in this list there are some words for which it is uncertain that it can be said that the words are different based on the location of the speakers.

1. clock: od: kó'ko'èhaseo'o (onomatopoeic; literally, ticking thing)
md: éše'he(orig. meaning of 'sun' and continues to mean this in both od and md)
2. apple: od:má'xeme (inanimate); ma'xemenötse 'apples'
md: má'xeme (animate); ma'xemeno'apples'
3. watermelon: od: máhoo'o (in md, as well as od, this also has the more general meaning of 'melon')
md: nýchó'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: tóhévetse (loan translation from English 'two bits')
md: tséháónóto (lit. that (coin) which is thick)
6. cat: od: ka'éné-hótame (lit. short-nosed-dog; the literal meaning may initially sound odd, but historically hótame seems to have been semantically extended beyond orig. 'dog', to something like 'small domesticated animal'; cf. éškósesé-hotame 'pig' (lit. sharp-nosed-dog); for md speakers, and perhaps for some od speakers, too, this means 'bulldog')
md: póésó (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: éonénèxòhemohe he got paid' (lit. it was destroyed to him; perhaps refers to destroying an indebtedness)
8. crackers: od: tóhkonave-kóhkonóheonótse (lit. skinny little breads; it is said that od speakers call crackers this, in teasing imitation of the md word)
md: mo'óhkonave-kóhkonóheonótse (lit. dried little breads)
 9. potatoes: od: aéstome-méséhéstoto (lit. false eating things)
md: méséhéstoto (lit. eating things)
 10. washboard: od: něška'óséó'o or hahéehaseo'o (lit. rubbing-thing)
md: něškéháséó'o
 11. He's really a strong Christian (typically said with derision):
od: éhoháestaahe (lit. he-very.much-baptized(?))
md: éhoháema'heónevé'ho'eve (lit. he-very.much-holy-whiteman-be)
 12. car: It is said that Oklahoma speakers call a car amáho'héhe (animate), while the most common term in Montana is inanimate amáho'hestótse, but I have heard some Montana speakers refer to a car as amáho'héhe (animate), and I would not be surprised to discover that some Oklahoma speakers have used the inanimate word for car.
 13. days of the week: When saying days of the week, Oklahoma speakers begin counting of the 'first day' with Tuesday (and calling Monday the 'end of the holy day'), while Montana speakers start the 'first day' with Monday. The words for 'Saturday' and 'Sunday' are the same in Montana and Oklahoma, so Montana speakers pronounce five days with a number in the term for the day of the week, while Oklahoma speakers only have four such days.

In each case of a dialect word difference which we have listed, speakers from one area understand what speakers from the other area mean when they say one of the words. Much good-natured joking takes place over such words. For instance, a Northern Cheyenne speaker may teasingly ask a Southern Cheyenne speaker how he pronounces the word for 'cat'. If the answer is given as ka'éné-hótame, the Northern Cheyenne speaker may laugh and say, "Oh, but that means 'short nosed dog!'" Then the Southern Cheyenne speaker might ask (already knowing the answer) what the Northern Cheyenne word for 'cat' is. When he gets the response póéso, he, in turn, has a good laugh.

It has been claimed by Moore (1987:99) that Montana speakers refer to a horse as mo'éhno'ha while Oklahoma speakers refer to a horse as náhtotse, literally, 'my pet'. But this claim is incorrect. There is abundant evidence in the fieldnotes of several researchers, whose work spans numerous decades, that both Oklahoma and Montana speakers refer to a horse as mo'éhno'ha and, likewise, speakers in both areas will sometimes refer to their own horse (or, less generally, a dog or cat) calling it 'my pet'. Which term will be used is not a matter of a geographical difference but rather a difference in a speaker's personal intentions when they are speaking. That is, when a Cheyenne speaker, regardless of where they live, refers to their horse, do they intend to indicate a pet relationship with their horse?

MISCELLANEOUS

\$\$DON'T INCLUDE THE ORIGINAL SCANNED PAGED IN THE REVISED EDITION, BUT DO MAKE SURE THAT SOME OF THE DATA IS INCLUDED IN EARLIER SECTIONS, SUCH AS THE indefinite pronouns nevá'eséstse and nevá'ésesto with reportative suffixes

Cheyenne discourse

Discourse is ___ \$\$FILL OUT THIS SECTION; INCLUDE TYPICAL BEGINNINGS OF DISCOURSE MONOLOGUES (náto'séhósémo, etc.), DISCOURSE-FINAL SAYINGS: Who would add tie on anything? That's the way it lies, hena'háanéhe, etc., PREPONDERANCE OF POST-QUOTE MARGINS, DISCOURSE STATUS OF OVERT NOUNS, ETC.

Dialogue

Dialogues are conversations that occur between two or more people. It is essential for anyone wishing to speak Cheyenne to learn to converse in Cheyenne. Cheyenne dialogues follow rules for what grammatical forms are appropriate to use for each turn of a conversation. It is also essential that conversation follow these rules so that each turn will sound natural. Conversations turns must not be literal translations from English dialogues. \$\$SEE IF ANYTHING NATURAL ENOUGH CAN BE IMPORTED FROM "LET'S TALK CHEYENNE"

Topic continuity

Questions and answers

\$\$AVOID COPYING "ELICITATION" PAIRS FROM ENGLISH

Single word utterances

Common utterances and responses (\$\$copy from dictionary, etc.)

\$\$Etc.

Monologues

Monologues are longer stretches of speech by a single individual. Typical kinds of monologies 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 monlogues. Sometimes monologues are called texts. ??

Following are texts which were told by Cheyennes in Oklahoma and Montana:

When Cheyennes Crossed the Ice, by Mrs. Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

_sh v3.0 400 Cheyenne Interlinear

\ref 001

\t hoóma móhvo'èstanéhevéhevóhe

\m hoóma mó- h- vo'èstanéheve -hé -vo -hé

\g across INFER- PST- live -NEG -3PL -NEG

\p p p- tns- vai -sfx -fta -sfx

\t tósa'e.

\m tósa'e

\g somewhere
\p p

\f They lived across somewhere.

\ref 002
\t naa hóséstse mó'évāhehevóhe
\m naa hóséstse mó- h- évahe -hé -vó -hé
\g and some INFER- PST- exist -NEG -3PL -NEG
\p p p p- tns- vai -sfx -sfx -sfx

\t tósa'e nēhéóhe kakhése xaevo'éstane'o.
\m tósa'e nēhéóhe kakhése xaevo'éstane -o
\g somewhere there near Indian -PL
\p p p p na -sfx

\f And there were some Indians near there.

\ref 003
\t é'òhkésáanāho'òhtsévhésesto.
\m é- h- ohke- sáa- náho'òhtsé -ó -hé -sest -o
\g 3- PST- HABIT- NEG- visit s.o. -DIR -NEG -REPORT -OBV
\p pro- tns- pv- pv- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f They did not visit them.

\ref 004
\t naa hó'ótóva móhnāho'òhtsévhéovóhe.
\m naa hó'ótóva mó- h- náho'òhtsé -ó -hé -vo -vó -hé
\g and sometime INFER- PST- visit s.o. -DIR -NEG -3PL -3PL -NEG
\p p p p p- tns- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f And one day they visited them.

\ref 005
\t nēhe'she hó'ótóva éhnéstovóvòsesto.
\m nēhe'she hó'ótóva é- h- nést -ov -ó -vo -sest -o
\g then sometime 3- PST- hear -FTA -DIR -3PL -REPORT -OBV
\p p p pro- tns- vta -sfx -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f Then all of a sudden they heard them.

\ref 006
\t éstshéhenéstsésesto
\m é- h- tséhéhenestse -sest -o
\g 3- PST- talk Cheyenne -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\t tséxhe'enéstsévo.
\m tsé- h- he'enestse -vó -s
\g REAL- PST- speak language thusly -3PL -3
\p pfx-cjt- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They were talking Cheyenne as they talked.

\ref 007
\t naa

\m naa
\g and
\p p

\t móstáhéne'enovòhevóhe
\m mó- h- ta- héne'en -ov -ó -hé -vó -hé
\g INFER- PST- away- know -FTA -DIR -NEG -3PL -NEG
\p p- tns- pv- vta -sfx -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\t á'e hóséstse tséhnééhóvévose.
\m á'e hóséstse tsé- h- néehóve -vós
\g near some REAL- PST- be_the_one -3PL
\p p p pfx-cjt- tns- vai -sfx

\f And they found out about (those) near (them), that they were (just like) them.

\ref 008
\t éstanéšené'toveotsésesto.
\m é- h- ta- něše- né'toveotse -sest -o
\g 3- PST- away- continue- move_together -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- pv- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They moved together.

\ref 009
\t naa
\m naa
\g and
\p p

\t móhmanéstséhenovóhe
\m mó- h- manest -é -hé -nó -vó -hé
\g INFER- PST- make -INAM -NEG -PL -3PL -NEG
\p p- tns- vti -fti -sfx -fti -sfx -sfx

\t tséohkévé'šeamóohestséstovetsee'ěstse
\m tsé- ohke- vé'še- amóohest -é -htove -tse -et
\g REAL- HABIT- INSTR- sail -INAM -IMPERS -OBV -PL
\p pfx-cjt- pv- pv- vti -fti -fii -sfx -sfx

\t tsétótšěške'oo'ěstse
\m tsé- tótšěške'ó -et
\g REAL- small -PL
\p pfx-cjt- vii -sfx

\t he'tóněšéhesto'tonòhoměvöse.
\m he'- tóněše- hesto'tonoh -om -e -vó -s
\g however- somehow- braid -FTI -FTI -3PL -3
\p pv- pv- vti -sfx -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f And they made rafts (lit. things by which one moves on water, which are small, however they wove them).

\ref 010
\t něstséhotáovoeotsémáne.
\m né- htse- hotáovoeotse -ma -né

\g 2- FUT- capsize -21PL -1PL
\p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\f "We'll turn over.

\ref 011
\t néstsemémèstanémáne
\m né- htse- mémèstané -ma -né
\g 2- FUT- drown -21PL -1PL
\p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\t é'òhkèhésesto.
\m é- h- ohke- he -sest -o
\g 3- PST- HABIT- say -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f We'll drown," they would say.

\ref 012
\t éssáa'évamanèstésèhenovòsestòtse.
\m é- h- sáa- '- éva- manest-é -hé -nó -vó -sest -ot
\g 3- PST- NEG- EP- back- make -INAM -NEG -PL -3PL -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- pv- pv- pv- vtí -ftí -sfx -ftí -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f They quit making them.

\ref 013
\t naa néhe'se hó'ótóva ma'xeó'he'e
\m naa néhe'se hó'ótóva ma'xe- ó'he'e
\g and then sometime big- river
\p p p p pv- ní

\t éohkéhevoōne,
\m é- ohke- hevooné
\g 3- HABIT- say.3PL
\p pro- pv- vai

\t móhma'xemáha'omóhtáhanéhe.
\m mó- h- ma'xe- máha'omohta -hane -hé
\g INFER- PST- much- all_frozen -NEG -NEG
\p p- tns- pv- vii -sfx -sfx

\f And then one day, the big river, they say, was frozen solid.

\ref 015
\t éstónova'omóhtánèse.
\m é- h- tónova'omóhtá -né -s
\g 3- PST- frozen_thick -FII -REPORT
\p pro- tns- vii -sfx -sfx

\f It was frozen thick.

\ref 016
\t éxhóxoveehésesto.
\m é- h- hóxove- ehe -sest -o
\g 3- PST- across- move_camp -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They moved across.

\ref 017

\t naa hóséstse taeò'xe

\m naa hóséstse tae- ò'xe

\g and some precisely- half

\p p p pv- p

\t tséhne'ěšéhóxoveehévòse

\m tsé- h- nēh- éše- hóxove- ehe -vó -s

\g REAL- PST- toward- already- across- move_camp -3PL -3

\p pfx-cjt- tns- pv- pv- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\t éhma'xepónevonēnèse.

\m é- h- ma'xe- pónevone -né -s

\g 3- PST- big- loud_pop -FII -REPORT

\p pro- tns- pv- vii -sfx -sfx

\f And when half of them had moved across, there was an exploding sound.

\ref 018

\t éxhoháatamano'énèse.

\m é- h- ho- háatamano'e -né -s

\g 3- PST- very- terrible_situation -REPORT -REPORT

\p pro- tns- RED- vii -sfx -sfx

\f It was terrible.

\ref 019

\t má'ome mó'óó'xeotséhanéhe.

\m má'ome mó- h- oó'xeotse -hane -hé

\g ice INFER- PST- break_up -NEG -NEG

\p ni p- tns- vii -sfx -sfx

\f The ice broke up.

\ref 020

\t éstaévaveehéohésesto hóséstse.

\m é- h- ta- évaveehéohe -sest -o hóséstse

\g 3- PST- away- move_back -REPORT -PL some

\p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx p

\f Some turned back.

\ref 022

\t naa tsé'tóhe

\m naa tsé'tóhe

\g but these

\p p p

\t móhne'ěšééhóxovèhnèhevóhe

\m mó- h- nēh- éše- ée- hóxovèhné -hé -vó -hé

\g INFER- PST- toward- already- around- walk_across -NEG -3PL -NEG

\p p- tns- pv- pv- pv- vai -sfx -sfx -sfx

\t hóséstse.
\m hóséstse
\g some
\p p

\f And some had already come across.

\ref 023
\t éssáahéne'enovóhevósesto
\m é- h- sáa- héne'en -ov -ó -hé -vo -sest -o
\g 3- PST- NEG- know -FTA -DIR -NEG -3PL -REPORT -OBV
\p pro- tns- pv- vta -sfx -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx -sfx

\t tósa'e
\m tósa'e
\g somewhere
\p p

\t tséheta'otsése néhe
\m tsé- heta'ó -tse -s néhe
\g REAL- be -OBV -3 those
\p pfx-cjt- vai -sfx -sfx p

\t hóséstse.
\m hóséstse
\g some
\p p

\f They did not know where those others were.

\ref 024
\t héváhméméstanéhevóhe.
\m hévá h- méméstané -hé -vó -hé
\g maybe PST- drown -NEG -3PL -NEG
\p p tns- vai -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f Maybe they drowned.

\ref 025
\t naa
\m naa
\g and
\p p

\t éhněšéhóxoveehésesto
\m é- h- něše- hóxove- ehe -sest -o
\g 3- PST- continue- across- move_camp -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- pv- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\t néhe.
\m néhe
\g those
\p p

\f And those kept moving across.

\ref 026

\t éohkêhetóhta'hane'o ma'háhkéseho.
\m é- ohke- hetóhta'hané -o ma'háhkéséh -o
\g 3- HABIT- thus_tell_story -PL old_man -PL
\p pro- pv- vai -sfx na -sfx

\f That's how the old men tell the story.

\ref 027
\t hena'háanéhe.
\m hena'háanéhe
\g that's_it
\p pro

\f The end.

Sweet Medicine, by Mrs. Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

1) Hé'tóhe hóhta'heo'o, éhóhta'heóneve².

This story, it is a story.

2) Vé'hó'e tséssáa'ésého'èhnehévòse hákó'e móxhésóhanéhe.

Whitemen, before they came, it (the story) from long ago must be from.

3) Naa násáapéhévéhéne'enóhe.

And I do not know it well.

4) naa tséohkééevá'néhetáhtomónéto náhtanèhešeme'esta.

And just the way I heard it, I'll tell it like that.

5) éohkemaetotóxeme oha násáahéne'enovóhe / -héne'enóhe /

He's discussed all over, but I do not know him, -do not know it.

6) Motsé'éóeve³, éohkéhevoōne, mó'ohkééveéestséstóehévovóhe, vé'hó'e

Sweet Medicine, they say, used to talk to them, whitemen

tséssáa'ésého'èhnehévòse.

before they came.

7) Naa mó'ohkéémé'èstomóehenovóhe hová'éhe, héva tséstó'sého'èhnetotse,

And he used to explain to them something maybe that was going to come,

hová'éhe.

something.

8) naa hétsetseha náto'vá'ne/=ta'se=tšéške'mé'ésta⁴// hetoo//

And now I'm just going to tell, like, a little. Uh,

9) néto'sého'a'ó'tóévo // vo'èstane éxhesaneséstse //

"He'll come to you, a person," (Sweet Medicine) said.

- 10) tsemáhevé'šenohe éxhe- / éxheséstse ///
 "He'll be all sewed up," he-, he said.
- 11) ho'évótse tseohkèhestohe éxheséstse //
 "Earth Man, he will be called," he said.
- 12) Tósa'e ésáapo've'šenóhéhe, tsé'tóhe vo'éstane
 Nowhere will he not be sewed up, this person
 tséto'sèho'a'ó'tóése.
 who is going to come to you.
- 13) néto'vonéano'táe'vo / netao'o hová'éhe / tséméhae/'òhkeéene'étamése⁵ //
 He'll destroy for you everything that you used to depend on.
- 14) "Éto'semáhevonéanòhtse," éxhetósesto.
 "He'll destroy everything," he told them.
- 15) "Naa / máto / néto'sèho'a'ó'tóévo mo'éhno'ha /
 "And also it will come to you, the horse.
- 16) "Mo'éhno'ha,"⁶ néstseohkèhetóvo éxheséstse, "hōva."
 "Horse," you will call it," he said, "(this) animal."
- 17) tsenéveohta / (tse)néxanetotse hestovootótse
 It will have four legs. There will be two, his ears.
- 18) naa he'éxánéstse máto tsenéxanetotse, énéxanetotse.
 And his eyes also there will be two, there are two.
- 19) naa hestse'konótse tsenéveóhta //
 And his legs, there will be four.
- 20) néstseohketáhóénóvo hoháá'ěše
 You'll ride him very far away.
- 21) néstseohketsèhe'òhtséháévo,
 He will take you there,
- 22) tsé'tóhe mo'ehno'ha / néstseohkèhetóvo //
 this horse, you will call him that.
- 23) tséohkésó'tó'ome'ého'oése éše'he
 It will still hang firm (in the sky), the sun (during your travels)

- 24) néstseohkého'eohéme hákó'e / éxhesaneséstse /
you will arrive far away," he said.
- 25) néstsenéheše/vo'èstanéhéveme
"You will live like that.
- 26) néstsenéhešeéva'xéme / tsé'tóhe mo'éhno'ha tséhešeévoa'xése / exhesaneséstse /
You will be on the go the way this horse rolls his eyes," he said.
- 27) naa // máto vé'ho'éotóá'e néstseohkéhetóvo
And also (will come), (the cow) 'whiteman-buffalo', you will call it that.
- 28) máto tsenéveóhta //
Also it will have four legs.
- 29) tsenéše'ēsta
It will have two ears.
- 30) naa / máto=he'éxánéstse tsenéxanetotse /
And also his ears, there will be two.
- 31) hestséhévá'xe / tseohkemáhexóneehatse / ho'ēva /
His tail will reach all the way to the ground.
- 32) tsenésòhkonávèháhta // hestóohevono tsenésòhkonaho / éxheséstse /
It will have split hooves, his hooves will be split," he said.
- 33) naa hoto / tsé'tóhe hóva néstseohkemévóvo /
And, uh, this animal (cow), you will eat it.
- 34) Vé'ho'éotóá'e néstseohkéhetóvo /
Ve'ho'eotoa'e you will call it.
- 35) hoháá'ēše tseohkéhešeméa'xe éxheséstse /
From very far away he'll be smelled," he said.
- 36) Éxhetósesto néhe hováhne, "Vé'ho'éotóá'e," tséohkéhetóse.
He told them (about) this animal, "Cow," as you'll call it.
- 37) naa tsé'tóhe tséto'sého'a'ó'tóése
And this one who will come to you
- tsemáhetáeotsé'ta ho'e tséxhetaa'óma'ō'e /
will take over all the land throughout the world.
- 38) Totósa'e néstseohkeevemé'a'ééme.

Here and there your heads will appear (in various places).

39) "Néstseohkemo'kohtávèstséáme," éxhesaneséstse /
"You will have black hair," he said.

40) Naa móhma- / má'tamáséhánéése / másáa'évatóxetanó'tomáhése / nésta "But if you are
crazy, if you do not think about the way previously

tséheševó'èstanéhévése, nèstamóhkevóhpa'éme," éxhesaneséstse.
how you used to live, you'll have gray hair," he said.

41) naa máto mé'èševótse tséhóhevéese⁷ /
And also a baby will come out (be born) with teeth."

42) Éstaéšèhetósema'xemé'èstomósaneséstse.
He was constantly explaining a lot.

43) Nává'nèhetaa'mé'èstomóvo.
I am just telling this much about him.

44) Nèhe'še
The end.

FOOTNOTES:

¹This text was first collected by Donald Olson during 1963-1964 in Oklahoma. It appeared in print in a previous collection of Cheyenne texts (W. Leman 1980b). It appears here with spelling slightly updated. Some slight changes to bring the transcription closer in line with the taped recording have been made. Original clause numbers are retained.

²Usually, this word would indicate that something is "just a story". The word hóhta'heo'o 'story' should not be applied to accounts of history. On the whole, Cheyennes regard the story of Sweet Medicine to be of more credible historicity than the usual legend or folktale, for which the label hóhta'heo'o is appropriate. However, here it is probable that the narrator is not casting doubt on the historicity of the account. Hesitation on the tape may indicate that the narrator wasn't quite sure what to say at this point but used a word which fit grammatically here.

³Sweet Medicine is the most important prophet in Cheyenne history. For other accounts of Sweet Medicine's prophecy, see the following:

Grinnell, The Cheyenne Indians, Their History and Ways of Life, Vol. II, pp. 379-81.

Powell, Sweet Medicine, Vol. II, p. 466.

Standstintimber and Liberty, Cheyenne Memories, p. 40.

⁴The condensed preverb to'- here is pronounced to'se- by most other Cheyennes. It is said that the pronunciation here is a characteristic of (some) Southern Cheyenne speech. It can be seen, as in the

next clause, 9), that this narrator also uses the full form of the preverb, to'se-.

⁵The usual order of preverbs here, probably preferred by this narrator also, is ohkeéméhae.

⁶The historical etymology of this word is something like 'elk-dog' with the 'dog' final /-o'h[am] itself undergoing historical extension to refer to a 'domesticated animal'.

⁷The motif of a baby being born with teeth is well known in Cheyenne folklore. Note it in another text in this volume, "The Baby With Teeth".

The Corn and Meat, by Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

```
\name The Corn and Meat
\ref The Corn and Meat 001
\t éxho'hooné'tánese          taa'ēva.
\m é- h- ho'hooné'tá      -né -s  taa'ēva
\g 3- PST- be_camp_in_a_circle -FII -REPORT at_night
\p pro- tns- vii          -sfx -sfx  obl
```

\f There was a camp at night.

```
\ref The Corn and Meat 002
\t é'ováxenasesto          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'áhkóheohtsésto
\m naa tsé- h- vóona'ó  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 kásováaheho.
\m kásováahéh -o
\g young_man -PL
\p na  -sfx
```

\f And the next morning young men were playing the hoop game.

```
\ref The Corn and Meat 004
\t netao'o  éxhoháetanevoo'énese.
\m netao'o  é- h- ho- háetanevoo'e -né -s
\g everywhere 3- PST- very- be_big_crowd -FII -REPORT
\p p  pro- tns- RED- vii  -sfx -sfx
```

\f Everywhere there was a big crowd.

```
\ref The Corn and Meat 005
\t naa néhe'se éhváxeésesto.
```

\m naa nëhe'se é- h- váxeé -sest -o
\g and then 3- PST- be_dressed_formally -REPORT -PL
\p p p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\f And then they were dressing fancy.

\ref The Corn and Meat 006
\t nomáhéstó'e tséhéséhoo'ése tséováxéstse
\m nomáhéstó'e -é tsé- hése- hoe -s tsé- ováxená -ht
\g south -LOC REAL- from_there- be_at -3 REAL- dream -3
\p p -sfx pfx-cjt- pv- vai -sfx pfx-cjt- vai -sfx

\t éhñésé'èhñeséstse.
\m é- h- nëh- sé'èhné -sest
\g 3- PST- toward- walk_to_center -REPORT
\p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx

\f One who was on (from?) the south side (of the camp) who had dreamed came to the center.

\ref The Corn and Meat 007
\t éxheóvoma'eséstse; é'ke'haso éhñésesto
\m é- h- héovoma'e -sest é'ke'haso é- h- néé -sest -o
\g 3- PST- yellow-headed -REPORT plume 3- PST- stand -REPORT -OBV
\p pro- tns- vai -sfx na pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\t hemé'kóne.
\m he- mé'kon -é
\g 3PS- head -LOC
\p pro- ni -sfx

\f He was painted yellow; a feather stood on his head.

\ref The Corn and Meat 008
\t naa notāma tséováxéstse éhñésé'èhñeséstse.
\m naa notāma tsé- ováxená -ht é- h- nëh- sé'èhné -sest
\g and north REAL- dream -3 3- PST- toward- walk_to_center -REPORT
\p p p pfx-cjt- vai -sfx pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx

\f And from the north side one who had dreamed came to the center.

\ref The Corn and Meat 009
\t máto éstó'néhešetóneséstse.
\m mato é-^{pro} h-^{tns} tó'-^{pv} néheš-^{i} e^{fai} -t -óné -sest
\g also 3- PST- exactly- that way (anaph.)- sit
\p p

\f He was dressed the same (as the other one).

\ref The Corn and Meat 010
\t nomáhéstó'e tséhvé'hóomöse néhe na'éstse notāma
\m nomáhéstó'e -é tsé- h- vé'hoom -ó -s néhe na'éstse notāma
\g south -LOC REAL- PST- look_at -DIR -3 that one north
\p p -sfx pfx-cjt- tns- vta -fta -sfx pro p p

\t tséhésèhoétsese.
 \m tsé- hése- ho- e -tsé -tse -se
 \g REAL- from_there-very- sit -1PL -OBV -3PL
 \p pfx-cjt- pv- RED- fai -sfx -sfx -sfx
 \f When the one from the south looked at that one from the north, (he said,)

\ref The Corn and Meat 011
 \t "hēā'e néhóxe'èstšeše."
 \m hēā'e né- hóxe'èstseh -e
 \g maybe 2- copy -2:1
 \p p pro- vta -sfx
 \f "Maybe you are copying me," (he said).

\ref The Corn and Meat 012
 \t "naa hápó'e nétáhóovenèhesétamätse."
 \m naa hápó'e né- ta- hóove- nè- hesétam -atse
 \g and likewise 2- away- groundlessly- AN- thus_think_of -1:2
 \p p p pro- pv- i- pv- vta -sfx
 \f "And I was thinking the same about you," (the other one said to him).

\ref The Corn and Meat 013
 \t "naa náováxe."
 \m naa ná- ováxená
 \g well 1- dream
 \p p pro- vai
 \f "Well, I dreamed," (said the first man).

\ref The Corn and Meat 014
 \t "naa hápó'e náováxe."
 \m naa hápó'e ná- ováxená
 \g and likewise 1- dream
 \p p p pro- vai
 \f "And likewise I dreamd," (said the second man).

\ref The Corn and Meat 015
 \t naa vé'hoomenáno nevo'èstanémaneo'o,
 \m naa vé'hoom -enáno ne- vo'èstaném -ane -o
 \g well look_at -2:3PL.IMPV 2PS- person -21PL.PS -PL
 \p p vta -sfx pro- na-poss -sfx -sfx

\t éoháeanao'o.
 \m é- ho- háeaná -o
 \g 3- very- hungry -PL
 \p pro- RED- vai -sfx
 \f "Look at our people, they are very hungry," (he said).

\ref The Corn and Meat 016

\t nétóněševáxe.

\m né- tóněše- ováxená

\g 2- how- dream

\p pro- pv- vai

\f "What did you dream?" (asked the first man).

\ref The Corn and Meat 017

\t naa hé'tóhe tséxhóeneoo'e náonóoma máhtamáhááhe,"

\m naa hé'tóhe tsé- h- hóeneoo'e ná- onóom -a máhtamáhááhéh

\g well this REAL- OBL- flow_out 1- call -INV old_woman

\p p pro pfx-cjt- tns- vii pro- vta -fta na

\t éxheséstse.

\m é- h- he -sest

\g 3- PST- say -REPORT

\p pro- tns- vai -sfx

\f Well, this, where water came out, an old woman called me," he said.

\ref The Corn and Meat 018

\t "naa hápó'e náněhetováxe."

\m naa hápó'e ná- nē- hetováxená

\g and likewise 1- AN- thus_dream

\p p p pro- pv- vai

\f "And I dreamed the same," (answered the second man). (More modern word, náněheševáxe.)

\ref The Corn and Meat 019

\t "naa nénéhe'óhtsema!" éxhésesto.

\m naa né- nēhe'óhtsé -ma

\g well 2- go_there -21PL

\p p pro- vai -sfx

\f "Well, let's go there!" they said.

\ref The Corn and Meat 020

\t naa é'éneahkóheohtsésesto.

\m naa é- h- éne- ahkóheohtsé -sest -o

\g and 3- PST- stop- play_hoop_game -REPORT -PL

\p p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f And they stopped playing the hoop game.

\ref The Corn and Meat 021

\t éhmásóhaměstoetsésesto.

\m é- h- másó- háměstoetse -sest -o

\g 3- PST- suddenly- sit_down_quickly -REPORT -PL

\p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They suddenly sat down.

\ref The Corn and Meat 022
\t éstatséhe'òhtsésesto héne mahpe
\m é- h- ta- tséhe'òhtsé -sest -o héne mahpe
\g 3- PST- away- go_to -REPORT -PL that water
\p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx pro ni

\t tsé'anóhe'sevòtse.
\m tsé- h- anóhe'sevó -tse
\g REAL- OBL- flow_down -OBV
\p pfx-cjt- tns- vii -sfx

\f They went to where that water ran down.

\ref The Corn and Meat 023
\t éstaéstsehnésesto.
\m é- h- ta- éstsehné -sest -o
\g 3- PST- away- enter -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They went in.

\ref The Corn and Meat 024
\t hotáhtse máhtamáhááhe éxhoeséstse.
\m hotáhtse máhtamáhááhé h é- h- hoe -sest
\g here old_woman 3- PST- be_at -REPORT
\p p na pro- tns- vai -sfx

\f Here, the old woman was there.

\ref The Corn and Meat 025
\t "nétaonóomatséme, néxahéhaséstse. háméstoetse!"
\m né- ta- onóom -atse -mé néxahéh -aséstse háméstoetse
\g 2- away- call -1:2 -2PL my_grandchildren -VOC sit_down_quickly
\p pro- pv- vta -sfx -sfx na-poss -sfx vai

\t éxhetaevósesto.
\m é- h- het -ae -vó -sest -o
\g 3- PST- tell -INV -3PL -REPORT -OBV
\p pro- tns- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f "I have called you, my grandchildren. Sit down!" she told them.

\ref The Corn and Meat 026
\t éxháméstoesesto.
\m é- h- háméstoe -sest -o
\g 3- PST- sit_down -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They sat down.

\ref The Corn and Meat 027
\t "hé'tóhe mese!" éxhetaevósesto, "ho'évohkótse naa
\m hé'tóhe mése é- h- het -ae -vó -sest -o ho'évohkótse naa

\g this eat 3- PST- tell -INV -3PL -REPORT -OBV meat and
\p pro vti pro- tns- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx ni p

\t máhaemenötse."
\m máhaemén -ot
\g corn_kernel -PL
\p ni -sfx

\f "Eat this, meat and corn," she told them.

\ref The Corn and Meat 028
\t "náhtásáaná'so'enóhéhe," na'éstse
\m ná- htse- ta- sáa- ná'so'enohe -hé na'éstse
\g 1- FUT- away- NEG- full_from_eating -NEG one
\p pro- tns- pv- pv- vai -sfx p

\t móxhešetanóhéhe.
\m mó- h- hešetanó -hé -hé
\g INFER- PST- thus_think -NEG -NEG
\p p- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\f "I won't get full," one of them was thinking.

\ref The Corn and Meat 029
\t éhvéssetséstováhtsésesto.
\m é- h- vésetsést -ov -ahtse -sest -o
\g 3- PST- hurry -FTA -REFL -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- vta -sfx -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f They were in a hurry (to eat).

\ref The Corn and Meat 030
\t hotáhtse éstó'omo'tánese ho'évohkötse naa
\m hotáhtse é- h- tó'omo'tá -né -s ho'évohkötse naa
\g unexpectedly 3- PST- remain_same -FII -REPORT meat and
\p p pro- tns- vii -sfx -sfx ni p

\t máhaemenötse.
\m máhaemén -ot
\g corn_kernel -PL
\p ni -sfx

\f Here, the meat and corn remained the same (in amount).

\ref The Corn and Meat 031
\t éhná'so'enóhésesto.
\m é- h- ná'so'enohe -sest -o
\g 3- PST- full_from_eating -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They got full.

\ref The Corn and Meat 032

\t é'áahtse'só'nèhetaa'ónèse.
\m é- h- áahtse'- só'- nèhetaa'ó -né -s
\g 3- PST- simultaneously- still- be_so_big -FII -REPORT
\p pro- tns- pv- pv- vii -sfx -sfx

\f It stayed the same amount.

\ref The Corn and Meat 033
\t naa nèhe'še, "tatsèhetó'o!" éxhetaevósesto.
\m naa nèhe'še ta- tsèhetó'o é- h- het -ae -vó -sest -o
\g and then away- look_yonder COMP- PST- tell -INV -3PL -REPORT -OBV
\p p p pv- vai pfx-cjt- tns- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f And then, "Look over there!" she told them.

\ref The Corn and Meat 034
\t éstatsèhetó'ósesto.
\m é- h- ta- tsèhetó'ó -sest -o
\g 3- PST- away- look_yonder -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They looked over there.

\ref The Corn and Meat 035
\t máhaemenótse éxxaetsèhetó'a'hánèsestótse.
\m máhaemén -ot é- h- xae- tsèhetó'a'há -né -sest -ot
\g corn_kernel -PL 3- PST- simply- wave -FII -REPORT -PL
\p ni -sfx pro- tns- pv- vii -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f Corn was simply waving.

\ref The Corn and Meat 036
\t é'éšèhema'òhkeenétonèsestótse.
\m é- h- éše- he- ma'òhkeenétó -né -sest -ot
\g 3- PST- already- have- tassel -FII -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- pv- pv- vii -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f It was already tasseled.

\ref The Corn and Meat 037
\t naa nèhe'še, "tsèhéóhe hósètsèhetó'o!"
\m naa nèhe'še tsèhéóhe hóse- tsèhetó'ó
\g and then here again- look_yonder
\p p p p pv- vai

\t éxhetaevósesto
\m é- h- het -ae -vó -sest -o
\g 3- PST- tell -INV -3PL -REPORT -OBV
\p pro- tns- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f And then, "Here, look again!" she told them.

\ref The Corn and Meat 038

\t éstáhósetséhetóó'ósesto.
\m é- h- ta- hóse- tséhetóó'ó -sest -o
\g 3- PST- away- again- look_yonder -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- pv- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They looked again.

\ref The Corn and Meat 039
\t ésevone éhmáheóehoo'o.
\m ésevone é- h- máhe- óé -ho -on
\g buffalo herd 3- PST- all- stand -PRET -PRET
\p na pro- tns- pv- fai -sfx -sfx

\f A buffalo herd was standing.

\ref The Corn and Meat 040
\t "naa hé'tóhe taanáhoeotsēstse!
\m naa hé'tóhe taaná- hóeotsest -é
\g and this do- take_out -INAN
\p p pro pv- vti -fti

\f "And take this out!

\ref The Corn and Meat 041
\t ovóehoxomóhéne!
\m vovóe- hoxom -ó -héne
\g first- feed -DIR -22:IMPV.DEL
\p pv- vta -fta -sfx

\f Feel (the herd) first!

\ref The Corn and Meat 042
\t onóomóhéne!
\m onóom -ó -héne
\g call -DIR -2p:IMPV.DEL
\p vta -fta -sfx

\f Call (the herd)!

\ref The Corn and Meat 043
\t ma'háhkéso tséhóo'xēva.
\m ma'háhkéso tse- hóo'xevá
\g old_man 3:FUT- announce
\p na tns- vai

\f An old man will announce.

\ref The Corn and Meat 044
\t ma'háhkéseho tseovóeméséheo'o.
\m ma'háhkeséh -o tse- vovóe- mésehe -o
\g old_man -PL 3:FUT- first- eat -PL
\p na -sfx tns- pv- vai -sfx

\f The old men will eat first.

\ref The Corn and Meat 045

\t naa nèhe'še tsé'tóhe tséheto'xóve'éhahévóse
\m naa nèhe'še tsé'tóhe tsé- heto'xóve'éhahe -vó -s
\g and then these REAL- be_such_age -3PL -3
\p p p pro pfx-cjt- vai -sfx -sfx

\t tsetáhóseméséheo'o,"
\m tse- ta- hóse- mésehe -o
\g 3:FUT- away- next- eat -PL
\p tns- pv- pv- vai -sfx

\t éhnèhešeonóomósesto
\m é- h- nè- heše- onóom -ó -sest -o
\g 3- PST- AN- thus- call -DIR -REPORT -OBV
\p pro- tns- pv- pv- vta -fta -sfx -sfx

\t ma'háhkéseho.
\m ma'háhkeséh -o
\g old_man -PL
\p na -sfx

\f And then these (others) according to their ages will eat next," that's how she called the old men.

\ref The Corn and Meat 046

\t éhmásóse'eohtsésesto ma'háhkéseho.
\m é- h- másó- sé'eohtsé -sest -o ma'háhkeséh -o
\g 3- PST- all_the_group- go_to_center -REPORT -PL old_man -PL
\p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx na -sfx

\f All the old men came to the center.

\ref The Corn and Meat 047

\t éhméséhésesto.
\m é- h- mésehe -sest -o
\g 3- PST- eat -REPORT -PL
\p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx

\f They ate.

\ref The Corn and Meat 048

\t naa nonó'hónó'e tsétanéhe'xóve'éhahese.
\m naa nonó'hónó'e tsé- ta- nè- he'xóve'éhahe -se
\g and step_by_step REAL- away- AN- be_such_age -3PL
\p p p p pfx-cjt- pv- pv- vai -sfx

\f And step-by-step according to their ages.

\ref The Corn and Meat 049

\t naa nèhe'še ka'èškóneho
\m naa nèhe'še ka'èškónéh -o
\g and then child -PL

\p p p na -sfx

\t éstamóneméséhésesto.

\m é- h- ta- mone- mésehe -sest -o

\g 3- PST- away- recently- eat -REPORT -PL

\p pro- tns- pv- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f And then the children ate next.

\ref The Corn and Meat 050

\t éstásé'hovetšěške'eotsénese hé'tóhe

\m é- h- ta- sé'hove- tšěške'eotse -né -s hé'tóhe

\g 3- PST- away- suddenly- become_smaller -FII -REPORT this

\p pro- tns- pv- pv- vai -sfx -sfx pro

\t ho'évohkótse naa máhaemenótse.

\m ho'évohkótse naa máhaemén -ot

\g meat and corn_kernel -PL

\p ni p ni -sfx

\f This meat and corn suddenly got smaller.

\ref The Corn and Meat 051

\t ka'ěškóneho tsémónenóhtóve'hanase

\m ka'ěškónéh -o tsé- mone- nóhtóve'haná -se

\g child -PL REAL- recently- know_how_to_eat -3PL

\p na -sfx pfx-cjt- pv- vai -sfx

\t éstamáhaéstánóvose.

\m é- h- ta- máhaést -á -nó -vó -s

\g 3- PST- away- devour -INAN -PL -3PL -REPORT

\p pro- tns- pv- vti -fti -fti -sfx -sfx

\f Children who had just learned to eat ate it all up.

\ref The Corn and Meat 052

\t naa mé'ěševoto

\m naa mé'ěševot -o

\g and baby -PL

\p p na -sfx

\t tsésáa'ěšenóhtóve'hanáése

\m tsé- sáa- '- éše- nóhtóve'haná -hé -se

\g REAL- NEG- EP- already- know_how_to_eat -NEG -3PL

\p pfx-cjt- pv- pv- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\t héne aměške hemé'koněvo éstsěhetanetse.

\m héne aměške he- mé'kon -evó é- h- tsěhetan -e -tse

\g that grease 3PS- head -PL.PS 3- PST- do_something_to -PSV -OBV

\p pro ni pro- ni -sfx pro- tns- vta -sfx -sfx

\f And babies who did not yet know how to eat, that grease was put on their heads.

\ref The Corn and Meat 053
\t "naa tséhéóhe néstséhetóo'óhéne
\m naa tséhéóhe néh- tséhetóo'ó -héne
\g and here toward- look_yonder -2p:IMPV.DEL
\p p p dir- vai -sfx

\t máhméovóona'o!
\m máh- méo- vóona'ó
\g IRREAL- morning- be_morning
\p pfx-cjt- pv- vii

\f "And look toward here early in the morning!

\ref The Corn and Meat 054
\t tseméohóeévo'soo'e mó'késá'e,"
\m tse- méo- hóe- évo'sóe mó'késá'e
\g 3:FUT- morning- out- play calf
\p tns- pv- i- vai na

\t éxhetaevósesto.
\m é- h- het -ae -vó -sest -o
\g 3- PST- tell -INV -3PL -REPORT -OBV
\p pro- tns- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f A calf will come out to play," she told them.

\ref The Corn and Meat 055
\t naa néhe'še héva
\m naa néhe'še héva
\g and then maybe
\p p p p

\t tsétáhóséhóna'oveno'keaénámáhtse,"
\m tsé- ta- hóse- hóna'ove- no'ke- aénamá -ht
\g REAL- away- again- the_next_one- one- be_so_many_years_old -3
\p pfx-cjt- pv- pv- pv- i- fai -sfx

\t éxhetaevósesto.
\m é- h- het -ae -vó -sest -o
\g 3- PST- tell -INV -3PL -REPORT -OBV
\p pro- tns- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f "And then maybe the next one who will be one year old," she told them.

\ref The Corn and Meat 056
\t "naa néhe'še hówéhno tséma'haetáhtse.
\m naa néhe'še hówéhno tsé- ma'haeta -ht
\g and then barely REAL- large -3
\p p p p pfx-cjt- vai -sfx

\f "And then a little (bigger) one who is bigger.

\ref The Corn and Meat 057

\t naa nêhe'se hotóá'e tsemé'hóva'xe,"
\m naa nêhe'se hotóá'e tse- mé'- hóva'xe
\g and then buffalo 3:FUT- appear- go_out
\p p p na tns- i- vai

\t éxhetaevósesto.
\m é- h- het -ae -vó -sest -o
\g 3- PST- tell -INV -3PL -REPORT -OBV
\p pro- tns- vta -fta -sfx -sfx -sfx

\f And then a buffalo will appear as it comes out," she told them.

\ref The Corn and Meat 058
\t naa éhnêhetóhta'hanésesto.
\m naa é- h- nê- hetóhta'hané -sest -o
\g and 3- PST- AN- thus_tell_story -REPORT -PL
\p p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f And they told the story that way.

\ref The Corn and Meat 059
\t naa nêhe'se tséhvóona'o éstsêhetóó'ósesto.
\m naa nêhe'se tsé- h- vóona'ó é- h- tsé- hetóó'ó -sest -o
\g and then REAL- PST- be_morning 3- PST- CAT- thus_look -REPORT -PL
\p p p pfx-cjt- tns- vii pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f And then in the morning they looked.

\ref The Corn and Meat 060
\t mó'késá'e éhmé'eévo'sóeséstse.
\m mó'késá'e é- h- mé'- évo'sóe -sest
\g calf 3- PST- appear- play -REPORT
\p na pro- tns- i- vai -sfx

\f A calf appeared playing.

\ref The Corn and Meat 061
\t naa nêhe'se hóna'oveto
\m naa nêhe'se hóna'oveto
\g and then next
\p p p p

\t tsétanêhetaetáhtse.
\m tsé- ta- nêhetaeta -ht
\g REAL- away- be_so_big -3
\p pfx-cjt- pv- vai -sfx

\f And then the next sized one.

\ref The Corn and Meat 062
\t naa nêhe'se hotòà'e éhmónêhestóxêhóehneséstse.
\m naa nêhe'se hotòà'e é- h- móne- hestóxe- hóehné -sest
\g and then buffalo 3- PST- recently- last- emerge -REPORT

\p p p na pro- tns- pv- pv- vai -sfx

\f And then a buffalo came out last.

\ref The Corn and Meat 063

\t naa nêhe'še

\m naa nêhe'še

\g and then

\p p p

\t tséhvóona'o éhmaheóesesto ésevone.

\m tsé- h- vóona'ó é- h- máhe- óé -sest -o ésevone

\g REAL- PST- be_morning 3- PST- all- stand -REPORT -PL buffalo_herd

\p pfx-cjt- tns- vii pro- tns- pv- fai -sfx -sfx na

\f And then in the morning a buffalo herd was standing.

\ref The Corn and Meat 064

\t naa nêhéóhe éhmahenéhomó'hesesto.

\m naa nêhéóhe é- h- máhe- néhomó'he -sest -o

\g and there 3- PST- all- chase -REPORT -PL

\p p p pro- tns- pv- vai -sfx -sfx

\f And there they all chased (buffalos).

\ref The Corn and Meat 065

\t éstanêhešéhoháeesenéhésesto.

\m é- h- ta- nê- heše- ho- háeesenehe -sest -o

\g 3- PST- away- AN- thus- very- have_plenty_food -REPORT -PL

\p pro- tns- pv- pv- pv- RED- vai -sfx -sfx

\f In this way they had plenty to eat.

\ref The Corn and Meat 066

\t hena'háanéhe tséhetaa'héne'enōmo

\m hena'háanéhe tsé- hetaa'- héne'en -om -ó

\g that's_it REAL- entire-know -FTI -1:I

\p pro pfx-cjt- i- vti -sfx -sfx

\f That's all that I know of (the story).

\dt 17/Sep/1999

The Whiteman and the Indian, by Leonard Yelloweagle (Oklahoma)

Vé'ho'e naa xaevo'éstane é'éenéseohtsésesto.

Whiteman and Indian were going along together.

Naa hetóeva éxhonótovósesto še'xo ho'éstáva.

And in the evening they roasted a duck in the fire.

Naa tsé'éšeéxáho'hetsése é'áhto'hohnóvósesto páéva.

And when it was done cooking they buried it in the ashes.

Naa mósto'seověšenáhevóhe.
And they were going to lie down.

Naa néhe'she vé'ho'e éhnehetósesto tsé'tóhe xaevo'ěstanóho.
And then the whiteman told this Indian,

"Tsépěhéveováxéstse hétsetseha taa'eva tsetamevo tsé'tóhe še'xo,"
"He who dreams well now at night will eat this duck,"

éxheséstse.
he said.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevo'ěstane é'amáhtovósesto tsé'tóhe vé'hó'e.
And this Indian agreed with this whiteman.

Naa néhe'she é'ověšenásesto.
And then they lay down.

Naa tséhvóona'otse vé'ho'e é'oseeméoto'eséstse.
And when it was morning the whiteman got up really early.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevo'ěstane é'ěšéáhtse'tótoešenáséstse.
But this Indian was already lying with his eyes open.

Naa vé'ho'e é'oseehóhta'hanétanoséstse.
And the whiteman really wanted to tell his story.

Éhnehetósesto tsé'tóhe xaevo'ěstanóho, "Nátavovóehósésta
He told this Indian, "Let me be first to tell

naováxestótse!" éxhetósesto.
my dream!" he told him.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevo'ěstane éhpěhévátséstánóse.
And this Indian thought well of that.

Naa néhe vé'ho'e é'aséstóhta'haneséstse.
And that whiteman started telling his story.

Éhnehetósesto tsé'tóhe xaevo'ěstanóho.
He told this Indian,

"Tsé'ováxenáto vé'ho'á'eo'o tséhetsénoonese éhne'anóheéséne.
"When I dreamed white women who had wings (= angels) were coming down.

"Naa tséhéóhe tsé'ěšého'oěsenávóse e'evonóhó'o éhne'anóheneeotse,"
"And here where they were a ladder came down,"

éxheséstse.
he said.

"Naa nêhe'še nátaasee'eohtse,"
"And then I started to go up,"

éxhetóhta'haneséstse tsé'tóhe vé'ho'e.
That's how he told the story, this whiteman.

Naa nêhéóhe tséstaéšého'óhta'hanése tsé'tóhe
And there when he got to that point in the story this

xaevo'éstane éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe vé'hó'e,
Indian told this whiteman,

"Hee, hápó'e náto'éstó'néheto'ováxe
"Hee, likewise I dreamed about the same

tséheto'ováxenáto," éxheséstse.
the way I dreamed," he said.

"Naa hápó'e vétséóhe tó'nêhe'xóvéva
"And likewise then at exactly the same time

mónáováxenáhéhe," éxheséstse tsé'tóhe xaevo'éstane.
I must have dreamed," said this Indian.

"Hénêhéóhe nétavóomatse. E'evonóhó'óne
"There I saw you On a ladder

nétaamee'eohtse," éxhetósesto.
you were going up," he told him.

""Naa tsenésáa'éváho'eanoheohtséhe,' néhóovêhesétamátse,"
""And he won't come back down,' I mistakenly thought about you,"

éxhetósesto.
he told him.

"Tsé'tóhe še'še náhestano, námévo," éxhetósesto.
"This duck I took it, I ate it," he told him.

Hená'hanehe.
That's it.

The Bat, by Edward Riggs (Oklahoma)

1. no'ka tótseha éhmóheeohséhóono hováhne
Once long ago they met, animals.
Once long ago the animals met.
2. naa mato hapo'e móhmóheeohséhévōhe vé'késeho tséohkéhetaa'eame'hávōse
And also likewise they met, birds those who fly.
And also likewise birds, those who fly, met.

3. naa móséškanetsénoonáhe móséstó'sevéseéetse'òhtséhēhe
 And bat was also going to go to
 And a bat was also going to go to
4. tséhmóheeòhtséstovetse
 where there was a meeting.
 the meeting.
5. éstatséhe'òhtséhoo'o hováhne tséhmóheeòhtsetsése
 He went to animals where they were meeting.
 He went to where the animals were meeting.
6. hováhne éstséhetaesesto nésáahováhévéhe névé'késéheve
 Animals told him, "You are not an animal. You are a bird."
 The animals told him, "You are not an animal. You are a bird."
7. tatséhe'òhtséstse vé'késeho tséhmóheeòhtsévòse
 Go over to birds where they are meeting!"
 Go to where the birds are meeting!"
8. éxhestóhehoo'o móséškanetsénoonáhe
 he was told, bat.
 the bat was told.
9. naa épéhéva'e éxhetóhoono
 And, "That's good," he told them.
 "Well, that's good," he told them.
10. náhtaévatséhe'òhtse vé'késeho tséhmóheeòhtsévòse éxhéhoo'o
 "I'll go to birds where they are meeting," he said,
 "I'll go to where the birds are meeting," said
- móséškanetsénoonáhe
 bat.
 the bat.
11. éstatséhe'òhtséhoo'o móséškanetsénoonáhe tséhmóheeòhtsetsése
 He went to, bat, where they were meeting,
 The bat went to where the birds were meeting.
- vé'késeho
 birds.
12. naa hánaháóhe tséstáho'eòhtsése énéxhósepéohoo'o
 And over there when he arrived he was again rejected.

And when he arrived there he was rejected again.

13. tatséhe'ōhtséstse hováhne tséhmóheeohtsévoše
"Go over to animals where they are meeting!
"Go to where the animals are meeting!"
14. nésáavé'késéhévéhe néhováheve éxhestóhehoo'o
You are not a bird. You are an animal," he was told.
You are not a bird. You are an animal," he was told.
15. éhne'evaaseohtséhoo'o
He came away.
He left.
16. naa náme'tatóněšévémase
And "What should I do?
"Well, what in the world should I do?"
17. tósa'e náho'xéstáhēmase éxhešetanóhoo'o
Where do I belong?" he thought.
Where do I belong?" he wondered.
18. tá'sè=hótáhtse náhováheve
"I thought I was an animal,
"I thought I was an animal,
19. naa vé'késó náhetane
and 'bird' I am called.
but I am called a bird.
20. naa tséhešésáavé'késéhévéhéto
And since I am not a bird,
But since I am not a bird,
21. tósa'e náho'xéstáhēmase
where do I belong?
where in the world do I belong?"
22. násáaxaehéne'enōhe
I just do not know."
I just don't know."
23. tsé'tóhe hóhta'áhē'o éhešenéhetóšése
This story thusly lies (is told that way).
That's how this story is told.

24. tósa'e ésáaho'xéseotséheséstse móséškanetsénoonáhe
 Someplace he does not belong, bat.
 The bat doesn't belong anywhere.
25. mó'ohkéhéseeveahtoēšenāhēhe éšēēva
 That must be why he hides in daytime.
 That must be why he hides in the daytime.
26. tósa'e heva ma'tāā'e heva véhpotsēva éohkeahtoēšenaséstse
 Someplace maybe in forest or leaves he is said to hide.
 Someplace, maybe in the forest or in leaves, he is said to hide.
27. tósa'e móho'nóhkeéeamēhnéstse táhta
 Someplace he doesn't go around in open.
 He doesn't go around anywhere in the open.
28. naa hena'háanehe énéhe'éstóšéše
 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'é'héhe
 \mr tótseha é-h -táho'kónoe-hoon oonáha'é'héhe
 \mg long.ago 3-PST-sit.upon -PRET frog:FEM

\tx ma'xého'honáéva.
 \mr ma'xe-ho'honáé-vá
 \mg big -rock -OBL

\ft Long ago a frog sat on a big rock.

\ref FROG2 clause 2

\tx Ehnémenéehoo'o.
 \mr é-h -némené-e -hoon
 \mg 3-PST-sing -sit-PRET

\ft She sat singing.

\ref FROG2 clause 3

\tx E'òhketsèhéhoo'o,
\mr é-h -ohke -tsé-hé -hoon
\mg 3-PST-HABIT-CAT-say-PRET

\ft She would say,

\ref FROG2 clause 4

\tx "Náhtatanemo òhpèhévenenoohé'ševosèstse
\mr \ na -htataném-o oh -pèhéve-nenoohé'šé-vó -s-et
\mg \ 1POSS-brother -PL whenever-good -appear(?) -3PL-3-ITER

\tx náohkevóesētāno,"
\mr ná-ohke -vóése -tanó
\mg 1 -HABIT-joyful-mental

\ft "When my brothers look nice (dancing) I am happy,"

\ref FROG2 clause 5

\tx é'òhkèhéhoo'o.
\mr é-h -ohke -hé -hoon
\mg 3-PST-HABIT-say-PRET

\ft she would say.

\ref FROG2 clause 6

\tx Exho'sóehoono neše kásováaheho.
\mr é-h -ho'sóe-hoon-o neše kásováhéh-o
\mg 3-PST-dance -PRET-PL two young.man -PL

\ft The two young men danced.

\ref FROG2 clause 7

\tx Néhnéšévòse votōnèstse éhnéestsénóvòsèstòtse
\mr néh-néše-vó -s voton -ét é-h -néestsé -n -óvó-sèst -ot
\mg CJT-two -3PL-3 tailfeather-PL 3-PST-stand(?)-FTI-3PL-REPORT-PL

\tx hemé'konēvo néhe tsého'sóese.
\mr he -mé'kon-evó néhe tsé-ho'sóe-se
\mg 3POSS-head -3PL these CJT-dance -3PL:PART

\ft Both of those who danced had tailfeathers stuck in their hair on their heads.

\ref FROG2 clause 8

\tx Tséhnéšenáamého'sóévòse
\mr tsé-h -néšená-ame -ho'sóe-vó -s
\mg CJT-PST-while -along-dance -3PL-3

\tx é'òhkeéestséhoo'o oonáha'é'héhe,
\mr é-h -ohke -éestse-hoon oonáha'é'héhe
\mg 3-PST-HABIT-speak -PRET frog:FEM

\ft While they danced, the frog spoke,

\ref FROG2 clause 9

\tx "Náhtatanemo òhpèhévenenoo'hé'shevósèstse
\mr \ na -htataném-o oh -pèhéve-nenoo'hé'sé-vó -s-et
\mg \ 1POSS-brother -PL whenever-good -appear(?) -3PL-3-ITER

\tx náohkevóeshetāno,"
\mr ná-ohke -vóeshé -tanó
\mg 1 -HABIT-joyful-mental

\ft "When my brothers look nice (dancing) I am happy,"

\ref FROG2 clause 10

\tx é'òhkèhéhoo'o.
\mr é-h -ohke -hé -hoon
\mg 3-PST-HABIT-say-PRET

\ft she said.

\ref FROG2 clause 11

\tx Hévá=móhe tsé'tóhe tsého'sóese
\mr hévá móhe tsé'tóhe tsé-ho'sóe-se
\mg maybe right? these.AN CJT-dance -3PL:PART

\tx kásováaheho aénòhevóohehahoono néhe
\mr kásováahéh-o aénohe-vóoheh-a-hoon-o néhe
\mg young.man -PL hawk -rabbit?-PRET-PL these:AN

\tx tsénésòhomó'hese.
\mr tsé-nés-ohomó'he-se
\mg CJT-two-dance -3PL:PART

\ft Apparently these young men who danced, these who danced together, were jackrabbits.

\ref FROG2 clause 12

\tx Mó'òhkèhestatanémèhénotóhe
\mr mó -h -ohke -he -htataném-é -hé -not-ó -hé
\mg DUB-PST-HABIT-have-brother -FAI-NEG-FTA-DIR-NONAFFIRM

\tx oonáha'é'héhe vóhkooheho.
\mr oonáha'é'héhe vóhkoo'héh-o
\mg frog:FEM rabbit -OBV

\ft The rabbits were the brothers of the frog.

\ref FROG2 clause 13

\tx Hena'háanéhe tséhetaa'óhta'hanéto.

\mr hena'háanéhe tsé-hetaa'-óhta'hané -tó

\mg this.is.it CJT-extent-tell.story-1

\ft That is all that I have to tell.

The Geese, by Maude Fightingbear (Montana)

1. Éxhóhta'hane tséméhaevéstoemo.
He told a story, the one who was my spouse.
2. Éxhósemóho henā'e.
He told about geese.
3. “Éhma'xeame'hao'o,”
“They were a lot of them flying,”
4. éxhetóhta'hāne.
he told the story that way.
5. “Néhe'se ma'aetano'e náxhéseváéna.
“Then the rifle, I grabbed it.
6. Náhtae'eamoo'o tséhněšema'xeametónove'hávose.
I shot up at them while they were thickly flying.
7. Hótáhtse na'éstse náhtaa'tāno.
Here, one I accidentally shot.
8. Náhtató'omemāso.
I shot him stiff.
9. Éhne'ameanā'o.
He was falling down.
10. Néhe'se éhma'xepe'pe'e'háooheo'o néhe henā'e.
Then they were really hollering flying, those geese.
11. Éhne'évaanóhenéheohé'tovovo néhe na'éstse tséméhaetó'omemāxamoo'o.
They followed him down, that one that I shot stiff.
12. É'évanáha'enovo.
They caught him.
13. Éstaévaaséhe'ame'hao'o.
They started to fly back up.

14. Éstaévéhe' ameno' ase'hánovo.
They took off upward with him.
15. Éstaévató' nēseasevéseame'ha néhe tséméhaetó' omemaso,"
Right then he also started flying again, that one that I shot stiff,"
16. éxhetóhta'hāne.
he told the story that way.

I'm Beading Moccasins, by Jeanette Howlingcrane (Oklahoma)

1. Tséxho' ehneto náoxa' ohēne.
When you came I was beading.
2. Mo'kēhanótse námanéstsenótse.
Moccasins, I was making them.
3. A'e náhtaéxananótse.
Soon I'll finish them.
4. Hé'tóhe mo'kēhanótse námanéstootáhahtsenótse.
These moccasins I'm making them for myself.
5. Náto'setaomēhemo'kēhanenótse,
They are going to be my own moccasins,
6. naa máto=héva vo'éstane máxho'aestse náhtaněšehohtóvanótse.
or someone if he wants (them), I'll sell them.
7. Móme'héhaoemēnéstse.
They surely won't be expensive.
8. Éohkevá'nemáhtóhtóhanoemēnéstse.
They just cost ten (dollars).

How Birney Got the Name Oévemanaheno, by Elaine Strange Owl (Montana)

Naa tséheškéto nánóhtséstóvo hé'tóhe tséhmano'éévose Oévemanahéno
And my mother I asked her (about) this where they have a village, Scabby Place,

tséhestohe. Hénova'e tséohkéhésenēhestohe hé'tóhe Oévemanahéno, náhéto.
as it is called. "Why is it called that, this Scabby Place?" I said to her.

Naa hákóke tótseha tséhéóhe tséssáa'ěšemano'ééhévose vo'éstaneo'o,
"Well, long ago here when the people did not yet have a village,"

éhevoo'o, netao'o háá'ěše móméhaenonó'kevo'ėstanéhevėhėvóhe tsé'tóhe Oévemanaho,
she said, "all over far away they used to live by themselves, these Scabbies,

tséohkėhestóhese hétsetseha, naa tséssáa'ěšemano'ééhėvóse, éhevoo'o.
as they are called now, and when they did not yet have a village," she said.

Mó'òhkeméhae'ovóenèhestóhehanéhe Tó'èsèhahtámáhoéve'ho'éno,
"It first used to be called Longfoot Town,

mó'òhkeméhaehestóhehanéhe. Hetane nèhéóhe móhvo'èstanéhevèhéhe.
it used to be called that. A man lived there.

Móxhoháa'èstàhehéhe naa móhtó'èsèhahtáhéhe. Tó'èsèhahtámáhoéve'ho'éno,
He was tall and he had long feet. Longfoot Town,

éohkeméhae'ovóehestohe, éhevoo'o. Naa tsé'tóhe hetane móhnèheševéhehéhe
it first used to be called," she said. "And this man was named

Oévemana. Naa hétsetseha Oévemanáhéno tsétaohkèhósèhestohe, éhevoo'o. Naa
Scabby. And now Scabby Place as it is again called," she said. "And

nèhe'xóvéva ésáa'èšemáhoéstovéhane hétséhéóhe, éhevoo'o.
at that time there was not a town here," she said.

(Note: Birney is the southernmost town on the Northern Cheyenne Indian Reservation of Montana.)

The Grasshopper and the Ant, by Hrs. Allen Flyingout (Oklahoma)

\ref GRASSHOP clause 1

\tx Háhkota naa hátšeške.
\mr háhkota naa hátšeške
\mg grasshopper and ant

\ft The grasshopper and the ant.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 2

\tx Hátšeške éhma'xèhotse'óheséstse.
\mr hátšeške é-h -ma'xe-hotse'óhe-sest
\mg ant 3-PST-big -work -REPORT

\ft An ant worked hard.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 3

\tx éhnèšema'xeéstovòhtsénòse héstáme hemáheóne.
\mr é-h -nèše-ma'xe-éstovohtsé -nó -s hé -htamé he -máheón-é
\mg 3-PST-CONT-big -put.in.s.t.-FTI-REPORT 3POSS-food 3POSS-house -LOC

\ft She brought in her food, lots, to her house.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 4

\tx Méanēva hová'éhe mó'éeho'tsèhéhe
\mr méane -vá hová'éhe mó -h -ée -ho'tsé -hé -hé
\mg summer-OBL something DUB-PST-about-have.s.t.-NEG -NONAFFIRM

\tx tséxhemáheónèse.
\mr tsé-h -he -máheón-é -s
\mg CJT-OBL-have-house -FAI-3

\ft In the summer she had something where she had her house.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 5

\tx Naa tsé'tó=háhkota é'òhkenémeneséstse.
\mr naa tsé'tóhe háhkota é-h -ohke -némené-sest
\mg and this.AN grasshopper 3-PST-HABIT-sing -REPORT

\ft And this grasshopper sang.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 6

\tx E'òhkevé'hého'sóeséstse méanēva.
\mr é-h -ohke -vé' -hé -ho'sóe-sest méane -vá
\mg 3-PST-HABIT-PROHIB-INTENT-dance -REPORT summer-OBL

\ft He would just dance during summer.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 7

\tx "Hápó'e éme'hotse'òhestove.
\mr \ hápó'e é-me' -hotse'òhe-htove
\mg \ likewise 3-should-work -IMPERS

\ft "Likewise you should work.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 8

\tx Hápó'e hová'éhe éme'éseotsehe nemáheóne
\mr hápó'e hová'éhe é-me' -éseotseh -e ne -máheón-é
\mg likewise something 3-should-put.in.s.o. -PSV 2POSS-house -LOC

\tx nonóhpa máxho'tonéto néstsemese
\mr nonóhpa máx -ho' -tonéto ne -htse-mése
\mg so.that CJT.IRREAL-arrive-be.cold 2POSS-FUT -eat.s.t.

\tx hová'éhe,"
\mr hová'éhe
\mg something

\ft Likewise something should be put in your house so that when it's cold you'll eat something,"

\ref GRASSHOP clause 9

\tx éxhetaesesto hátsěškeho.
\mr é-h -het -ae -sest -o hátsěškeh-o
\mg 3-PST-say.to.s.o.-INV-REPORT-OBV ant -OBV

\ft He was told by the ant.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 10

\tx "Hová'áháne,"
\mr \ hová'áháne
\mg \ no

\ft "No,"

\ref GRASSHOP clause 11

\tx éxheséstse háhkota.
\mr é-h -hé -sest háhkota
\mg 3-PST-say-REPORT grasshopper

\ft said the grasshopper.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 12

\tx "Náto'seého'soo'e,
\mr \ ná-to'se-ée -ho'sóe
\mg \ 1 -gonna-about-dance

\ft "I'm gonna dance.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 13

\tx naa màto náto'senéméne.
\mr naa màto ná-to'se-némené
\mg and also 1 -gonna-sing

\ft and also I'm gonna sing.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 14

\tx Násáahotse'óhetanóhe.
\mr ná-sáa-hotse'óhe-tanó-hé
\mg 1 -NEG-work -want-NEG

\ft I don't want to work.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 15

\tx Eheómèhoháaehō'ta."
\mr é-heóme -ho -háaehō'tá
\mg 3-excessive-REDUP-be.sunny

\ft It's too sunny."

\ref GRASSHOP clause 16

\tx Nèhe'še tséstatonétotse

\mr nèhe'še tsé-h -ta -tonéto -tse
\mg then CJT-PST-TRANSLOC-be.cold-OBV

\tx éstaosáaneméséhétanoséstse.
\mr é-h -ta -osáane -mésehe-tanó-sest
\mg 3-PST-TRANSLOC-commence-eat -want-REPORT

\ft Then when it was cold, he wanted to eat.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 17

\tx "Otséhámóhe,
\mr \otséhámóhe
\mg \oh.yes

\ft "Oh yes,

\ref GRASSHOP clause 18

\tx hátšeške éma'xeéstóvóhtse héstáme
\mr hátšeške é-ma'xe-éstovohtsé hé -htamé
\mg ant 3-big -put.in.s.t. 3POSS-food

\tx hemáheóne.
\mr he -máheón-é
\mg 3POSS-house -LOC

\ft the ant stored a lot (of) her food in her house.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 19

\tx Náto'séhéméséhétáno,"
\mr ná-to'se-hé -mésehe-tanó
\mg 1-gonna-INTENT-eat -want

\ft I want to go eat,"

\ref GRASSHOP clause 20

\tx éxheséstse.
\mr é-h -hé -sest
\mg 3-PST-say-REPORT

\ft he said.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 21

\tx Estáhéméséhétanoséstse.
\mr é-h -ta -hé -mésehe-tanó-sest
\mg 3-PST-TRANSLOC-INTENT-eat -want-REPORT

\ft He went to eat.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 22

\tx E'ěšeméhaeněhetaesesto,
\mr é-h -éše -méhae -né -het -ae -sest -o
\mg 3-PST-already-previously-ANAPH-say.to.s.o.-INV-REPORT-OBV

\ft She had already told him,

\ref GRASSHOP clause 23

\tx "Něstsésáahoxomatséhe máxháeanato."
\mr \ ne -htse-sáa-hoxom -atse-hé máx -háeaná -to
\mg \ 2POSS-FUT -NEG-feed.s.o.-1:2 -NEG CJT.IRREAL-be.hungry-2

\ft "I'll not feed you when you're hungry."

\ref GRASSHOP clause 24

\tx Naa éstaněšěševátamósesto hátšěške
\mr naa é-h -ta -něše-ševátam-ó -sest -o hátšěške
\mg but 3-PST-TRANSLOC-CONT-pity -DIR-REPORT-OBV ant

\tx háhkotaho
\mr háhkotah -o
\mg grasshopper-OBV

\ft But the ant had pity on the grasshopper.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 25

\tx éxhoxomósesto.
\mr é-h -hoxom -ó -sest -o
\mg 3-PST-feed.s.o.-DIR-REPORT-OBV

\ft She fed him.

The Snake and Mice, by James Shoulderblade (Montana)

(\$\$USE NEWLY KEYBOARDED TEXT)

The Snake and the Mice

James Shoulderblade

- 1) nétato?śéhóséstomévatsénóvo śé?śšenovõtse naa hókkeehesono
I'm going to tell you about a snake and little mice.
- 2) śé?śšenovõtse éstaamevonéhného?o 3) éstáho?evonéhóhtanohe vöxe
A snake was crawling along. He came upon a hole (den).
- 4) naa éstaésevonéhného?o 5) hotátse éxhoehoono hókkeehesono
And it crawled inside. Behold, there were little mice (there).
- 6) éxhâmasetséstóehoono 7) va?óhtama tsetsehnéstse éxhetóhoono
They really welcomed him!"In place-of-honor go sit!" they told him.
- 8) hókkeeheso éstśéhétóhoono henésone tse?tohe neměśémévo
The mouse said to her children, "This (is) your grandfather.
- 9) ného?náho?óhtśeváévo éxhetóhoono 10) něhe?śe tséstaeśšenénóve?xóvetse
He came to visit you," she told them. Then after a little while
éstśéhétóhoono na?éstse henésone néxhêestanomóveha kâhamaxéstse
she told one (of) her children, "Go fetch firewood!
- 11) náhtâhomóhtáooché?tóvo neměśémévo éxhetóhoono
I'll cook for your grandfather," she told him.
- 12) éstaosáanéhóva?xého?o 13) tséstaeśšenéśšenénóve?éhóhtáse
He went outside. After he had been gone a little while
éxhósenéhetóhoono na?éstse néxhênoohomóveha mahpe
she told one (child), "Go fetch water!
- 14) náhtâhomóhtáooché?tóvo neměśémévo 15) tsetaméséhêotse éxhetóhoono
I'll cook for your grandfather. He'll eat," she told him.
- 16) éstaosáanéhóśéhóva?xého?o 17) tséstaeśśéhósenénóve?éhóhtáse
He went outside. After he had been gone for a little while
éxhóśetséhétóhoono tséněśěhe?eotsetse henésone tãhénóhtsevóoma
she said to the two remaining (of) her children, "Go look for them!
- 18) étóněśěvésesto 19) étáhâe?éhóhtao?o 20) néxhévěstáhêotsema
What are they doing? They have been gone a long time. Go help them!"
éxhetóhoono 21) éstaosáanéhóśéhóva?xéhoono 22) tséstaeśśéhóse-
she told them. They went outside. Again after a
nenóve?xóvetse éhnéhetóhoono śé?śšenovoto tsétama?xéhe?éhóhtāvóse
little while she said to the snake, "It's taking them too long!
táaxa?e náhtâhénóhtsevóomoo?o éxhetóhoono 23) éstaosáanéhóśéhóva?xého?o
Let's see, I go look for them," she told him. She went outside.
- 24) tséstaeśśéhóéhněse henésone éstaasevéno?óohtśéhoono 25) naa něhe?śe
*When she got outside, her children she began moving from danger. And them
śé?śšenovõtse hapó?eveta tséssâa?évâho?éhnéhetsěse éhne?évâhóevonéhného?o
the snake likewise when they did not return crawled back out.
- 26) tséstaeśśéhóevonehněse tsé?éetsetóó?óse éxxamaahováneehéhoono
After crawling outside, upon looking around, they were simply gone.
- 27) hena?háanehe hapó?eveta tséohkéheśéhóśéstomónéto he?tohe hóhta?ãheo?o
That is it, likewise, what was told to me, this story,
tséstśe?kéahéto 28) hena?háanehe
when I was young. That is all.

Corn Pemmican, by Elva Killsontop (Montana)

- 1) nahko'eehe emanestse ho'xèstoha
- 2) máheemenôtse eeséstáhonohotanôtse hononéstova
- 3) tse'ešexáho'tatse eevaanonanôtse
- 4) epeenánôtse
- 5) naa néhe'še chohpe'ha amèške
- 6) caesto'enanôtse máheemenôtse ve'kee-mahpe naa néhe'še amèške
- 7) cova'kanenéstse

Nahko'eehe emanestse ho'xestoha.
Mymother made corn pemmican.

Eesetahonohtanotse
Sheput

mahaemenotse hononestova. corn intheoven.

Tse' geexaho'tatse

men shetook it out.

Epeenannotse. Naanehe'ge ehohpe'ha arnegke. She ground it. And then she melted grease.

Eaesto'enanotse
Shemixed together

mahaemenotse, ve'kee-mahpe, naanehe'ge amegke. corn, sugar, and then grease.

Eova'kanenestse.
They were formed into balls.

The Bear, the Coyote, and the Skunk, by Jeanette Howlingcrane (Oklahoma)

1. Nétáhóhta'haovátse.
Let me tell you a story.
Let me tell you a story.
2. Náhkohe éstaamenéheohtsé'tanoho meo'o.
bear followed it path
A bear was following a path.
3. Hápó'e náháóhe ó'kóhóme móhnéhnéheohtsé'tóhéhe.
Likewise there coyote followed it
Likewise there a coyote was following it.
4. Néhe'še éstóo'e'ováhtséhoono.
Then they met
Then they met.

5. Náhkohe éstatséhetóhoono ó'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'áhane,
 no
 "No,
10. hápó'e no'héhnéstse!
 likewise move aside
 likewise you move aside!
11. Hé'tóhe nameo'o,"
 this my path
 This is my path,"
12. éxhetaehoono.
 he told him
 he told him.
13. Tséxhe'éšéó'evotáhtsevöse éxhe'kemé'èhnéhoo'o xao'o.
 while they argued slowly appeared skunk
 While they were arguing a skunk slowly appeared.
14. "Háhtome!
 scam
 "Scram!
15. Hé'tóhe nameo'o,"
 this my path
 This is my path,"
16. éxhetóhoono.
 he told them.
 he told them.
17. Exhe'kenéma'evonéhnéhoo'o.
 he slowly turned around
 He slowly turned around.

18. Exhe'kèhešèhosóhnéhoo'o.
 he slowly backed up
 He slowly backed up.
19. Tséhvóomovòse éstanéšèhe'névo'áhéotséhoono.
 when they saw him they took off in two directions
 When they saw him they took off in two different directions.
20. Essáanàha'óoméhesesto tósa'e tséhešeasetaxevòse.
 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'èšeme'e'ístse menótse
- 2) eohkeovoeheo'enenéstse
- 3) naa eohkéhoxe'ananéstse
- 4) eohkepeenenéstse naa mátò=héva eohkepenohenéstse
- 5) eohkeova'kanenéstse
- 6) hešeeše eohkeo'èšemenéstse
- 7) naa eohkeonee'òsenenéstse kokahkése
- 8) (naa eohkene'evavoomeo'o ve'késeho) naa óhtšéše'o'otsee'ístse
- hoo'henova eohkeeto'ehenéstse
- 9) tosa'e tse'o'o eohkého'henéstse
- \$\$REVISE TEXT AND DELETE FOLLOWING DEFECTIVE SCAN

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To'seo'eMeme'e'ístse menótse eohkeovoeheo'enenéstse
 When theyaregoing to be dried, chokecherries, theyarefirstpicked
 naa eohkehóxe'añenéstse. Eohkepeenenéstsé naa mato eohkepenohenéstsé.
 and theyarecleaned. Theyareground or theyarepounded (witha tool).
 Eohkeova'kanenéstse. HeMéeMe
 Theyaremadeintopatties.

eohkeo'eMemenestse naa
In the sun they are dried and

eohkeonee'osenenestse kokahkese. NaahtMeMeo'eotsee'estse
they are turned over every little while. And when they become dry,

hoo'henova eohkeeto'ehenestse. Tosa'e tse'o'o eohkeho'henestse.
in a bag they are put. Some place 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 these same stories are told, but the oppressor is now the "wealthy" Mexican national land-owner. Often, stories illustrating the cultural tension have plots in which the "underdog" ultimately overcomes or tricks the oppressor. This motif of the tension between a people and a trickster is a common one in Cheyenne stories, and also in other languages of the people who first inhabited North America. In some languages the trickster is a coyote. It is probably no accident that some of the language groups use the same word for 'spider' and 'trickster'. Such is the case with Cheyenne and Arapaho and I seem to recall that a Muskogean language also uses the same word for 'spider' and 'trickster'. The Cheyenne word is ve'hoè. The Arapaho word is nih?oo8oo (Salzmann, IJAL 22.151). After having used these words for their cultural tricksters, both Cheyennes and Arapahos applied these words to the white man once he arrived on the scene.

Today, the term "vé'ho'e" first triggers the meaning 'white man' in the mind of the Cheyenne speaker. The folklore trickster in stories is usually translated by 'white man', as it is in the preceding texts. Interesting folk etymologies have developed around the term "vé'ho'e". Today I8 speakers know that vé'ho'e means both 'white man' and 'spider'. Some people say that the white man was given the same name as the spider because he arrived on Indian land and fenced in the range land so that it like a spider's web. Others point to Sweet Medicine's prophecy of the coming "person"

who would be tsemáhevé'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'eve. Because of the similarity in sounds between the verb roots for 'wrapped up' and 'be a white man', some say that the word ve'ho'e is a shortened form of the terminology that Sweet Medicine used.

This is perhaps as good a place as any to point out that Cheyennes divide the human world into three basic types of peoples:

\$\$REVISE DEFECTIVE OCR SCAN

(1) Tsétséhéstáhese 'Cheyennes', (2) nótseo'o 'other tribes' and (3) vé'hó'e. Cheyennes and other tribes are sometimes grouped together and designated as xamaa-vo'estaneo'o (or xaa-vo'estaneo'o) 'ordinary people' (namely, 'Indians'). The terms v'h'e

various ways to refer to specific groups of non-Indians. For instance,

ma'e-v 'ho'e 'Germans' (red-ve'ho'e), me'gees -v 'hb'e

Mexicans' (hairy-nosed (moustached)-v 'hb'e), and mo'ohtae-ve'h6'e are 'Negroes' (black-ve'ho'e). The term v'ho'e

meaning of 'white' in it, but because of its most common useage to refer to 'white men', it has developed a strong association with the meaning of 'white'--so strong, in fact, that many Cheyennes point out the humor in a term like mo'ohtae-v 'hb'e to them, sounds like

'black-white man'. From an analytical viewpoint, it is probably most accurate to translate 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 vert- 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'eotsee'estse 'when they become dry'.

"The Trek from Oklahoma" is a brief summary of an important historical event for the Cheyenne people. Note that the predominant verbal mode used is the Inferential. The Inferential is commonly used to pass along information that is known to have occurred but which was not viewed first-hand. Note that the first two verbs are Impersonals. Describing a situation with an Impersonal verb is one way of generalizing it, enabling the speaker to leave out reference to specific subjects. This can be done particularly when the participants involved are well-known to the speaker and hearers. In this case, there is no mistaking that the speaker is referring to Cheyennes (not, for example, Crows or Siouxs!). There are some Conjunct Intensive Negative verbs, e.g.

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ho'noamahtavotse and ho'nonexhohtamaevotse.

The story about Sweet Medicine and his prophecies is a very important one to

Cheyennes. The present text describes the coming of the white man, the horse, and the cow. There are some reportative verb forms, e.g. *éxheséstse* 'he is said to have said' and *éxhetósesto* 'he is said to have told them'. There are some verb forms with body-part medials, e.g. *tsenevéóhta* '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'tamásáneése* 'if, when you (pl) are crazy' and *másaa'évatóxetanó'tomáhése* 'if, when you (pl) do not want to discuss it'.

The story about "The Geese" has an interesting verb form, *tséméhaetó'omemáxamoo'o*. This appears to be an example of an "absentative" conjunct participles.

"The Frog and Her Brothers" uses several independent order preterit verb forms, a verb type commonly used in legends and folklore in Cheyenne, for instance *éstaho'konoehoo'o* and *éhnéménéhoo'o*. The verb *óhpéhévenenóohévoséstse* (??) a Conjunct Generic verb type. It appears to contain the body-part medial for 'face', -ene. The high pitches are not found in the present surface form due to the effect of the pitch rule, "High Push-Over". An interesting point to note is that this story shows that nouns can receive a kind of preterit inflection, seen in the word ____ (??). Note the identity between the noun suffix on this word -(ha)hoono and the plural preterit verb suffix -hoono, as in *éhnéménéhoono* 'they were singing'.

"I'm Beading Hoccasins" is a brief first-person account. Study of the verb forms would be useful for everyday conversational ability in Cheyenne. The strong verbal construction, *móme'héhaoemenéstse* is interesting. This is an example of a negative inferential, which takes conjunct suffixes instead of the usual independent order affixes for inferentials.

Stories which give reasons for certain present conditions are popular all over the world. "How Birney Got the Name 'Oevemanáheno'" 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, *tseohkeve¹⁴eamooheststovetsee'éstse*. 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 *hevahméméstanehevóhe* (??) has a suffix like an inferential verb, but lacks the usual inferential particle turned prefix, *mó-*. Instead it has a different particle, *heva-* which can be translated as 'maybe'.

The text about "Lame Deer School Children" (\$\$KEEP??) contains regular Independent Indicative verb forms. This would be a good text on which to study the use of PREVERBS (see page 179ff.). For example, in the verb *eevahoseamee'eohtseo'o* 'they went back up again' there are at least three preverbs, -eva- 'back', -hose- 'again', and -ame- 'along'. The verb *eanóhesevanoo'o* (??) contains the preverb -ánohe- 'down', and the verb *ééváhósevohe Meanaha'xeo'o* (??) besides having the preverbs -eva- and -hose-, contains the preverb -voheMe(??)- which means 'anew'.

The next text, "The Whiteman and the Indian", illustrates the tensions between Indians and the cultural trickster (subsequently applied to the white man). There is

a question and answer dialogue in henaá'etseohkee'tome? and hová'éhe náohkésáaa'e'tóhe... The latter form is interesting in that it is an example of a word which takes on different meaning depending on whether it is in a "positive" or "negative" environment. The sentence hova'ehe naeIta would mean I am afraid of something but if -le add hova ehe 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 contains the preverb -ohke- 'regularly'). This is one story where the trickster gets the best of the Indian. But the next story turns the tables on the trickster in a delightful plot. Note the fondness and "pushiness" of the white man in the text "The White man 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":

$t \rightarrow ts / _ e$

nótá'e /nóta'é/¹⁷⁰ 'woman from another tribe'

notse /nóte/ 'person from another tribe'

2. h-Assimilation (h-Assim)

Phonemic /h/ assimilates to the point of articulation of a following voiceless fricative:

$h \rightarrow [\alpha \text{ PLACE}] / _ [\alpha \text{ PLACE}]$
[-voiced]

éssóhpeohtseséstse /é-h-sóhpeohté-seht/ 'it is said he walked through'

tséssáanémenéhéto /té-h-sáa-némené-hé-tó/ 'when I did not sing'

tséššééšése /té-h-šééšé-s/ when he was lying prone'

3. h to s Fronting (HSF)

Phonemic /h/ is pronounced as [s] when it occurs between "e" and "t":

$h \rightarrow s / e _ t$

¹⁷⁰ As noted earlier, orthographic "e" is typically pronounced as phonetic [i]. For practical purposes, however, we will symbolize the orthographic letter "e" as phonemic /e/ even though it is never pronounced as phonetic [e].

Néhmetséstse! /néh-méteht/ 'Give it to me!'
Néstséhe'ooestse! /néh-tehe'ooeht/ 'Come here quickly!'

náhtona /na-htónah/ 'my daughter'
néstona /ne-htónah/ 'your daughter'

The same rule (with a minor revision) accounts for the following assimilation: Phonemic /h/ of the directional /néh-/ is fronted to [s] preceding /p/ by some speakers.

néspáháveameotššěmeno! ~ néhpáháveameotššěmeno! 'Lead us well!'

All speakers pronounce the sequence [sp] in words with the morpheme ho'ěsp- 'rare, not done'. It is unclear whether this morpheme is phonemically /ho'ehp-/ or /ho'esp-/. If it is /ho'ehp-/, this would be another example of h to s Fronting. If it is /ho'esp-/, it would be the only form in Cheyenne with a phonemic /sp/ sequence.

ého'ěspáhō'ta 'it's not done'
ého'ěspemásóho 'he shot him but only wounded him'

4. h to š Fronting (HŠF)

Phonemic /h/ is pronounced as [š] when it occurs between "e" and "k":

h → š / e ___ k

náhko'éehe /ná-hko'éehe/ 'my mother'
neško /ne-hko/ 'your mother'

5. š-Backing (š-Back)

Phonemic /š/ is pronounced as [x] when it precedes a back vowel, /a/ or /o/:

š → x / ___ V
 [+back]

še'xo /šé'š-o/ 'duck (obviative)' (cf. šé'še 'duck')
néxahe /néšahe/ 'my grandchild' [cf. néše /néšé/ 'Grandchild! (vocative)]
éháóénáxe /éháóénášé/ 'he's lying praying'
éněšé'xāhtse /énešé'šahaté/ 'he gargled (lit., he washed his mouth; cf. éněšé'šévóéne 'he washed his face')
énéxánéstse /énéšanét/'there are two of them (inanimate)' [cf. énéšeo'o 'there are two of them (animate)]

6. s to š Assimilation

/s/ assimilates to [š] preceding /š/:

š → š / ___ e š

Note: This rule is optional when the /e/ is voiced, but obligatory when it is voiceless.

hátšeške ~ hátseške /hátehke/ 'ant'
 éhemótšeške ~ éhemótseške /éhemótehke/ 'he has a knife'
 motšeške /mótehke/ 'knife'
 néameotšěšemenó /néameotešemenó/ 'you led us'

7. h-Dissimilation (h-Diss)

A phonemic /h/ is pronounced as phonetic [x] preceding another phonemic /h/:

$h \rightarrow x / _ h$

nánèxhé'óhtse /ná-neh-hé'óhté/ 1-CIS-there.come.from 'I came from there'
 néxhèstánóhtse! /néh-hestan-ó-ht/ CIS-take-IOAM-IMP 'Bring it to me!'
 tséxhonónévóse /té-h-honóné-vós/ CJT-PST-bake-3PL 'when they baked'
 náxhéne'èna /ná-h-héne'en-á/ 1-PST-know-IOAM 'I knew it (far past)'

8. a-Backing (a-Back)

The vowel /a/ is pronounced as a phonetic [ɔ] before the back vowel /o/. A glottal stop or /h/ can occur between the two vowels.

$a \rightarrow \text{ɔ} / _ (\text{h}) o$

énaóotse [í nɔː c] 'he's sleeping'
 émá'o [í mɔ ʔ ɔ] 'it's red'
 hestónaho [h ɪ s tónɔ h] 'his/her daughter'
 páhoešestótse /páhoešéstot/ [pʰ ɔː š ɪ s t ɔ c] 'cradleboard'

9. y-Glide Insertion (YGI)

A phonetic [y] glide occurs between "e" and a following back vowel ("a" or "o"):

$\emptyset \rightarrow y / e _ [\text{back vowel}]$

Náháéána [n á h á íʏ á n á] 'I'm hungry'
 Néá'èna [n íʏ á ʔ í n á] 'You own it'

This "y" sound is not written in the official Cheyenne orthography. Writing the "y" would make it more difficult to see the relationships between morphologically related forms. For instance, the verb stem -á'en always means 'own something' regardless of whether or not it has a "y" glide at the beginning due to a preceding "e". If we wrote 'you own it' as néyá'èna 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":

$\emptyset \rightarrow w / o _ a$

hotóá'e [h o t óʷ á ʔ í] 'buffalo'
 Nóávóse [n óʷ á w ós] 'Bear Butte'

éheóvahaséstse /éheóvaheseht/ 'he is said to be yellow'
motšěške /móteh/ 'knife'

14. Consonant Devoicing (CD)

A consonant is devoiced if it precedes a voiceless segment:

$C \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / __ [-\text{voiced}]$

Naturally, if a consonant is intrinsically voiceless, this rule applies vacuously.

émane [í m a ñ í] 'he drank'
máhtamáhááhe [m̥ á t a m^h á: h] 'old woman'
éheóvo [í h ɽ ó f ò] 'it's yellow'

15. Special a and o Devoicing (SD)

Non-high /a/ and /o/ devoice at least partially if preceded by a voiced vowel and followed by /h/, a consonant, and two or more syllables:

$$\begin{array}{c} V \\ [+back] \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / V __ h C \$_2 \\ [-high] \end{array}$$

This special devoicing is indicated in the examples below, although it would not normally be noted.

náohkého'soo'e 'I regularly dance'
émóheeóhtseo'o 'they are gathering'
nápóahtsenáhno 'I punched him in the mouth'

16. Preverb Devoicing

Vowels often devoice following a preverb and immediately preceding a voiceless stop:

$$V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / + __ \begin{array}{c} C \\ [-\text{voiced}] \end{array}$$

ééšépéhéva'e ~ ééšepéhéva'e /ééše+pehéva'e/ 'it's already good'
énéšépéhéva'e ~ énéšepéhéva'e /éneše+pehéva'e/ 'it's okay'

The same rule applies at the boundary between an initial and a following voiceless stop:
(\$\$COMBINE RULES??)

éaséta'xe ~ éaseta'xe /éase+ta'še/ 'he started to run'
asētānohtse ~ asetānohtse /ase+tanoht/ 'Pass it!'
náněšētāno ~ náněhešetāno 'I'm thinking that way'

17. Preverb Glottal Stop Epenthesis (PGSEp)

A glottal stop is optionally inserted between a preverb ending in a vowel and an immediately following vowel:

$\emptyset \rightarrow ? / V _ + V$

This rule is obligatory with the preverb *sáa-*:

ésáa'a'xaaméhe 'he did not cry'
násáa'éšéméséhéhe 'I did not eat yet'

For other preverbs the rule appears to apply mostly when there is hesitation in speech after the preverb.

18. e-Epenthesis (e-Ep)

An "e" is added to the end of a word ends with a phonemic obstruent:

$\emptyset \rightarrow e / C _ \#$

See examples of e-Epenthesis under the preceding rule, PPD.

19. Non-obstruent Deletion (ND)

Nasals are deleted when they are phonemically word-final:

$C \rightarrow \emptyset / _ \#$
[-obs]

mée'e /méen/ 'feather' (cf. méeno /méeno/ 'feathers')
mo'keha /mó'kehan/ 'moccasin, shoe' (cf. mo'kéhanótse /mókehanot/ 'moccasins, shoes')
mo'éhno'ha /mo'éhno'ham/ 'horse' (cf. mo'éhno'hāme /mo'éhno'hamé/ 'horses')

20. s-Epenthesis (e-Ep)

/h/ is inserted between /e/ and a phonemic word-final /t/. This /h/ is pronounced as [s] according to the preceding HSA rule:

$\emptyset \rightarrow h / e _ t \#$

PPD (Prepenultimate Devoicing) follows, causing the "e" added by e-Ep to be voiceless.

hóhkéhá'éstse /hóhkeha'ét/ 'hats'
ého'tánéstse /ého'tánét/ 'They (inanimate) are here/there'

21. Complex Syllable Formation (CSF)

A complex syllable is formed when a consonant is followed by a voiceless vowel, /h/, then a voiced vowel. The /h/ becomes aspiration on the consonant.

$C \rightarrow C^h / _ V h _ V^{171}$

tóhohko /tohohkon/ [t^ho h k ó] 'hammer'
máhēō'o /maheón/ [m^hāyō ? ó] 'house'
énóváheo'o /énóvaheo/ [í nóf^h a^y o ? ó] 'they are slow'

¹⁷¹ V stands for a voiceless vowel here.

páhoešestótse /pahoešéstot/ [p^hɔ: š ɪ s t ɔ c] 'cradleboard'

22. Diphthongization

The two vowels of a complex syllable form a diphthong:

V → [-syl] / ___ V

mo'kèhanótse [m o ʔ k^{hy} a n ɔ c] 'moccasins, shoes'

náohkèhomōse [ná ɔ k^{hy} o m ɔ s] 'I regularly cook'

páhoešestótse [p^hɔ: š ɪ s t ɔ c] 'cradleboard'

nátáhéovēše [n á t^h á^y o w ɪ š] 'I'm going to lie down'

máhēō'o [m^h ā^y ɔ ʔ ɔ] 'house'

Náhkóhá'e [n á h k^h á ʔ ɪ] 'Bear Woman'

énáhahkahe [ɪ n^h a h k a h] 'he's energetic'

23. h-Absorption (h-Ab)

A phonemic /h/ is absorbed by a preceding or following voiceless vowel:

h → Ø / V

tsééna'héstse [c ɪ: n a ʔ s c] 'the one who is old'

tséháóénáhtse [c ɪ h ɔ:: n á c] 'the one who is praying'

Hestānóhtse! [h ɪ s t ā n ɔ c] 'Take it!'

Vonáhō'hóhtse! [v o n^h ɔ ʔ ɔ c] 'Burn it up!'

24. High-Raising (HR)

High-Raising is one of several rules which adjust the pitches (tones) of Cheyenne. Pitch marks used in these rules are: ´ (high), ^ (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:

´ → ^ / {#} ___ ´ #
 {`}

šê'she /šé'shé/ 'duck'

sêmo /sémón/ 'boat'

éma'ovêse /éma'ovésé/

25. Low-to-High Raising (LHR)

A low is raised to a high if preceded by a high and followed by a word-final phonemic high:

` → ´ / ´ ___ ´ #

méšéne /méšené/ 'ticks'

návóómo /návóómó/ '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.

tséhnêmenéto /téhnêmenétó/ 'when I sang'
 násâamétôhênoto /násâamétôhênoto/ 'I did not give him (obv) to him
 éssâamésêhéheo'o /ésâamésêhéhé/ 'they did not eat'
 tséhevésésóneto /téhevésésóneto/ 'the one who is your cousin'
 mónésó'hâeanáme /mónésó'hâeanámé 'Are you (plural) still hungry?'
 névê'ea'xaāme! /nevê'ea'xaamé/ 'Don't cry!'

29. Stem-final Raising (SFR)

A stem-final low pitch is raised to a high pitch word-medially (i.e. antepenultimate or before in a word):

$V \rightarrow \acute{ } / _]_{\text{stem}} \$_2\#$

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'pósé-stove 'there is getting cold easily (éta'pose 'he gets cold easily')
 námésêhé-otse 'I ate quickly' (cf. námésehe 'he ate')
 mésêhé-stoto 'potatoes'
 amáho'hé-stotótse 'cars' (cf. éamáho'he 'he's going along by car')
 ésaánaóotsé-heo'o 'they are not sleeping' (cf. énaóotse 'he is sleeping')
 ésaápêhéva'é-hane 'it is not good' (cf. épêhéva'e 'it is good')
 tsépêhéva'é-tsee'éstse 'those (things) which are not good'
 éhe'kotáhé-sesto 'they are said to be quiet (reportative mode) (cf. éhe'kotahe 'he is quiet)
 é'ameohé-hoo'o 'Wow, he quickly walked!' (preterit mode) (cf. é'ameohe 'he quickly walked')
 ésaápêhévenóohé-hehoono 'Wow, they do not look good!' (cf. épêhévenóohe 'he looks good')

30. High Push-Over (HPO)

A high is realized as a low if it is preceded by a high and followed by a phonetic low:

$\acute{ } \rightarrow \grave{ } / \acute{ } _ \grave{ }$

As formulated, HPO must be preceded by HR (High-Raising). HPO applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

néhâoenama /néháóénáma/ 'we (incl) prayed'
 némêhotone /néméhótóne/ 'we (incl) love him'
 námêhosanême /náméhósanémé/ 'we (excl) love'

31. High-Lowering (HL)

A high is pronounced as a low¹⁷³ preceding a word-final low:

¹⁷³ I perceived this as a "hanging low" pitch (between a mid and low) in my 1981 article on Cheyenne pitch rules and the first editions of this book. Since then, however, I have concluded that there is insufficient evidence to say that there is such a pitch. Most, if not all, speakers pronounce a lowered high as a phonetic low pitch.

něšéé'ěše /něšeěš/ 'for two days'

There is a minor exception to this formulation of the VS rule when the phonemic word-final vowel sequences are ea# or oa#. Instead of expected phonetic ea'a# or oa'a#, respectively, most speakers pronounce ea'e# and oa'e#. We suggest that some kind of neutralization rule accounts for this exception. Such a rule may involve something like "strong" and "weak" vowels in Cheyenne, where "o" and "a" are strong vowels and "e" is a weaker vowel used in neutralization contexts such as this. Such known exceptions are:

hēā'e /heá/ 'maybe', instead of expected hēā'a
émea'e /éméa/ 'he gave', instead of expected émea'a
hotóá'e /notóá/ 'buffalo', instead of expected hotóá'a

Another minor exception in the speech of at least some speakers involves retention of high pitch on some phonemic pre-VS penultimate vowels when a lowering of the high pitch is expected. Such exceptions include:

vée'ěse /vées/ 'tooth', instead of expected vee'ěse
séó'otse /séot/ 'ghost, corpse', instead of expected seo'otse
\$\$IS THERE ANY INTERACTION WITH / INFLUENCE FROM IAH (IMPERMANENT ANTEPENULTIMATE HIGH)??

Note: not all surface (pronounceable) forms which end with two vowels, a glottal stop, and a word-final vowel have undergone Vowel-Stretching. Such forms which have not undergone VS are:

énaā'e /énaa'é/ 'he doctored (cf. énaa'e /énae/ 'he died')
náné'póó'o /náné'póó'ó/ 'I peeked over'
éméó'e /éméó'é/ 'he fought'

35. Vowel Assimilation

An "e" assimilates to take on the phonetic value of an immediately preceding vowel when that "e" is followed by a consonant:

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [-\text{back}] \end{array} \rightarrow \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [\alpha \text{ back}] \\ [\beta \text{ high}] \end{array} / \begin{array}{c} \text{V} \\ [\alpha \text{ back}] \\ [\beta \text{ high}] \end{array} _ \text{C}$$

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 [návôomā:ʔi] 'they saw me'
névóomaene [níwôoma:ŋi] 'he saw us (incl)'
ého'oēstse [íhoʔô:sc] 'he cooked it'

36. h-Loss

Phrase-medially, an /h/ which is preceded by a vowel and followed by a word-final vowel is lost by syncope:

$h \rightarrow \emptyset / V _ V \# X$

Vowel Assimilation applies to the vowel sequence produced by h-Loss. Vowel-Stretching does not, hence it must be ordered before the rule of h-Loss.

Námòxe'oha mòxe'èstoo'o. [ná f̃mò x^w ɪ ? ò ā # f̃mò x^w ɪ ? f̃ s t o : ? ò] 'I wrote a book.'

Násáavóomóhe náhkohke. [nássâawô:mó:#nâhkoh] 'I did not see the bear.'

h-Loss also occurs with some word-medial sequences in natural rapid speech:

éméhaemane [í mîa:mañî] 'he used to drink'

étséhe'kéhahe [č^h ɪ ? k í ah] 'he is young'

éhoháetonéto [í^voh á:toní tò] 'it's very cold (weather)'

37. Labialization

The consonants "x" and "h" take on the labial quality of a preceding /o/ if they are followed by /e/ or /a/:

$\emptyset \rightarrow w / o \begin{matrix} C & V \\ [+back] & [+high] \\ [+cont] & \end{matrix}$

oha [ohwá] 'only'

namòxe'èstoo'o [na^o m òxw ɪ ? ɔⁱ s t o : ? ò] 'my book'

38. Palatalization

Cheyenne /h/ is palatalized if it is preceded by /e/ and followed by /a/ (??) or /o/:
\$\$RECHECK RULE; DOES IT NEED TO BE WORD-FINAL?

$\emptyset \rightarrow y / e h \begin{matrix} C & V \\ [+high] & \\ [+cont] & \end{matrix}$

eho /ého/ [í ɪ h y ò] 'your father'

\$\$OTHER EXAMPLES??

39. h-Metathesis (h-Met)

A phonemic /h/ and a vowel exchange places when they are preceded by a vowel and followed by a word-final /ht/:

$V_1 h V_2 \rightarrow V_1 V_2 h / _ h t \#$

Méseestse! /mésehe-ht/ 'Eat!'

Né'èsto'hahtse! /né'ehto'haha-ht/ 'Take your gloves off!'

Po'òòhtse! /po'oh-ó-ht/ 'Break it off (by tool)!

tsénóvaestse /té-nóvahe-ht/ 'the one who is slow'

40. Cliticization

Particles phonologically attach to a word with which they have a grammatical relationship. The particles become "glued" to that word. This attachment process is called cliticization. We indicate cliticization with the "=" sign.

Proclitics attach to the beginnings of words:

$\emptyset \rightarrow = / _ \# X$

hévá=móhe 'apparently, maybe'

hévá=hméméstanéhevóhe 'maybe they drowned' (1987:4:23)

Enclitics attach to the ends of words:

$\emptyset \rightarrow = / \# X _$

tá'sè=háma 'Isn't that right?'

nóhásè=háma 'any way'

heá'è=háma 'I guess, maybe'

If a particle ends with "he", this syllable is lost during cliticization:

{h e} $\rightarrow = / _ \# X$

In the following examples, compare the particles as they are pronounced as single words with their cliticized forms:

tsé'tóhe 'this one (animate)'; tsé'tó=mé'ěševótse 'this baby'

hé'tóhe 'this one (animate)'; hé'tó=máhéó'o 'this house'

néhe 'that one (referred to; animate); né=ka'ěškóne 'that (referred to) child'

móhe 'True?, Really?'; mó=néháéána? 'Are you hungry?'; mó=héva 'maybe'; mó=néhe 'You mean that one (animate)?'

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='éháohō'ta 'Is it hot?'

mó='ěšepéhéva'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 Cheyenne contraction follow:

náhéne'enóó'e 'they know me' (cf. náhéne'enova 'he knows me')
nánéhóó'e 'they chased me' (cf. nánehova 'he chased me')
nénéhoehe? 'Did he chase you?'
néhéne'enoehé? ?? Does he know you?
návovéstomóéne 'he taught us (excl)' (cf. návovéstomeva 'he taught me')
névovéstomóene 'he taught us (incl)'
tséhvovéstomóó'ése 'when he taught me'
tséxhéne'enóétse 'when he knew us'

\$\$Suggestions from Rich Rhodes:

h --> s / ___ [+obs, -lab] (i.e., t, s, k, š)

s --> š / ___ [+obs, +back] (i.e., k, š)

with a codicil that for the speakers who assibilate before p the first rule is:

h --> s / ___ [+obs]

But there is also an /x/, which should get swept up in the first rule, and writing /x/ out isn't straightforward.

However, the dictionary examples make it look like there is also a rule, h --> Ø / ___x, i.e., there seem to be some examples in the x section that have past meanings but have no h before the x, and listening to them they seem not to be xx.

As for the /hh/ as [xx], a Stampean phonologist would count that as a fortition, rather than as a kind of assimilation, and say that it happens as a single process.

hh ==> xx

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