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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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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.

Hohtsee'he, Hoop Moon: January

Ma'xëhohtsee'he, Big Hoop Moon: February

Pónoma'a'éhaséhé, Drying Up Moon: March
Véhpotse'éše'he, Leaf Moon: April 298
Énano'éeše'he, Planting Moon: June 298
Méanééeše'he, Summer Moon: July 298
Oenenéeše'he, Harvest Moon: August 298
Tonóéše'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
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Tšěške'hootse'éše'he, Little Hoop Moon: February 298
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## Abbreviations and symbols

### Person abbreviations

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

### Pitch symbols

|   |   |
|---|---|
| ` | high pitch |
| _ | mid pitch¹ |
| ^ | raised high pitch² (not marked in this book) |
| \`\ | lowered high pitch³ (not marked in this book and no longer believed to exist) |
| | low pitch is unmarked |

### Other symbols

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

### Other abbreviations

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

---

¹ Mid pitch was marked with the ` (umlaut) symbol or ~ (tilde) symbols in earlier publications when the ~ (macron) symbol was not available. Please do not use the the ` and ~ symbols from earlier books.

² The raised high pitch was marked with the ^ (circumflex) symbol in earlier editions of this book. It is marked with the regular high pitch mark ` in this edition. We could write 'he ate' with the raised high symbol, éméšehe, but, instead, we simplify pitch marking to éméšehe in this edition of the book. One reason not to use the ` symbol is that it was used (when the ` symbol was not available) to mark voiceless vowels in some earlier publications and we do not want to confuse readers with the use of the ` symbol for two different purposes.

³ A lowered high pitch was marked with the ` (caron) or ` (grave) symbols in earlier publications. I included the lowered high pitch in my pitch rules article (Leman 1981), but I now believe I was wrong. Further study has convinced me that there is no lowered high pitch in Cheyenne.

⁴ Dot above (‘) or ring above (‘) can be used to mark Cheyenne voiceless vowels. Some linguists use other symbols to indicate voicelessness.
| TI       | Transitive Inanimate (Transitive verb with Inanimate Object) |
| ---      | -- |
| anim., an. | animate |
| inan., in. | inanimate |
| MASC     | masculine |
| FEM      | feminine |
| POS      | positive |
| NEG      | negative |
| NOM      | nominalizer |
| PST      | past tense |
| FUT      | future tense |
| REL      | relational (verb) |
| INT      | interrogative |
| Q        | question |
| INF      | inferential |
| RPT      | reportative |
| PRET     | preterit |
| CNJ      | conjunct |
| PA       | Proto-Algonquian |
| mt       | Montana |
| ok       | Oklahoma |
| e.g.     | for example |
| i.e.     | namely |
The Cheyenne language

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

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

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

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

Language viability

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

Cheyenne dialects

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

Family, district, and idiolectal differences

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

---

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

An older style of speech among some men has been characterized by palatalization, specifically, the pronunciation of "ťš" 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        | pronunciation | another pronunciation |
|----------------|---------------|------------------------|
| hat            | hóhkéha'e     | hóhtšéha'e             |
| mouse          | hóhkéehe      | hóhtšeehe              |
| female twin    | hestáhkéhá'e | hestáhkéhá'e           |
| regularly      | ohke-         | ohtše-                 |

The Suhtai dialect

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

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

History of Cheyenne language research

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

---

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

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

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

9 Spelled as Issiwin by Grinnell.
Cheyenne sounds
There are 14 letters in the Cheyenne alphabet:

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

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

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

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

**Cheyenne h**

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

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

- hat
- horse
- heavy
- rehearsal

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

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

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

- máhpe 'water'
- póhkéso 'kitten'
- évóhko 'it's bent'
- méhne 'water serpent'
- sélhpató'ohéō'o 'tepee pin, safety pin'
- healhpeto 'later'

**Cheyenne m and n**

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

- émane [í m aň i:] 'he drank'
- máhpēva [ňm a p i f ā:] 'in the water'
- máhtamahááhe [ňm a 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 k\(^\text{11}\) are voiceless and unaspirated. They sound like the English letters p, t, and k when they follow the letter "s", as in the English words "spill", "still", and "skill."

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

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

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

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

| meaning       | word           |
|---------------|----------------|
| ashes, powder | paa'e          |
| kitten        | pohkeso        |
| on top        | taxeto         |
| in the middle | setove         |
| ka’èškone     | child          |
| bread         | kohkonòhe'o'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 symbol\textsuperscript{12} has also been used by many linguists to transcribe this sound, called an alveopalatal fricative. It's fine to write this Cheyenne sound with the letters "sh" if you prefer. Do not be confused by the symbol "š" and write the letter "s". The letters "s" and "š" represent different sounds in Cheyenne. It's better to use the letters "sh" if those who are reading your writing do not know how to pronounce the symbol "š".

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

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              | Ešeamēhe’e        | Ishiamhi’i / Ishiamhi’ |
| Day Woman                      | Ešeeva’e          | Ishiiva’i / Ishiiva’  |
| Rising Sun                     | Eše’he Ōhme’ehnēéstse | Iši’ Ōhmī’ihnsts     |
| Two Moon                       | Eše’he Ōhnešēsēstse | Iši’ Ōninishsts      |
| Dusty Nose                     | Heše’eveesehe     | Hishi’iviisih        |
| Porcupine                      | Heškovēstse       | Hishkovsts           |
| Alights On the Clouds          | Ho’evāhtoešēstse  | Ho’ivahtoishts       |
| Lying Wolf                     | Ho’nēhešēeše      | Ho’nihishiish        |
| Wooden Thigh                   | Kamāxēvēšeo’o     | Kamaxivshio / Kamaxivshio’o |
| Raccoon                        | Matšēškome        | Machgom              |
| Mint Woman                     | Moxēšeha’e        | Moxshiha’i           |
| Two Crows                      | Okōhkeo’o Ōhnešese | Okohkeo’o Ohnishis   |
| Little Snowbird                | Šeheso            | Shihiso / Shihis     |
| Pine Woman                     | Šestoto’a’e        | Shistota’i / Shisdoda’ |
| Little Creek                   | Tšēške’eo’he’e    | Chki’io’hi’i / Chki’io’hi’ |

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

**Glottal stop**

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

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

| with glottal stop                     | without glottal stop                      |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| he'ama 'above'                        | heama 'on the side'                      |
| he’e’hame 'mares'                     | heehame 'her husband'                    |
| ma’estoo’o 'pillow'                   | maestoo’o 'throat'                       |
| ešešeotse 'he woke up'                | ešeshotse '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', nexe '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 | éévé’xe      | [v]      |
| fan          | vá’vanohéó’o  | [v]      |
| cloud        | vo’e         | [w]      |
| bald eagle   | vóaxáa’e     | [w]      |
| deer         | váótséva     | [w]      |
| He fell over | éává’o       | [w]      |
| I dreamed    | nóovaxe      | [w]      |
| It's white   | évó’kómo     | [w]      |
| He went to bed | éověše       | [w]      |

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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 maahē 'arrow', naa 'and', and vetšēške 'fat'.

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

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

Voiceless vowels

Cheyenne is famous for its many whispered (voiceless) vowels. The preferred symbol to indicate that a vowel is whispered is a dot over the vowel: à, è, ò. In some earlier publications, when a dot was not available, whispered vowels were marked with the circumflex symbol: â, ê, ô. It's best not to copy the circumflex symbol from the earlier publications.

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

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

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

Voiceless consonants

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

**Singing and voicelessness**

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

Compare the spoken and sung versions of the following song:

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

Kásóvaahasêstsê, nêstooheonanê, nêsto'anê, nemehohtanonê.

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

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

Kásóvaahasêstse, 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 nê- is difficult to hear in the words nêstooheónane $$RECHECK PITCH 'our (incl) flag' and nêsto'ane 'our (incl) land', but it is clearly heard when sung.

**Pitch marks**

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

A vowel in the penultimate (next-to-the-last) syllable of a word can have a mid pitch\(^\text{14}\). 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:

| 1st word   | 2nd word     |
|------------|--------------|
| he'e       | liver        |
| he'e       | woman        |
| hóoma      | mosquito (or blanket) |
| hoóma      | on the other side |
| hoéstótse  | 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.
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 [ɔː] while English "oo" is phonetically [ʊ]. Cheyenne "ee" is phonetically [iː] while English "ee" is phonetically [i].

**Complex syllables**

A Cheyenne consonant is aspirated when it occurs before a voiceless vowel, followed by "h", followed by a vowel, which is followed by another syllable. This is one of the most difficult things to learn about Cheyenne pronunciation. Two syllables get squeezed together and pronounced as a single syllable. We call this phenomenon a complex syllable. The second syllable of the two syllables must begin with an "h". This "h" becomes aspiration on the consonant of the first syllable. Linguist Danny Alford wrote an article (1976) about Cheyenne complex syllables.

The required parts of a complex syllable can be written in a formula like this:

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

This formula means that a consonant (C) followed by a voiceless vowel (\( \bigvee \)), 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  | épēhēva'e       | [ípʰ ē v a ? i ]         |
| They (an.) are good | épēhēvéaho’o | [ípʰ ē vʰ o ? o ]       |
| cradleboard | pāhōešestótse | [pʰ s ŋ i š t ŋ c ]      |
| hammer     | tōhōhko         | [tʰ o h k ŋ ]           |
Go to bed! tâhéovéšéstse [tʰ ɑˈv o w ɨ ş s c]
I'm tired nákâhanoteš [n ɑ kʰ a n ɪ ə v o c]
shoes mo'kéhanoteš [m oʔ kʰ ɑ ŋ ŋ o c]
They are proper éonó'âheo'o [i ɔ n ə ʔ ʰ ɑ v o ʔ ů]
house máhe'ō [m ʰ ɑ ʔ ə ʔ õ ʔ Ə]
then néhe'š [n ʰ ɪ ʔ ʃ]
I caught it nánâha'ēna [n ɑ n ʰ a ʔ ɨ n ɑ]
bears nákóhe'o' [n ɑ h kʰ ə v o ʔ ů]
they are eating éméšêheo'o [ί m ɪ ʃ h ə v o ʔ ů]

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       | unaspirated       |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| étâ'pâhe'o'o 'they are weak' | étâ'pahe 'he is weak' |
| éno'kâhehe 'Is he single?' | éno'kahe 'he is single' |
| ésâanétâhéhe 'he is not a different one' | 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'pahe means 'weak' whether or not we add the plural suffix -o'o to it, as we did here. Cheyenne -no'kahe means 'be single' whether or not we add the question suffix -he to it, as we did for the list. And Cheyenne -nétahe means 'be other' whether or not we turn it into a negative verb as we did in the list.

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

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

| house       | máhe'o | m ʰ ɑ ʔ ů ʔ ů |
|-------------|--------|---------------|
| then        | néhe'se | n ʰ ɪ ʔ s |
| I caught it | nánâha'ēna | n ɑ n ʰ a ʔ ɨ n ɑ |

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

Ma'heo'o\(^\text{15}\)  'God'

máhēō'o  'house'

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

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

énóvahe  'he is slow'

énóvāheo'o  'they are slow'

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

**Phonemes**

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

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

néšē 'Grandchild! (vocative)', néxahe 'my grandchild'
énēšēšévééné 'he washed his (own) face', énēšēxāhtse 'he gargled'
énēšēo'o 'there are two of them (an.), énéxánēstse 'there are two of them (inan.)
šēšē 'duck', šēxo 'duck' (obviative)

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

Éhṇēméne 'he sang', Éxho'soo'e 'he danced'
Nēḥmetséstse! 'Give it to me!, Néxhéstánōhtse! 'Bring it to me!'

\(^{15}\) Ma'heo'o (simplified spelling Maheo) does not literally mean All Father, as claimed by Petter (1915) and repeated by Powell (1969). This meaning is not possible because Ma'heo'o begins with a regular "m" sound. The morpheme meaning 'all' is found in the complex syllable mȧhe- in which the "m" is aspirated, sounding quite different from the "m" of Ma'heo'o. Furthermore, the Cheyenne noun stem meaning 'father' is –hēh. The "he" sequence of Maheo superficially looks like –hēh, but lacks the high pitch of 'father' as well as the morpheme-final /h/ of –hēh. 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          | hōhp    | hohpe             |
| bear          | nāko    | nahkohe           |
| water         | màp     | mahpe             |
| God           | Maheo   | Ma'heo'o          |
| house         | mhayo   | mȧheo'o           |
| gopher        | eszemae | estsema’e         |
| grass         | mōesz   | mo’e’estse        |
| one           | nasz    | na’estse          |
| alien         | noz     | notse             |
| whiteman      | vého    | ve’ho’e           |
| white woman   | véhoa   | ve’ho’a’e         |
| cloud         | voe     | vo’e              |
body mavōxəz mavoxətse
Cheyennes Zezestassō Tsetséhestáhese (simpler spelling Tsitsistas recommended)
clothes honeōnoz hone’onotse
my son nāha na’e’ha
his son(s) hēhya hee’haho
tepee vē vee’e
dress hōstoz hoestötse
it's moist ehekōva 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       | nahkohe’o’o    | na ko yoo      |
| hawk        | aenohe         | ii noo         |
| hawks       | aenohe’o’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       | šešenovótse    | sshi no vo zi  |
| house       | máheo’o        | mha yoo        |

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Here are some phonetic spellings which you may find useful, along with the official spellings and the meanings of the Cheyenne words. (Often more than one phonetic spelling is possible. For instance, you could spell 'pemmican' phonetically either as am or um.)
| phonetic       | official       | meaning                  |
|---------------|---------------|--------------------------|
| um (or am)    | ame           | pemmican                 |
| amshk         | améške        | grease                   |
| boyso (or boiso) | poeso        | cat                      |
| gashgon       | ka'ěškone     | child                    |
| gi'ih         | ke'eehe       | grandma                  |
| Ipiva.        | Epéheva'e.    | It's good.               |
| Idonit.       | Etoneto.      | It's cold (weather).     |
| Itsisinsts.   | Etséhesenestse. | He (or She) speaks Cheyenne. |
| Itsisda.      | Etséhestahe.  | He (or She) is a Cheyenne. |
| hiss          | hese          | fly                      |
| hochk         | ho'tšéške     | sinew                    |
| kha'ōo        | xao'o         | skunk                    |
| machk         | ma'tšéške     | bow                      |
| Maheo         | Ma'heo'o      | God                      |
| mhayo         | máheo'o       | house                    |
| moch'k        | motšéške      | knife                    |
| nahgo         | nahkohe       | bear                     |
| nahkoyo'       | nahkóheo'o   | bears                    |
| Nahka         | Nahkōhe'a     | Bear Woman               |
| Nahkoso       | Nahkoheso     | Littlebear               |
| nahgo'i'ih    | nahko'eehe    | my mother                |
| namsh'hm      | naméšéme      | my grandfather           |
| Natsisdah.    | Natséhestahe. | I'm Cheyenne.             |
| niho'i'ih     | neho'eehe     | my father                |
| nish          | neše          | two                      |
| nishgi'iih    | neške'eehe    | my grandmother           |
| nits          | netse         | eagle                    |
| Nidonsh'if?   | Netonéševe?   | What are you doing?      |
| Nidonshivih?  | Netonéševehe? | What is your name?       |
| Nitsistahe?   | Netséhestáhehe? | Are you Cheyenne?       |
| Niya'ish      | Nea'eše       | Thank you                |
| okom          | o'kóhome      | coyote                   |
| oishkis       | oeškese       | dog                      |
| shi'sh        | še'se         | duck                     |
| Tsitsistaists | Tsetséhestaestse | Cheyenne (person)    |
| Tsitsitas     | Tsetséhestáhe | Cheyennes                |
| Tsisinistsistsots | Tséhesenéstsestóte | Cheyenne language      |
| vichk         | vetšéške      | fat                      |
| waodzif       | vaotseva      | deer                     |
| Wohihih      | Vooheheve     | Morning Star             |

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

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

Phonemic pitch

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

Derived pitches

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

Mid pitch

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

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

Raised high pitch

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

- šē'se /šē'sé/ 'duck'
- émēšehe /émēšehe/ 'he is eating'
- émōna'e /émōna'e/ 'it's new'
- mónésó'hâeanáme /mónésó'háéanámé 'Are you (plural) still hungry?'

Derived low pitches

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

- pe'e /pé'e/ 'nighthawk'
- mene /méne/ 'berry'
- motšēške /mótěh/ 'knife'
- némēhotone /néméhótone/ 'we (incl) love him'

Impermanent antepenultimate high

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

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20 The last syllable of a word is called the ultimate syllable. The syllable preceding the last syllable is called the penultimate syllable. The syllable preceding the penultimate syllable is called the antepenultimate syllable.
hóma'e /homa'e/ 'beaver' (cf. homä'e beavers)$RECHECK PLURAL PITCHES
ma'háko'e /ma'hahko'e/ 'badger' (cf. ma'hahkö'e 'badgers')
téske'e /tehke'e/ 'a little' (cf. étšeské'o 'it's little')
énë'ta'e /éne'ta'e/ 'it's important' (cf. éne'ta'ehe 'Is it important?')
hótame /hotame/ 'dog' (cf. hotämë 'dogs')
koo kho'vā'e /koo kho'va'e/ 'quail, bobwhite' (cf. koo kho'vā'e 'quails, bobwhites')
hést'a/se /hehta'sé/ 'snow' (cf. hesta'sóho 'snow (obv); éhesta'sève 'it is snow, there is snow')
nóma'ne /nomá'ne/ 'fish (singular) [cf. nomá'ne 'fish (plural)']
hexóva'e /hešova'e/ 'bedbug' (cf. hexová'e 'bedbugs')
héta'e /heta'e/ 'gland' (cf. hetā'e 'glands')
hóema /hoema/ 'blanket/mosquito' (cf. hoemaho 'blankets/mosquitos')
mȧhá'me /maha'me/ 'corn kernel' (cf. mȧhā'men 'corn kernels')
xáa'e /šae/ 'weasel' (cf. xaeho 'weasels')
héna'e /hena'e/ 'goose' (cf. henā'e 'geese')
héško'e /hehko'e/ 'leech' (cf. heškō'e 'leeches')
má'ome /ma'ome/ 'ice' (cf. ma'omēva 'on the ice')
o'he'e /o'he'e/ 'river' (cf. o'hē'è 'at the river', o'hē'èstse 'rivers')
má'xeme /ma'semen/ 'apple, plum' (cf. ma'xemeno 'apples (Northern Cheyenne), ma'semenöstse 'plums (Southern Cheyenne)')
héstahke /heštahke/ 'twin' (cf. hestahkeho 'twins')
mó'óhta'e /mo'ohta'en/ 'turnip', (cf. mo'ȯhtɑ'éne 'turnips')
móneške /moneške/ 'bean' (cf. monēškeho 'beans')
ó'na'hæ /óna'he'n/ 'my aunt (voc.)' (cf. ó'na'hæhe 'she is my aunt')
vóhe'e /vohe'e/ 'shoestring' (cf. vóhe'èstse 'shoestrings')
mó'e'e /mo'e'e/ 'blade of grass' (cf. mó'ȯ'estse 'grass')
náhtse'mæhe /nahṭse'mæhe/ 'my blood', hestse'mæ vul their blood, ma'èva 'in the blood'
ho'háme'e /ho'hamæ'è 'spring (of water)' (cf. ho'hamé'èva 'at the spring')
émo'ónæe /émo'ònæe/ 'it's beautiful' (cf. émo'ònæhe 'Is it beautiful?', émo'ònahe 'she's beautiful', ésáamo'ònæ'èháne it's not beautiful
épēhēvatamáno'e /épēhēvatamano'e/ 'it's nice weather (cf. ésāapēhēvatamano'èháne 'it's not nice weather', épēhēvatamano'èhe 'Is it nice weather?')
épēhēvenono'e /épēhēvenono'e/ 'it looks nice' (cf. épēhēvenono'èhe 'Does it look nice?')
énō'ka'e /éno'ka'e/ 'there is one (inan.)' (cf. éno'ka'èhe 'Is there one (inan.)?', éno'kahe 'there

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

**Proper name high pitches**

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

- Námoséstse 'Lefty' (cf. henamósésto 'on the left side')
- Táhpeta 'Bigman' (cf. étáhpéta 'he is big')
- Táhpe'eé'ese 'Big Nose'
- Má'ee'é'ese 'Red Nose' (cf. éma'eëse 'he has a red nose')
- Pá'ee'ese 'Lump Nose' (cf. épá'eëse 'he has a lump nose')
- Á'ee'é'ese 'Pug Nose' (cf. éá'eëse 'he has a pug nose')
- Mámahke 'Curly' (cf. émamákë'ë 'he has curly hair')

**Parts of speech**

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

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

tse' tohe and he'tohe words

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

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

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

tse'tohe things:

---

oeškese  poesonó  vaotsèva  he'eka'ěškone

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

**Animacy**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Animate nouns**

| Noun            | Meaning         |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| vo’éstane       | person          |
| hé’e            | woman           |
| hetane          | man             |
| ka’èskéone      | child           |
| póeso           | cat             |
| váótséva        | deer            |
| vé’késo         | bird            |
| netse           | eagle           |
| vôhkóóhe        | rabbit          |
| ma’heono        | sacred powers   |
| méstaeo’o       | spooks          |
| hoohtséstse     | tree            |
| maxe            | log             |
| mésèhéstoto     | potatoes        |
| henene          | tomato          |
| éše’he          | sun             |
| taa’e-éše’he    | moon            |
| hotohke         | star            |
| ho’honáeo’o     | rocks           |
| hestahpe        | brain           |
| hestsétato      | kidneys         |
| mo’èskono       | fingers         |
| héta’e          | gland           |
| heévaho         | rope            |
| éstse’he        | shirt, coat     |
| hóoma           | blanket, mosquito |
| hoestoto        | dresses         |
| héva’kééhestótse| scarf           |
| nehpe’èhestótse | diaper          |
| tseene’éheono   | combs           |
| hone’kómo       | button          |
| mata            | peyote          |
| hóhtséme        | ball            |
| ma’xemeno       | apples (but inanimate ma’xemenótse in Oklahoma) |
| möxe’ötséstótse | picture         |

**Inanimate nouns**

| Noun            | Meaning         |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| ame             | pemmican        |
| mahpe           | water           |
| ho’évohkótse    | meat            |
| mésèhéstótse    | food            |
| menótse         | berries         |
| ma’xemenótse    | apples (in Oklahoma, but animate ma’xemeneno in Montana) |
| hetanémenô’e    | juneberry bush  |
| mo’èéstse       | hay             |
| heséóvé’o       | sand            |
| mo’kéhanótse    | shoes           |
| hóhkéha’e       | hat             |
| hoestáto        | belt            |
| káhamaxe        | stick           |
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     | hátšēškeho    |
| baby    | mé’ēševōtse  | mé’ēševoto    |
| bear    | náhkohē     | náhkoheno’o   |
| bee     | hāhnoma      | hāhnomaho     |
| bird    | vé’kēse      | vé’kēseho     |
| cat     | pōēso        | pōēsono       |
| child   | ka’ēškōne    | ka’ēškōneno   |
| clam    | hexovo       | hexovono      |
| comb    | tseeene'ēheo'o | tseeene'ēheono |
| dog     | oeškese      | oeškēseho     |
| ghost²⁴ |seo’ōtse     | séoto         |
| dress   | hoestōtse    | hoestoto      |
| duck    | šē’še        | šē’šo’o       |
| feather | mee’e        | méeno         |
| finger  | mo’ēško      | mo’ēškono     |
| fly     | hése         | héseo’o       |
| man     | hetane       | hetaneo’o     |
| monster | méhne        | méhne’o’o     |
| nighthawk | pe’e      | pe’eo’o       |

²⁴ The word seo’ōtse refers to the spirit of a dead person.
When we first examine Cheyenne nouns, it looks like there is a bewilderingly large number of ways to mark them as plural. Changing a noun from singular to plural appears to require the following suffixes: -ôtse, -nôtse, -estse, and -nêstse.

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'hâme 'horses' that some spelling changes

Inanimate plural nouns

### meaning | singular | plural
--- | --- | ---
airplane | ame’hahtôtse | ame’háhtotôtse
arm | ma’ahtse | ma’ahtsenôtse
ax | hohköxe | hohköxehôtse
beard | mé’hahtse | mé’hahtsenôtse
berry | mene | menôtse
bone | he’ko | he’konôtse
dish | hetohko | hetóhkonôtse
head | me’ko | mé’konôtse
house | máheo’o | máheonôtse
road | meo’o | méonôtse
shoe | mo’keha | mo’kehanôtse
bead | onéhávó’ke | onéhávó’ke
belt | hoestáto | hoestátônêtse
bowstring | ma’tâno | ma’tanônêtse
coin, money | ma’kaata | ma’kaatânêtse
day | eše | éšénêtse
fire | ho’êsta | ho’êstânêtse
hat | hohkêha’ë | hohkêhá’êstse
are required to make some plurals. And there are pitch changes that make some nouns plural, as with hóma’e ‘badger’ and homā’e ‘badger’.

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

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

### Animate noun stems

#### Plurals ending in -o

| meaning | singular | stem | plural |
|---------|----------|------|--------|
| ant     | hátseške | hátseškeh | hátšěškeho |
| baby    | mé’šěvotse | mé’šěvot | mé’šěvoto |
| bean    | móneške | móneškeh | móneškeho |
| bear    | náhkohe | náhkohe | náhkoheo’o |
| bee     | háhnomah | háhnomah | háhnomaho |
| bird    | vé’késeh | vé’késeh | vé’késehoh |
| cat     | póešo | póešo | póešo |
| child   | ka’ěskónéh | ka’ěskónéh | ka’ěskóného |
| comb    | tseene’ěheo’o | tseene’ěheon | tseene’ěheono |
| man     | hetane | hetane | hetaneo’o |
| duck    | šé’šé | šé’šé | šé’šéo’o |
| feather | mee’e | méen | méeno |
| rabbit  | vôhkoóhe | vôhkoóheh | vôhkoóheho |

#### Plurals ending in -e

| meaning | singular | stem | plural |
|---------|----------|------|--------|
| animal | hóva | hováhn | hováhn |

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

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

**Plurals ending in -ótse**

| meaning | singular | stem | plural |
|---------|----------|------|--------|
| arm     | ma'ahtse | ma'ahtsen | ma'áhtsenótse |
| ax      | hohkóxe  | hóhkóxeh | hóhkóxehótse |
| bone    | he'ko    | he'kon  | he'konótse  |
| shoe    | mo'keha  | mo'kehan | mo'kéhanótse |

**Plurals ending in -étse**

| meaning | singular | stem | plural |
|---------|----------|------|--------|
| belt    | hoestáto | hoestátón | hoestátónéstse |
| coin    | ma'kaata | ma'kaatan | ma'kaatánéstse |
| hat     | hóhkéha'e | hóhkhe'a | hóhkhéá'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'kėseho 'birds'. If we subtract -h from the end of the stem, we get the pronunciation for the singular vé'kése.¹

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 stems². 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'kėseheve," 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'kėshé-. Equative verbs support the spelling of other animate and inanimate noun stems also.

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

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

¹ Some speakers pronounce 'bird' as vé'késo.
² Historical and comparative evidence from Proto-Algonquian and other Algonquian languages should also support Cheyenne noun stem spellings.
pluralizer –o to the stem we get šéšéo. But the plural is actually pronounced as šéšeo’o.²⁹

**Vowel-stretching**

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

**Deriving inanimate singulars and plurals**

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

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

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

If we add the other inanimate pluralizer³² 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, hoestátó 'belt'.

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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             | nóťse             | nóťseo?o         | nóte            |
| alien (female)    | nóťá?a            | nóťa?e?o         | nóta?é          |
| ant               | háťseške          | háťseškehó       | hátehkán        |
| antelope          | vo?k̓a?a          | vo?kaeho         | vo?kaeh         |
| apple             | ma?xeme           | ma?xemenó        | ma?xemen        |
| baby              | méʔéševótse       | méʔéševót o       | méʔéševót       |
| ball              | + hôhtišméme      | hôhtišmónó       | hôhtišmón       |
| bandit            | šéšenováhe        | šéšenováhe?o     | šéšenováné       |
| bean              | móňeške           | móňeškehó        | móňeškán        |
| bear              | náňk̓ohe           | náňk̓ohehó        | náňk̓ohe        |
| bee               | hámnoha           | hámnohóhó        | hámnohmah       |
| beetle            | hámšésko          | hámšéskonó       | hámšéskón       |
| bird              | + véʔk̓ésó          | véʔk̓ésóhó        | véʔk̓ésóh       |
| blanket           | hoema             | hoemahó          | hoemah          |
| bride             | móňéʔe           | móňeʔe?e?o       | móňeʔé          |
| buffalo           | hotóʔa            | hotóʔe?o         | hotódd          |
| bullsnake         | neʔeʔe           | neʔeʔe?e?o       | neʔeʔe          |
| butterfly         | hævávákamah       | hævávákamahó      | hævávákamah     |
| button            | honeʔk̓omó         | honeʔk̓omónó     | honeʔk̓omón       |
| buzzard           | ooʔhe             | ooʔheʔe?o       | ooʔhe           |
| playing card      | móhenešemo        | móhenešemónó     | móhenešemón      |
| cat               | póśo              | póśonó           | póśón           |
| cat               | póśo              | póśonóhó         | póśonóh         |
| kitten            | póňk̓ésó          | póňk̓ésónó       | póňk̓ésón        |
| chief             | váño              | váňoo?o         | váňón           |
| child             | kaʔéšk̓óne        | kaʔéšk̓ónehó     | kaʔéšk̓óneh      |
| clam              | hexóvo            | hexovónó         | hexovón         |
| cockle-burrs      |                   |                  |                 |
| comb              | tseeneʔéheño       | tseeneʔéheonó   | tseeneʔéheon    |
| corpse            | sě̌ʔítse          | sě̌ʔito          | sě̌ʔit          |
| coyote            | oʔk̓óhohóe         | oʔk̓óhohehó      | oʔk̓óhohóeah     |
| crane             | neʔpotáʔtse       | neʔpotataseʔo?o  | neʔpotaté       |
| cricket           | hæškoʔséma        | hæškoʔsémahó     | hæškoʔsémah     |
| crow              | ók̓óhoke          | ók̓óhokehó       | ók̓óhoke        |
| curtain           | náhpaʔésaʔo       | náhpaʔésasonó    | náhpaʔésason    |
| dog               | + oeʔk̓ésó         | oeʔk̓ésésóó       | oeʔk̓ésésó       |
| dog               | hótáne           | hótánehó         | hótáneh         |
| doll              | móńoʔk̓ésó         | móńoʔk̓ésónó      | móńoʔk̓ésón       |
| dragonfly         | hævovetášo        | hævovetášonó     | hævovetášon    |
| dress             | hośćtótse         | hośćtótó         | hośćtót         |
| duck              | šéʔsé            | šéʔséʔo         | šéʔséé           |
| duckling          | šéʔšéšk̓ésó       | šéʔšéšk̓ésónó     | šéʔšéšk̓ésón     |
| eagle             | netse            | netseʔo         | nete             |
| bald eagle        | vôaxaʔe           | vôaxaʔeʔo?o     | vôaxaʔeé        |

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

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

| noun        | singular | plural    | underlying stem |
|-------------|----------|-----------|-----------------|
| animal      | hōva     | hovâhne   | hován           |
| blackbird   | he?heâno | he?heenône| he?heenôn       |
| blue thrush | e?e?te  | e?e?tâhne | e?e?tâhn       |
| chicken     | kokôhêáxe| kokôhêáxêne| kokohêaxân     |
| chipmunk    | nêshê?êsta| nêshê?êsthâhne| nêshê?êstháhn |
| deer        | váotsêve | váotsêvâhne| váotsêvahn     |
| magpie      | mo?e?ha  | mo?e?hâñe | mo?e?hân       |
| sheep       | kôsâ    | kôsâñe    | kosân           |
| tick        | mêsê    | mêsâñe    | mêsên           |
| turnip      | mo?õhtâ?êne| mo?õhtâ?êne| mo?õhtá?ên    |
| turtle      | ma?êño  | ma?ênône  | ma?ênôn        |

Nouns which retain -n word-internally:

| noun         | singular | plural     | underlying stem |
|--------------|----------|------------|-----------------|
| gourd        | maho?ôxêno| maho?ôxênône| maho?ôxênôn    |
| melon        | máho?ôno  | máho?ônône | máho?ônôn      |
| cantelope    | máho?kôko | máho?kônône| máho?kônôn     |
| salamander   | hêo?õhtáto| hêo?õhtâtône| hêo?õhtâtôn   |
| skunk        | xäô?o    | xäône      | xäôn            |

Nouns with pitch change:

| noun       | singular | plural     | underlying stem |
|------------|----------|------------|-----------------|
| badger     | ma?hânko?e| ma?hahkô?e| ma?hahko?      |
| beaver     | hôma?e | homê?e    | homa?          |
| bedbug     | hexôva?e| hexovâ?e   | hexovâ?        |
| dog        | hôtâme  | hotâm      | hotam          |
| fish       | nóma?he | nomâ?he    | nomâ?h        |
| frog       | oônâha?e| oonâhâ?e   | oonâhâ?        |
| goose      | hêna?e  | hénâ?e    | hênâ?         |
| gopher     | ëstsema?e| ëstsema?e  | ëstsema?      |
| leech      | hêskô?e | heškô?e    | heško?        |
| white man  | vê?ho?e | vê?hô?e   | vê?ho?        |

Nouns which retain -m word-internally:

| noun        | singular | plural     | underlying stem |
|-------------|----------|------------|-----------------|
| horse       | mo?êñôno?ha| mo?êñôno?hâm| mo?êñôho?ham    |
| mare        | he?ê?hame| he?ê?hâmê  | he?ê?ham       |
| male horse  | hetanê?hame| hetanê?hâmê| hetanê?ham     |
| lion        | nanôse?hame| nanôse?hâmê| nanôse?ham     |
## Inanimate Nouns Taking Pluralizer -ot

| noun               | singular     | plural       | underlying stem |
|--------------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|
| airplane           | ame?háhtótse | ame?háhtotótse | ame?háhtot      |
| answer             | no?éstáhtótse | no?éstáhtotótse | no?éstáhtot    |
| apple (So. Ch)     | ma?xíme     | ma?xímenótse | ma?xímen       |
| arm                | ma?ahtse     | ma?ahtsenótse | ma?ahtsen      |
| armpit             | matseno      | matsanonótse | matsanonon     |
| arrow              | ma?hne       | maahótse     | maah           |
| axe                | ho?khóxe    | ho?khóxinótse | ho?khóxvén     |
| back               | ma?pe?ó      | ma?pe?ónótse | ma?pe?ón       |
| beard              | mé?háhtse    | mé?háhtsenótse | mé?háhten      |
| bed                | séeáéséhtótse | séeáéséhtotótse | séeáéséhtot   |
| berry              | + mene       | ménótse      | mén             |
| boat               | sémo         | sémonótse    | sémon           |
| bone               | he?ko        | he?konótse   | he?kon         |
| bow                | ma?tšéške    | ma?tšéškenótse | ma?tšéškenah   |
| branch/tree        | hesta?e      | hestaenótse  | hestaen        |
| bread              | kókkonóného?o | kókkonóhoenótse | kókkonóhoenon |
| breech-cloth belt  | hókásó      | hókásanótse  | hókásanon      |
| broom              | mákhe?o?o    | mákheheoñótse | mákhehoon      |
| buckskin           | ma?šéško     | ma?šéškenótse | ma?šéškonon    |
| dish               | heto?ho      | hetoñóntse   | hetoñon        |
| dish               | heto?o       | hetoñótse    | hetoñon        |
| door               | he?néto?o    | he?nétonótse | he?nétonoon    |
| ear                | máhtovóó?ótse | máhtovóotótse | máhtovóot      |
| earring            | hósesésése | hósesésótse  | hóseses         |
| elbow              | máhtsé?oo?o  | máhtséñoontse | máhtéoon        |
| flute              | táhpeno      | táhpenonótse | táhpenon       |
| hammer             | tóhchko      | tóhkonótse   | tóhkon         |
| hair/head          | me?kó        | mé?konótse   | mé?kon         |
| heart              | hesta        | hestahtonótse | hestaín        |
| house              | máhe?o?o     | máheñótse    | máheón         |
| shed               | máhe?ško     | máheškónótse | máhešköon      |
| knife              | mó?šéške     | mó?šéškóhoñótse | mó?šéškóhoñ   |
| lance              | xo?mo?o      | xo?monótse   | xo?mon         |
| lung               | he?po        | he?póñótse   | he?póon        |
| cigarette          | he?pótotse   | he?pótoñótse | he?pótot       |
| meat               | ho?véhoñóntse | ho?véhoñotótse | ho?véhoñot     |
| meat               | ho?vévo?oñótse | ho?vévoñótse | ho?vévoñot    |
| dry meat           | honóvoñóko   | honóvoñótse  | honóvoñokó     |
| name               | véhestó?o    | véhestotótse | véhestotot     |
| neck               | he?óhtse     | he?óhtotótse | he?óhtot       |
| nose               | ma?evo       | ma?evoñótse  | ma?evoñot     |
| nose               | ma?evo?o     | ma?evoñótse  | ma?evoñon     |
| purse              | ka?méstenótse | ka?méstenótse | ka?méstenót    |
| ring               | mo?eško      | mo?eškonótse | mo?eškonon     |
| road               | mó?o?o       | méoñótse     | méon           |
| roast              | honóido?o    | honóidoñótse | honóidoon      |
| shoe               | mo?keháa     | mo?kehónoñótse | mo?kehónoñon  |
| year, winter       | báí?e        | báínótse     | báín           |
### INANIMATE NOUNS taking pluralizer -ēt

| noun          | singular      | plural        | underlying stem |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|
| axe           | hohkoxe       | hohkoxèstse   | hohkox(eh)      |
| bead          | onéhavoe?ke   | onéhavô?késtse| onéhavoe(k)     |
| belt          | hoeastâto     | hoestâtônéstse| hoestâtôn(eh)   |
| bow           | ma?tšëške     | ma?tšëškéstse | ma?tehk         |
| bowstring     | ma?tânño      | ma?tânônéstse | ma?tânôn        |
| branch (tree) | hestaʔeʔe     | hestaʔèstse   | hesta(n)        |
| cloud         | voʔe          | voʔèstse      | vo?             |
| coin          | maʔkætæa      | maʔkætânéstse | maʔkætân        |
| raw corn      | hoʔkóhstse    | hoʔkóhstéstse | hoʔkóht         |
| corral        | ménaʔoʔe      | ménaʔoʔéstse  | ménaʔo?         |
| day           | ëšëe          | ëšënêtse      | ëšën           |
| eye           | maʔèxaʔe      | maʔèxânêtse   | maʔèxàn         |
| fire          | hoʔèstaʔe     | hoʔèstânêtse  | hoʔèhtÂN        |
| fishhook      | nononóʔeʔe    | nononóʔèstse  | nononóèé        |
| hat           | hóhkéhaʔe     | hóhkéhèstse   | hóhkèhaʔ        |
| hay           | moʔeʔeʔe      | moʔeʔèstse    | moʔeʔe          |
| lake          | neʔhâneʔe     | neʔhânënêtse  | neʔhânën        |
| land          | hoʔe          | hoʔèstse      | hoʔè            |
| liver         | hëʔe           | hëʔèstse      | hëʔèn           |
| liver         | hëʔe           | hëʔènêtse     | hëʔèn           |
| medicine      | heséecʔótse    | heséecôstéstse| heséecot        |
| night         | taaʔe         | taaʔèstse     | taaʔe           |
| night         | taaʔe         | taaʔènêtse    | taaʔèn          |
| rib           | hëʔe          | hëʔèstse      | hëʔèp(eh)      |
| river         | òʔheʔe         | òʔheʔèstse    | òʔheʔè         |
| skin          | vóhtànëe      | vóhtânêtstè    | vóhtan          |
| forest        | maʔtæʔeʔe     | maʔtæʔèstse   | maʔtæë         |
| year, winter  | ñãʔe          | ñãʔèstse      | ñãʔë(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.

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

| meaning     | singular | plural   | obviative |
|-------------|----------|----------|-----------|
| cat         | póéso    | póesono  | póesono   |
| dog         | oeškése  | oeškéseho| oeškéseho |
| child       | ka'ēškóne| ka'ēškóneho| ka'ēškóneho|
| tree        | hoohtséstse | hoóhtseto | hoóhtseto |
| snake       | séšěnovótse | šéšěnovoto | šéšěnovoto |
| grasshopper | hákotá    | hákotahó  | hákotahó  |
| god         | ma'heó’o  | ma'heono  | ma'heono34 |
| apple       | má’xeme   | ma’xemenó35 | ma’xemenó |
| my daughter | náhtona   | náhtóha   | náhtóha   |
| deer        | váótséva  | váótsévahne| váótsévahne |
| skunk       | xaó’o     | xaó’ne    | xaó’ne    |

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

| meaning     | singular | plural  | obviative |
|-------------|----------|---------|-----------|
| man         | hetane   | hetaneo’o| hetanóho  |
| woman       | hē’e     | he’eo’o | he’óho    |
| duck        | šé’še    | šé’šeo’o| šé’xo36   |
| sun         | éše’he   | éše’heo’o| éše’hóho  |
| bear        | náhkohe  | náhkoheo’o| náhkóhóho |
| rock        | ho’honáá’e| ho’honáeo’o| ho’honaa’o |
| white woman | vé’ho’a’e| vé’ho’há’eo’o| vé’ho’a’o  |

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

Examples of obviatives in sentences:

- Hetane évóomóho še’xo. The man saw a duck/ducks (obv).
- Énóomaevóho henésónéhevóho. 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).

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34 Or ma’heóneva
35 This is the animate Montana pronunciation. Oklahoma pronunciation is inanimate ma’xemenőtse.
36 An alternate pronunciation is šé’xóho.
Éméhótóho\textsuperscript{37} náahtónaho. He loves my daughter/daughters (obv).
Ka'èskóne évéstahémóho heške. The child helped his mother (obv).
Henésono évéstahémáá'e. Her child(ren) (obv) helped her.

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

\begin{itemize}
  \item namâhëö’o 'my house'
  \item nemâhëö’o 'your house'
  \item hemâhëö’o 'his/her house'
\end{itemize}

The prefixes indicating possession are:

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

We will study verbs in the next section of this book, but for now notice that the possessor prefixes are low pitched while the person prefixes on verbs are high pitched\textsuperscript{38}:

\begin{itemize}
  \item Ná-mésehe. 'I'm eating.' (or 'I ate.')
  \item Né-mésehe. 'You're eating.' (or 'You ate. ')
  \item É-mésehe. 'He (or She) is eating.' (or 'He/She ate. ')
\end{itemize}

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

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{unpossessed} & \textbf{possessed} \\
\text{fémo 'boat'} & \text{hesémo 'his boat'} \\
\text{fémonóte 'boats'} & \text{hesémonóte 'his boats'} \\
\text{mo'keha 'shoe'} & \text{namo'keha 'my shoe'} \\
\text{mo'kéhanóte 'shoes'} & \text{namo'kéhanóte 'my shoes'}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

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

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{singual possessors} & \textbf{plural possessors} \\
\text{namâhëö’o 'my house'} & \text{namâheónáne 'our (excl) house'} \\
\text{nevee'e 'your tepee'} & \text{nevéenëvo 'your (pl) tepee'} \\
\text{hestö'e 'his land'} & \text{hestö'ëstse 'their lands'} \\
\text{nenëso 'your child'} & \text{nenésönëhëvo 'your (pl) child'}
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

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

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

| inclusive 'our'                     | exclusive 'our'                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| nevéenane 'our (incl) tepee         | navéenâne 'our (excl) tepee    |
| neamáho’héstonane 'our (incl) car'  | namáho’héstonáne 'our (excl) car'|
| nenésonéhane 'our (incl) child'     | nánésónéháne 'our (excl) child'|
| néstotséhane 'our (incl) pet'       | nâhtotséháne 'our (excl) pet'  |

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

| inclusive 'our'                     | exclusive 'our'                |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| nénémenema 'we (incl) sang'         | nánémonéme 'we (excl) sang'    |
| névóomone 'we (incl) saw him'       | návóomóne 'we (excl) saw him'  |
| néhetaene 'he told us (incl)'       | náhetaëne '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

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

mâhēō'o 'house' (possessed)

|        | Possession  | Pluralization | Singularization |
|--------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| namāhēō'o | my house    | namāheonôtse | my houses       |
| nemāhēō'o | your house  | nemāheonôtse | your houses     |
| hemāhēō'o | his house   | hemāheonôtse | his houses      |
| namāheonáne | our (excl) house | namāheonántse (ôtse??) | our (excl) houses |
| nemāheonáne | our (incl) house | nemāheonótse?? | our (incl) houses |
| nemāheonévo | your (pl) house | nemāheonevótse | your (pl) houses |
| hemāheonévo | their house | hemāheonevótse | their houses    |

vee'e 'tepee, dwelling' (possessed)

|        | Possession  | Pluralization | Singularization |
|--------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| navee'e | my tepee    | navéenôtse    | my tepees       |
| nevee'e | your tepee  | nevéenôtse    | your tepees     |
| hevee'e | his tepee   | hevéenôtse    | his tepees      |
| navéenâne | our (excl) tepee | navéenanótse(ôtse??) | our (excl) tepees |
| nevéenâne | our (incl) tepee | nevéenanótse?? | our (incl) tepees |
| nevéenêvo | your (pl) tepee | nevéenevótse | your (pl) tepees |
| hevéenêvo | their tepee | hevéenevótse | their tepees    |

mo'keha 'shoe' (possessed)

|        | Possession  | Pluralization | Singularization |
|--------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| namo'keha | my shoe    | namo'kéhanôtse | my shoes       |
| nemo'keha | your shoe  | nemo'kéhanôtse | your shoes     |
| hemo'keha | his shoe   | hemo'kéhanôtse | his shoes      |
| namo'kéhanânêne | our (excl) shoe | namo'kéhananótse(ôtse??) | our (excl) shoes |
| nemo'kéhanane | our (incl) shoe | nemo'kéhananótse?? | our (incl) shoes |
| nemo'kéhanêvo | your (pl) shoe | nemo'kéhanevótse | your (pl) shoes |
| hemo'kéhanévo | their shoe | hemo'kéhanevótse | their shoes    |

amáho'hestótse 'car' (possessed)

Words creating 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".)

|        | Possession  | Pluralization | Singularization |
|--------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 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'héstotonótse | our (excl) cars |
| neamáho'héstónanane | our (incl) car | neamáho'héstotonótse | 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

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

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

-hto’e 'land', náhto’e 'my land', něsto’e 'your land', hesto’e 'his/her land'
-htōtse 'pet', náhtōtse 'my pet', něstōtse 'your pet', hestōtseho 'his/her pet(s)'
-éxa 'eye', nāéxa 'my eye', nāéxānēstse 'my eyes', hēxānēstse 'his/her eyes'
-evo 'nose', nā’evo 'my nose', nē’evo 'your nose', hēvo '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'
manēstāne 'knee'
máhtāme 'food'

**Doublets with the ma-prefix**

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

| meaning | independent form | ma-form |
|---------|-----------------|---------|
| bone    | he'ko           | māhtse'ko |
| brain   | hestahpe        | māhtsēstahpe |
| gland   | hēta'e          | māhtsēta'e |
| heart   | hēsta           | māht śēta |
| thigh   | hēnōme          | māhtsēnōme |

**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’e’xa eye     ma’e’xānēstse eyes
māhtsēstah ‘heart’ māhtsēstahōtse ‘hearts’

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

amāhō'hē-māhtse'ko 'tire' (literally, car-leg)

**Possession suffix -am**

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

ka'češkóne 'child', naka'češkóne'hame 'my child'
ma'he'ō 'god', nama'he'óname 'my god'
mé'češévōtse 'baby', namé'češévōtame 'my baby'

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

motšēške 'knife', namotšēške 'my knife', namótšēškame 'my knife'

Inanimate dependent stem possessives

Here are some possessed inanimate nouns which have dependent stems:

hóhké'a 'hat' (possessive stem –vóhké'a)

| Possessor | Noun     | Possessor | Noun     |
|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| navóhké'a | my hat   | navóhké'a | my hats  |
| nevóhké'a | your hat | nevóhké'a | your hats|
| hevóhké'a | his hat  | hevóhké'a | his hats |
| navóhké'āne | our (excl) hat | navóhké'āne | our (excl) hats |
| něvéhké'āne | our (incl) hat | něvéhké'āne | our (incl) hats |
| něvóhké'ėvo | your (pl) hat | něvóhké'ėvo | your (pl) hats |
| hevóhké'ėvo | their hat | hevóhké'ėvo | their hats |

ho'e 'land' (possessive stem –hto'e)

| Possessor | Noun     | Possessor | Noun     |
|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| náhto'e   | my land  | náhto'ėstse | my lands |
| něsto'ė   | your land| něsto'ėstse | your lands|
| hesto'ė   | his land | hesto'ėstse | his lands |
| náhto'āne | our (excl) land | náhto'anótse | our (excl) lands |
| něsto'āne | our (incl) land | něsto'anótse | our (incl) lands |
| něsto'ėvo | your (pl) land | něsto'evótse | your (pl) lands |
| hesto'ėvo | their land | hesto'evótse | their lands |

ma'exa 'eye' (possessive stem –'exa)

| Possessor | Noun     | Possessor | Noun     |
|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| ma'exa    | eye      | ma'čxánėstse | eyes     |
| na'exa    | my eye   | na'čxánėstse | my eyes  |
| he'exa    | his eye  | he'čxánėstse | his eyes |
| na'čxáéne | our (excl) eye | na'čxanėntse | our (excl) eyes |
| ne'čxáene | our (incl) eye | ne'čxanėntse | our (incl) eyes |
| ne'čxáévo | your (pl) eye | ne'čxavótse | your (pl) eyes |
| hčxáévo  | their eye | hčxavótse  | their eyes |

Máhtáme 'food' (possessive stem –htáme) $\text{CHECK PLURALS}$

| Possessor | Noun     | Possessor | Noun     |
|-----------|----------|-----------|----------|
| náhtáme  | my food  | náhtamótxe | my foods |
| něstáme  | your food| něstamótxe | your foods|
| hěstáme  | his food | hěstamótxe | his foods |
| náhtámáne | our (excl) food | náhtámántenótxe | our (excl) foods |

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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 hóhké'a. It can be pronounced as a word by itself. When it is possessed, it changes to a bound stem that begins with "v", -vóhké'a. 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'. $\text{CHECK PLURALS}$
| Animate possessives |  |
|---------------------|----------------------------------|
| Most inanimate nouns require only a possessive prefix to be possessed. But possessed animate nouns require not only a possessive prefix, but also either the possessive suffix –am or they must be dependent stems. For instance, it would not be grammatical to take an animate noun, such as oeškēse 'dog' and only add a possessive prefix, such as na- 'my', creating the word *naoeškēse⁴⁵, intended to mean 'my dog'. Following are the correct ways to speak about a dog that is possessed, as well as other possessives:  |
| **Animate possessives with the -am suffix** |  |
| oeškēse⁴⁶ 'dog' (possessed) |  |
| - nāoeškēshāme | my dog | - nāoeškēshামāne | our (excl) dog |
| - neoeškēshāme | your dog | - neoeškēshামানে | your (excl) dogs |
| - heoeškēshāmāne | his dog(s) | - heoeškēshামানে | his dog(s) |
| - nāoeškēshামানে | our (incl) dog | - nāoeškēshামানে | our (incl) dogs |
| - neoeškēshামানে | your (pl) dog | - neoeškēshামানে | your (pl) dogs |
| - heoeškēshামানে | their dog(s) | - heoeškēshামানে | their dog(s) |
| veho 'chief' (possessed) |  |
| - nāvēhāname | my chief | - nāvēhামানে | our (excl) chief |
| - nevēhāname | your chief | - nevēhামানে | our (incl) chief |
| - hevēhামানে | his chief(s) | - hevēhামানে | his chief(s) |
| - nāvēhামানে | our (excl) chief | - nāvēhামানে | our (excl) chiefs |
| - nevēhামানে | your (incl) chief | - nevēhামানে | your (incl) chiefs |
| - hevēhামানে | their chief(s) | - hevēhামানে | their chief(s) |
| ma'hēō'o 'god, sacred power' (possessed) |  |
| - nāma'hēónāname | my god | - nāma'hēónামানে | our (excl) god |
| - nēma'hēónāname | your god | - nēma'hēónामানে | your (excl) gods |
| - hēma'hēónামানে | your god(s) | - hēma'hēónামানে | your (pl) gods |
| - nāma'hēónামানে | our (excl) god | - nāma'hēónামানে | our (excl) gods |
| - nēma'hēόনামানে | our (incl) god | - nēma'hēόনামানে | our (incl) gods |
| - nēma'hēόনামানে | our (incl) god | - nēma'hēόনামানে | our (incl) gods |
| - hēma'hēόনামানে | your (pl) god | - hēma'hēόনামানে | your (pl) gods |
| - hēma'hēόনামানে | their god(s) | - hēma'hēόনামানে | their god(s) |
| child (biological; possessed) |  |
| - nanē∫o | my child | - nanē∫o | enf | my children |
| - nenē∫o | your child | - nenē∫o | enf | your children |
| - henē∫o | his child(ren) | - henē∫o | enf | his child(ren) |
| - nanē∫onēhāname | our (ex) child | - nanē∫onēhানে | our (ex) children |
| - nenē∫onēhāname | our (in) child | - nenē∫onēhানে | 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
henésonéhevóho your (pl) child(ren)

child (possessed)
naka’ěskónéhame my child
neka’ěskónéhame your child
heka’ěskónéhame his child(ren)
naka’ěskónéhamané our (ex) child
neka’ěskónéhamane our (in) child
neka’ěskónéhamévo your (pl) child
heka’ěskónéhamevévo their child(ren)

mōxe’ěotsestótse ‘picture’ (possessed)
namōxe’eotséstote my picture
nemōxe’eotséstote your picture
hemōxe’eotséstote his picture(s)
namōxe’eotséstóánáne our (excl) picture
nemōxe’eotséstóanane our (incl) picture
hemōxe’eotséstóvévo 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
nee’ha your son
hee’haho his son(s)
nae’hahāne our (excl) son
nee’hahane our (incl) son
nee’hahēvo your (pl) son
hee’hahevóho their son(s)

daughter (possessed)
náhtona my daughter
néstona your daughter
hestónahoh his daughter(s)
náhtónaháne our (excl) daughter
néstónahane our (incl) daughter
néstónáhevo your (pl) daughter
hestónáhevóho their daughter(s)

pet (possessed)
náhtótse my pet
néstótse your pet
hestotseho his pet(s)
náhtotséháne our (excl) pet
néstotséhané our (incl) pet

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

**brother (possessed by female)**

| náhtatanémé | my brother | náhtatanemémo | my brothers |
| néstatanémé | your brother | néstatanemémo | your brothers |
| hestatanemémé | her brother(s) | hestatanemémémo | her brother(s) |
| náhtatanémamé | our (ex) brother | náhtatanémaméne | our (ex) brothers |
| néstatanémaméne | our (in) brother | néstatanémaméne | your (in) brothers |
| néstatanémamévo | your (pl) brother | néstatanémaméne | your (pl) brothers |

**grandfather (possessed)**

| naméshémé | my grandfather | naméshémo | my grandfathers |
| neméshémé | your grandfather | neméshémo | your grandfathers |
| heméshémé | his grandfather(s) | heméshémo | his grandfather(s) |
| naméshémamé | our (ex) grandfather | naméshémaméno | our (ex) grandfathers |
| neméshémaméne | our (in) grandfather | neméshémaméne | our (in) grandfathers |
| neméshémamévo | your (pl) grandfather | neméshémaméne | your (pl) grandfathers |
| heméshémamévo | their grandfather(s) | heméshémaméne | their grandfather(s) |

**older brother (possessed)**

| ná'ne | my older brother | na'neho | my older brothers |
| nê'ne | your older brother | ne'neho | your older brothers |
| he'néhe | his older brother(s) | he'neho | his older brother(s) |
| na'néhane | our (ex) older brother | na'néhaneo | our (ex) older brothers |
| ne'néhane | our (in) older brother | ne'néhaneo | our (in) older brothers |
| ne'néhevó | your (pl) older brother | ne'néhevóo | your (pl) older brothers |
| he'néhevévo | their older brother(s) | he'néhevévo | their older brother(s) |

**older sister (possessed)**

| namé | my older sister | nameho | my older sisters |
| neme | your older sister | nemeho | your older sisters |
| hemého | his older sister(s) | hemeho | his older sister(s) |
| naméhémé | our (ex) older sister | naméhéméne | our (ex) older sisters |
| neméhéméne | our (in) older sister | neméhéméne | our (in) older sisters |
| neméhémévo | your (pl) older sister | neméhéméne | your (pl) older sisters |
| heméhémévo | their older sister(s) | heméhéméne | their older sister(s) |

**mother (possessed)**

| náhko’éehe | my mother | ----- |
| neško | your mother | ----- |
| heške | his mother | ----- |
| neškane | our (incl) mother | neškaneo | our (incl) mothers |
| neške | your (pl) mother | neškevo | your (pl) mothers |
| heškevévo | their mother(s) | heškevévo | their mother(s) |

**relative (possessed)**

| navóohéstótse | my relative | navóohéstoto | my relatives |
| nevóohéstótse | your relative | nevóohéstoto | your relatives |

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

49 No form has been found meaning 'our (exclusive) mother'. §§RECHECK
Irregular possessives

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

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

| hevóohestoto | his relative(s) | hevóohestoto | his relative(s) |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|----------------|
| navóohestonáne | our (excl) relative | navóohestonáneo'o | our (excl) relatives |
| nevéohestonane | our (incl) relative | nevéohestonaneo'o | our (incl) relatives |
| nevéohestovévo | your (pl) relative | nevéohestovévo'o | your (pl) relatives |
| hevéohestovevóho | their relative(s) | hevéohestovevóho | their relative(s) |

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

| né'tóvé | my (masc) brother-in-law | né'toveo'o | my (masc) brothers-in-law |
| é'tóvé | your (masc) brother-in-law | é'toveo'o | your (masc) brothers-in-law |
| hevé'tovó | his (masc) brother-in-law | hevé'tovóo | his (masc) brothers-in-law |
| né'tóvéane | our (masc excl) bros-in-law | né'tóvéaneo'o | our (masc excl) bros-in-law |
| é'tóvéane | our (masc incl) bros-in-law | é'tóvéaneo'o | our (masc incl) bros-in-law |
| hevé'tóvévévo'o | your (masc pl) bros-in-law | hevé'tóvévévo'o | your (masc pl) bros-in-law |
| hevé'tóvévévóho | their (masc) bro(s)-in-law | hevé'tóvévévóho | their (masc) bro(s)-in-law |

friend (male friend of a male; possessed) 51

| néséne | my (masc) friend | néseneo'o | my (masc) friends |
| é'séne | your friend | é'seneo'o | your friends |
| hevé'sénóho | his (masc) friend(s) | hevé'sénóho | his (masc) friend(s) |
| né'sénénámáne | our (masc excl) friend | né'sénénáneo'o | our (masc excl) friends |
| é'sénénáne | our (masc incl) friend | é'sénénáneo'o | our (masc incl) friends |
| é'sénénévévo'o | your (masc pl) friend | é'sénénévévo'o | your (masc pl) friends |
| hevé'sénénévévóho | their (masc) friends(s) | hevé'sénénévévóho | their (masc) friends(s) |

friend (female friend of a female; possessed) 52

| né'sé'e | my (fem) friend | né'sé'eo'o | my (fem) friends |
| é'sé'e | your (fem) friend | é'sé'eo'o | your (fem) friends |
| hevé'sé'e'ño | her (fem) friend(s) | hevé'sé'e'ño | her (fem) friend(s) |
| né'sé'áne | our (fem excl) friend | né'sé'áneo'o | our (fem excl) friends |
| é'sé'áne | our (fem incl) friend | é'sé'áneo'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 né'sé'éháne and navé'sé'áne.
| Possessed Word | Your (Fem Pl) | Friend | Your (Pl Fem) | Friends |
|----------------|--------------|--------|--------------|---------|
| Hevése'evóho   | Their (Fem)  | Friends | Hevése'evóho | Their (Fem) |

**Father (possessed)**

- Ného’éehe: My father
- Eho: Your father
- Heho: His father
- Néháne: Our (excl) father, néhaneo'o: Our (excl) fathers
- Éhane: Our (incl) father, éhaneo'o: Our (incl) fathers
- Éhéo: Your (pl) father, éhevoo'o: Your (pl) fathers
- Héhevóho: Their father(s), héhevóho: Their father(s)

**Grandmother (possessed)**

- Néške’éehe: My grandmother
- Éškeme: Your grandmother
- Hevéškemo: His grandmother(s)
- Néškemáne: Our (ex) grandmo., néškemaneo'o: Our (ex) grandmothers
- Éškemane: Our (in) grandmo.
- Éškemévo: Your (pl) grandmo.
- Hevéškemáne: Their grandmother(s)

**Grandchild (possessed)**

- Néxahe: My grandchild
- Éxahe: Your grandchild
- Hevéxaho: His grandchild(ren)
- Néxáháne: Our (ex) grandchild
- Éxahane: Our (in) grandchild
- Éxáhévo: Your (pl) grandchild
- Hevéxáhevéhó: 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)**

- Násemáhe: My younger sibling
- Ésemáhe: Your younger sibling
- Hevásemo: His younger sibling(s)
- Násemáháne: Our (excl) younger sibling
- Ésemáhane: Our (incl) younger sibling
- Ésemáhévo: Your (pl) younger sibling
- Hevásemevóho: Their younger sibling(s)

**Regularized possessives**

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

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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     | nénóvé     | navénove   |
| my body??         | nétové     | navétove   |
| my brother-in-law | é'tóvé     | nevé'tove  |
| your brother-in-law | nésésō | navésésō   |
| my sibling        | é'sésō     | nevé'sésō  |

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

**Diminutives**

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

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

/-{h}k/ diminutives

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

| regular word | meaning | diminutive | meaning |
|--------------|---------|------------|---------|
| améstó’eeso’o | travois  | améstó’keeso’o | little travois |
| amó’énéé’o   | wagon   | amó’kenéné’o | children’s wagon |
| ao’ésoto     | hailstone | ao’késeto | little hailstone |
| hásoo’o       | crowbar | hásohko | lance |
| hesó’xo’énéé’o | sled | hesó’xó’eneško | children’s sled |
| hóma’e        | beaver  | hóma’ke | little beaver |
| kásó’ée’e     | kettle  | kásó’eške | jug |
| máheó’o       | house   | máhëško | shed |
| máhóo’o       | melon   | máhóhko | small melon |
| mé’ëshëvôtse  | baby    | mé’ëškevôtse | baby (dim) |
| mésta’ae      | owl, spook | méstahe   | screech owl |
| mó’sé’á’e     | calf    | mó’késá’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 náhtóo’óhtsestôtse '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.
| Word            | Meaning         | Diminutive       | Meaning            |
|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|--------------------|
| oónáha'e        | frog            | oonáha'kēso      | little frog        |
| ho' honáá'e     | rock            | ho' honáhke      | stone              |
| sásóóvéta       | watersnake      | sásóhkóvéta      | watersnake (dim)   |
| šéštó́tó’e       | pine            | šéštó́to'ke      | little pine        |
| tse’némoo’o      | tobacco         | tsé’némoňko      | tobacco (dim)      |
| váótséva         | deer            | váhkótséva       | little deer        |
| vé’ho’e          | whiteman        | vé’ho’ke         | little white boy   |
| vé’ho’sěño’o     | suitcase        | vé’ho’sěško      | purse, small suitcase |

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

| Regular Word | Meaning       | Diminutive | Meaning       |
|--------------|---------------|------------|---------------|
| É’ometáā’e   | Greasy River  | É’ometaëso | Little Greasy River |
| heávohe      | devil         | heávóhëso | little devil  |
| he’êhe        | maggot        | he’êhêsëso | rice (kernel) |
| hóhkkehe     | mouse         | hóhkëehëso | little mouse  |
| hóhkóxe      | ax            | hóhkóxëso | little ax     |
| hó’nehe       | wolf          | ho’nëhêsëso | little wolf   |
| ka’ëskóne    | child         | ka’ëskónihëso | little child  |
| káse’éehe    | young lady    | kâ’sëëëëhëso | young teenage girl |
| kásózáhe     | young man     | kâsózáhëso | young teenage boy |
| kóhkóñheo’o  | bread         | kóhkóñheonëso | cracker (od), little bread |
| kokóhëáxa    | chicken       | kokóhëáxhëso | chick         |
| ma’hááhe     | old man       | ma’háëso    | old man       |
| gmésta’ë   | owl           | mëstâëso   | little owl    |
| mo’ëno’ha    | horse         | mo’ëno’hamëso | colt          |
| náhkohe      | bear          | náhkëhëso  | little bear   |
| nóma’he      | fish          | noma’këso   | little fish   |
| oeškëse      | dog           | oeškëshëso | pup           |
| vé’këse      | bird          | vé’këshëso | 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    | homañëso  | little beaver |
| ma’ëno       | turtle    | ma’ëno’këso | small turtle |
| ma’hááhe     | old man   | ma’háhëso | old man (dim) |
| ma’hááhe     | old man   | ma’háhëshëso | little old man |
| mo’ëno’ha    | horse     | mo’ëno’hamëso | colt |
| nóma’he      | fish      | nóma’hëshëso | minnow |
| šé’së        | duck      | šé’sëshëso | duckling   |
| vé’ho’ë       | whiteman  | vé’ho’këso | little white boy |

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

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

| noun             | meaning         | vocative       | meaning   |
|------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|
| náhko'éehe       | my mother       | Náhko'e        | Mother    |
| ného'éehe        | my father       | Ného'e         | Father    |
| néske'éehe       | my grandmother | Néske'e        | Grandmother |
| naméséme         | my grandfather | Náméséme       | My grandfather |
| namésémo         | my grandfathers | Namésémaséstse | My grandfathers |
| navéskemo        | my grandmothers | Néské'eehahaséstse | My grandmothers |
| ka'ěškóneho      | children        | Ka'ěškónahaséstse | Children |
| nanésoneho       | my children     | Néseónahaséstse | My children |
| nae'ha           | my son          | Náe'ha         | My son    |
| náhtona          | my daughter     | Náhtse??       | My daughter |
| náhtónaho        | my daughters    | Náhtónahaséstse | My daughters |
| néxahe           | my grandchild  | Nése          | My grandchild |
| he'eo'o          | women           | He'eséstse     | Women     |
| hetaneo'o        | men             | Hetaneséstse   | Men       |
| kásováheho       | young men       | Kásováahahaséstse | Young men |
| káse'eeheho      | young women     | Káse'eehéhaséstse | Young women |
| n'étové          | my brother-in-law | Nétovéaséstse | My brothers-in-law |
| véhoo'o          | chiefs          | Véhonaséstse   | Chiefs    |
| ho'xonáeo'o      | rocks           | Ho'xonáeséstse | Rocks     |
| máhtamaháheho    | old women       | Máhtamaháahahaséstse | Old women |
| ma'háhkéseho     | old men         | Ma'háhkéséhéhaséstse | Old men |
| nésésono         | my siblings     | Néséséónahaséstse | Siblings |
| navoéstanemo     | my people       | Navoéstanémahaséstse | My people |
| navóohestonemo   | my relatives    | Navóohestonaséstse | My relatives |
| ma'heono         | sacred spirits  | Ma'heónahaséstse | Sacred spirits |

LOCATIVES

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

Vášétaéno –no suffix  
Vóhpoométaéno White River Place  
É'ýoxváhtóva Billings, Montana (lit., sawing-place)  
ETC.$$$ ANALYZE SUFFIXES MORE

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

Náooma káhamáxehéva.  
hétónkonéhéva.  
He hit me with a stick.  
with a dish.

EXAMPLES IN SENTENCES:

Étaaméhe méóne.  
He's walking on the road.  

Éto'histse'oltse sémonéva.  
He's going to go to the boat.  

Étaaméhe hóóhtsetseva.  
He's walking to the tree.  

Éto'o'hamo o'hé'eh.  
He's bathing in the creek.  

Táxéenánótse nemé'kóna.  
Put it on your head!  

Étáxse'gse'e táxéemse'hésto'va.  
He's sitting on the table.  

Étáhoo'ó'he hámáhó'héstó'va.  
He's sitting in his car.  

Náe'ha táxéenano ho'hóná'éva.  
I put my son on the rock.  

Náe'ha náho'oxvéenano óókéséhéva.  
I put my son against the dog.  

Náatse'oltse namahéhe.  
I'm going to my house.  

Náetanótse nétsésénéva!  
Put it in your mouth!  

Náetanótse hétókhonéhéva.  
Put it in the glass (or, dish)!  

Nááva' o ma' ome'va.  
I fell on the ice.  

Náatse'oltse É'ýoxváhtóva.  
He went to Billings.  

Nááhóxhéstaha Vóhpoométanano.  
I'm from Busby.
Proper names
§§COMPOSE SECTION ON THE GRAMMAR OF CHEYENNE proper names, Ōh- form participles, etc.

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

Quantifier noun phrases

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

na'ěštse hetane 'one man'
neše he'eo'o 'two women'
háesto ka'ěškóneho 'many children'
tōhkomo kāhāmāxestse 'a few sticks'

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

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

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

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

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

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

mo'ohtávé-hohpe 'coffee' (literally, black-broth)
ma'ě-ho'évohkótse 'corned beef' (literally, red-meat)
ma'xe-hánhno'ma 'bumblebee' (literally, big-bee)
heőve-amāho'hestótse 'schoolbus' (literally, yellow-car)
táxe-mésēhestótse 'table' (literally, top-eating.thing)

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

- ma‘aatæ-meo’o 'railroad' (literally, iron-road)
- matanae-ve’ho’e 'policeman' [literally, (badge on) chest-whiteman])
- môxe’estóoné-mahéö’o 'post office' (literally, letter-house)
- séotsé-amaho’hestótsé 'hearse' (literally, corpse-car)
- vē’ho’-otó’a’e 'buffalo' (literally, whiteman-buffalo)
- vē’ho’-mahpe ‘whiskey’ (literally, whiteman-water)
- véhpotsé-hohpe ‘tea’ (literally, leaf-broth)

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

- ame’há-ve’ho’e 'pilot' (literally, flying-whiteman)
- hohtóva-mahéö’o 'store' (literally, buying-house)
- môxe’estóne-mahéö’o 'school' (literally, writing-house)
- ôhtaené-mahéö’o 'motel' (literally, overnight-house)

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

- hetane tséhéné’enovaestse 'educated man’ (lit., man who is educated)
- kásovááhe tséháa’estaestse 'tall young man' (lit., young man who is tall)
- ma’háhkéso tséhe’keoméstse ‘fat old man’ (lit., old man who is fat)
- amaho’héstótsé tséháoeme ‘expensive car’ (lit., car that is expensive)

Definiteness
There are no definite or indefinite articles in Cheyenne. Instead, nouns are definite or indefinite depending on the speech context (pragmatics). Typically, first mention of a noun in a discourse is indefinite. Subsequent references to that noun are definite. In the following story the first mentioned (definite) nouns are underlined and subsequent mentions (definite) are boldfaced:

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

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

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

3. Hápó’e nákáhohe ô’kohóme móhnéhneheohtsé’tóhéhe.
Likewise there a coyote followed it.
Likewise there a coyote was following it.

4. Nēhe'še éstó'o'ováhtséhooono.
Then they met
Then they met.

5. Náhkohe éstatséhetóhooono 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. éxhetóhooono.
he told him
he told him.

9. "Hova'ahane,
no
"No,

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

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

12. éxhetetaehooono.
he told him
he told him.

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

14. " Háhtome!
scram
"Scram!

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

16. éxhetóhooono.
he told them.
he told them.

17. Exhe’kenéma’evonéhnéhoo’o.
   he slowly turned around
   He slowly turned around.

18. Exhe’kéhéshéhosóhnéhoo’o.
   he slowly backed up
   He slowly backed up.

19. Tséhvóomovóse éstanéšhé’névo’ánhéotséhooono.
   when they saw him they took off in two directions
   When they saw him they took off in two different directions.

20. Essáanáha’óméhesesto tósa’e tséhešeasetó’xevóse.
   they were not caught sight of wherever they took off to
   No one ever saw them again, wherever they took off to.

**Discourse pronouns and definiteness**

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

**EXAMPLES**

Deictics

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

**Demonstratives**

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

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

| Demonstrative | Meaning                  |
|---------------|--------------------------|
| 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**

| Demonstrative | Meaning                  |
|---------------|--------------------------|
| néhe          | this, these (animate)    |
| héne          | this, these (inanimate)  |
Locative particles

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

Currently used locative particles

- **tsěhéóhe** - here (proximal; new location in discourse??)
- **hétséhéóhe** - over here ??
- **néhéóhe** - there (previously mentioned location)
- **hénéhéóhe** - over there (previously mentioned)
- **tāháóhe** - farther?? there (distal; new location in discourse)
- **hátāháóhe** - over there (previously mentioned)
- **nāháóhe** - farther?? there (distal; previously mentioned location)
- **hánaháóhe** - 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/.

- **tsěhéno** - here (proximal; new location in discourse??)
- **hétséhéno** - over here
- **néhéno** - there (previously mentioned location)
- **hénéhéno** - over there (previously mentioned)
- **tāhéno** - farther?? there (distal; new location in discourse)
- **hátāhéno** - over there (new location)
- **nāhéno** - farther?? there (distal; previously mentioned location)
- **hánahéno** - 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.??

There are full forms of predicative pronouns and contracted (more colloquial) forms.??

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Inanimate predicative pronouns

- heta’háanéhe: that's the one (proximal cataphoric?)
- hatá’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’hanéhe (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’hanéhe (contracted form)
- naa’háanevóhe: they are the ones
- nevá’hanéhe: he is the one (only about a hero)

Predicative pronouns in sentences

**INCLUDE EXX. FOR OTHER PREDICATIVE PRONOUNS**

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

Temporal deictics

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

- nēhe’še: then (marks temporal sequence)
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

- é-tsè-hetóhoono he told like this (preceding a quote) (preterit mode)
- é-tsè-hešenéméne 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'aháne 'no' can serve as complete statements in answer to some questions. A significant part of this grammar will describe Cheyenne verbs which are used to inform. As a preview, they are verbs which are in the indicative, inferential, reportative, and preterit modes.

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

Yes/No questions
There are two ways to form yes/no questions in Cheyenne. Yes/no questions (also known as polar questions) are questions for which a "yes" or "no" answer is requested:
1. Add the –he interrogative suffix to a verb
2. Add the interrogative particle móhe to the beginning of a word to be questioned

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

| statement | meaning       | question     | meaning       |
|-----------|---------------|--------------|---------------|
| Émane.    | He drank.     | Émane-he?    | Did he drink? |
| Ého'éeto. | It's snowing. | Ého'éeto-he? | Is it snowing?|
| Éhoo'kôho.| It's raining. | Éhoo'kôho-he?| Is it raining? |
| Névóómo.  | You saw him.  | Névóómo-he?  | Did you see him? |
| Nêhestâna.| You took it.  | Nêhestâna-he?| Did you take it? |
| Nâmêhôtáéne.| He loves us (ex). | Nâmêhôtaene-he? | Does he love us (ex)? |

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

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

Here are examples of Cheyenne mó- questions:

| 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?
Néeéšeho'soo'e. You've already danced. Mó-néeéšeho'soo'e? You've already danced?
Náméhótáéne. He loves us (ex). Mó-náméhótáéne? He loves us?
Éhoo'kóho. It's raining. Mó'-éhoo'kóho?66 It's raining?
Néhóxe'äná. You cleaned it. Mó-néhóxe'äná? 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'kóhónése? Given what you heard (reportative), did it rain?
Mó'-éxhó táheváhoo'o? Given what was narrated (preterit), did he win?

Content questions

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

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

What questions

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

Hénová'e tséméseto? What did you eat?
Hénová'e tséméséstse? What did he eat?
Hénová'e tsého'aheto? What do you want?
Hénová'e tsého'astse? What does he want?
Hénová'e tsého'tseto? What do you have?
Hénová'e tsého'oestseto? What are you cooking / boiling?
Hénová'e tsého'ótsetomo? What are you baking / roasting?
Hénová'e tsépéenomo? What are you grinding?
Hénová'e tsémanéstseto? What are you making?
Hénová'e tsémoxé'óhomo? What are you writing?
Hénová'e tsétoenomo? What are you holding?
Hénová'e tsévē'hoohomáse? What are you (plural) looking at?
Hénová'ehótsé tsétoenomo? What (plural things) are you holding?

66 A glottal stop is inserted between mó- and any vowel that follows it.
Hénová'ehótse tsévé’hoohtomáse?  What (plural things) are you (plural) looking at?
Hénová’e tsémetohtse?  What did you give him?
Hénová’etotse tsémétöhtse?  What (relational) did he give him (obv)?
Hénová’etotse tséno’èhesètse?  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:

| Question                                           | Translation                                      |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Névááhe tsénéménéstse?                             | Who is singing?                                 |
| Névááhe tséhááoénáhtse?                            | Who is praying?                                 |
| Neváaseo’o tséháoenase?                            | Who (plural) are praying?                       |
| Névááhe tsévéstoomoh séts?                         | Who is your spouse? (lit., Who is the one you sit with?) |
| Nevásóho tsévéstoomose?                            | Who (obviative) is his spouse?                  |
| Nevásóho tséméhotoovose?                           | Who (obviative) do they love?                   |
| Névááhe tsémanestésètse?                           | Who made it?                                    |
| Névááhe tséhóxe’ānöhtse?                           | Who cleaned it?                                 |
| Névááhe tsémétata’e?                               | Who gave it to you?                             |
| Nevásóho tsémétaa’ese?                             | 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:

| Question                                           | Translation                                      |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Névááhe tsé-he-vóhkéá’èstse?                       | Whose hat is this? / Who has on the hat?         |
| Névááhe tsé-he-mó’kéhá’néstse?                     | 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.

| Question                                           | Translation                                      |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Táaso váhpoma’óhtse?                               | Which one is the salt?                          |
| Táaséoonéstse nemótšéskehtse?                       | Which are your knives?                         |
| Táasévo’o tsévéstoomoh séts?                       | Which is your spouse?                          |
| Táasévoie tséomata’óse?                            | Which ones (animate) hit you?                   |
| Táasévoie hoemaho tsémanéhóse?                     | 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 hésé- 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 ____?'

| Question                                           | Translation                                      |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Hénová’e tsé-hésé-oomoh séts?                     | Why did you hit him?                            |

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

**When questions**

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

Tónêšé ého'eohtse? When did he arrive?
Tónêšé névéhá'eohe? When did you return?
Tónêšé néto'seaseto'eohtse? When are you going to leave?

**How long questions**

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

Néta-tónêšé-háomóhtahe? How long have you been sick?
Étaohke-tónêšé-ohénove He'konemáhoéve'ho'éno? How long does it take to get to Hardin?

**Where questions**

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

Tósá'e néto'séséheöhte? Where are you going to go?
Tósá'e néohkhéhtse'ohe? Where do you work?
Tósá'e ého'ëh? Where is he?
Tósá'e néhohtóva? Where did you buy it?
Tósá'e névóómo? Where did you see him?
Tósá'e éhó'ta namóxe'estoo'o? Where is my book?
Tósá'e éto'semóheohtséstove? Where is the meeting going to be?
Tósá'e nénèxhéstahse? Where are you from?

**How questions**

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

Né-tónëšé-vëhe? What's your name? (lit., How are you called?)
Né-tónëšé-hó'ëhne? How did you come?
Né-tónëšé-héne'enovo-o'o? How do you know them?
Né-tónëšé-táno? How do you feel (mentally/emotionally)?
Né-tónët-omóhtahe? How are you (in terms of wellness)? $$\text{RECHECK GLOSS}
Né-tónës-etsésta? What do you think of it?
Né-tónës-étámo? What do you think of him?
É-tónët-áho'ëtä? How is it cooked? (e.g. Is it cooked yet?)
É-tónët-õome? How much does it cost?
É-tónët-aeto? What size is he?
É-tónet-aō'o?  What size is it?
É-tónet-ónóto?  How thick is it?
É-tóne-éto'tame?  How deep is it? (e.g. water)
É-tóne-éhotoo'o'e?  How deep is it? (e.g. a hole or cave)
É-tóne-ého'oéstam?  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'xó-anāno?  How much does it weigh?
É-tóne'xóv-aneta?  How much does he weigh?
É-tónet-aa'ene'hō'ota?  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'o'e?  How far away it?
É-tónet-éhtañe'veve?  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-āhevóno'e?  What kind (or type) is it?
É-tónést-á'e?  How long is his hair?
É-tóne's-a'e?  How does it feel (in texture)?
É-tóne's-e'seme?  What sound does he make?
É-tóne's-évone?  What sound does it make?

What root and stem questions

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

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

-tóneševe 'What is/are ___ doing?'

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

Ná-tónešéve?  What did I do?
Né-tónešéve?  What did you do?
É-tónešéve?  What did he/she do?
É-tónešévého?  What did he/she (obv) do?
Ná-tónešévéme?  What did we (exclusive) do?
Né-tónešévéma?  What did we (inclusive) do?
Né-tónešévéme?  What did you (plural) do?
É-tónešéveo'o?  What did they do?

'How many' questions

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

| Tónesto néeo’hamoo’o? | How many (fish) did you catch? |
|-----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Né-tónéstóhe-aënáma?  | How old are you? (lit., How many are you yeared?) |
| É-tonéstóhe-éše’hama? | How many months old is he? |
| Né-tónéstóhe-enő’tse?  | How many nights did you camp? |
| É-tonéstóhe-éno’e?     | What day of the week is it? (lit., how many days is it?) |
| É-tónéstío-óxo’o?      | How many of them (an.) are there? |
| É-tónéstío-óhánéstse?  | 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 éamó’ahoetseo’o? | How many times did they run? |

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

| É-tóne’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 tónéš(e)- / tónést- preverbs, initials, and roots.

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

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

| Ná-óxó-heve? | What did I say? |
|--------------|----------------|
| Né-óxó-heve? | What did you say? |
| É-óxó-hevo’o? | What did he/she say? |
| É-óxó-hevo’né? | What did they say? |
| É-óxó-henove? | What is said? |
| Né-óxó-héto? | What did you say to him? |
| É-óxó-heto’ho? | 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'háso?  Where's the old man?
Naa neamaho'hestótsé?  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. $\text{DEVELOP THIS SECTION; include tóne'se 'sometime', tósa'e 'somewhere', tónêšé- 'somehow' (include Rolling Head sentence). 'something', hénáá'énëse 'something', etc.}$

Tóne'se móho'eohtséhéhe. 'He must have come sometime.'
Tósa'e nóháso móstanëštëma'xetónëštëhe'ame-pónnenënéhëhe. 'He just shot in any direction up in the air.' (1987:277)
Naa oha tónesto tséhetaa he'konahëtse hëtsëheòøhe náho'máñëstënëné. 'But however many of us who were healthy, we made it back here.' (1987:37)
Naa hëna'hanehe náëšëhôhta'hànë tónetáa'ë tëhëë'ënëmó. 'And I have told however much I know.' (1987:97) $\text{CAN tónetáa'ë FUNCTION AS A QUESTION WORD??}$

Hëë'a éto'se-tónestáotse. 'Maybe something is going to be wrong (with him).' (1987:195)
Móhmóne-tónestòhëaënamáhëhe. 'She was sometime in early age.' (1987:21)
Naa mó's-tónestóxëhevóhe móstaasëhéto'oëhehevóhe. 'And however many (suspects) there were, they were taken away to prison.' (1987:185)
Naa nêhe'se me'ko móhnës-tónesësóhpo'ëohëtohanëhe. 'And then the (rolling) head came through somehow.' (1980:54)
Naa vé'ho'e mósta-tónesënenëstómonënéhe. '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:

Nássáa-tóne'sëvéhe.  I'm not doing anything.
Nássáa-tóne'sètanóøhe.  I'm not feeling anything.
Nássáa-tóne'xóvomóhtáheëhe.  I'm not feeling anything.
Éssáa-tónestáhe.  There's nothing wrong with him.
Éssáa-tónesëhëhe.  There's nothing wrong with it. (??)
Éssáa-tónesösótsëhëhe.  Nothing happened.
Nássáa-tónestáttóvéhe.  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:

Nássáa'-óxohëhe.  I didn't say anything.
Néstsevé'e-óxôhêto! Don't say anything to him!

hová'êhe and negatives

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

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

Násáaho'ahê hová'êhe. I don't want anything.
Násáavóóhtôhe hová'êhe. 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 éssáahoéhe. No one was there.

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

Rhetorical questions

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

Nésáahe'évéhehe! Are you not a woman!
Névë'hétônëšëvé! Why did you do that!
Névë'hénéméne! ?? Why did you sing! $$\text{RH Q??}$$
Névë'héoxôhëto'o'o! Why did you say that to them!
Mónáme'hétonë'otse! ?? Nothing would happen to me!
Mónëme'hé-tône'oëto. You won't be able to do anything to him. (e.g., he's more powerful than you)
Ésáatônëšëéno'éëtôhane! 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:

- Háméštoo'èstse! Sit down!
- He'kotoo'èstse! Be quiet! / Sit still!
- Méseeestse! Eat!
- Né'éstsèhnèstse! Come in!
- Né'tòhkèhá'ahtse! Take your hat off!
- E'śeèstse'hènàhtse! Put your coat on!
- Né'seèstse'hènàhtse! Take your coat off!
- E'èhá'òhtse! Put your shoes on!
- Né'tò'èstse! Take your shoes off!
- Tàhèovèshêstse! Go to bed!
- Áahtovèstse! Listen to me!
- Néhmanoxèstse! Give me a drink!
- Nè'sèšèvèènèstse! Wash your face!
- Nè'sè'sèhe'òñàhtse! Wash your hands!
- Vè'hòóhtòhtse! Look at it!

---

**Plural addressees**

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

- Háméštoo'e! Sit down!
- He'kotoo'e! Be quiet! / Sit still!
- Mésehe! Eat!
- Né'éstsèhnè! Come in!
- Né'tòhkèhá'a! Take your hat off!
- E'śeèstse'hènà! Put your coat on!
- Né'seèstse'hènà! Take your coat off!
- E'èhá'o! Put your shoes on!
- Né'tò'e! Take your shoes off!
- Tàhèovèše! Go to bed!
- Áahtove! Listen to me!
- Néhmanoxe! Give me a drink!
- Nè'sè'sèhe'òña! Wash your hands!
- Vè'hòóhtome! 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/.

| Command          | Translation                      |
|------------------|----------------------------------|
| Háméstoo'o!      | Sit down later! (singular addressee) |
| Háméstoo'héne!  | Sit down later! (plural addressee) |
| Néhméto'o!       | Give it to me later! (singular addressee) |
| Néhméto'héne!   | Give it to me later! (plural addressee) |
| Nééváhósého'ehneo'o! | Come again later! (singular addressee) |
| Nééváhósého'ehnéhéne! | Come again later! (plural addressee) |

'should' commands

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

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

'should' impersonal commands

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

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

Negative commands

Negative commands tell people what not to do.

Prohibitives

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Rhetorical question commands
**RECHECK THIS SECTION, INCLUDING THE DATA AND GLOSSES/ CLAIMS ABOUT FUNCTIONS**

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

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

Né-sáa-méséhe-he-he?! Aren’t you eating?!
Né-sáa-'ovéšená-he-he?! Didn’t you go to bed?!
Né-sáa-naóotsé-he-he?! Aren’t you asleep?!

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

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

**Hortatives**

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

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

**First person hortatives**

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

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

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

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

**Command particles**

Some short words called particles function as commands:

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

**Mitigation of commands**

It has been noted that some command forms are mitigated (milder). They are less direct, for instance, than the most direct commands, such as Méseestse! 'Eat!' and Tahéovéséstse!'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 Éohkésááahtomónéhe 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** |
|--------------------------|---------------|-------------|
| Éméšehe. | Émese. | He's eating. |
| Návóósáne. | 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 pattern\(^{68}\). 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:

### Class AI

| Subject/Verb | Meaning          |
|--------------|------------------|
| Épěhévahe.   | 'He's good.'     |
| Étahpétá.    | 'He's big.'      |
| Nénémenewe?  | 'Did you sing?'  |
| Éma'ovése.   | 'He has red hair.' |
| Náováxe.     | 'I dreamed.'     |
| Éhenésone.   | 'She had a child.' |
| Éméšehe.     | 'He's eating.'   |

### Class II

| Subject/Verb | Meaning          |
|--------------|------------------|
| Épěhéva'e.   | 'It's good.'     |
| Étahpé'o.    | 'It's big.'      |
| Éhoo'kōho.   | 'It's raining.'  |
| Éma'ohe?     | 'Is it red?'     |
| Ésétovéstá.  | 'It's noon.'     |
| Éháohō'ta.   | 'It's hot.'      |
| Éméshéstove. | 'There is eating.' |

### Class TA

| Subject/Verb | Meaning          |
|--------------|------------------|
| Nápěhéváno. | 'I fixed him up.' |
| Návóómo.    | 'I saw him.'     |
| Néhoxomohé? | 'Did you feed him?' |
| Náméhóta.   | 'He loves me.'   |
| Áňáhtovésté!| 'Listen to me!'  |
| Násáa'oomóhe.| 'I didn't hit him.' |
| Émevo.      | 'He ate him (obv).' |

### Class TI

| Subject/Verb | Meaning          |
|--------------|------------------|
| Nápěhévána. | 'I fixed it.'    |
| Névéoohtáhe. | 'Did you see it?' |
| Násáaheštanóhe. | 'I didn't take it.' |
| Éhót'še. | 'He has it.'     |
| Náááhta.    | 'I'm listening to it.' |
| Násáa'oohtóhe. | 'I didn't hit it.' |
| Émeséhe.    | 'He ate it.'     |

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

**Polarity**

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

| Subject/Verb | Meaning          |
|--------------|------------------|
| 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?    |
| Étahpé'o. | It's big.    | Étahpé'o?     | Is it big?      |
| Náhestána. | I took it. | Néhestanahe? | Did you take it? |

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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.   |
| Éoseepéhévééno’e. | It tastes really good. |
| Nátséhésenëstëme. | We speak Cheyenne. |
| Nésáatšéhe’sevōomatsëhe. | 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:

| tséhnaóotsëse | when he was sleeping |
| tséhvóonā’o    | when it was morning  |
| ma’énésétovóesta | 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? |
| Móxháeanāhevóhe. | They must have been hungry. |
Ésáavé'hoohtóhe. He didn't look at it.

**Conjunct order verbs**
Some examples of conjunct order verbs are:

- tséhméseese when he ate
- tsénémenesese those who are singing
- éóháoénávóhtse whether they were hungry
- máxho'èhnéstse when he comes

**Imperative order verbs**
Some examples of imperative order verbs are:

- Háméstoo'èstse! Sit down!
- T'ahéovếšéstse! Go to bed!
- Né'évahósého'èhneó'o! Come again (later)!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Móhoo’kōhóhanéhe It must have rained
Mónéméséhehéhe You must have eaten

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

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

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

Mirative usage
The preterit is also used in contemporary settings to indicate surprise or exclamation on the part of a speaker. An older Cheyenne lady once heard me speaking some Cheyenne at a basketball game. She exclaimed, "Nooo, étshēhēnēsthoo'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 Algonguian languages to use another label for this type, "conjunct". In these notes, the label "conjunct" will be used. But, remember that you can use the label "dependent" if it is more meaningful to you. Here are some examples of some independent verbs and some conjunct verbs:

INDEPENDENT VERBS

náho'soc'a  I danced.
nímásáh'he
můmůhónënevóhe (hetane'o')
eśëvë'hooh'tóhe

CONJUNCT (DEPENDENT) VERBS

tšëmëmënašëse  when he sang
tšëmënesesëse  those who are singing
é:kác'åhëtse  whether he prayed
mëxho'éhmåésése  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, émåšehe '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: émå Bagëtsëse 'It is said that he drank', and dëomóšëse'to '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: m'hoo'k'ëhënehe 'it must have rained', m'nëšëmëwëheñëhe 'you must have eaten already', and m'hásomòhët'ëhëhe '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 šēnašëna&amp;#39;o 'he sang' and šēnašëna&amp;#39;ēnehō '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 š̱-. 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 š̱-, 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:

nášēhe  I ate.
nēšēhe  you (singular) ate.
š̱šēhe  He (or She) ate.

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

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

In the discussion preceding the lists of possessed nouns, earlier, it was mentioned that an animate noun becomes "obviated" (moved out of the spotlight) when it is possessed by a third-person. We will call the
obviated person a "fourth-person". For all of the other persons there can be a singular or a plural. But, the fourth-person can be either singular or plural. It was pointed out, earlier, for instance, that hee'hahoe means either 'his son' or 'his sons'. We will abbreviate the fourth-person with "4". If a fourth-person does some action, the verb describing that action must be a little different from a verb with a regular third-person. For instance,

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{énéméne} & \quad 3 \quad \text{he sang} \\
\text{hee'hahoe énáménóho} & \quad 4 \quad \text{his son sang}
\end{align*} \]

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

Obviation will also occur when two third-persons are referred to by the same verb, such as 'sea'. The proximate forms of 'man' and 'woman' are hetané and āe's, respectively. Their obviative forms are hetamóho and he'éCho, 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 Névéómo hetané. I saw a man.
1-3 Névéómo āe's. I saw a woman.
2-3 Névéómo hetane. You saw a man.
3-4 Névéómo ēvómóho āe's. The man saw a woman.
3-4 He'ē ēvómóho hetamóho. 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 ēvómóho, above, with the "3-4" person combination. For instance,

4-3 Néše ēvómóma'ē ēhetané-ke'a'ēkóne. His (the boy's) mother saw the boy.
4-3 Nénehé ēvósṭahénid'é. 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 návéómo (direct) I saw him.
2-3 návéómo (direct) You saw him.
3-1 návéóma (inverse) He saw me.
3-2 návéóma (inverse) He saw you.
INTRODUCTION TO VERBS (cont'd)

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

něvôme  
You saw me.

něvómatse  
I saw you.

něvómatsáme  
I saw you (plural).

něvómemne  
You (plural) saw me.

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

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

I-I náho'ąńóhta  
I came to it.

I-II náho'ąńóhtánátse  
I came to them (inanimate).

I-I náho'ąńóta'ma'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:
-nah-, -nes-, -ne-, or -nes-. If it is "away", there will be a -ta-.

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

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

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

átápé'o It is big.
ähoo'koho It is raining.
átoká It is cold.
ähé'ovo It is yellow.
ámá'o It is red.

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

ámashe He ate.
ámame He drank.
áho'soo'a He danced.
áho'vástomósá He taught.
ápápé'vahá He is good.

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

| see        | carry      | love       | be good to | sake        | break      | dampen     | find       | have       |
|------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 1-3: návoómo (m-ö) | 1-3: námaato (h-ö) | 1-3: námaato (h-ö) | 1-3: nápáheve (t-ö) | 1-3: námaato (h-ö) | 1-3: náamóho (h-ö) | 1-3: nááhe'köovó' (t-ö) | 1-3: námá'köovó'h (t-ö) | 1-3: nááho'hó' (h-ö) |
| 1-1: návóóghta (ht-ö) | 1-1: námaatstse (t-ö) | 1-1: námaatstse (ht-ö) | 1-1: nápáhevé'ta (t-ö) | 1-1: námaatstse (ht-ö) | 1-1: náamóh'tse (ht-ö) | 1-1: nááhe'köovó'tse (ht-ö) | 1-1: nááma's (g-ö) | 1-1: nááh'tse (t-ö) |
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 order verbs and some conjunct verbs:

INDEPENDENT VERBS

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

Modes

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

Outline of the Cheyenne verb system

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

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

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

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

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

| Cheyenne          | translation       | outline category |
|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Êpêhêvahe.        | He's good.        | I.A.POS.AI       |
| Ésâapêhevâhehe.   | He's not good.    | I.A.NEG.AI       |
| Êpêhêvahehe.      | Is he good?       | I.B.POS.AI       |
| Ésâapêhêvahehe?   | Isn't he good?    | I.B.NEG.AI       |
| Môpêhêvahehehe.   | He seems to be good. | I.C.POS.AI   |
| (Mó)ho'nôpêhevastse. | 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) 
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

-méšehe 'eat'

|          |                  |
|----------|------------------|
| Náméšehe | I ate            |
| Éméšehe  | 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          |
| Nénane   | You drank        |
| Émane    | He drank         |
| Émanóho  | He (obv) drank   |
| Nánanémé | We (excl) drank  |
| Nénanema | We (incl) drank  |
| Nénanéme | You (pl) drank   |
| Émaneo'o | They drank       |

/-nomené/ 'drink heated liquid'

|          |                  |
|----------|------------------|
| Nánoméne | I drank (heated liquid) |
| Nénoméne | You drank (heated liquid) |
| Énoméne  | He drank (heated liquid) |
| Énoménóho| He (obviative) drank (heated liquid) |
| Nénomenémé| We (exclusive) drank (heated liquid) |
| Nénomenenema| 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'óhe  | He worked        |
| Éhotse'óhóho| He (obv) worked  |
| Náhotse'óhéme| We (excl) worked |
| Néhotse'óhema| We (incl) worked |
| Néhotse'óhéme| You (pl) worked  |
| Éhotse'óheo'o| They worked      |

/-hoe/ 'be at'

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

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 the 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/
Ého'o'e  He's (here)  /é-hoe/
Éhoēho ??  He (obv) is (here)  /é-hoe-hó/
Náhoēme  We (excl) are (here)  /ná-hoe-mé/
Néhoema  We (incl) are (here)  /né-hoe-ma/
Néhoēme  You (pl) are (here)  /né-hoe-mé/
Éhoeo'o  They are (here)  /é-hoe-o/

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

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

/-háóléná/ 'pray'
Náháóléná  I prayed
Néháóléná  You prayed
Éháóléná  He prayed
Éháólénáho  He (obv) prayed
Náháólénámé  We (excl) prayed
Néháolénama  We (incl) prayed
Néháólénáme  You (pl) prayed
Éháolénao'o  They prayed

-oveše 'go to bed' and -ováxe 'dream'
These verbs add /ná/ to their stems except when their AI final –eše 'lie' is word-final:
Náovēše  I went to bed
Néovēše  You went to bed
Éovēše  He went to bed
Éovēšenáho  He (obv) went to bed
Náovēšenáme  We (excl) went to bed
Néovēšenáme  You (pl) went to bed
Éovēšena'o  They went to bed
Náováxe  I dreamed
Néováxe  You dreamed
Éováxe  He dreamed
Éováxenáho  He (obv) dreamed
Náováxenáme  We (excl) dreamed
Néováxenáme  You (pl) dreamed
Éováxena'o  They dreamed

73 Common alternative pronunciations are éovēšëne and éovēšëna.
### -véstahe 'help'

| Sg   | Pl   | 
|------|------|
| Návéstahe | I helped |
| Névéstahe | You helped |
| Évéstahe | He helped |
| Évéstahóho | He (obv) helped |
| Névéstähème | We (excl) helped |
| Névéstähema | We (incl) helped |
| Névéstähème | You (pl) helped |
| Évéstäheo'o | They helped |

### /-méó'é/ 'fight'

| Sg   | Pl   | 
|------|------|
| 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'

| Sg   | Pl   | 
|------|------|
| Nánaa’e | I doctored |
| Nénaa’e | You doctored |
| Énaa’e | He doctored |
| Énaa’óho | He (obv) doctored |
| Nánaa’ème | We (excl) doctored |
| Nénaa’ema | We (incl) doctored |
| Nénaa’ème | You (pl) doctored |
| Énaa’eo'o | They doctored |

### -naóotse 'sleep'

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

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

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

| Sg   | Pl   |  
|------|------|
| 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'.

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Énémenóho He (obv) sang Énémenóho⁷⁶ He (obv) has a crooked face
Nánénéménémé We (excl) sang Nánénéménémé We (excl) have crooked faces
Nénémenemama We (incl) sang Nénémenemama We (incl) have crooked faces
Nénémenéme You (pl) sang Nénémenéme You (pl) have crooked faces
Énémeeno'o They sang Énémeeno'o They have crooked faces

-tséhéstaha 'be Cheyenne'

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

| official spelling | meaning | simpler spelling |
|-------------------|---------|-----------------|
| Nátséhéstaha      | I'm Cheyenne | Natsistah |
| Nétséhéstaha      | You're Cheyenne | Nitsistah |
| Étséhéstaha       | He's Cheyenne | Itsistah |
| Étséhéstahóho     | He (obv) is Cheyenne | Itsistaho |
| Nátséhéstahéme    | We (excl) are Cheyenne | Natsistam |
| Nétséhéstahéma    | We (incl) are Cheyenne | Nitsistama |
| Nétséhéstahéme    | You (pl) are Cheyenne | Nitsistam |
| Étséhéstahéo'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 |   |
| Éhevoone | He (obv) said |   |
| Náhémé | We (excl) said |   |
| Néhema | We (incl) said |   |
| Néhémé | You (pl) said |   |
| Éhevoone | They said |   |

-néehove 'be the one'

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

|   |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| Nánééhove | I am the one. |   |
| Nénééhove | You are the one. |   |
| Énééhove | He is the one. |   |
| Énéehóvého?? | 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. $\S$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'**

|   | I have a child(ren) | You have a child(ren) | He has a child(ren) | He (obv) has a child(ren) | We (excl) have a child(ren) | We (incl) have a child(ren) | You (pl) have a child(ren) | They have a child(ren) |
|---|---------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| Náhenésone | Néhenésone | Éhenésone | Éhenésónêhôho | Náhenésónêhême | Néhenésonêhêma | Néhenésónêhême | Êhenésónêheo'o |
| Náhevoestove | Néhevoestove | Éhevoestove | Náhevoestovême | Néhevoestovêma | Néhevoestovéme | Éhevoestoveo'o |

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

|   | I have a knife | He has a car | I have a grandchild(ren) | He has a daughter(s) | He has a son | I have a pet |
|---|----------------|--------------|---------------------------|----------------------|-------------|--------------|
| Náhemôtšeške | Éheamâho’héstove | Náhevêxâhe | Éhestônahe | Éhee'hahe | Náhestotšehe | |

**Animate Intransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs**

**-mane 'drink'**

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

**-mésehe 'eat'**

|   | I did not eat | You did not eat | He did not eat | He (obv) did not eat | We (excl) did not eat | We (incl) did not eat | You (pl) did not eat |
|---|--------------|----------------|--------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Násáamèséhéhe | Nésáamèséhéhe | Ésáamèséhéhe | Ésáamèséhéheho | Násáamèséhéhéme | Nésáamèséhéhêma | Nésáamèséhéhéme |
Ésáaméshéheo'o  They did not eat

-hotse'ohe 'work'
Násáahotse'óhéhe  I did not work
Nésáahotse'óhéhe  You did not work
Ésahotse'óhéhe  He did not work
Ésáahotse'óheho  He (obv) did not work
Násáahotse'óhême  We (excl) did not work
Nésáahotse'óhemá  We (incl) did not work
Nésáahotse'óhême  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
Ésaho'sóéhe  He did not dance
Ésáaho'sóéheho  He (obv) did not dance
Násáaho'sóéhéme  We (excl) did not dance
Nésáaho'sóéhemá  We (incl) did not dance
Nésáaho'sóéhéme  You (pl) did not dance
Ésáaho'sóéheo'o  They did not dance

-oveše 'go to bed'
Verbs with the AI final –eše add /ná/ to their stems except when–eše is word-final:
Násáa'ovéšenáhe  I did not go to bed
Nésáa'ovéšenáhe  You did not go to bed
Ésaa'ovéšenáhe  He did not go to bed
Ésáa'ovéšenáheho  He (obv) did not go to bed
Násáa'ovéšenáhéme  We (excl) did not go to bed
Nésáa'ovéšenáhême  We (incl) did not go to bed
Nésáa'ovéšenáhéme  You (pl) did not go to bed
Ésáa'ovéšenáheo'o  They did not go to bed

-ováxe 'dream'
The extra /ná/ of the 'lie' final also appears in the negative forms of the verbs for 'dream':
Násáa'ováxenáhe  I did not dream
Nésáa'ováxenáhe  You did not dream
Ésaa'ováxenáhe  He did not dream
Ésáa'ováxenáheho  He (obv) did not dream
Násáa'ováxenáhéme  We (excl) did not dream
Nésáa'ováxenáhême  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 |
| Ésáahéheho'o | They did not say |

-**he-néstone 'have a child'**

| Násáahenésónéhéhe | I do not have a child |
|--------------------|-----------------------|
| Nésáahenésónéhéhe  | You do not have a child |
| Ésáahenésónéhéhe   | He does not have a child |
| Ésáahenésónéhéheho | He (obv) does not have a child |
| Násáahenésónéhéhéme| We (excl) do not have a child |
| Nésáahenésónéhéhema| We (incl) do not have a child |
| Nésáahenésónéhéhéme| You (pl) do not have a child |
| Ésáahenésónéhéheho'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 hoohtsëstse means 'tree'. If this noun stem is incorporated into the equative verb frame, the result is éhoóhtsetsevé which means 'it (animate) is a tree'. Equative verbs can be pluralized like other AI verbs. So éhoóhtsetsevéo'o means 'they are trees.'

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

| Éhováheve     | It is an animal.     | Éhováheveo'o | They are animals.     |
| -------------- |---------------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| Émé'éševotsëve| He is a baby.       | Émé'éševotsëveo'o | They are babies.       |
| Énáhkóheve    | It is a bear.        | Énáhkóhévéveo'o | They are bears.        |
| Éhoma'eve     | It is a beaver.      | Éhoma'èvéveo'o | They are beavers.      |
| Évé'késéheve  | It is a bird.        | Évé'késéhévéveo'o | They are birds.        |
| Éhotóave      | It is a buffalo.     | Éhotóavevéveo'o | They are buffaloes.    |
| Épóesónéheve  | It is a cat.         | Épóesónéhévéveo'o | They are cats.         |
| Évéhöneve     | He is a chief.       | Évéhönevéveo'o | They are chiefs.       |
| Éka'ëškónéheve| He is a child.       | Éka'ëškónéhéveo'o | They are children.     |
| Éó'kóhméhéheve| It is a coyote.      | Éó'kóhméhévéveo'o | They are coyotes.      |
| Éváotsevéheve | It is a deer.        | Éváotsevévéveo'o | They are deer.         |
| Éhéstove      | It is a dress.       | Éhéstóvéveo'o  | They are dresses.      |
| Éšé'seve      | It is a duck.        | Éšé'sevéveo'o  | They are ducks.        |
| Énetsëve      | It is an eagle.      | Énetsëvéveo'o  | They are eagles.       |
| Évóaxaa'ëve   | It is a bald eagle.  | Êvóaxaa'èvéveo'o | They are bald eagles.  |
| Émo'éheve     | It is an elk.        | Émo'éhévéveo'o  | They are elks.         |
| Émo'ëškoneve  | It is a finger.      | Émo'ëškonévéveo'o | They are fingers.      |
| Énomá'hëveve  | It is a fish.        | Énomá'hëvéveo'o | They are fishes.        |
| Éhëseve       | It is a fly.         | Éhësevéveo'o  | They are flies.         |
| Éma'heóneve   | It is a sacred power.| Éma'heónevéveo'o | They are sacred powers. |
Émo'ehno'haméheve  It is a horse.  Émo'ehno'haméheveo'o They are horses.
Éhetaneve  He is a man.  Éhetanéve'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'èveo'o They are nighthawks.
Éma'hákèséheve  He is an old man.  Éma'hákèséheveo'o They are old men.
Éséstotó'eve  It is a pine.  Éséstotó'èveo'o They are pines.
Évóhkoohéheve  It is a rabbit.  Évóhkoohéveo'o They are rabbits.
Éxaöneve  It is a skunk.  Éxaöneveo'o They are skunks.
Éhotóhkeve  It is a star.  Éhotóhkeveo'o They are stars.
Éhoóhtsetseve  It is a tree.  Éhoóhtsetséveo'o They are trees.
Énótaxéve  He is a warrior.  Énótáxéveo'o They are warriors.
Évé'ho' eve  He is a whiteman.  Évé'ho'éveo'o They are whitemen.
Éhe'ève  She is a woman.  Éhe'éveo'o They are women.

**Animate Intransitive Independent Interrogative verbs**

There are two ways to create yes/no questions\(^77\) 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.

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**–he suffix yes/no questions**

**-mane 'drink'**

| Námánehe? | Did I drink? |
| Némánehe? | Did you drink? |
| Émanehe? | Did he drink? |
| Émanevóhe? | Did he (obv) drink? |
| Námanémanehé? | Did we (excl) drink? |
| Némámanémanehé? | Did we (incl) drink? |
| Némámaneméhe? | 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? |
| Námséhéhéméhe? | Did we (excl) eat? |
| Néméséhémémanemehe? | Did we (incl) eat? |
| Néméséhémémehe? | Did you (pl) eat? |

\(^{77}\) Also called polar interrogatives.
Éméséhevóhe? Did they eat?

-oveše 'go to bed' interrogaives

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

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

-he-nésone 'have a child' interrogaives

Náhenésonéhehe? Do I have a child(ren)?
Néhenésonéhehe? Do you have a child(ren)?
Éhenésonéhehe? Does he have a child(ren)?
Éhenésonéhevohe? Does he (obv) have a child(ren)?
Náhenésonéhevohe? Do we (excl) have a child(ren)?
Néhenésonéhemanhehe? Do we (incl) have a child(ren)?
Néhenésonéhemehehe? Do you (pl) have a child(ren)?
Éhenésonéhevohe? Do they have a child(ren)?

-he 'say' interrogaives

Náhehe? Did I say?
Néhehe? Did you say?
Éhehe? Did he say?
Éhevohe? Did he (obv) say?
Náhemehe? Did we (excl) say?
Néhemanhehe? 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:

Mónéēšeméhehe? Did you already eat?
Móněháána? Are you hungry?
Móněstsenoměne? Will you drink (something heated, especially coffee)?
Móněmőnéévaho'eohe? Did you just get back?
Mó'ěháomóhtahe? Is he sick?
Mó’énéměne? Did he sing?

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

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

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

**-he suffix negative questions**

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

**mó- prefix negative questions**

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

**Animate Intransitive Inferential verbs**

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

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

**Inferential formula**

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

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

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

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

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

There can be one or more preverbs.

There must be a verb stem.

There must be the negative suffix /-hé/, except that an II (Inanimate Intransitive verb) will take the /-háne/ 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'/

Mónámanēhēhe
Mónémanēhēhe
Mómanēhēhe
Mómanēhevōhe
Mónāmanēhemanēhe
Mónēmanēhemanēhe
Mónēmanēhemēhe
Mómanēhevōhe

Mónámanēhēhe I must have drunk.
Mónémanēhēhe You must have drunk.
Mómanēhēhe He must have drunk.
Mómanēhevōhe He (obv) must have drunk.
Mónāmanēhemanēhe We (excl) must have drunk.
Mónēmanēhemanēhe We (incl) must have drunk.
Mónēmanēhemēhe You (pl) must have drunk.
Mómanēhevōhe They must have drunk.

/-háéaná/ 'be hungry'

Mónaháéanahēhe
Mónēháéanahēhe
Móháéanahēhe
Móháéanēhevōhe
Mónaháéanāhemanēhe
Mónēháéanāhemanēhe
Mónēháéanahemēhe
Móháéanēhevōhe

Mónaháéanahēhe I must be hungry.
Mónēháéanahēhe You must be hungry.
Móháéanahēhe He must be hungry.
Móháéanēhevōhe He (obv) must be hungry.
Mónaháéanāhemanēhe We (excl) must be hungry.
Mónēháéanāhemanēhe We (incl) must be hungry.
Mónēháéanahemēhe You (pl) must be hungry.
Móháéanēhevōhe They must be hungry.

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

Mónaháóéenahēhe
Mónēháóéenahēhe
Móháóéenahēhe
Móháóēnevōhe
Mónaháóenāhemanēhe
Mónēháóenāhemanēhe
Mónēháóenahemēhe
Móháoēnevōhe

Mónaháóéenahēhe I must have prayed.
Mónēháóéenahēhe You must have prayed.
Móháóéenahēhe He must have prayed.
Móháóēnevōhe He (obv) must have prayed.
Mónaháóenāhemanēhe We (excl) must have prayed.
Mónēháóenāhemanēhe We (incl) must have prayed.
Mónēháóenahemēhe You (pl) must have prayed.
Móháoēnevōhe They must have prayed.

/-táhoe/ 'ride'

Mónátáhoehēhe
Mónétáhoehēhe
Mótáhoehēhe
Mótáhoevōhe
Mónátáhoehemānēhe
Mónétáhoehemānēhe
Mónétáhōehehēhe
Mótáhoehevōhe

Mónátáhoehēhe I must have ridden.
Mónétáhoehēhe You must have ridden.
Mótáhoehēhe He must have ridden.
Mótáhoevōhe He (obv) must have ridden.
Mónátáhoehemānēhe We (excl) must have ridden.
Mónétáhoehemānēhe We (incl) must have ridden.
Mónétáhoehehēhe 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.
Mónéhehēhe. You must have said that.
Móhehe. 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'ńó-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'ńómésehēto I must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'ńóméseheto You must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'ńóméseestse He must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'ńómésehetsētse He (obv) must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'ńómésehētse We⁸² must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'ńómésehēse You (pl) must not have eaten.
(Mó)ho'ńómésehēvohtse They must not have eaten.

-mane 'drink'

(Mó)ho'ńómanēto I must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'ńómaneto You must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'ńómanēstse He must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'ńómanetsētse He (obv) must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'ńómanētse We must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'ńómanēse You (pl) must not have drunk.
(Mó)ho'ńómanēvohtse 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

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

⁸¹ Cheyenne ho'ńó- appears to function parallel to Cree pwaag, which, like ho'ńó-, only occurs with conjunct order verbs.

⁸² There is no distinction in conjunct verbs between inclusive 'we' and exclusive 'we'.
**-mésehe 'eat'**

| Plural | Singular | Meaning |
|--------|----------|---------|
| Náméshémáse | I am said to have eaten. |
| Néméshémáse | You are said to have eaten. |
| Éméséheséstse | He is said to have eaten. |
| Éméséhésésto | 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. |
| Éméséhésésto | They are said to have eaten. |

**-mane 'drink'**

| Plural | Singular | Meaning |
|--------|----------|---------|
| Námámanémáse | I are said to have drunk. |
| Némámanémáse | You are said to have drunk. |
| Émanéséstse | He is said to have drunk. |
| Émanésesto | He (obv) is said to have drunk. |
| Námámanémánése | We (excl) are said to have drunk. |
| Némámanémánése | We (incl) are said to have drunk. |
| Némámanémése | You (pl) are said to have drunk. |
| Émánésesto | They are said to have drunk. |

**/-he/ 'say'**

| Plural | Singular | Meaning |
|--------|----------|---------|
| Náhémáse | I am said to have said. |
| Néhémáse | You are said to have said. |
| Éhéséstse | He is said to have said. |
| Éhésésto | 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. |
| Éhésésto | They are said to have said. |

**Animate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs**

| Plural | Singular | Meaning |
|--------|----------|---------|
| Násáaméséhéhémáse | I am said to have not eaten. |
| Nésáaméséhéhémáse | You are said to have not eaten. |
| Ésáaméséhéheséstse | He is said to have not eaten. |
| Ésáaméséhésésto | 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. |
| Nésáaméséhéhmése | You (pl) are said to have not eaten. |
| Ésáaméséhéhesésto | They are said to have not eaten. |

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

The preterit mode is used by Cheyennes for telling about things which happened before the memory of anyone currently living. The preterit and reportative have traditionally been the most common modes used to narrate legends and 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.
Éxhonónhéhoo'o He baked
Éxhonónhéhoono 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.
Éhnáehoo'o He died.
Éhnáehoono They died.
Éhnáa'éhoo'o He doctored.
Éhnáa'éhoono They doctored.
Éhméséhéhoo'o He ate.
Éhméséhéhoono They ate.
Éxhéhoo'o He said.
Éxhéhoono They said.

Animate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs

Éssáanéménénéhoo'o He did not sing
éssáanéménéhoono They did not sing.
Éssáahonónhéhoo'o He did not bake
éssáahonónhéhoono They did not bake.
Éssáaháoenáhoo'o He did not pray.
éssáaháoenáhoono They did not pray.
Éssáaháeanáhoo'o He was not hungry.
éssáaháeanáhoono They were not hungry.
Éssáahováneehoo'o He was not gone
éssáahováneehoono They were not gone.
Éssáanaahéhoo'o He did not die.
Éssáanaahéhoono They did not die.
Éssáanaa'èhoo'o He did not doctor.
Éssáanaa'èhoono They did not doctor.
Éssáaméséhéhoo'o He did not eat.
Éssáaméséhéhoono They did not eat.
Éssáahéhéhoo'o He did not say.
Éssáahéhehoono They did not say.

Animate Intransitive Imperative verbs

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

Animate Intransitive Immediate Imperative

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

| meaning | command one person | command persons |
|---------|---------------------|-----------------|
| Eat!    | Méseestse!          | Mésehe!         |
| Sit down! | Hámésto’ëstse!     | Háméstoo’e!    |
| Dance!  | Ho’soo’ëstse!       | Ho’soo’ë!       |
| Go to bed! | Táhéövéëstse!     | Táhéövéë!      |
| Pray!   | Háóénëhtse!         | Háóéna!        |
| Sing!   | Néménëstse!         | Néméne!        |
| Work!   | Hotse’ôëstse!       | Hotse’ôhe!     |
| Get up! | Tö’ëstse!           | Tö’ë!          |
Be happy!  Pēhēvetāňohtse!  Pēhēvetāno!
Look!  Tsēhetō'ohtse!  Tsēhetō'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)!           | Mēsēheo'o!                  | Mēsēhéhéne!                   |
| Sit down (later)!      | Hāmēstoeo'o!                | Hāmēstoehēne!**RECHECK**      |
| Dance (later)!         | Ho'sōeo'o!                  | Ho'sōhéne!                    |
| Go to bed (later)!     | Tāhēovēšenao'o!             | Tāhēovēšenāhéne!             |
| Pray (later)!          | Hāōenao'o!                  | Hāōénāhéne!                   |
| Sing (later)!          | Nēmeneo'o!                  | Nēmenēhéne!                   |
| Work (later)!          | Hotse'ōheo'o!               | Hotse'ōhéne!                  |
| Get up (later)!        | To'eo'o!                    | To'ēhéne!                     |
| Be happy (later)!      | Pēhēvetanoo'o!              | Pēhēvetanōhéne!               |
| Look (later)!          | Tsēhetō'oo'o!               | Tsēhetō'ōhéne!                |

**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 | meaning |
|----------------------------------|---------|
| Ho'sōe ha!                       | Let him dance! |
| Mēsēhe ha!                      | Let him eat!  |
| Tāhēovēšenaha!                  | Let him go to bed! |
| Hāōenaha!                       | Let him pray! |
| Nēmeneha!                       | Let him sing! |
| Hotse'ōheha!                    | Let him work! |

| hortatives said about more than one person | meaning |
|-------------------------------------------|---------|
| Ho'sōevo ha!                              | Let them dance! |
| Mēsēhēvo ha!                              | Let them eat!  |
| Tāhēovēnāvo ha!                           | Let them go to bed! |
| Nēmenēvo ha!                              | Let them sing! |
| Hotse'ōhevo ha!                           | 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 sāa- negative prefix, a verb stem, the negative suffix /-hé/, and, finally, a suffix –ha said about one person or –voha said about more than one person:
hortatives said about one person
Sáaho’sóheha!
Sáaméséheha!
Tásáa’ovéšenáheha!
Sáanémenéheha!
Sáahotse’óheha!

hortatives said about more than one person
Sáah o’sóeheha!
Sáaméséhevovoheha!
Tásáahéovéšenáhevovoheha!
Sáanémenéhevovoheha!
Sáahotse’óhevovoheha!

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!

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

| Intransitive verb | Meaning | Equative verb | Meaning |
|-------------------|---------|---------------|---------|
| Éhó’ta. It’s (there). | Éhó’stánéstse. They are (there). |
| Épēhėva’e. It’s good. | Epēhėva’énéstse. They are good. |
| Éhávéséva’e. It’s bad. | Éhávéséva’énéstse. They are bad. |
| Étahpe’o. It’s big. | Étahpe’ónéstse. They are big. |
| Étšēské’o. It’s small. | Étšēské’ónéstse. They are small. |
| Éséeso. It’s the same. | Éséesónéstse. They are the same. |
| Ého’ěéto. It’s snowing. | ----- |
| Éhoo’kōho. It’s raining. | ----- |
| Évó’kómo. It’s white. | Évó’komónéstse. They are white. |
| Éheóvo. It’s yellow. | Éheóvónéstse. They are yellow. |
| Émá’o. It’s red. | Éma’ónéstse. They are red. |
| É’o. It’s dry. | É’o’ónéstse. They are dry. |
| Éhe’kóóva. It’s wet. | Éhe’kóóvónéstse. They are wet. |
| Éháenāno. It’s heavy. | Éháenanónéstse. They are heavy. |
| Ééstóvo. It’s sharp. | Ééstovónéstse. They are sharp. |
| Épēhēvéño’e. It tastes good. | Épēhēvéño’énéstse. They taste good. |
| Épēhēvemé’ha. It smells good. | Épēhēvemé’a’hánéstse. They smell good. |

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 émáhēōnéve which means 'it is a house'. Equative verbs can be pluralized like other II verbs. So émáhēōnévéénéstse 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:

| II Equative        | English Description       | II Equative          | English Description       |
|--------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Émótšéškeve.       | It is a knife.            | Émótšéš kévéñéstse.  | They are knives.          |
| Éh’e’evé.          | It is liver.              | Éh’e’véñéstse.       | They are livers.          |
| Ëheséotseve.       | It is medicine.           | Ëheséootséñéstse.    | They are medicines.       |
| Émo’ëškoneve.      | It is a ring.             | Émo’ëškonéñéstse.    | They are rings.           |
| Éméoneve.          | It is a trail/road.       | Éméonéñéstse.        | They are trails/roads.    |
| Éméta’xe.          | It is a scalp.            | Éméta’xéñéstse.      | They are scalps.          |
| Émo’kéhanéveve.    | It is a shoe.             | Émo’kéhanéñéstse.    | 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.

| II Equative        | English Description       | II Equative          | English Description       |
|--------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Émanéstove.        | There is drinking.        | Émanéstóñéstse.      | There are drinkings.      |
| Éméséhéstove.      | There is eating.          | Éméséhéñéstóñéstse.  | There are eatings.        |
| Ëháeanáhtove.      | There is hungering.       | Ëháeanáhtóñéstse.    | There are hungerings.     |
| Ëháoenáhtove.      | There is praying.         | Ëháoenáhtóñéstse.    | There are prayings.       |
| Énéménéstove.      | There is singing.         | Énéménéñéstóñéstse.  | There are singings.       |
| Esévanóhtove.      | There is sliding.         | Ésévanóhtóñéstse.    | There are slidings.       |
| Éhenove.           | It is said.??             | Éhenóñéstse.??       | ??                        |
| Éhestohe.??        | ??                         | Éhestóñéstse.??      | ??                        |

Impersonals with reflexive/reciprocal stems

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

| II Equative        | English Description       | II Equative          | English Description       |
|--------------------|---------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|
| Éméhótahtseo’o.    | They love themselves/each other. |                      |                           |
| Éméhótahtséñesteve. | There is love for themselves/one another. |        |                           |
| Éo’o evótáhtseo’o. | They argued with each other. |                      |                           |
| Éo’o evótáhtséñesteve. | 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 obviation\(^{87}\). Some prefer, instead, to call the "obviated" II verbs

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

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

\(^{86}\) Reflexives refer to action toward oneself. Reciprocals refer to action toward one each other. Remember that Cheyenne reflexives and reciprocals are pronounced the same. We can only tell the difference between them from the speech context or if there is some other word, such as the reciprocal particle nonámé’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 verbs. I use the label relational verbs in this book. The Cheyenne relational suffix is –tse. In the following sentence pairs the second sentence has a relational verb:

Namahā'ō o étā̂pē'o 'My house is big'; Hemahā'ō o étā̂pē'otse 'His house is big (rel).'
Neamahō'hestōtse émā'o 'Your car is red'; Hemamahō'hestōtse éma'otse 'His car is red (rel).'
Namōx'estōo'o éhō'ta 'My book is here'; Hemōxe'estōo'o ého'tatse 'His book is here (rel).'

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

Namaahēō'o étā̂pē'o 'My house is bent.'
Hemamaahēō'o étā̂pē'otse 'His house is bent (rel).'
Namaahōtse évōkōntēstse 'My arrows are bent.'
Hemamaahōtse évōkōntētōtse '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/.

Ésāaho'táháne. It is not (here).
Ésāapēhēva'ëháne. It's not good.
Ésāahāvēsēva'ëháne. It's not bad.
Ésāatāhēpē'ëháne. It's not big.
Ésāaatsēšēke'ëháne. It's not small.
Ésāasēsēsōëháne. It's not the same.
Ésāaho'ëtāháne. It's not snowing.
Ésāahō'ëtēhāne. It's not raining.
Ésāavō'komōháne. It's not white.
Ésāahōevōháne. It's not yellow.
Ésāama'ōháne. It's not red.
Ésāa'ō'ëháne. It's not dry.
Ésāahe'kōvāháne. It's not wet.
Ésāahāenānōháne. It's not heavy.
Ésāa'éstōvōháne. It's not sharp.
Ésāapēhēvēno'ëháne. It tastes good.

They are not (here).
They are not good.
They are not bad.
They are not big.
They are not small.
They are not the same.

Ésākahēō'ëhāñehóte. They are not (here).
Ésāahēō'ëhāñehōtse. They are not good.
Ésāahāvēsēva'ëhāñehōtse. They are not bad.
Ésāaatsēšēke'ëhāñehōtse. They are not small.
Ésāasēsēsōehāñehōtse. They are not the same.

Impersonal Negative verbs

Impersonals may be negated:

Ésāamēsēhēstōvēhāne. There is not eating.
Ésāamēsēhēstōvēhāñehōtse. There are not eatings.

Ésāahāeñáhtōvēhāne. There is not hungering.
Ésāahāeñáhtōvēhāñehōtse. There are not hungerings.

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88 E.g. Drapeau (2013), Junker (2003).
Ésáahenóvèhane.?? It is not said.??

Ésáaméhotáhtséstovèhane. 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 namáheó'ó ésáama'óháne 'my house is not red'. But if there is a third person possessor, the verb is marked as relational: hemáheó'ó ésáama'óhanéhetse 'his house is not red (rel)'. Some other examples are:

| Subject | Verb | Meaning |
|---------|------|---------|
| Ésáaho'táhanéhetse. | It is not (here) (rel). |
| Ésáaho'táhanéhenetótse. | They are not (here) (rel). |
| Ésáheóvéhanéhetse. | It is not yellow (rel). |
| Ésáheóvéhanéhenetótse. | They are not yellow (rel). |
| Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhetse. | It is not good (rel). |
| Ésáapéhéva'éhanéhenetótse. | They are not good (rel). |
| Ésáa'ó'óhanéhetse. | It is not dry (rel). |
| Ésáa'ó'óhanéhenetótse. | They are not dry (rel). |
| Ésáamanéstovéhanéhetse. | There is not drinking (rel). |
| Ésáamanéstovéhanéhenetótse. | There are not drinkings (rel). |
| Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetse. | There is not eating (rel). |
| Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhenetótse. | There are not eatings (rel). |
| Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanéhetse. | There is not hungering (rel). |
| Ésáaháeanóhtovéhanéhenetótse. | There are not hungerings (rel). |
| Ésáaháoënáhtovéhanéhetse. | There is not praying (rel). |
| Ésáaháoënáhtovéhanéhenetótse. | 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:

Épēhēva'e. It's good.
Épēhēva'énēstse. They are good.

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

Épēhēva'ehe? Is it good?

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

/é-pēhēva'e-nevot-he/ Are they good?

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

Épēhēva'enevotse? Are they good?

Some other II interrogatives are:

| Verb        | Question | Meaning                          | Yes/No Question | Meaning                          |
|-------------|----------|----------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| Ého'tahe?   | Is it (there)? | Ého'tanevotse? Are they (there)? |
| Étāhe'ophe? | Is it big?    | Étāhe'onevotse? Are they big?    |
| Ého'ëetohe? | Did it snow?  | -----                            |
| Éhoo'kõohohe? | Did it rain?  | -----                            |
| Évō'komohe? | Is it white?  | Évō'komonevotse? Are they white? |
| Éheóvohe?   | Is it yellow? | Éheóvonevotse? Are they yellow?  |
| Éhāvēśeva'ehe? | Is it bad? | Éhāvēśeva'enevotse? Are they bad? |
| Éő'ohe?     | Is it dry?    | Éő'onevotse? Are they dry?       |
| Éma'ohe?    | Is it red?    | Ema'onevotse? Are they red?      |
| Ééstovehe?  | Is it sharp?  | Ééstovonevotse? Are they sharp?  |
| Émanéstovehe? | Is there drinking? | Émanéstovonevotse? Are there drinking? |
| Émēsēhēstovehe? | Is there eating? | Émēsēhēstovonevotse? Are there eatings? |
| Éhāeanáhtovehe? | Is there hungering? | Éhāeanáhtovonevotse? Are there hungerings? |
| Éhāoenáhtovehe? | Is there praying? | Éhāoenáhtovonevotse? 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:

Nemōxe'ësto'o ého'tahe? Is your book there?
Hemōxe'ësto'o ého'tatsehe? Is his book there (rel)?
Hemōxe'ëstōonōte'ého'tanetsevotse? Are his books there (rel)?
Éhāeanáhtovetsehe? Is there hungering (rel)?
Éhāeanáhtovenevotse? Are there hungerings (rel)?
Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative verbs

Ésáho'táhanhehe?  Isn't it (there)?
Ésáho'táhanevotse?  Aren't they (there)?

Ésáapéháva'éhanehe?  Isn't it good?
Ésáapéháva'éhanevotse?  Aren't they good?

Ésátahpe'óhanhehe?  Isn't it big?
Ésátahpe'óhanevotse?  Aren't they big?

Ésáahó'éetóhanhehe?  Isn't it snowing?
Ésáahó'éetóhanevotse?  Aren't they snowing?

Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanehe?  Isn't there hunger?
Ésáaháeanáhtovéhanevotse?  Aren't there hungerings?

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Interrogative relational verbs

Ésáahó'tánhethahe?  Isn't his ___ (there) (rel)?
Ésáahó'tánhethetotse?  Aren't his ___ (there) (rel)?

Ésáapéháva'éhánhethahe?  Isn't his ___ good (rel)?
Ésáapéháva'éhánhethetotse?  Aren't his ___ good (rel)?

Ésáahó'évohanhéhahe?  Isn't his ___ yellow (rel)?
Ésáahó'évohanhéhetotse?  Aren't his ___ yellow (rel)?

Ésáaháeanáhtovéhánhethahe?  Isn't there hungering (rel)?
Ésáaháeanáhtovéhánhethetotse?  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'énéste?  Are they good?

Mó'ésáapéháva'éhanhe?  Isn't it good?
Mó'ésáapéháva'éhanhéto?  Aren't they good?

Mó'ého'hta?  Is it (here/there)?
Mó'ého'tánést?  Are they (here/there)?

Mó'éhoo'kóho?  Is it raining?
Mó'ésáahoo'kóhóhane?  Isn't it raining?

Mó'ého'ééto?  Is it snowing?
**Inanimate Intransitive Inferential verbs**

| Verb                                       | Meaning          |
|--------------------------------------------|------------------|
| Mópėhėva'ėhanēhe.                         | It must be good. |
| Mópėhėva'ėhanēvōtse.                      | They must be good. |
| Móma'ōhanēhe.                             | It must be red.  |
| Móma'ōhanēvōtse.                          | They must be red. |
| Móheóvo'hanēhe.                           | It must be yellow.|  
| Móheóvo'hanēvōtse.                        | They must be yellow. |
| Móhoo'kōhōhanēhe.                         | It must have rained. |
| Mómėhėstovēhanēhe.                        | There must have been eating. |
| Mómėhėstovēhanēvōtse.                     | There must have been eatings. |

**Inanimate Intransitive Inferential relational verbs**

| Verb                                          | Meaning                      |
|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Heamaho'hestötse mōma'ōhanetsēhe.            | His car must be red (rel). |
| Heamaho'héstötötse mōma'ōhanetsevōtse.      | His cars must be red (rel). |
| Hemoxe'ëstoo'o mōpėhėva'ēhanetsēhe.         | His book must be good (rel). |
| Hemoxe'estōonōtse mōpėhėva'ēhanetsevōtse.    | His books must be good (rel). |
| Hemahōo'o móheóvo'hanetsēhe.                 | His house must be yellow (rel). |
| Hemahōo'onōtse móheóvo'hanetsevōtse.         | His houses must be yellow (rel). |

**Inanimate Intransitive Reportative verbs**

| Verb                                      | Meaning                          |
|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Ého'ñáñëse.                              | It's said to be (here/there).    |
| Ého'ñáñësestötse.                        | They are said to be (here/there).|
| Éhoo'kōhōñēse.                           | It's said to be raining.         |
| Évōhknēñëse.                             | It's said to be bent.            |
| Évōhkonēñësestötse.                      | They are said to be bent.        |
| Éma'ónēse.                               | It's said to be red.             |
| Éma'ónēñësestötse.                       | They are said to be red.         |
| Éheóvōñēse.                              | It's said to be yellow.          |
| Éheóvonēñësestötse.                      | They are said to be yellow.      |
| Épēhēva'ënēse.                           | It's said to be good.            |
| Épēhēva'ënēñësestötse.                   | They are said to be good.        |
It's said there is eating.
It's said there are eatings.

**Inanimate Intransitive Reportative relational verbs**

- Éhó’tátsénése. It’s said his ___ is (here/there) (rel).
- Éhó’tátsenéstótse. It’s said his ___ are (here/there) (rel).
- Évóhkótsénése. It’s said his ___ is bent (rel).
- Évóhkótsenéstótse. It’s said his ___ are bent (rel).
- Éma’ótsénése. It’s said his ___ is red (rel).
- Éma’ótsenéstótse. It’s said his ___ are red (rel).
- Éheóvótsénése. It’s said his ___ is yellow (rel).
- Éheóvotsenéstótse. It’s said his ___ are yellow (rel).
- Épéhéva’etsénése. It’s said his ___ is good (rel).
- Épéhéva’etsenéstótse. It’s said his ___ are good (rel).

**Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative verbs**

- Ésáaho’táhanéhénése. It’s said it is not (here/there).
- Ésáaho’táhanéhenéstótse. It’s said they are not (here/there).
- Ésáahoo’kóhóhanéhénése. It's said it's not raining.
- Ésáapéhéva’éhanéhénése. It's said it's not good.
- Ésáapéhéva’èhanéhenéstótse. It’s said they are not good.
- Ésáaméséhéstovéhánéhénése. It’s said there is not eating.
- Ésáaméséhéstovéhanésenéstótse. It’s said there are not eatings.

**Inanimate Intransitive Negative Reportative relational verbs**

- Ésáaho’táhanéhetotsénése. It’s said his ___ isn’t (here/there) (rel).
- Ésáaho’táhanéhetotsenéstótse. It’s said his ___ aren’t (here/there) (rel).
- Ésáahoo’kóhóhanéhetotsénése. It's said it's not raining (rel).
- Ésáapéhéva’èhanéhetotsénése. It's said his ___ is not good (rel).
- Ésáapéhéva’èhanéhetotsenéstótse. It’s said his ___ are not good (rel).
- Ésáaméséhéstovéhánéhetotsénése. It’s said there isn't eating (rel).
- Ésáaméséhéstovéhanéhetotsenéstótse. It’s said there aren’t eatings (rel).
Inanimate Intransitive Preterit verbs
| Ého’táneho! | Surprisingly, it’s (here/there)!\(^{89}\) |
| Ého’tánéhoono’tse! | Surprisingly, they are (here/there)! |
| Éhoo'kohóneho! | Surprisingly, it’s raining! |
| Épēhēva’ēneho! | Surprisingly, it’s good! |
| Épēhēva’ēněhoono’tse! | Surprisingly, they are good! |
| Émēsēhēstovēneho! | Surprisingly, there is eating! |
| Émēsēhēstovēnoono’tse! | Surprisingly, there are eatings! |

Inanimate Intransitive Preterit relational verbs
| Ého’tātseneho! | Surprisingly, his ____ is (here/there) (rel)! |
| Ého’tātseñoono’tse! | Surprisingly, his ____ are (here/there) (rel)! |
| Éhoo'kōhōtseneho! | Surprisingly, it’s raining (rel)! |
| Épēhēva’etseneho! | Surprisingly, his ____ is good (rel)! |
| Épēhēva’etsěnoono’tse! | Surprisingly, his ____ are good (rel)! |
| Émēsēhēstovetsēneho! | Surprisingly, there is eating (rel)! |
| Émēsēhēstovetsēnoono’tse! | Surprisingly, there are eatings (rel)! |

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit verbs
| Ésāaho’ťanēheneho! | Surprisingly, it’s not (here/there)! |
| Ésāaho’ťanēhēnoono’tse! | Surprisingly, they are not (here/there)! |
| Ésāahoo’kōhōhanēheneho! | Surprisingly, it’s not raining! |
| Ésāapēhēva’ēhanēheneho! | Surprisingly, it’s not good! |
| Ésāapēhēva’ēhanēhēnoono’tse! | Surprisingly, they are not good! |
| Ésāamēsēhēstovēhanēheneho! | Surprisingly, there is not eating! |
| Ésāamēsēhēstovēhanēhēnoono’tse! | Surprisingly, there are not eatings! |

Inanimate Intransitive Negative Preterit relative verbs
| Ésāaho’ťanēhētotsēneho! | Surprisingly, his ____ is not (here/there) (rel)! |
| Ésāaho’ťanēhētotsēnoono’tse! | Surprisingly, his ____ are not (here/there) (rel)! |
| Ésāahoo’kōhōhanēhētotsēneho! | 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’tâneho ‘(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)'

| Verb     | Meaning                  | Meaning                  |
|----------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| návóomahtse | I saw myself             | návóománe              |
| návóámáte | I saw you                | návóómame               |
| návóóme  | I saw him                | návóómahtse             |
| návóómatšeme | I saw you (pl)       | návóómatšeme            |
| návóómo  | I saw them               | návóómo                 |
| návóómoo' | you saw me               | návóómo                 |
| návóómohtse | you saw yourself          | návóómohtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw him            | návóómohtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw him (obv)       | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw us (excl)        | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them             | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them (excl)      | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them (incl)      | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw you (pl)         | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw him (obv)        | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw us (excl)        | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them             | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them (excl)      | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them (incl)      | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw you (pl)         | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw him (obv)        | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw us (excl)        | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them             | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them (excl)      | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them (incl)      | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw you (pl)         | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw him (obv)        | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw us (excl)        | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them             | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them (excl)      | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them (incl)      | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw you (pl)         | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw him (obv)        | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw us (excl)        | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them             | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them (excl)      | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them (incl)      | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw you (pl)         | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw him (obv)        | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw us (excl)        | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them             | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them (excl)      | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them (incl)      | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw you (pl)         | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw him (obv)        | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw us (excl)        | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them             | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them (excl)      | návóómahtse             |
| návóómohtse | you saw them (incl)      | návóómahtse             |

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, nonámē’tó’e, can precede this verb so that it will only mean 'they saw each other'.

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, nonámē’tó’e, can precede this verb so that it will only mean 'they saw each other'.

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**/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:

| Form                  | Meaning                  | Example               |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| náméotahtse           | I fought myself          | náméotóvo             |
| náméotatse            | I fought you             | néméotamovó           |
| náméoto³⁶         | I fought him             | náméoxemeno           |
| náméotamóho           | I fought him (obv)       | náméotāhtséme         |
| náméotatséme          | I fought you (pl)        | náméotovoo'ó          |
| náméoto'ó           | I fought them            | náméotáá'é            |
| néméoxe               | you fought me            | náméotáá'é            |
| náméotahtse           | you fought yourself      | éméoto'ó              |
| náméoto              | you fought him           | náméotaene'ó          |
| náméotamóho           | you fought him (obv)     | náméotaene'ó          |
| náméoxemeno           | you fought us (excl)     | náméotaevoo'ó         |
| náméoto'ó           | you fought them          | éméotéhtse'ó          |
| náméota              | he fought me             | náméotáné            |
| náméota              | he fought you            | náméotáné            |
| éméotah'tse           | he fought himself        | éméohe               |
| éméótóho³²         | he fought him (obv)      | náméotanéme          |
| náméotáéne           | he fought us (excl)      | náméotanéme          |
| náméotaené           | he fought us (incl)      | éméohe               |
| néméotáévo           | he fought you (pl)       |                   |
| náméotaetsenoto       | he (obv) fought me       |                   |
| náméotaetsenoto³³     | he (obv) fought you      |                   |
| éméótáá'é            | he (obv) fought him      |                   |
| éméótáhtóho           | he (obv) fought himself  |                   |
| náméotaetsenone       | he (obv) fought us (excl)|                   |
| náméotaetsenone³³     | he (obv) fought us (incl)|                   |
| náméotaetsenovo       | he (obv) fought you (pl) |                   |
| éméotaevóho           | he (obv) fought them     |                   |
| náméotatsemeno        | we (ex) fought you       |                   |
| náméótóne            | we (ex) fought him       |                   |
| náméotamone           | we (ex) fought him (obv) |                   |
| náméotáhtséme         | we (ex) fought ourselves |                   |
| náméotatsemeno³³      | we (ex) fought you (pl)  |                   |
| náméotone'ó           | we (ex) fought them      |                   |
| náméotone³³          | we (incl) fought him     |                   |
| náméotamone           | we (incl) fought him (obv)|                   |
| náméotáhtséma         | we (incl) fought ourselves|                   |
| náméotone'ó           | we (incl) fought them    |                   |
| néméoxéme            | you (pl) fought me       |                   |

³¹ The Cheyenne stem /-móét/ reflects PA *mi:ka:θ.
³² Some speakers pronounce this as éméoto because the stem-final vowel is high pitched.
³³ Or ‘they fought each other’
/het/ 'tell (someone)'

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

náhetahhtse    I told myself
néhetatse    I told you
náhéto    I told him
néhetamóho I told him (obv)
néhetatsème I told you (pl)
náhetoo'o I told them
nchéše    you told me
néhetahhtse you told yourself
nchéto    you told him
néhetamóho you told him (obv)
nchéšemenó you told us (excl)
nchéteo'o you told them
náheta    he told me
néheta    he told you
éhetahtse he told himself
éhéto'ho he told him (obv)
néhetaéñe he told us (excl)
néhetaené he told us (incl)
néhetaëvo he told you (pl)
náhetatsësenoto he (obv) told me
néhetatsësenoto he (obv) told you
éhétā‘ē he (obv) told him
éhétáhtóho he (obv) told himself
néhetatsësenone he (obv) told us (excl)
néhetatsësenone he (obv) told us (incl)
néhetatsësonëvo he (obv) told you (pl)
éhetaevóho he (obv) told them
néhetatemeno we (excl) told you
néhéto'ne we (excl) told him
náhetamone we (ex) told him (obv)
náhetatsème we (ex) told ourselves
néhetatemeno we (ex) told you (pl)
náhéto'ne'o we (excl) told them
néhetone we (incl) told him
náhetamone we (in) told him (obv)
náhehtáhtsema we (in) told ourselves
néheto'ne'o we (incl) told them
néhéšème you (pl) told me
néhéto'vo you (pl) told him
néhetamovó you (pl) told him (obv)
néhéšemenó you (pl) told us (excl)
néhetahtsème 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 | néal'a-táxem | you (pl) acc. cut me |
| néal'a-xéstse | I acc. cut you | néal'a-táso | you (pl) acc. cut him |
| néal'a-tásō95 | I acc. cut him | néal'a-táxamóho | you (pl) acc. cut him (obv) |
| néal'a-táxetsême | I acc. cut you (pl) | néal'a-táxêtsême | you (pl) acc. cut yourselves |
| néal'a-tasoo'o | I acc. cut them | néal'a-tasóvo | you (pl) acc. cut themselves |
| néal'a-taxe | you acc. cut me | néal'a-táxêe'e | they acc. cut me |
| néal'a-táxestse | you acc. cut yourself | néal'a-táxêe'e | they acc. cut you |
| néal'a-tásō | you acc. cut him | éa'táso | they acc. cut him (obv) |
| néal'a-táxamóho | you acc. cut him (obv) | néal'a-táxamovo | they acc. cut us (excl) |
| néal'a-táxemeno | you acc. cut us (excl) | néal'a-táxemeno | they acc. cut us (incl) |
| néal'a-tásōo'o | you acc. cut themselves | néal'a-táxêevo'o | they acc. cut you (pl) |
| néal'a-taxe | he acc. cut me | néal'a-táxêne | they acc. cut themselves |
| néal'a-taxe96 | he acc. cut you | néal'a-táxêne | I was acc. cut |
| éa'táxestse | he acc. cut himself | éa'taxe | you were acc. cut |
| éa'tásōho | he acc. cut him (obv) | éa'taxe | he was acc. cut |
| néal'a-táxeêne | he acc. cut us (excl) | néal'a-táxêne'me | we (ex) were acc. cut |
| néal'a-táxene | he acc. cut us (incl) | néal'a-táxêne'ma | we (in) were acc. cut |
| néal'a-táxeêvo | he acc. cut you (pl) | néal'a-táxêne'me | you (pl) were acc. cut |
| néal'a-táxeetsenoto | he (obv) acc. cut me | néal'a-táxêne'me | they were acc. cut |
| néal'a-táxeetsenoto | he (obv) acc. cut you | éa'taxe | |
| éa'táxeê'e | he (obv) acc. cut him | éa'taxe | |
| éa'táxêstóho | he (obv) acc. cut himself | éa'taxe | |
| néal'a-táxeetsenone | he (obv) acc. cut us (ex) | éa'taxe | |
| néal'a-táxeetsenone | he (obv) acc. cut us (in) | éa'taxe | |
| néal'a-táxeetsenôvo | he (obv) acc. cut you (pl) | éa'taxe | |
| éa'táxeovo | he (obv) acc. cut them | éa'taxe | |
| néal'a-táxemeno | we (ex) acc. cut you | néal'a-táxêne | |
| néal'a-tásone | we (ex) acc. cut him | néal'a-táxêne | |
| néal'a-táxamone | we (ex) acc. cut him (obv) | néal'a-táxêne | |
| néal'a-táxetsême | we (ex) acc. cut ourselves | néal'a-táxêne | |
| néal'a-táxetsemenô | we (ex) acc. cut you (pl) | néal'a-táxêne | |
| néal'a-tásonoe | we (ex) acc. cut them | néal'a-táxêne | |
| néal'a-táson | we (in) acc. cut him | néal'a-táxêne | |
| néal'a-táson | we (in) acc. cut him (obv) | néal'a-táxêne | |
| néal'a-táxetsêma | we (in) acc. cut ourselves | néal'a-táxêne | |
| néal'a-tásonoe | we (in) acc. cut them | néal'a-táxêne | |

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'.

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
návovéstoméváte I taught you
návovéstomévo I taught him
návovéstomévamóho I taught him (obv)
návovéstomévatséme I taught you (pl)
návovéstomevoo'o I taught them
návovéstomeve you taught me
návovéstomévahtse you taught yourself
návovéstomévo you taught him
návovéstomévamóho you taught him (obv)
návovéstomevemeno you taught us (excl)
návovéstomevoo'o you taught them
návovéstomeva he taught me
návovéstomeva he taught you
evovéstomévahtse he taught himself
evovéstomevóho he taught him (obv)
návovéstomóene he taught us (excl)
návovéstomóevo he taught you (pl)
návovéstomóetsenoto he (obv) taught me
návovéstomóetsenoto he (obv) taught you
evovéstomóo'e he (obv) taught him
evovéstoméváhtóho he (obv) taught himself
návovéstomóetsenenone he (obv) taught us (excl)
návovéstomóetsenenone he (obv) taught us (incl)
návovéstomóetsenóvo he (obv) taught you (pl)
evovéstomóevóho he (obv) taught them
návovéstomévatsemeno we (excl) taught you
návovéstomévone we (excl) taught him (obv)
návovéstomévamone we (ex) taught him (obv)
návovéstomőváhtséme we (ex) taught ourselves
návovéstomóvóno we (excl) taught you
návovéstomőváhtsema we (in) taught him (obv)
návovéstomóváhtséme we (incl) taught ourselves
návovéstomóvóno we (incl) taught them
návovéstomóvemeno we (pl) taught me
návovéstomóvóvo we (pl) taught him
návovéstomóvameno we (pl) taught him (obv)
návovéstomóvemeno we (pl) taught us (excl)
návovéstomóvóvo we (pl) taught them
návovéstomóe they taught me
návovéstomó'e they taught you
evovéstomóo'e they taught him
návovéstomóe'ono they taught us (excl)
návovéstomóe'ono they taught us (incl)
návovéstomóe'ovoo they taught you (pl)
êtahóévo'o they taught themselves
návovéstomóne I was taught
návovéstomóne you were taught
evovéstomóhe he was taught
návovéstomónéme we (excl) were taught
evovéstomónéme we (incl) were taught
návovéstomónéme you (pl) were taught
evovéstomóhe'o they were taught
**-héné’enov 'know (someone)'**

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

| Verb Form | English Meaning | English Meaning |
|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|
| náhéne'enóvahtse | I know myself | náhéne'enóvamone | we (ex) know him (obv) |
| náhéne'enovatse | I know you | náhéne'enóváhtséme | we (ex) know ourselves |
| náhéne'enóvo | I know him | náhéne'enóvatseméno | we (ex) know you (pl) |
| náhéne'enóvamóho | I know him (obv) | náhéne'enovóneo'o | we (excl) know them |
| náhéne'enóvatséme | I know you (pl) | náhéne'enovónaméno | we (excl) know himself |
| náhéne'enovoo'o | I know them | náhéne'enovóneo'o | we (incl) know him |
| náhéne'enove | you know me | náhéne'enovóme | you (pl) know me |
| náhéne'enóvahtse | you know yourself | náhéne'enóvovo | you (pl) know him |
| náhéne'enóvo | you know him | náhéne'enóvovo | you (pl) know him (obv) |
| náhéne'enóvamóho | you know him (obv) | náhéne'enovómeno | you (pl) know us (excl) |
| náhéne'enovemeno | you know us (excl) | náhéne'enóváhtséme | you (pl) know yourselves |
| náhéne'enova | he knows me | náhéne'enóó'e | they know me |
| náhéne'enova | he knows you | náhéne'enóó'e | they know you |
| éhéne'enóvahtse | he knows himself | éhéne'enovóo | they know (obv) |
| éhéne'enoóe | he knows him (obv) | éhéne'enóvóo | they know us (obv) |
| náhéne'enóene | he knows us (excl) | náhéne'enóone | they know us (excl) |
| náhéne'enóêene | he knows us (incl) | náhéne'enóone | they know us (incl) |
| náhéne'enóêevo | he knows you (pl) | náhéne'enóone | they know you (pl) |
| náhéne'enoêetsenoto | he (obv) knows me | náhéne'enóó'e | they know themselves |
| náhéne'enoêetsenoto | he (obv) knows you | náhéne'enóó'e | they know others |
| éhéne'enóváhtóho | he (obv) knows himself | éhéne'enohé | he is known |
| náhéne'enóetsenone | he (obv) knows us (excl) | náhéne'enónhé | we (excl) are known |
| náhéne'enóetseno'vo | he (obv) knows us (incl) | náhéne'enónhé | we (incl) are known |
| éhéne'enóevóho | he (obv) knows them | náhéne'enónhé | you (pl) are known |
| náhéne'enóvatsemeno | we (excl) know you | éhéne'enóheo'o | they are known |
| náhéne'enovóne | we (excl) know him | náhéne'enóheo'o | they are known |

152
/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.$\text{RECHECK ANALYSIS OF DELETION ENVIRONMENT.}$

| Stem                | Meaning          | Notes                                                                 |
|---------------------|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| nátaeváhestse       | I measured myself|                                                                       |
| nátaevaestse        | I measured you   |                                                                       |
| nátaeváno           | I measured him   |                                                                       |
| nátaeváhamóho       | I measured him (obv) |                                                              |
| nátaeváhetsëme      | I measured you (pl) |                                                      |
| nátaeváhnno'o       | I measured them  |                                                                       |
| nátaeváhe           | you measured me  |                                                                       |
| nátaeváhestse       | you measured yourself |                                                          |
| nátaeváhno          | you measured him |                                                                       |
| nátaeváhamóho       | you m. him (obv) |                                                                       |
| nátaeváhemenono     | you measured us (ex) |                                                           |
| nátaeváhnno'o       | you measured them |                                                          |
| nátaevahe           | he measured me   |                                                                       |
| nátaeváhestsëme     | he measured you  |                                                                       |
| nátaevahe           | he measured himself |                                                               |
| nátaevahe           | he measured him (obv) |                                                               |
| nátaeváheëne        | he measured us (excl) |                                                           |
| nátaeváheene        | he measured us (incl) |                                                          |
| nátaeváheëvo        | he measured you (pl) |                                                              |
| nátaeaeesenoto      | he (obv) measured me |                                                          |
| nátaeváheëne        | he (obv) measured you |                                                          |
| nátaevahestöho      | he (obv) measured himself |                                                        |
| nátaeváheëne        | he (obv) measured us (ex) |                                                       |
| nátaeváheëno'o      | he (obv) measured us (in) |                                                          |
| nátaeaeesenövo      | he (obv) measured you (pl) |                                                          |
| nátaevaehetsemeno   | we (excl) measured you |                                                        |
| nátaeváhhone        | we (excl) measured him |                                                        |
| nátaevaheëne        | we (ex) m. him (obv) |                                                        |
| nátaevaheëne        | we (ex) m. ourselves |                                                        |
| nátaeaehetsemeno    | we (ex) m. you (pl) |                                                        |
| nátaeváhnneo'o      | we (excl) m. them |                                                        |
| nátaeváhnone        | we (in) measured him |                                                        |
| nátaevaheëne        | we (in) m. him (obv) |                                                        |
| nátaevaheëne        | we (in) m. ourselves |                                                        |
| nátaeváhnneo'o      | we (incl) m. them |                                                        |
| nátaevaheëme        | you (pl) measured me |                                                        |
| nátaeváhnövo        | you (pl) measured him |                                                        |

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

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

námoné’tovahhtse  I chose myself
némoné’továhtse  I chose you
námonenótsé  I chose him
námonévono’to  I chose him (obv)
ámonétovats’éme  I chose you (pl)
ámonénéto  I chose them

némoné’tove  you chose me
némoné’tovahhtse  you chose yourself
némonenótsé  you chose him
némonévono’to  you chose him (obv)
ámonétovemenemo  you chose us (ex)
némonéto  you chose us (incl)
némoné’tóevo  you chose you (pl)

némoné’toetsenoto  he (obv) chose me
némoné’toetsenoto  he (obv) chose you
émoné’tóe’he (obv) chose him
émoné’továhttsého?  he (obv) chose himself
némoné’toetsenone  he (obv) chose us (ex)
némoné’toetsenone  he (obv) chose us (incl)
némoné’toetseno’vo  he (obv) chose you (pl)
éémoné’tóévóho??  he (obv) chose them

émoné’toetsemeno  we (excl) chose you
námonénóne  we (excl) chose him
námonévono’noo??  we (ex) chose him (obv)
némonétováhtséme?  we (ex) chose ourselves
némonétvemenemo  we (ex) chose you (pl)
némonenono’o  we (excl) chose them

némonénéne  we (incl) chose him
némonenono’ne  we (incl) chose him (obv)
némonétováhtséma  we (incl) chose ourselves
némonéntoo’o  we (incl) chose them
némonétovéme  you (pl) chose me
némonéntójovó  you (pl) chose him
némonévono’vo  you (pl) chose him (obv)
némonétovemenemo  you (pl) chose us (ex)
némonéntóváhtsémé  you (pl) chose yourselves
émonéntovo’o’o  you (pl) chose them

némonéntoó’e  they chose me
némonéntoó’e  they chose you
émonénovó  they chose him (obv)
némonétoono’o  they chose us (ex)
némonétoono’o  they chose us (in)
némonétoovo’o  they chose you (pl)
émoné’továhtséo’o  they chose themselves

némoné’tóné  I was chosen
némoné’tóné  You were chosen
émonéstove??  He was chosen
némoné’tónéme  We (excl) were chosen
némoné’tónema  We (incl) were chosen
émoné’tónéme  You (pl) were chosen
émonééstoveo’o??  They were chosen
émonévono’to  He chose him (obv)
émonévono’vo  They chose him (obv)

other verbs with the −tov final:

náho’ahé’tova  He wants me
náho’ahénitse  I want him
náne’etamé’tova  He depends on me
náne’etaménótsé  I depend on him
nápéhe’evé’tova  he was good to me
nápéhe’évé’tóvo98  I was good to him
námeánótsé  I gave him
námeáño’no  we (excl) gave him
náno’evé’evé’tova  he (obv) gave him
náno’evéénótsé  he is named after me
náomo’xé’tova  he carried me on his back
náamo’xenótsé  I carried him on my back
nánomáhtsenótsé  I stole him
nánomáhtsé’évo  they stole me
náhéstonáhe’tevo 99  I am his/her daughter
náhéstonáhéno  she is my daughter
náhee’hahé’tova  I am his/her son
náhee’hahenótsé  he is my son
náhee’hahéno  they are my sons
náheš’é’tova  I am his/her mother
náheškné’tsé  she is my mother

98 This direct form does not change to /−not/ because the vowel preceding −tov is not phonemically high-pitched.
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 did not see myself | you (pl) did not see yourselves | I was not seen |
|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| násáavóomáhtséhe     | I did not see you    | nésáavómóheo'o                  | you were not seen |
| nésáavóomatséhe      | I did not see him    | nésáavóomaeheo'o                | he was not seen |
| násáavóomamóheho     | I did not see him (obv) | nésáavóomaeheo'o | he (obv) did not see himself |
| nésáavóomatséhéme    | I did not see you (pl) | nésáavóomaeheo'o | he (obv) did not see me |
| násáavóomóheo'o      | I did not see them   | nésáavóomaeheo'o                | we (ex) were not seen |
| nésáavóoméhe         | you did not see me   | nésáavóomaeheo'o                | we (incl) were not seen |
| nésáavóomáhtséhe     | you did not see yourself | nésáavóomaeheo'o | you (pl) did not see myself |
| nésáavóomóhe         | you did not see him  | nésáavóomaeheo'o                | you (pl) did not see you |
| nésáavóomamóheho     | you did not see him (obv) | nésáavóomaeheo'o | you (pl) did not see him (obv) |
| nésáavóomémehemeno   | you did not see us (ex) | nésáavóomaeheo'o | you (pl) did not see us (ex) |
| nésáavóomóheo'o      | you did not see them | nésáavóomaeheo'o                | you (pl) did not see us (ex) |
| násáavóomaëhe        | he did not see me    | nésáavóomaeheo'o                | they did not see me |
| nésáavóomaëche       | he did not see you   | nésáavóomaeheo'o                | they did not see you |
| ésáavóomáhtsëhe      | he did not see himself | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see you (obv) |
| ésáavóomaehehëo      | he did not see him (obv) | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see us (excl) |
| násáavóomaëhehëne    | he did not see us (ex) | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see us (incl) |
| nésáavóomaëvehëvo     | he did not see us (in) | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see you (pl) |
| násáavóomaëhtsenoto  | he (obv) did not see me | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see yourselves |
| nésáavóomaëhtsenoto  | he (obv) did not see you | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see you (pl) |
| ésáavóomaëhtsenëhe   | he (obv) did not see him | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see us (excl) |
| násáavóomaëhtsenone  | he (obv) did not see us (ex) | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see us (incl) |
| nésáavóomaëhtsenovo  | he (obv) did not see us (in) | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see you (pl) |
| ésáavóomaëhehëo      | he (obv) did not see him | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see us (excl) |
| násáavóomëtsëhemëno  | he (ex) did not see you | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see us (incl) |
| násáavóomamëhëne     | he (ex) did not see him | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see us (excl) |
| násáavóomëtsëhëme    | he (ex) did not see ourselves | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see us (incl) |
| násáavóomëhëneo'o    | he (ex) did not see them | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see us (excl) |
| nésáavóomëhehëne     | he (incl) did not see him | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see us (incl) |
| nésáavóomamëhëne     | he (incl) did not see him (obv) | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see us (excl) |
| nésáavóomëtsëhemëno  | he (incl) did not see ourselves | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see us (incl) |
| násáavóomëhëneo'o    | he (incl) did not see them | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see us (excl) |
| nésáavóomëhëne       | you (pl) did not see me | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see us (incl) |
| nésáavóomëhëvo       | you (pl) did not see you | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see us (excl) |
| nésáavóomëhemëno     | you (pl) did not see him | nésáavóomaeheo'o | they did not see us (incl) |
'not know (someone)'

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

| Verb Stem | Meaning | Example Usage |
|-----------|---------|--------------|
| násáhéne'énóvatséhe | I do not know myself | násáhéne'énóvatséhe I do not know you |
| násáhéne'énóvatséhe | I do not know you | násáhéne'énóvatséhe I do not know you (pl) |
| násáhéne'énóvatséhe | I do not know him (obv) | násáhéne'énóvatséhe I do not know you (pl) |
| násáhéne'énóvatséhe | I do not know them | násáhéne'énóvatséhe I do not know them |
| násáhéne'énóvatséhe | you do not know me | násáhéne'énóvatséhe you do not know yourself |
| násáhéne'énóvatséhe | you do not know you | násáhéne'énóvatséhe you do not know you (pl) |
| násáhéne'énóvatséhe | you do not know him | násáhéne'énóvatséhe you do not know him (obv) |
| násáhéne'énóvatséhe | you do not know them | násáhéne'énóvatséhe you do not know them |
| násáhéne'énóvatséhe | he does not know me | násáhéne'énóvatséhe he does not know you |
| násáhéne'énóvatséhe | he does not know you | násáhéne'énóvatséhe he does not know you (pl) |
| násáhéne'énóvatséhe | he does not know himself | násáhéne'énóvatséhe he does not know himself |
| násáhéne'énóvatséhe | he does not know him (obv) | násáhéne'énóvatséhe he does not know him (obv) |
| násáhéne'énóvatséhe | he does not know us (excl) | násáhéne'énóvatséhe he does not know us (excl) |
| násáhéne'énóvatséhe | he does not know us (incl) | násáhéne'énóvatséhe he does not know us (incl) |
| násáhéne'énóvatséhe | he does not know you (pl) | násáhéne'énóvatséhe he does not know you (pl) |

Note: The verb stems that end in "ov" experience contraction of the "ov" in the inverse voice.
'not choose (someone)'

**$RECHECK PARADIGM**

násáamoné’tóvahntséhe  I did not choose myself
násáamoné’tovatséhe   I did not choose you
násáamoné’henóteséhe  I did not choose him
násáamoné’vóhénóteséhe I do not know him (obv)
násáamoné’tovatséheme I did not choose you (pl)
násáamoné’henótenoto  I did not choose them

násáamoné’tóvéhe   you did not choose me
násáamoné’tóvahntséhe you did not choose yourself
násáamoné’henóteséhe  you did not choose him
násáamoné’vóhénóteséhe you did not know him (obv)
násáamoné’tovahntemeno you did not choose us (ex)
násáamoné’tovahnemo you did not choose us (in)
násáamoné’tóvéhe   you did not choose me
násáamoné’tóvéhtsehe you did not choose you
násáamoné’éhenotse  you did not choose his (excl)
násáamoné’tohehene you did not choose us (excl)
násáamoné’tóvéhevo   you did not choose us (excl)

násáamoné’tovahntsenotohe (obv) did not choose me
násáamoné’tovahntsenotohe (obv) did not choose you
eásáamoné’towiehoh?? he (obv) did not choose him
eásáamoné’tohehoh?? he (obv) did not choose you
eásáamoné’towahntenonehe (obv) did not choose us (ex)
eásáamoné’towahntenonehe (obv) did not choose us (in)
eásáamoné’towahntenonehe (obv) did not choose you (pl)
eásáamoné’towiehovo?? he (obv) did not choose them

násáamoné’tovatséhemenone we (excl) did not choose you
násáamoné’henóno?? we (excl) did not choose him
násáamoné’tovahntséhe we (ex) did not choose him (obv)
basáamoné’tovahnemeno we (ex) did not choose ourselves
eásáamoné’tovahnemeno we (ex) did not choose you (pl)
eásáamoné’henóno’?? we (ex) did not choose them

násáamoné’henone  we (in) did not choose him
násáamoné’vóhóno?? we (in) did not choose him (obv)
basáamoné’tovahntencyhene we (in) did not choose ourselves
eásáamoné’henóno’?? we (in) did not choose them

násáamoné’tovahntseha  you (pl) did not choose me
násáamoné’tóvéhene  you (pl) did not choose you
násáamoné’tóvéhenoto  you (pl) did not choose him
násáamoné’tóvéhenovo’o you (pl) did not choose them

násáamoné’tóhehovo’o they did not choose me
násáamoné’tóhehovo’o they did not choose you
eásáamoné’henóno?? they did not choose him (obv)
basáamoné’tóheheno’o they did not choose us (excl)
eásáamoné’tóhehovo’o they did not choose you (pl)
eásáamoné’tovahntséhevo’o they did not choose themselves

násáamoné’tónehe?? I was not chosen
násáamoné’tónehe?? you were not chosen
eásáamoné’stévéhe?? he was not chosen
basáamoné’tóhénéme we (excl) were not chosen
násáamoné’thénéme we (incl) were not chosen
násáamoné’tóhenemo you (pl) were not chosen
násáamoné’tóhenemo they were not chosen

Other negative verbs with the ‘-tov final:

násáapéheve’tóvéhe I was not good to him
násáapéhevé’tóvéhe he was not good to me
násámáhenotse I did not give him (away)
násámáhénoto I did not give them (away)
násáane’étanóhenotse He does not depend on him
násáane’étaméhenotse He does not depend on her
násáahó’héhenotse I do not want him
násáahó’ahétehe I do not want me
eásáahó’hénento I do not want him (obv)
basáamoné’máhtséhenoto I did not steal him
násáamoné’máhtséhenoto I did not steal them
násáahéstówhé’tóhe I am not her daughter
násáahéstówhenéme she is not my daughter
násáabe’háhé’tóhe I am not his son
násáahé’háhénoto he is not my son
násáahé’héheno’o they are not my sons
násáahéské’tóhe I am not her mother
násáahéskéhénortse she is not my mother
násáahéhé’tóhe I am not his father
násáahéhénotsé 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?
Névóomatshehe? 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)? Névóomemovehe? Did we (incl) see them?
Návóomatsemihe? Did I see you (pl)?
Návóomovohe? Did I see them?
Névóomanehe? Did you see me?
Névóomatshehe? Did you see yourself?
Névóomohe? Did you see him?
Névóomamovohe? Did you see him (obv)?
Névóomamenohe? Did you see us (excl)?
Návóomanehe? Did you see us (excl)?
Névóomenehe?? Did you see us (incl)?
Návóomaevohe? Did you see (pl)??
Návóomaehoe? Did he see me?
Névóomaehoe? Did he see you?
Évóomāhtsehe? Did he see himself?
Évóomohe? Did he see him (obv)?
Návóomaenehe?? Did he see us (excl)?
Névóomanehe?? Did he see us (incl)?
Návóomaehoe? Did he see (pl)??
Návóomaetsenotohe? Did he (obv) see me?
Névóomaetsenotohe? Did he (obv) see you?
Évóomaehoe? Did he (obv) see himself?
Évóomāhtsehohe? Did he (obv) see him?
Návóomaetsenonehe? Did he (obv) see us (excl)?
Névóomaetsenonehe? Did he (obv) see himself?
Návóomaetsenohe? Did he (obv) see (pl)?
Évóomaehoe? Did he (obv) see them?
Névóomatsemihehe? Did we (excl) see you?
Návóomanehe? Did we (excl) see him?
Névóomamonehe? Did we (ex) see him (obv)?
Návóomáhtsémanehe? Did we (excl) see ourselves?
Návóomaetsenohoehe? Did we (excl) see you (pl)?
Návóomenehehe? Did we (excl) see them?

Nevóómohehö? Did you (pl) see me?
Névóomovehe? Did you (pl) see them?
Évóomamnehe? Did you (pl) see him (obv)?
Névóomamenehe? Did you (pl) see us (excl)?
Névóomavehe? Did you (pl) see ourselves?
Névóomanehe? Did you (pl) see (pl)??
Návóomanehe? Was I seen?
Névóomanehe? Were you seen?
Évóomanehe? Was he seen?
Návóomasenoehe? Were we (excl) seen?
Névóomasenonehe? Were we (incl) seen?
Návóomanoehe? Were you (pl) seen?
Évóomanehe? Were they seen?

Some mó- prefix yes/no questions:

Mónévóomo? Did you see him?
Mónévóoomoo'oh? Did you see them?
Mónévóomóvo? Did you (pl) see him?
Mónévóomovoo'oh? Did you (pl) see them?
Mónéhéne'enó? Do you know him?
Mónéméhó? Do you love him?
Mónéhoxo'oh? Did you feed him?

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

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

- Námoné’továhtsehe? Did I choose myself?
- Námoné’tovatsehe? Did I choose you?
- Námonénotse? Did I choose him?
- Námonévonotohe? Did I choose him (obv)?
- Námoné’tovatsemehé’did I choose you (pl)?
- Námonénotohe? Did I choose them?
- Námoné’tovëhe? Did you choose me?
- Námoné’továhtsehe? Did you choose yourself?
- Némenonotse? Did you choose him?
- Némenévonotohe? Did you choose him (obv)?
- Némené’tovemenohë’did you choose us (ex)?
- Némenénotohe? Did you choose them?
- Námoné’tovëhe? Did he choose me?
- Námoné’tovëhe? Did he choose you?
- Éménotëhe? Did he choose himself?
- Éménotohe? Did he choose him (obv)?
- Námoné’tovenëhe’? Did he choose us (ex)?
- Námoné’tovenëhe’? Did he choose us (incl)?
- Námoné’tovëhe? Did he choose you (pl)?
- Námoné’tovésenotohe’did he (obv) choose me?
- Námoné’tovésenotohe’did he (obv) choose you?
- Éménotëvohe? Did he (obv) choose him?
- Éménotovëhe? Did he (obv) choose himself?
- Námoné’tovësevenëhe’? Did he (obv) choose us (ex)?
- Námoné’tovësevenëhe’? Did he (obv) choose us (incl)?
- Námoné’tovëvohe’? Did he (obv) choose you (pl)?
- Námoné’tovëvohe’? Did he (obv) choose them?
- Námoné’tovësenøhe’? Did we (ex) choose you?
- Námoné’nëhe? Did we (ex) choose him?
- Námoné’vonøhe’? Did we (ex) choose him (obv)?
- Námoné’tovëtsemahë’? Did we (ex) choose ourselves?
- Námoné’tovëmenøhe’? Did we (ex) choose you (pl)?
- Námoné’nënohe’? Did we (ex) choose them?
- Námoné’nëhe? Did we (incl) choose him?
- Námoné’vonøhe’? Did we (incl) choose him (obv)?
- Námoné’tovëtsemanahë’? Did we (incl) choose ourselves?
- Námoné’nënohe’? Did we (incl) choose them?
- Némoné’tovëmehe’? Did you (pl) choose me?
- Némoné’nëvohe’? Did you (pl) choose him?
- Némoné’vonøhe’? Did you (pl) choose him (obv)?
- Némoné’tovëmenøhe’? Did you (pl) choose us (ex)?
- Némoné’tovëmënohe’? Did you (pl) choose yourselves?
- Némoné’nënohe’? Did you (pl) choose them?
- Námoné’tovënohe’? Did they choose me?
- Námoné’tovëvohe’? Did they choose you?
- Éménotënohe’? Did they choose him (obv)?
- Námoné’tovëmenëhe’? Did they choose us (ex)?
- Námoné’tovëmenëhe’? Did they choose you (pl)?
- Éménotovëtsevohe’? Did they choose themselves?
- Námoné’tonëhe’? Was I chosen?
- Námoné’tonëhe’? Were you chosen?
- Éménotëvohe’? Was he chosen?
- Námoné’tonëmahe’? Were we (excl) chosen?
- Námoné’tonëmahe’? Were we (incl) chosen?
- Némenëtëmahe’? Were you (pl) chosen?
- Éménotëvohe’? Were they chosen?

Other verbs with the –’tov final:
- Náho’a’hë’tëhe? Does he want me?
- Ného’a’henotse? Do you want him?
- Náne’ëtëme’tëhe? Does he depend on me?
- Némenenotse? Do you depend on him?
- Népëhe’ve’tëhe? Was he good to you?
- Népëhe’ve’tvohe? Were you good to him?
- Némenënotse? Did you give him?
- Némenëvohe’? Did you (pl) give him?
- Éméæa’tëvohe? Did he (obv) give him?
- Néno’evëhe’tëhe? Is he named after you?
- Néno’evëhenotse? Are you named after him?
- Nénomáhtsenotse? Did you steal him?
- Néhestönëhë’tëhe? Are you his/her daughter?
- Néhestönëhenotse? Is she your daughter?
- Néhee’hahë’tëhe? Are you his/her son?
- Néhee’hahenotse? Is he your son?
- Néhee’hahënohe’? Are they your sons?
- Néheškë’tëhe? Are you his/her mother?
- Néheškenotse? Is she your mother?
'not see (someone)'

$\$RECHECK QUESTIONED FORMS$

Násáavóómáhtséhehe? Didn't I see myself?
Násáavóómatséhehe? Didn't I see you?
Násáavóómohéhe? Didn't I see him?
Násáavóómamohéhevohe? Didn't I see him (obv)?
Násáavóómatséhemehéhe? Didn't I see you (pl)?
Násáavóómohéhevohe? Didn't I see them?

Násáavóóméhehe? Didn't you see me?
Násáavóómatséhehe? Didn't you see yourself?
Násáavóómohéhe? Didn't you see him?
Násáavóómamohéhevohe? Didn't you see him (obv)?
Násáavóómethemenehehe? Didn't you see us (excl)?
Násáavóómomóhehe? Didn't you see them?

Násáavóómahétsehohe? Didn't he (obv) see me?
Násáavóómahétsehóhe? Didn't he (obv) see you?
Násáavóómamohéhe? Didn't he (obv) see him?
Násáavóómamonehehe? Didn't he (obv) see us (excl)?
Násáavóómamethenohéhe? Didn't he (obv) see you (pl)?
Násáavóómamohéhevohe? Didn't he (obv) see them?

Násáavóómatséhënohe? Didn't we (excl) see you?
Násáavóómohënohe? Didn't we (excl) see him?
Násáavóómamohënehe? Didn't we (excl) see himself?
Násáavóómamóhënehe? Didn't we (excl) see ourselves?
Násáavóómohënehevohe? Didn't we (excl) see them?

Násáavóómohënehe? Didn't we (incl) see him?
Násáavóómamohënehe? Didn't we (incl) see obv (obv)?
Násáavóómamóhënehe? Didn't we (incl) see ourselves?
Násáavóómamóhënehevohe? Didn't we (incl) see them?

Násáavóómohënehe? Didn't we (pl) see myself?
Násáavóómëhémehe? Didn't you (pl) see me?
Násáavóómëhëmevohe? Didn't you (pl) see him?
Násáavóómëhëmevohehe? Didn't you (pl) see you (pl)?
Násáavóómëhëmevohevohe? Didn't you (pl) see themselves?

Násáavóómëhe? Didn't I see me?
Násáavóómëhehe? Didn't I see you?
Násáavóómëhevohe? Didn't I see him?
Násáavóómëhevohehe? Didn't I see us (excl)?
Násáavóómëhevohevohe? Didn't I see them?

Násáavóómëhe? Didn't we see me?
Násáavóómëhehe? Didn't we see you?
Násáavóómëhevohe? Didn't we see him?
Násáavóómëhënehe? Didn't we see us (pl)?
Násáavóómëhënehevohe? Didn't we see them?

Násáavóómëhe? Didn't he see me?
Násáavóómëhehe? Didn't he see you?
Násáavóómëhevohe? Didn't he see himself?
Násáavóómëhënehe? Didn't he see us (incl)?
Násáavóómëhënehevohe? Didn't he see you (pl)?
Násáavóómëhënehevohe? Didn't he see them?

Násáavóómëhe? Didn't we (obv) see me?
Násáavóómëhehe? Didn't we (obv) see you?
Násáavóómëhevohe? Didn't we (obv) see himself?
Násáavóómëhënehe? Didn't we (obv) see us (excl)?
Násáavóómëhënehevohe? Didn't we (obv) see you (pl)?
Násáavóómëhënehevohe? Didn't we (obv) see them?

$\$RECHECK$

Mónásáavóómëhe? Didn't you see him?
Mónásáavóómëhehe? Didn't you see you?
Mónásáavóómëhevohe? Didn't you see us (excl)?
Mónásáahënëvënehe? Don't you know him?
Mónásáahënëvënehe? Doesn't he know you?
Mónásáamëhëtëhe? Don't you love him?
Mónásáamëhëtëhe? Doesn't he love me?
Mónásahëmëxëmëhe? Didn't you feed him?
Mónásalëmëhënëvohe? Didn't you choose him?
Mónásalëmëhënëvohe? Didn't he (obv) choose him?
Mô’ësáa‘ëhmëhënohe? Doesn't he want him (obv)?
Mô’ësáanëhëvohe? 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 | Mónévóomēhemēhe | You (pl) must have seen me |
|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| Mónévóomatséhēhe   | I must have seen you    | Mónévóomēhēvōhe  | You (pl) must have seen him|
| Mónávóomohēhēhe    | I must have seen him    | Mónévōomahēvōhe  | You (pl) must have seen him(ovb)|
| Mónévóomamohēvōhe  | I must have seen him (obv)| Mónévōomēhemenonēhe | You (pl) must have seen us (obv)|
| Mónévóomatsēhēmēhe | I must have seen you (pl)| Mónévōomatsēhēmēhe | You (pl) must have seen yourselves|
| Mónávóomohēvōhe    | I must have seen them   | Mónévōomohēvōhe  | You (pl) must have seen them|
|                     |                         |                  |                           |
| Mónévóomēhēhe      | You must have seen me   | Mónávóomahevōhe  | They must have seen me    |
| Mónévóomahēhe      | You must have seen yourself| Mónóvōomēhēhe   | They must have seen you   |
| Mónávóomahēhe      | You must have seen him  | Mónávōoahēhēhe  | They must have seen him(ovb)|
| Mónévóoamohēvēhe   | You must have seen him (obv)| Mónávōoahēnēhe  | They must have seen us (ex)|
| Mónévōomēhenonēhe  | You must have seen us (excl)| Mónávōoahēnēhe | They must have seen us (inc)|
| Mónévóoamohēvēhe   | You must have seen them | Mónávōoahēvēhe  | They must have seen themselves|
|                     |                         |                  |                           |
| Mónávōomahehēhe    | He must have seen me    | Mónávōomanēhēhe  | I must have been seen     |
| Mónévōomahehēhe    | He must have seen you   | Mónévōomanēhēhe  | You must have been seen   |
| Móvōomahevōhe      | He must have seen himself| Móvōomēhēhe   | He must have been seen    |
| Mónávōoahēnēhe     | He must have seen us (excl)| Mónávōoahēnēhe | We (ex) must have been seen|
| Mónévöoamahēnēhe   | He must have seen us (incl)| Mónávōoahēnēhe | We (in) must have been seen|
| Mónávōoamahēnōtēhe | He must have seen you (pl)| Mónávōoamahēnēhe | You (pl) must have been seen|
|                     |                         |                  | They must have been seen |
|                     |                         |                  |                           |
| Mónávōoamahētsenōtēhe | He (ovb) must have seen me | Móhōa'ahēhenōtōhe | He must have seen (ovb) |
| Mónévōoamahētsenōtēhe | He (ovb) must have seen you | Móhōa'ahēnōtōhe | He must have seen (ovb) |
| Móvōoamahēvēhe     | He (ovb) must have seen him| Móhōa'ahēhēno'tōse | He must have seen (ovb) |
| Mónávōoahētsenōtēhe | He (ovb) must have seen us (ex)| Mónéhēhehēno'tōse | He must have seen (ovb) |
| Mónévöoamahētsenōtēhe | He (ovb) must have seen ourselves| Mónéhēhehēno'tōse | He must have seen (ovb) |
| Móvōoamahēvēhe     | He (ovb) must have seen them| Móhō'ahēhēno'tōhe | He must have seen (ovb) |
|                     |                         |                  |                           |
| Mónávōoamatsēhēmēnehe | We (ex) must have seen you | Móhōa'ahēhēno'tōhe | He must have seen (ovb) |
| Mónávōoamamohēnēhe | We (ex) must have seen him| Móhōa'ahēhēno'tōhe | He must have seen (ovb) |
| Mónávōoamahētsēhēmanēhe | We (ex) must have seen ourselves| Móhōa'ahēhēno'tōhe | He must have seen (ovb) |
| Mónávōoamohēmenēhe | We (ex) must have seen you (pl)| Móhōa'ahēhēno'tōhe | He must have seen (ovb) |
| Móvētāhehēno'tōhe?? | He must have seen (ovb)| Móhōa'ahēhēno'tōhe | He must have seen (ovb) |
|                     |                         |                  |                           |
| Mónéhētohevōhe      | He must love him (ovb)  | Mónémanō'toehēhe | He must love you          |
| Mónémēhetāehēhe     | He must love you        | Mónémēhētāehēhe | He must have chosen me    |
| Mónémēhenōtēse      | You must have chosen him| Móněhēnōtēse     | You must want him         |
| Móněhēhēnōtēse      | You must want him       | Móněhēhēnōtēse   |                            |
| Móo'omahevēhe       | He (ovb) must have hit him| Mó'ū'mahevēhe   | He must have hit (ovb)    |
| Mó'āhtovohēvēhe     | He must have heard him (ovb)| Mó'vēstahōhēvēhe | He must have helped (ovb) |
| Móhestahevōvēhe     | They must have taken him| Móhestahēvōvēhe | They must have taken (ovb) |
| Móhestahēvōvēhe     | They must have taken him| Móhestahēvōvēhe | They must have taken (ovb) |
| Móhōxohēvōvēhe      | He must have freed him (ovb)| Móhōxohēvōvēhe | They must have fed (ovb)   |
| Móšēxahēvōvēhe      | He must have freed him (ovb)| Móšēxahēvōvēhe | They must have fed (ovb)   |
| Móna'hohevōhe       | He must have killed him (ovb)| Móna'hohevōhe | They must have killed (ovb) |
| Móto'etōhevōhe      | He must have tied him (ovb)| Móto'etōhevōhe | They must have tied (ovb)  |
| Mónēhovōvēhe        | He must have chased him (ovb)| Mónēhovōvēhe | They must have chased (ovb) |

### Some other TA inferential verbs:

- Móněhōtohevōhe: He must love him (ovb)
- Mónémēhētohevōhe: He must love you
- Mónémōnē'toehēhe: He must have chosen me
- Móněmēhenētōse: You must have chosen him
- Móněhēhēnētōse: You must want him
- Móhōa'ahēhēno'tōhe: He must have seen (ovb)
- Móhōa'ahēhēno'tōhe: He must have seen (ovb)
- Móhēstahēvōvēhe: They must have taken him (ovb)
- Móhēstahēvōvēhe: They must have taken him (ovb)
- Móhōxohēvōvēhe: They must have fed him (ovb)
- Móšēxahēvōvēhe: He must have freed him (ovb)
- Móna'hohevōhe: He must have killed him (ovb)
- Móto'etōhevōhe: He must have tied him (ovb)
- Mónēhovōvēhe: He must have chased him (ovb)
### Transitive Animate Reportative verb 'see' /-vóom/

| Verb | Meaning | Translation | Meaning | Translation |
|------|---------|-------------|---------|-------------|
| Návóomáhtsêmäse | It's said I saw myself | Névéoömémése | It's said you (pl) saw me |
| Návóomatsêmäse | It's said I saw you | Névéoömósésto | It's said you (pl) saw him |
| Návóomosésèstae | It's said I saw him | Névéoömamosésto | It's said you (pl) saw him (obv) |
| Návóomamáhsesto | It's said I saw him (obv) | Névéoömamnámése | It's said you (pl) saw us (ex) |
| Návóomáhsesto | It's said I saw you (pl) | Névéoömáhsésésto | It's said you (pl) saw yourselves |
| Návóomáhse | It's said I saw them | Névéoömáhsmémése | It's said you (pl) saw them |
| Návóomáhse | It's said he saw me | Névéoömámésésto | It's said they saw me |
| Návóomáhse | It's said he saw you | Névéoömámésésto | It's said they saw you |
| Návóomamáhse | It's said he saw him (obv) | Evóömóvóosesto | It's said they saw him (obv) |
| Návóomáhse | It's said he saw him (obv) | Névéoömáhsmémése | It's said they saw us (ex) |
| Návóomáhse | It's said he saw us (incl) | Névéoömáhsmémése | It's said they saw us (in) |
| Návóomáhse | It's said he saw (obv) saw me | Návéoomáhse | It's said they saw themselves |
| Návóomamáhse | It's said he (obv) saw you | Névéoömamáhse | It's said I was seen |
| Návóomamáhse | It's said he (obv) saw him | Névéoömamáhse | It's said you were seen |
| Návóomamáhse | It's said he (obv) saw himself | Evóömóvóosesto | It's said he was seen |
| Návóomamáhse | It's said he (obv) saw us (exc) | Návéoömaménésesto | It's said we (ex) were seen |
| Návóomamáhse | It's said he (obv) saw us (incl) | Névéoömaménésesto | It's said we (in) were seen |
| Návóomamáhse | It's said he saw you (pl) | Névéoömaménése | It's said you (pl) were seen |
| Návóomamáhse | It's said he (obv) saw them | Evóömóvóosesto | It's said they were seen |

### Some other TA reportative verbs:

| Verb | Meaning | Translation |
|------|---------|-------------|
| Evómámáhse | It's said he loves him (obv) |
| Evómámáhse | It's said he loves you |
| Evómámáhse | It's said he told him (obv) |
| Evómámáhse | It's said he told them (obv) |
| Evómámáhse | It's said he (obv) told him |
| Evómámáhse | It's said he (obv) told them |
| Evómámáhse | It's said he (obv) gave them (away) |
| Evómámáhse | It's said he gave him (away) |
| Evómámáhse | It's said he (obv) hit him |
| Evómámáhse | It's said he (obv) hurt me |
| Evómámáhse | It's said they saw him (obv) |
| Evómámáhse | It's said they saw him (obv) |
| Evómámáhse | It's said they saw them |
| Evómámáhse | It's said they freed him (obv) |

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

| Verb | Meaning | Translation |
|------|---------|-------------|
| Násáavóomáhtsêmäse | It's said I did not see myself |
| Násáavóomatsêmäse | It's said I did not see you |
| Násáavóomóhsesto | It's said I did not see him |
| Násáavóomamóhsesto | It's said I did not see him (obv) |
| Násáavóomáhsesto | It's said I did not see you (pl) |
| Násáavóomóhsesto | It's said I did not see them |
| Násáavóómémése | It's said you did not see me |
| Násáavóomáhtsêmäse | It's said you did not see yourself |
| Násáavóómémése | It's said you did not see him |

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

It's said he did not see me
It's said he did not see you
It's said he did not see himself
It's said he did not see him (obv)
It's said he did not see us (excl)
It's said he did not see us (incl)
It's said he did not see us (in)
It's said he did not see you (pl)
It's said he (obv) did not see himself
It's said he (obv) did not see him
It's said he (obv) did not see you
It's said he (obv) did not see them
It's said we (ex) did not see you
It's said we (ex) did not see him
It's said we (ex) did not see ourselves
It's said we (ex) did not see you (pl)
It's said we (ex) did not see them
It's said we (in) did not see him
It's said we (in) did not see us (excl)
It's said we (in) did not see us (incl)
It's said we (in) did not see us (in)
It's said we (in) did not see you (pl)
It's said we (in) did not see them

It's said you (pl) did not see me
It's said you (pl) did not see him
It's said you (pl) did not see you
It's said you (pl) did not see yourselves
It's said you (pl) did not see them

It's said they did not see me
It's said they did not see you
It's said they did not see him (obv)
It's said they did not see us (ex)
It's said they did not see you (pl)
It's said they did not see themselves

It's said I was seen
It's said you were seen
It's said he was seen
It's said we (ex) were seen
It's said we (in) were seen
Nésáavóomanéhémése  It’s said you (pl) were seen
Ésáavóméhesesto   It’s said they were seen

Some other TA negative reportative verbs:
Ésáaméhotóhesesto??  It’s said he does not love him (obv)
Nésáméhotaheséstse  It’s said he does not love you
Ésáahetóhesesto   It’s said he did not tell him (obv)
Ésáahetóhevéósesto  It’s said they did not tell him (obv)
Ésáahetaehééstse   It’s said he (obv) did not tell him
Násáamonétoheheséstse  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
Ésáahó’áhénóhééstse??  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)
Násáapótaehééstse  It’s said he does not hate me
Ésáa’oomaehééstse   It’s said he (obv) did not hit him
Ésáa’aahtóvéóhesesto  It’s said he did not hear him (obv)
Ésáavéstahéhémoheéstse??  It’s said he did not help him (obv)
Ésáahestanóhevéósesto  It’s said they did not take him (obv)
Ésáahoxomóhevéósesto  It’s said they did not feed him (obv)
Ésáášéxanóhesesto  It’s said he did not free him (obv)

Transitive Animate Preterit verbs

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

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

Náéáshého’èhnmohó káhké o’hé’e!
Wow, I have come close to a river! (Floating Eyes:062)

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

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

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

Éhvóomóhoono Once upon a time he saw him (obv)
Éhvóomaehoono Once upon a time he (obv) saw him
Éhvóomaevóhoono Once upon a time he (obv) saw them
Éhvóomóvóhoono Once upon a time they told him (obv)
Évóomóhoono! Surprisingly, he saw him!

Éxhetóhoono Once upon a time he told him (obv)
Éxhetaehoono Once upon a time he (obv) told him
Éxhetaevóhoono Once upon a time he (obv) told them
Éxhetóvóhoono Once upon a time they told him (obv)
Éhetóhoono! Surprisingly, he told him!

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

Éhvónáho'nóhoono Once upon a time he burned him (obv) up
Éhvónáho'heehoono Once upon a time he (obv) burned him up
Éhvónáho'heevóhoono Once upon a time he (obv) burned them up
Éhvónáho'nóvóhoono Once upon a time they burned him (obv) up
Évónáho'nóhoono! Surprisingly, he burned him (obv) up!

É'a'tásóhoono Once upon a time he accidentally cut him (obv)
É'a'taxeehoono Once upon a time he (obv) accidentally cut him
É'a'taxevóhoono 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'ahénóhoono?? Once upon a time he wanted him (obv)
Éxho'áhē'toehoono?? Once upon a time he (obv) wanted him
Éxho'ahé'teovóhoono?? Once upon a time he (obv) wanted them
Éxho'ahénovóhoono?? Once upon a time they wanted him (obv)
Ého'ahénóhoono! Surprisingly, he wanted him (obv)!

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)
Éššexanóhoono! Surprisingly, he freed him (obv)!

Transitive Animate Negative Preterit verbs

Éssáavóomóhehoono Once upon a time he did not see him (obv)
Éssáavóomaehéhoono Once upon a time he (obv) did not see him
Éssáavóomaehévóhoono Once upon a time he (obv) did not see them
Éssáavóomóhevóhoono Once upon a time they did not see him (obv)
Éssáavóomóhehoono! Surprisingly, he did not see him (obv)!
Éssáahetóhehoono
Once upon a time he did not tell him (obv)

Éssáahetaehéhoono
Once upon a time he (obv) did not tell him

Éssáahetaehévóhoono
Once upon a time he (obv) did not tell them

Éssáahetóhevoño
Once upon a time they did not tell him (obv)

Éssáahetóhehoono!
Surprisingly, he did not tell him!

Éssáa’a’tásóhehoono
Once upon a time he did not accidentally cut him (obv)

Éssáa’a’taxeehéhoono
Once upon a time he (obv) did not accidentally cut him

Éssáa’a’taxeehévóhoono
Once upon a time he (obv) did not accidentally cut them

Éssáa’a’tásóhevoño
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!           | 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!              | Méhotahtséstse!        | Méhotahtse!                  |
| Love him!                    | Méhoxeha!              | Méhota!                      |
| Love him (obv)!             | Méhotameha!            | Méhotama!                    |
| Love us!                     | Méhoxemeneno!          | Méhoxemenono!                |
| Love them!                   | Méhoxenáno!            | Méhota!                      |
| Be good to me!              | Pėhéve’tovéstse!       | Pėhéve’tove!                 |
| Be good to yourself!        | Pėheve’tovahtséstse!   | Pėheve’tovahtse!             |
| Be good to him!             | Pėhéve’toveha!         | Pėhéve’tova!                 |
| Be good to him (obv)!       | Pėhéve’tovameha!       | Pėhéve’tovama!               |
| Be good to us!              | Pėhéve’tovemenono!     | Pėhéve’tovemenono!           |
| Be good to them!            | Pėhéve’tovenáno!       | Pėhéve’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!            | Śevátaméstse!          | Śevátame!                    |
| Take pity on yourself!      | Śevátamahtséstse!      | Śevátamahtse!                |
| Take pity on him!           | Śevátameha!            | Śevátama!                    |
| Take pity on him (obv)!     | Śevátamameha!          | Śevátamama!                  |
| Take pity on us!            | Śevátameneno!          | Śevátameneno!                |
| Take pity on them!          | Śevátamenáno!          | Śevátama!                    |

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

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

| meaning                      | said to one person                        | said to more than one person              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| Look at me later!            | Vé’hoomeo’o!                             | Vé’hooméhéne!                            |
| Look at yourself later!     | Vé’hoomahtseo’o!                         | Vé’hoomahtséhéne!                        |
| 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!               | Méboxeo’o!                               | Mé hôxehéne!                             |
| Love yourself later!        | Méhotahtseo’o!                           | Méhotahtséhéne!                          |
| Love him later!              | Méhotoo’o!                               | Méhotóhéne!                              |
| Love him (obv) later!        | Méhotamoo’o!                             | Méhotamóhéne!                            |
| Love us later!               | Méhoxemenoo’o!                           | Méhoxemenoo’o!                           |
| Love them later!             | Méhóttóóno!                              | Méhóttóóhe!                              |
| Be good to me later!        | Pèhée’toveo’o!                           | Pèhée’tovéhéne!                          |
| Be good to yourself later!  | Pèhée’tovahtseo’o!                       | Pèhée’tovahtséhéne!                      |
| Be good to him later!        | Pèhée’tovo’o!                            | Pèhée’tovóhéne!                          |
| Be good to him (obv) later!  | Pèhée’tovamoo’o!                         | Pèhée’tovamóhéne!                        |
| Be good to us later!         | Pèhée’tovemenoo’o!                       | Pèhée’tovemenoo’o!                       |
| Be good to them later!       | Pèhée’tovóóno!                           | Pèhée’tovóhéne!                          |
| Measure me later!            | Taevaheo’o!                              | Taeváhéne!                               |
| Measure yourself later!     | Taeváhehtseo’o!                          | Taeváhehtséhéne!                         |
| Measure him later!           | Taeváhnoo’o!                             | Taeváhónéhe!                             |
| Measure him (obv) later!     | Taeváhamoo’o!                            | Taeváhamóhéne!                           |
| Measure us later!            | Taeváhemenoo’o!                          | Taeváhemenoo’o!                          |
| Measure them later!          | Taeváhnóóno!                             | Taeváhnóéhe!                             |
| Take pity on me later!      | Ševátameo’o!                             | Ševátaméhéne!                            |
| Take pity on yourself later!| Ševátamáhtseo’o!                         | Ševátamáhtséhéne!                        |
| Take pity on him later!     | Ševátamo’o!                              | Ševátamóhéne!                            |
| Take pity on him (obv)!     | Ševátamamoo’o!                           | Ševátamama!                              |
| Take pity on us!             | Ševátamemenoo!                           | Ševátamémenoo!                           |
| Take pity on them!           | Ševátamenáno!                            | Ševátama!                                |

### Transitive Animate Hortative verbs

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

Vé’hooma’eha! Let him look at me! Vé’hooma’évoha! Let them look at me!  
Vé’hoomáta’e! Let him look at you! Vé’hoomahtseo’o! Let them look at you!  
Vé’hoomáhtseha! Let him look at himself! Vé’hoomáhtsévoha! Let them look at themselves!  
Vé’hoomóha! Let him look at him (obv)! Vé’hoomaëtse! Let them look at us!  
Vé’hoomata’õse! Let him look at you (pl)! Vé’hoomata’õse! 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)'

- Návóóhta  I see it  Návóohtanótse  I see them
- Névóóhta  You see it  Névóohtanótse  You see them
- Évéohtanótse  He sees it  Évéohtanótse  He see's them
- Návóohtánóne  We (excl) see it  Návóohtánóne  We (excl) see them
- Névóohtanone  We (incl) see it  Névóohtanone  We (incl) see them
- Névéohtánóvo  You (pl) see it  Névéohtánóvo  You (pl) see them
- Évéohtánovó  They see it  Évéohtánovó  They see them
- Évéome  It is seen  Évéoménéstse  They are seen

/-mése/ 'eat (something)'

- Námese  I ate it  Námésenótse  I ate them
- Némese  You ate it  Némésenótse  You ate them
- Émésetse  He ate it  Éméserotse  He ate them
- Námésénone  We (excl) ate it  Námésénone  We (excl) ate them
- Némésenone  We (incl) ate it  Némésenone  We (incl) ate them
- Émésetse  They ate it  Émésetse  They ate them
- Émése  It was eaten  Éméstóvnéstse  They were eaten.

-ho’tsé 'have (something)'

- Náho’tsé  I have it  Náho’tsenótse  I have them
- Ného’tsé  You have it  Ného’tsenótse  You have them
- Ého’tsé  He has it  Ého’tsenótse  He has them
- Ého’tsetse  He (obv) has it  Ého’tsetsetse  He (obv) has them
- Náho’tsénóne  We (excl) have it  Náho’tsénóne  We (excl) have them
- Ného’tsénone  We (incl) have it  Ného’tsénone  We (incl) have them
- Ného’tsénovó  You (pl) have it  Ného’tsénovó  You (pl) have them
- Ého’he  It is had  Ého’hénéstse  They are had

-ho’ahe 'have (something)'

- Náho’ahe  I want it  Náho’ahenótse  I want them
- Ného’ahe  You want it  Ného’ahenótse  You want them
- Ého’ahe  He wants it  Ého’ahenótse  He wants them
- Ého’ahtse  He (obv) wants it  Ého’ahtsetse  He (obv) wants them
- Náho’ahéñóne  We (excl) want it  Náho’ahéñóne  We (excl) want them
- Ného’ahéñone  We (incl) want it  Ného’ahéñone  We (incl) want them
- Ného’ahéñovó  You (pl) want it  Ného’ahéñovó  You (pl) want them
- Ého’ahéñovó  They want it  Ého’ahéñovó  They want them
- Ého’ahéstove  It is wanted  Ého’ahéstovééstse  They are wanted

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

Náhóxe'ána  I cleaned it  Náhóxe'ananótsé  I cleaned them
Néhóxe'ána  You cleaned it  Néhóxe'ananótsé  You cleaned them
Éhóxe'ána  He cleaned it  Éhóxe'ananótsé  He cleaned them
Éhóxe'anotse  He (obv) cleaned it  Éhóxe'anótsenótsé  He (obv) cleaned them
Náhóxe'anánóne  We (excl) cleaned it  Náhóxe'anánonéstse  We (excl) cleaned them
Néhóxe'anánóne  We (in) cleaned it  Néhóxe'anánonéstse  We (in) cleaned them
Néhóxe'anánóvo  You (pl) cleaned it  Néhóxe'anánovótsé  You (pl) cleaned them
Éhóxe'anánóvo  They cleaned it  Éhóxe'anánovótsé  They cleaned them
Éhóxe'ané  It was cleaned  Éhóxe'anënéstse  They were cleaned

-hestá 'say (something)'

Náhésta  I said it  Náhestanótsé  I said them
Néhésta  You said it  Néhestanótsé  You said them
Éhésta  He said it  Éhestanótsé  He said them
Éhestotse  He (obv) said it  Éhestótsenótsé  He (obv) said them
Náhestanóne  We (excl) said it  Náhestanónéstse  We (excl) said them
Nénestánone  We (in) said it  Nénestánonéstse  We (in) said them
Nénestánóvo  You (pl) said it  Nénestánovótsé  You (pl) said them
Éhestánóvo  They said it  Éhestánovótsé  They said them
Éhestóhe  It was said  Éhestóhénéstse  They were said

-mane 'drink (something)'

Námane  I drank it  Námanenótsé  I drank them
Némane  You drank it  Némanenótsé  You drank them
Émane  He drank it  Émanenótsé  He drank them
Émanetse  He (obv) drank it  Émanétsetsnótsé  He (obv) drank them
Námanénóne  We (excl) drank it  Námanénonéstse  We (excl) drank them
Némanénóne  We (in) drank it  Némanénonéstse  We (in) drank them
Émanénóvo  They drank it  Émanénovótsé  They drank them
Émanéstove  It was drunk  Émanéstóvenéstse  They were drunk

-é'e'ó'tse 'break (something)'

Náe'e'o'tse  I broke it  Náe'e'o'tsenótsé  I broke them
Né'e'o'tse  You broke it  Né'e'o'tsenótsé  You broke them
É'e'o'tse  He broke it  É'e'o'tse  He broke them
É'e'o'tsetse  He (obv) broke it  É'e'o'tsetsenótsé  He (obv) broke them
Náe'e'o'tsenóne  We (excl) broke it  Náe'e'o'tsenónéstse  We (excl) broke them
Né'e'o'tsenóne  We (in) broke it  Né'e'o'tsenónéstse  We (in) broke them
Né'e'o'tsenóvo  You (pl) broke it  Né'e'o'tsenovótsé  You (pl) broke them
É'e'o'tsenóvo  They broke it  É'e'o'tsenovótsé  They broke them
É'e'o'he  It was broken  É'e'o'hénéstse  They were broken

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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'táxa.  I accidentally cut it.
Éhestána.  He took it.
Náhó'xátsésta.  I'm used to it.
Émé'a.  He found it.
Nápēhévátsésta.  I like it.
Návon'a'ótse.  I lost it.
Návonetaló'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, Náháamá’ta na’evo, below, is naturally translated to English. This verb could literally be translated to English as 'I hurt to my nose.' (It does not literally mean 'I hurt my nose'.) This literal translation sounds odd in English, but there is nothing odd about the Cheyenne verb. It is simply a different grammatical method to express the same semantic relationship of the equivalent English sentence. Neither grammatical method is inferior.

Náháamá’ta na’evo.  My nose hurts. (lit., I hurt to my nose)
Náháamá’tanotch na’áxánéstse.  My eyes hurt. (lit., I hurt to my eyes)

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

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

-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)
Nátáá’anotch hóhkéhá’estse.  The caps fit me. (lit., I fit to the caps)

Compare corresponding TA verbs:
The shirt fits me. (lit., I fit to the shirt)
The shirts fit me. (lit., I fit to the shirts)

'something) taste good'
In Cheyenne food which gives the sensation of good taste is grammatically the object of the TI verb -pêhévé'áhtá:
The meat tastes good to me. (lit. I good taste to it)

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

-vóohtomóv 'see his _'
Návóohtomóvo I see his __ Návóohtomóvonóte I see his __ (plural)
Névóohtomóvo You see his __ Névóohtomóvonóte You see his __ (plural)
Évóohtomóvo He sees his (obv) __ Évóohtomóvonóte He sees his (obv) __ (pl)
Návóohtomóvonóne We (ex) see his __ Návóohtomóvonónestse We (ex) see his __ (pl)
Névóohtomóvonone We (in) see his __ Névóohtomóvonónestse We (in) see his __ (pl)
Névóohtomóvonóvo You (pl) see his __ Névóohtomóvonovóte You (pl) see his __ (pl)
Évóohtomóvonóvo They see his __ Évóohtomóvonovóte They see his __ (pl)
Évóometse His ___ is seen Évóomenetóte His __ (pl) are seen

-hestanomóv 'take his _'
Náhestanomóvo I took his __ Náhestanomóvonóte I took his __ (pl)
Néhestanomóvo You took his __ Néhestanomóvonóte You took his __ (pl)
Éhestanomóvo He took his (obv) __ Éhestanomóvonóte He took his (obv) __ (pl)
Náhestanomóvonóne We (ex) took his __ Náhestanomóvonónestse We (ex) took his __ (pl)
Néhestanomóvonone We (in) took his __ Néhestanomóvonónestse We (in) took his __ (pl)
Néhestanomóvonóvo You (pl) took his __ Néhestanomóvonovóte You (pl) took his __ (pl)
Éhestanomóvonóvo They took his __ Éhestanomóvonovóte They took his __ (pl)
Éhestanetse His __ was taken Éhestanetóte His __ (pl) were taken

-é'ê'ó'tov 'break his _'
Náé'ê'ó'tóvo I broke his __ Náé'ê'ó'tovóntse I broke his __ (pl)
Née'ê'ó'tóvo You broke his __ Née'ê'ó'tovóntse You broke his __ (pl)
Éé'ê'ó'tóvo He broke his (obv) __ Éé'ê'ó'tovóntse He broke his (obv) __ (pl)
Náé'ê'ó'tóvónóne We (ex) broke his __ Náé'ê'ó'tovónónestse We (ex) broke his __ (pl)
Née'ê'ó'tovónone We (in) broke his __ Née'ê'ó'tovónónésse We (in) broke his __ (pl)
Née'ê'ó'tóvónóvo You (pl) broke his __ Née'ê'ó'tovónóntse You (pl) broke his __ (pl)
Éé'ê'ó'tóvónóvo They broke his __ Éé'ê'ó'tovónóntse They broke his __ (pl)
Éé'ê'ó'hetse His __ was broken Éé'ê'ó'hentóte 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 Ésáavóóhtóhenésontse He (obv) did not see them
Násáavóóhtóhénóne We (ex) did not see it Násáavóóhtóhénónestse We (ex) did not see them
Nésáavóóhtóhénone We (in) did not see it Nésáavóóhtóhénónéstse We (in) did not see them
Nésáavóóhtóhénovo You (pl) did not see it Nésáavóóhtóhénovótse You (pl) did not see them
Ésáavóóhtóhénovo 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
Ésáaméséhetsé He (obv) did not eat it Ésáaméséhetsenótse He (obv) did not eat them
Násáaméséhénóne We (ex) did not eat it Násáaméséhénónéstse We (ex) did not eat them
Nésáaméséhénone We (in) did not eat it Nésáaméséhénónéstse We (in) did not eat them
Nésáaméséhénovo You (pl) did not eat it Nésáaméséhénovótse You (pl) did not eat them
Ésáaméséhénovo 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'tséhetsonótse He (obv) does not have them
Násáaho'tséhénóne We (ex) do not have it Násáaho'tséhénónestse We (ex) do not have them
Nésáaho'tséhénone We (in) do not have it Nésáaho'tséhénónéstse We (in) do not have them
Nésáaho'tséhénovo You (pl) do not have it Nésáaho'tséhénovótse You (pl) do not have them
Ésáaho'tséhénovo They do not have it Ésáaho'tséhénovótse They do not have them
Ésáaho'héhane It is not had Ésáaho'héhanehótse They are not had

'not want (something)'

Násáaho'ahéhe I don't want it Násáaho'ahéhenótse I don't want them
Nésáaho'ahéhe You don't want it Nésáaho'ahéhenótse You don't want them
Ésáaho'ahéhe He doesn't want it Ésáaho'ahéhenótse He doesn't want them
Ésáaho'ahéhetse He (obv) doesn't want it Ésáaho'ahéhetsonótse He (obv) doesn't want them
Násáaho'ahéhénóne We (ex) don't want it Násáaho'ahéhénónestse We (ex) don't want them
Nésáaho'ahéhénone We (in) don't want it Nésáaho'ahéhénónéstse We (in) don't want them
Nésáaho'ahéhénovo You (pl) don't want it Nésáaho'ahéhénovótse You (pl) don't want them
Ésáaho'ahéhénovo They don't want it Ésáaho'ahéhénovótse They don't want them
Ésáaho'ahéstovéhane It is not wanted Ésáaho'ahéstovéhanehótse They are not wanted
### 'not clean (something)'

| Násáahóxe’anóhe | I didn’t clean it | Násáahóxe’anóhénótse | I didn’t clean them |
|------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| Nésáahóxe’anóhe  | You didn’t clean it | Nésáahóxe’anóhénótse | You didn’t clean them |
| Ésáahóxe’anóhe  | He didn’t clean it | Ésáahóxe’anóhénótse | He didn’t clean them |
| Ésáahóxe’anóhetse | He (obv) didn’t clean it | Ésáahóxe’anóhèتسènötse | He (obv) didn’t clean them |
| Násáahóxe’anóhénône | We (ex) didn’t clean it | Násáahóxe’anóhèңèntse | We (ex) didn’t clean them |
| Násáahóxe’anóhèңône | We (in) didn’t clean it | Násáahóxe’anóhèңèntse | We (in) didn’t clean them |
| Nésáahóxe’anóhèңôvo | You (pl) didn’t clean it | Nésáahóxe’anóhèңèntse | You (pl) didn’t clean them |
| Ésáahóxe’anóhèңôvo | They didn’t clean it | Ésáahóxe’anóhèңèntse | They didn’t clean them |
| Ésáahóxe’anéhane | It was not cleaned | Ésáahóxe’anéhènèhtsettse | They were not cleaned |

### Transitive Inanimate Independent Negative relational verbs

#### 'not see (something)'

| Násáavóohóto mó véhe | I didn’t see his __ | Násáavóohóto mó véhèntsettse | I didn’t see his __ (pl) |
|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Nésáavóohóto mó véhe | You didn’t see his __ | Nésáavóohóto mó véhèntsettse | You didn’t see his __ (pl) |
| Ésáavóohóto mó véhe | He didn’t see his (obv) __ | Ésáavóohóto mó véhèntsettse | He didn’t see his (obv) __ (pl) |
| Násáavóohóto mó véhèntsettse | We (ex) didn’t see his __ | Násáavóohóto mó véhèงèntsettse | We (ex) didn’t see his __ (pl) |
| Násáavóohóto mó véhèงèntsettse | We (in) didn’t see his __ | Násáavóohóto mó véhèงèntsettse | We (in) didn’t see his __ (pl) |
| Násáavóohóto mó véhèงôvo | You (pl) didn’t see his __ | Násáavóohóto mó véhèงèntsettse | You (pl) didn’t see his __ (pl) |
| Ésáavóohóto mó véhèงôvo | They didn’t see his __ | Ésáavóohóto mó véhèงèntsettse | They didn’t see his __ (pl) |
| Ésáavóomèhànèhetse | His __ was not seen | Ésáavóomèhànènèhtsettse | His __ (pl) were not seen |

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

| Násáahèstanómo véhè | I did not take his __ | Násáahèstanómo véhèntsettse | I took his __ (pl) |
|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Nésáahèstanómo véhè | You did not take his __ | Nésáahèstanómo véhèntsettse | You took his __ (pl) |
| Ésáahèstanómo véhè | He didn’t take his (obv) __ | Ésáahèstanómo véhèntsettse | He took his (obv) __ (pl) |
| Násáahèstanómo véhèntsettse | We (ex) didn’t take his __ | Násáahèstanómo véhèงèntsettse | We (ex) took his __ (pl) |
| Násáahèstanómo véhèงèntsettse | We (in) didn’t take his __ | Násáahèstanómo véhèงèntsettse | We (in) took his __ (pl) |
| Násáahèstanómo véhèงôvo | You (pl) didn’t take his __ | Násáahèstanómo véhèงèntsettse | You (pl) took his __ (pl) |
| Ésáahèstanómo véhèงôvo | They didn’t take his __ | Ésáahèstanómo véhèงèntsettse | They took his __ (pl) |
| Éhèstanèhénetsetse | His __ was not taken | Éhèstanèhénetsettse | His __ (pl) were not taken |

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

| Násáá’è’e’ó’tóvéhè | I didn’t break his __ | Násáá’è’e’ó’tóvéhèntsettse | I didn’t break his __ (pl) |
|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Nésáá’è’e’ó’tóvéhè | You didn’t break his __ | Nésáá’è’e’ó’tóvéhèntsettse | You didn’t break his __ (pl) |
| Ésáá’è’e’ó’tóvéhè | He didn’t break his (obv) __ | Ésáá’è’e’ó’tóvéhèntsettse | He didn’t break his (obv) __ (pl) |
| Násáá’è’e’ó’tóvéhèntsettse | We (ex) didn’t break his __ | Násáá’è’e’ó’tóvéhèงèntsettse | We (ex) didn’t break his __ (pl) |
| Násáá’è’e’ó’tóvéhèงèntsettse | We (in) didn’t break his __ | Násáá’è’e’ó’tóvéhèงèntsettse | We (in) didn’t break his __ (pl) |
| Násáá’è’e’ó’tóvéhèงôvo | You (pl) didn’t break his __ | Násáá’è’e’ó’tóvéhèงèntsettse | You (pl) didn’t break his __ (pl) |
| Ésáá’è’e’ó’tóvéhèงôvo | They didn’t break his __ | Ésáá’è’e’ó’tóvéhèงèntsettse | They didn’t break his __ (pl) |
| Ésáá’è’e’ó’hehènetsetse | His __ wasn’t broken | Ésáá’è’e’ó’hehènèhtsettse | His __ (pl) weren’t broken |
**Transitive Inanimate Interrogative verbs**

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

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

As with TA verbs, if the indicative form of a verb ends in whispered -ôtse, the interrogative suffix -he combines with it so the "o" of the ending is voiced, not whispered. Then the ending is pronounced -otse.

### ‘see (something)’

| English | Návóohtahe? | Névóohtahe? | Évóohtahe? | Návóohtanonehe? | Névóohtanonehe? | Évóohtanonehe? | Návóohtanovohé? | Névóohtanovohé? | Évóohtanovohé? |
|---------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|
| Question | Did I see it? | Did you see it? | Did he see it? | Did we (excl) see it? | Did we (incl) see it? | Did you (pl) see it? | Did they see it? | Did you (pl) see them? | Did they see them? |
| Response | Návóohtanotse? | Névóohtanotse? | Évóohtanotse? | Návóohtanovotse? | Névóohtanovotse? | Évóohtanovotse? | Návóohtanovotse? | Névóohtanovotse? | Évóohtanovotse? |
|          | Did I see them? | Did you see them? | Did he see them? | Did we (excl) see them? | Did we (incl) see them? | Did you (pl) see them? | Did they see them? | Did you (pl) see them? | Did they see them? |

### ‘want (something)’

| English | Náho’āhehe? | Ného’āhehe? | Ého’āhehe? | Náho’āhenonehe? | Ného’āhenonehe? | Ého’āhenonehe? | Náho’āhenovohe? | Ného’āhenovohe? | Ého’āhenovohe? |
|---------|-------------|-------------|-----------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------|----------------|----------------|-------------|
| Question | Do I want it? | Do you want it? | Does he want it? | Do we (excl) want it? | Do we (incl) want it? | Do you (pl) want it? | Do they want it? | Do you (pl) want them? | Do they want them? |
| Response | Náho’āhenotse? | Ného’āhenotse? | Ého’āhenotse? | Náho’āhenovotse? | Ného’āhenovotse? | Ého’āhenovotse? | Náho’āhenovotse? | Ného’āhenovotse? | Ého’āhenovotse? |
|          | Do I want them? | Do you want them? | Does he want them? | Do we (excl) want them? | Do we (incl) want them? | Do you (pl) want them? | Do they want them? | Do you (pl) want them? | Do they want them? |

### ‘take (something)’

| English | Náhestanahahe? | Néhestanahahe? | Éhestanahahe? | Náhestananonehe? | Néhestananonehe? | Éhestananonehe? | Náhestananovohé? | Néhestananovohé? | Éhestananovohé? |
|---------|----------------|---------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|
| Question | Did I take it? | Did you take it? | Did he take it? | Did we (excl) take it? | Did we (incl) take it? | Did you (pl) take it? | Did they take it? | Did you (pl) take them? | Did they take them? |
| Response | Náhestananotse? | Néhestananotse? | Éhestananotse? | Náhestananovotse? | Néhestananovotse? | Éhestananovotse? | Náhestananovotse? | Néhestananovotse? | Éhestananovotse? |
|          | Did I take them? | Did you take them? | Did he take them? | Did we (excl) take them? | Did we (incl) take them? | Did you (pl) take them? | Did they take them? | Did you (pl) take them? | Did they take them? |

### ‘Some mó- prefix TI questions’

| English | Mónévóóhta? | Mó’éhestāna? | Mónéhestanovotse? | Mónémésenotse? | Mó’éméséstóvénéstse? |
|---------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------------|
| Question | Did you see it? | Did he take it? | Did you (plural) take them? | Did you eat them? | 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)?
Návóohtomóvonovohe? Did you (pl) see his ___? Návóohtomóvonovotse? Did you (pl) see his ___ (pl)?
Évóohtomóvonovohe? Did they see his ___? Évóohtomóvonovotse? Did they see his ___ (pl)?
Évóooméhanehe? Was his ___ seen? Évóooméhanetsehe? 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)?
Náhestanomóvonovohe? Did you (pl) take his ___? Náhestanomóvonovotse? Did you (pl) take his ___ (pl)?
Éhestanomóvonovohe? Did they take his ___? Éhestanomóvonovotse? Did they take his ___ (pl)?
Éhestanetsehe? Was his ___ taken? Éhestanetsehe? Were his ___ (pl) taken?

Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative

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

Násáavóóhtóhehe? Didn’t I see it? Násáavóóhtóhenotse? Didn’t I see them?
Násáavóóhtóhehe? Didn’t you see it? Násáavóóhtóhenotse? Didn’t you see them?
Ésáavóóhtóhehe? Didn’t he see it? Ésáavóóhtóhenotse? Didn’t he see them?
Ésáavóóhtóhtehehe? Didn’t he (obv) see it? Ésáavóóhtóhtotsehe? Didn’t he (obv) see them?
Násáavóóhtóhentonehe? Didn’t we (ex) see it? Násáavóóhtóhentonevotse? Didn’t we (ex) see them?
Násáavóóhtóhentonehe? Didn’t we (in) see it? Násáavóóhtóhentonevotse? Didn’t we (in) see them?
Násáavóóhtóhentonehe? Didn’t you (pl) see it? Násáavóóhtóhentonevotse? Didn’t you (pl) see them?
Ésáavóóhtóhentonehe? Didn’t they see it? Ésáavóóhtóhentonevotse? Didn’t they see them?
Ésáavóóméhanehe? Wasn’t it seen? Ésáavóóméhanotsehe? Weren’t they seen?

Some other Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative verbs

Nésáahæstæhehe? Didn’t you take it?
Nésáaméshëhëve? Didn’t you (plural) eat him?
Ésáamësësëhëve? Weren’t they (inanimate) eaten?
Ésáaho’ahéstæhëvehe? Wasn’t it wanted?

Transitive Inanimate Negative Interrogative relational verbs

Násáavóohtomóvohehe? Didn’t I see his ___? Násáavóohtomóvohehehe? Didn’t I see his ___ (pl)?
Násáavóohtomóvohehe? Didn’t you see his ___? Násáavóohtomóvohehehe? Didn’t you see his ___ (pl)?
Ésáavóohtomóvohehe? Didn’t he see his (obv) ___? Ésáavóohtomóvohehehe? Didn’t he see his (obv) ___ (pl)?
Násáavóohtomóvohehehehe? Didn’t we (ex) see his ___? Násáavóohtomóvohehehehehe? Didn’t we (ex) see his ___ (pl)?
Násáavóohtomóvohehehehe? Didn’t we (in) see his ___? Násáavóohtomóvohehehehehe? Didn’t we (in) see his ___ (pl)?
Násáavóohtomóvohehehehe? Didn’t you (pl) see his ___? Násáavóohtomóvohehehehehe? Didn’t you (pl) see his ___ (pl)?
Ésáavóohtomóvohehehehe? Didn’t they see his ___? Ésáavóohtomóvohehehehehe? Didn’t they see his ___ (pl)?
Ésáavoóméhanëtehehehe? Wasn’t his ___ seen? Ésáavoóméhanëtehehehehe? Weren’t his ___ (pl) seen?
Transitive Inanimate Inferential verbs

| Verb Form | Subject | Object | Subject Pronoun | Object Pronoun |
|-----------|---------|--------|----------------|----------------|
| 'see (something)' | Mónávóohtóhéhe | I must have seen it | Mónávóohtóhënénötse | I must have seen them |
| | Mónévóohtóhéhe | You must have seen it | Mónévóohtóhënénötse | You must have see them |
| | Móvóohtóhéhe | He must have seen it | Móvóohtóhënénötse | He must have seen them |
| | Móvóohtóhëtséhe | He (obv) must have seen it | Móvóohtóhëtsenötse | He (obv) must have seen them |
| | Mónávóohtóhënénëhe | We (ex) must have seen it | Mónávóohtóhënévōtse | We (ex) must have seen them |
| | Mónévóohtóhënénëhe | We (in) must have seen it | Mónévóohtóhënévōtse | We (in) must have seen them |
| | Mónévóohtóhënéhe | You must have seen it | Mónévóohtóhënévōtse | You must have seen them |
| | Móvóohtóhënéhe | He must have seen it | Móvóohtóhënévōtse | He must have seen them |
| | Móvóohtóhëtsëhe | He (obv) must have seen it | Móvóohtóhëtsenötse | He (obv) must have seen them |
| 'take (something)' | Mónáhestanóhéhe | I must have taken it | Mónáhestanóhënénötse | I must have taken them |
| | Mónéhestanóhéhe | You must have taken it | Mónéhestanóhënénötse | You must have taken them |
| | Móhestanóhéhe | He must have taken it | Móhestanóhënénötse | He must have taken them |
| | Móhestanóhëtsëhe | He (obv) must have taken it | Móhestanóhëtsenötse | He (obv) must have taken them |
| | Mónáhestanóhënénëhe | We (ex) must have taken it | Mónáhestanóhënévōtse | We (ex) must have taken them |
| | Mónéhestanóhënénëhe | We (in) must have taken it | Mónéhestanóhënévōtse | We (in) must have taken them |
| | Mónéhestanóhënéhe | You must have taken it | Mónéhestanóhënévōtse | You must have taken them |
| | Móhestanóhënéhe | He must have taken it | Móhestanóhënévōtse | He must have taken them |
| | Móhestanóhëtsëhe | He (obv) must have taken it | Móhestanóhëtsenötse | He (obv) must have taken them |
| | Mónáho'tsëhéhe | I must have it | Mónáho'tsëhënénötse | I must have seen them |
| | Móného'tsëhéhe | You must have it | Móného'tsëhënénötse | You must have seen them |
| | Móho'tsëhéhe | He must have it | Móho'tsëhënénötse | He must have it |
| | Móho'tsëhëtsëhe | He (obv) must have it | Móho'tsëhëtsenötse | He (obv) must have it |
| | Mónáho'tsëhënénëhe | We (ex) must have it | Mónáho'tsëhënévōtse | We (ex) must have it |
| | Móného'tsëhënénëhe | We (in) must have it | Móného'tsëhënévōtse | We (in) must have it |
| | Móného'tsëhënéhe | You must have it | Móného'tsëhënévōtse | You must have it |
| | Móho'tsëhënéhe | He must have it | Móho'tsëhënévōtse | He must have it |

\$\$CHECK YOUNGER SPEAKER dialect: e.g. Mónávóohtáhëhe??
### Transitive Inanimate Reportative verbs

#### 'see (something)'

| Návéóhtánóse | I am said to see it | Návéóhtanósestôtse | I am said to see them |
| Névóóhtánóse | You are said to see it | Névóóhtanósestôtse | You are said to see them |
| Évéóhtánóse | He is said to see it | Évéóhtanósestôtse | He is said to see them |
| Évéóhtótsénóse | He (obv) is said to see it | Évéóhtótsénósestôtse | He (obv) is said to see them |
| Návéóhtánónése | We (ex) are said to see it | Návéóhtánónéséstôtse | We (ex) are said to see them |
| Névóóhtánónése | We (in) are said to see it | Névóóhtánónéséstôtse | We (in) are said to see them |
| Návéóhtánóvóvése | You (pl) are said to see it | Návéóhtánóvóvésestôtse | You (pl) are said to see them |
| Évéóhtánóvévése | They are said to see it | Évéóhtánóvévésestôtse | They are said to see them |

#### 'take (something)'

| Náhéstanánóse | I am said to have taken it | Náhéstanánósestôtse | I am said to have taken them |
| Névóóhtánóse | You are said to have taken it | Névóóhtánósestôtse | You are said to have taken them |
| Éhéstanánóse | He is said to have taken it | Éhéstanánósestôtse | He is said to have taken them |
| Éhéstanótótsénóse | He (obv) is said to have taken it | Éhéstanótótsénósestôtse | He (obv) is said to have taken them |
| Náhéstanánónése | We (ex) are said to have taken it | Náhéstanánónéséstôtse | We (ex) are said to have taken them |
| Névóóhtánónése | We (in) are said to have taken it | Névóóhtánónéséstôtse | We (in) are said to have taken them |
| Návéóhtánóvóvése | You (pl) are said to have taken it | Návéóhtánóvóvésestôtse | You (pl) are said to have taken them |
| Éhéstanóvévése | They are said to have taken it | Éhéstanóvévésestôtse | They are said to have taken them |

#### 'have (something)'

| Náh'o'tsénpóse | I am said to have it | Náh'o'tsénpóstôtse | I am said to have them |
| Néh'o'tsénpóse | You are said to have it | Néh'o'tsénpóstôtse | You are said to have them |
| Éh'o'tsénpóse | He is said to have it | Éh'o'tsénpóstôtse | He is said to have them |
| Éh'o'tsénpóvévése | They are said to have it | Éh'o'tsénpóvévéstôtse | They are said to have them |

### Some Transitive Inanimate Reportative relational verbs

| Návéóhtomóvóvése | I am said to have seen his ___ (rel). |
| Évéóhtomóvóvése | He is said to have seen his (obv) ___ |
| Évéóhtomóvóvévésestôtse | He is said to have seen his ___ (plural) |
| Náhéstanomóvóvése | I am said to have taken his ___ |
| Éhéstanomóvóvése | He is said to have taken his (obv) ___ |
| Éhéstanomóvóvévéstôtse | He is said to have taken his (obv) ___ (plural) |
| Náh'o'tóóvévése | I am said to have broken his ___ |
| Éh'o'tóóvévése | He is said to have broken his (obv) ___ |
| Éh'o'tóóvévévévéstôtse | He is said to have broken his (obv) ___ (plural) |
| Náh'o'tomóvóvése | I am said to have his ___ |
| Éh'o'tomóvóvése | He is said to have his (obv) his ___ |
| Éh'o'tomóvóvévévéstôtse | He is said to have his (obv) his ___ (plural) |
Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative verbs

'not see (something)'

Násáavóóhtóhénóse  I am said not to see it
Nésáavóóhtóhénóse  You are said not to see it
Ésáavóóhtóhénóse  He is said not to see it
Ésáavóóhtóhésénóse  He (obviative) is said not to see it
Násáavóóhtóhénónése  We (exclusive) are said not to see it
Nésáavóóhtóhénónése  We (inclusive) are said not to see it
Násáavóóhtóhénóvóse  You (plural) are said not to see it
Ésáavóóhtóhénóvóse  They are said not to see it

Násáavóóhtóhénósestótse  I am said not to see them
Nésáavóóhtóhénósestótse  You are said not to see them
Ésáavóóhtóhénósestótse  He is said not to see them
Ésáavóóhtóhésénósestótse  He (obviative) is said not to see them
Násáavóóhtóhénónéséstótse  We (exclusive) are said not to see them
Nésáavóóhtóhénónéséstótse  We (inclusive) are said not to see them
Násáavóóhtóhénóvósestótse  You (plural) are said not to see them
Ésáavóóhtóhénóvósestótse  They are said not to see them

'not take (something)'

Násáahesanóhénóse  I am said not to have taken it
Nésáahesanóhénóse  You are said not to have taken it
Ésáahesanóhénóse  He is said not to have taken it
Ésáahesanóhésenóse  He (obviative) is said not to have taken it
Násáahesanóhénónése  We (exclusive) are said not to have taken it
Nésáahesanóhénónése  We (inclusive) are said not to have taken it
Násáahesanóhénóvése  You (plural) are said not to have taken it
Ésáahesanóhénóvése  They are said not to have taken it

Násáahesanóhénósestótse  I am said not to have taken them
Nésáahesanóhénósestótse  You are said not to have taken them
Ésáahesanóhénósestótse  He is said not to have taken them
Ésáahesanóhésenósestótse  He (obviative) is said not to have taken them
Násáahesanóhénónéséstótse  We (exclusive) are said not to have taken them
Nésáahesanóhénónéséstótse  We (inclusive) are said not to have taken them
Násáahesanóhénóvésestótse  You (plural) are said not to have taken them
Ésáahesanóhénóvésestótse  They are said not to have taken them

'not have (something)'

Násáahtóshénóse  I am said not to have it
Nésáahtóshénóse  You are said not to have it
Ésáahtóshénóse  He is said not to have it
Ésáahtóshésenóse  He (obviative) is said not to have it
Násáahtóshénónése  We (exclusive) are said not to have it
Nésáahtóshénónése  We (inclusive) are said not to have it
Násáahtóshénóvése  You (plural) are said not to have it
Ésáahtóshénóvése  They are said not to have it

Násáahtóshénósestótse  I am said not to have them
Nésáahtóshénósestótse  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'tséhénónésestótse  We (exclusive) are said not to have them
Nésáaho'tséhénónésestótse  We (inclusive) are said not to have them
Nésáaho'tséheno'vósestótse  You (plural) are said not to have them
Ésáaho'tséheno'vósestótse  They are said not to have them

'not eat (something)'
Násáamés  I am said not to have eaten it
Nésáamés  You are said not to have eaten it
Ésáamés  He is said not to have eaten it
Ésáamés'hétsén  He (obviative) is said not to have eaten it
Násáaméséhénóneesie  We (exclusive) are said not to have eaten it
Nésáaméséhénóneesie  We (inclusive) are said not to have eaten it
Nésáaméséheno'vosee  You (plural) are said not to have eaten it
Ésáaméséheno'vosee  They are said not to have eaten it

Some Transitive Inanimate Negative Reportative relational verbs
Ésáavóohtomóvohénóse  He is said not to have seen his ___ (rel).
Ésáavóohtomóvohésestótse  They are said not to have seen his ___ (pl) (rel).
Ésáahestanomóvohénóse  He is said not to have taken his ___ (rel).
Ésáahestanomóvohésestótse  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], [ʃ], [x], and [’] since this is how preterit verbs most often occur. English meanings of the preterit verbs appropriately include the words "Once upon a time" since text in the preterit mode typically refer to legends. Unlike English legends and folktales which begin with the words "Once upon a time", however, Cheyenne texts in the preterit may refer to historical characters and events. Preterit verbs can also be used in contemporary settings where a speaker communicates surprise. As with AI, II, and TA verbs, TI verbs only take third person subjects in the preterit mode.

'see (something)'
Éhvóohtanoho  Once upon a time he saw it
Éhvóohtanóoonotse  Once upon a time he saw them (inanimate)
Éhvóohtanooho  Once upon a time they saw it
Éhvóohtanóoonotse  Once upon a time they saw them (inanimate)
Éxhestanánoho  Once upon a time he took it
Éxhestanánoonotse  Once upon a time he took them (inanimate)
Éxhestanánooho  Once upon a time they took it
Éxhestanánoonotse  Once upon a time they took them (inanimate)
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'tsénovohoho  Once upon a time they had them (inanimate)

Éhmésenoho  Once upon a time he ate it
Éhmésenóhoonótse  Once upon a time he ate them (inanimate)
Éhmésenovoho  Once upon a time they ate it
Éhmésenovóhoonótse  Once upon a time they ate them (inanimate)

É'amo'enánóho  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**

Éssáavóhtōheho  Once upon a time he did not see it
Éssáavóhtōhénóhoonótse  Once upon a time he did not see them (inanimate)
Éssáavóhtōhénovoho  Once upon a time they did not see it
Éssáavóhtōhénovóhoonótse  Once upon a time they did not see them (inanimate)

Éssáahestanóhenoho  Once upon a time he did not take it
Éssáahestanóhenóhoonótse  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’hóóhtőhtse! 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'hóóhtőhtse!     | Vé’hoohoma’!                 |
| Take it!                             | Hestánőhtse!       | Hestanoma’!                 |
| Eat it/them!                         | Meséstse!          | Mese’!                      |
| Bring it/them here!                  | Néxho’eotsestseštse!| Néxho’eotsestse’!           |
| Burn it/them up!                     | Vonáho’hőhtse!     | Vonáho’home’!               |
| Drink it/them!                       | Manéstse!          | Mane’!                      |
| Cut it/them!                         | Tséhetáxöhtse!     | Tséhetáxome’!               |
| Clean it/them!                       | Hóxe’änöhtse!      | Hóxe’anoma’!                |
| Make it/them!                        | Manéstseštse!      | Manéstse’!                  |

Transitive Inanimate Delayed Imperative

| meaning                              | said to one person | said to more than one person |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| Look at it/them later!               | Vé’hoohomáheo’!!   | Vé’hoohomáhehéne’!          |
| Take it later!                       | Hestanomeo’o!      | Hestanomáhehéne’!           |
| Eat it later!                        | Méséo’o!           | Méséhéne’!                  |
| Bring it/them here later!            | Néxho’eotsésestseoo’o! | Néxho’eotsésestsehéne’!     |
| Burn it/them up later!               | Vonáho’hoomáeoo’o! | Vonáho’homáhehéne’!         |
| Drink it/them later!                 | Maneo’o!           | Manéhéne’!                  |
| Cut it/them later!                   | Tséhetáxomeo’o!    | Tséhetáxomáhehéne’!         |
| Clean it/them later!                 | Hóxe’anomeo’o!     | Hóxe’anomáhehéne’!          |
| Make it/them later!                  | Manéstseoo’o!      | Manéstsehéne’!              |

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’hoohotaha! means either 'Look at it!' or 'Look at them (inanimate)!'

| Vé’hoohotaha!                  | Let him look at it/them! | Vé’hoomévo’o!       | Let them look at it/them! |
|--------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Hestanooha!!                  | Let him take it/them!     | Hestanomévo’o!     | Let them take it/them!    |
| Néxho’eotséstseha!            | Let him bring it/them!    | Néxho’eotséstsevo’o!| Let them bring it/them!   |
| Manéstseha’                   | Let him make it/them!     | Manéstsevo’o!      | Let them make it/them!    |
| Ho’tseha!                     | Let him have it/them!     | Ho’tsevo’o!        | Let them have it/them!    |
| Méseha!                       | Let him eat it/them!      | Mésevo’o!          | Let them eat it/them!     |
| Maneha!                       | Let him drink it/them!    | Manévo’o!          | 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'óenôte  They acc. hit me
Néa'ta'oo'e  It acc. hit you  Néa'ta'óenôte  They acc. hit you
Éa'ta'oo'e  It acc. hit him  Éa'ta'óenôte  They acc. hit him
Éa'ta'óetse  It acc. hit him (obv)  Éa'ta'óetsenôte  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  É'ta'óenovótse  They acc. hit them

- *-ho'ehót 'come to (someone)'

Náho'ehóttaa'e  It came to me  Náho'ehótaenôte  They came to me
Ného'ehóttaa'e  It came to you  Ného'ehótaenötse  They came to you
Ého'ehóttaa'e  It came to him  Ého'ehótaenôte  They came to him
Ého'ehótaetsê  It came to him (obv)  Ého'ehótaetsenötse  They came to him (obv)
Náho'ehótaenónêne  It came to us (ex)  Náho'ehótaenonéstse  They came to us (ex)
Ného'ehótaenónêne  It came to us (in)  Ného'ehótaenonéstse  They came to us (in)
Ného'ehótaenóvo  It came to you (pl)  Ného'ehótaenovótse  They came to you (pl)
Ého'ehótaenóvo  It came to them  Ého'ehótaenovótse  They came to them

Examples in sentences

K'hámáxé éa'ta'oo'e hetane  The stick accidentally hit the man
Náa'ta'óenéstse he'konótse  The bones accidentally hit us
Háomóhtahéstôtse ého'ehótaetse heške  Sickness came to his mother (obviative)

Some grammatical relationships different from English

At the end of the section on Transitive Animate Independent Indicative verbs we listed several examples of TA verbs for which Cheyenne and English differ in how they assign grammatical relationships to the same semantic relationships. In this section we observe the same kinds of differences between grammatical and semantic relationships for Inanimate Subject Transitive Animate verbs:

'miss (something)'

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

Náhooncé'ota'a'e namâho'héstötse.  I miss my car. (lit., 'My car causes loneliness to me.')
Náhooncé'otaenéstse sémonótsë.  I miss the boats. (lit., 'The boats cause loneliness to me.')

-pêhéveahtám 'like to listen to'

In Cheyenne the thing that someone likes to listen to is grammatically the subject of the TA verb –pêhéveahtám. This is a different, but logical and appropriate, grammatical method of expressing the same semantic relationship that English expresses by having the person who likes a sound be the grammatical subject of a sentence.
Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Indicative relational verbs

An inanimate subject possessed by a third person can act upon an animate object. Throughout this book we are calling a verb that reflects an action by something possessed by a third person a relational verb.

| Náa'ta'óetsé        | His ___ acc. hit me    | Náa'ta'óetsenótse  | His ___ (pl) acc. hit me    |
|---------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| Néa'ta'óetsé        | His ___ acc. hit you   | Néa'ta'óetsenótse  | His ___ (pl) acc. hit me    |
| Éa'ta'óetsé         | 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'óetsénóvo   | His ___ acc. hit you (pl) | Né'a'ta'óetsenovótse | His ___ (pl) acc. hit you (pl) |
| É'a'ta'óetsénóvo    | His ___ acc. hit them  | É'a'ta'óetsenóvo  | His ___ (pl) acc. hit them   |
| Náho'ehótaetsé      | His ___ came to me     | Náho'ehótaetsenótse | His ___ (pl) came to me     |
| Ného'ehótaetsé      | His ___ came to you    | Ného'ehótaetsenótse | His ___ (pl) came to you    |
| Ého'ehótaetsé       | His ___ came to him    | Ého'ehótaetsenótse | His ___ (pl) came to him    |
| Náho'ehótaetsenone  | His ___ came to us (ex) | Náho'ehótaetsenéstse | His ___ (pl) came to us (ex) |
| Ného'ehótaetsenone  | His ___ came to us (in) | Ného'ehótaetsenéstse | His ___ (pl) came to us (in) |
| Ného'ehótaetsenovo  | His ___ came to you (pl) | Ného'ehótaetsenovótse | His ___ (pl) came to you (pl) |
| Ého'ehótaetsenovo   | His ___ came to them   | Ého'ehótaetsenóvo  | His ___ (pl) came to them    |

Examples in sentences

Náa'ta'óetsé hemóxe'estónestótse         His pencil accidentally hit me
Hemóxe'estóonevótse náho'ehótaetsenóvenste Their books came to us

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative verbal forms

Not accidentally hit (someone)

| Násá'a'ta'óóche | It did not acc. hit me    | Násá'a'ta'óóhenótse | They did not acc. hit me    |
|-----------------|--------------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| Nésá'a'ta'óóche | It did not acc. hit you   | Nésá'a'ta'óóhenótse | They did not acc. hit you   |
| Ésá'a'ta'óóche  | It did not acc. hit him   | Ésá'a'ta'óóhenótse  | They did not acc. hit him   |
| Ésá'a'ta'óóhetse | It did not acc. hit (obv) | Ésá'a'ta'óóhéstésónótse | They did not acc. hit (obv) |
| Násá'a'ta'óóhénóne | It did not acc. hit us (ex) | Násá'a'ta'óóhénónestse | They did not acc. hit us (ex) |
| Nésá'a'ta'óóhénóne | It did not acc. hit us (in) | Nésá'a'ta'óóhénónestse | They did not acc. hit us (in) |
| Nésá'a'ta'óóhénóvo | It did not acc. hit you (pl) | Nésá'a'ta'óóhénóvótse | They did not acc. hit you (pl) |
| Ésá'a'ta'óóhénóvo | It did not acc. hit them  | Ésá'a'ta'óóhénóvótse | They did not acc. hit them   |

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Independent Negative relational verbs

| Násáha'o'éhótaetsé        | His ___ did not acc. hit me    | Násáha'o'éhótaehétsenótse  | His ___ (pl) did not acc. hit me    |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Nésáha'o'éhótaetsé        | His ___ did not acc. hit you   | Nésáha'o'éhótaehétsenótse  | His ___ (pl) did not acc. hit you   |
| Ésáha'o'éhótaetsé         | His ___ (obv) did not acc. hit him | Ésáha'o'éhótaehétsenótse | His (obv) ___ (pl) did not acc. hit him |
| Násáha'o'éhótaehétsénné   | His ___ did not acc. hit us (ex) | Násáha'o'éhótaehétsenéstse | His ___ (pl) did not acc. hit us (ex) |
| Nésáha'o'éhótaehétsénné   | His ___ did not acc. hit us (in) | Nésáha'o'éhótaehétsenéstse | His ___ (pl) did not acc. hit us (in) |
| Nésáha'o'éhótaehétsénnovo | His ___ did not acc. hit you (pl) | Nésáha'o'éhótaehétsenovótse | His ___ (pl) did not acc. hit you (pl) |
| Ésáha'o'éhótaehétsénnovo  | His ___ (obv) did not acc. hit them | Ésáha'o'éhótaehétsenovótse | His (obv) ___ (pl) did not acc. hit them |

Ésáha'o'éhótaehetse        His ___ did not come to me    Násáha'o'éhótaehetse        His ___ (pl) did not come to me
Nésáha'o'éhótaehetse        His ___ did not come to you Nésáha'o'éhótaehetse        His ___ (pl) did not come to me
Ésáha'o'éhótaehetse        His (obv) ___ did not come to him Ésáha'o'éhótaehetse        His (obv) ___ (pl) did not come to him
Násáha'o'éhótaehetse        His ___ did not come to us (ex) Násáha'o'éhótaehetse        His ___ (pl) did not come to us (ex)
Nésáha'o'éhótaehetse        His ___ did not come to us (in) Nésáha'o'éhótaehetse        His ___ (pl) did not come to us (in)
Nésáha'o'éhótaehetse        His ___ did not come to you (pl) Nésáha'o'éhótaehetse        His ___ (pl) did not come to you (pl)
Ésáaho’éhótahétsénóvo  His (obv) __ did not come to them  Ésáaho’éhótahétsenovótse  His (obv) __ (pl) did not come to them

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

-a’ta’ov 'accidentally hit (someone)'

Ná’a’ta’óehe? Did it acc. hit me? Ná’a’ta’óenotse? Did they acc. hit me?
Né’a’ta’óehe? Did it acc. hit you? Né’a’ta’óenotse? Did they acc. hit you?
É’a’ta’óehe? Did it acc. hit him? É’a’ta’óenotse? Did they acc. hit him?
É’a’ta’óetsehe? Did it acc. hit him (obv)? É’a’ta’óetsenotse? Did they acc. hit him (obv)?
Ná’a’ta’óenonehe? Did it acc. hit us (excl)? Ná’a’ta’óenonevotse? Did they acc. hit us (excl)?
Né’a’ta’óenonehe? Did it acc. hit us (incl)? Né’a’ta’óenonevotse? Did they acc. hit us (incl)?
É’a’ta’óenovohe? Did it acc. hit you (pl)? É’a’ta’óenovotse? Did they acc. hit you (pl)?

Examples in sentences
Káhmáxe né’ā’ta’óehe? Did a stick accidentally hit you?
Péhváhóthoote’éhé a’ta’óetsehe hestónaho? Did happiness come to his daughter (obviative)?
Néa’ta’óenovotse he’konotse? Did bones accidentally hit you (plural)?

-ho’éhót ‘come to (someone)’

Náho’éhótahoehe? 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’éhótahoehe? Did it come to him? Ého’éhótaenotse? Did they come to him?
Ého’éhótahetshehe? 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)?
Ého’éhótaenohehehe? Did it come to you (pl)? Ného’éhótaenovehtsehe? Did they come to you (pl)?
Ého’éhótaenovehtsehe? Did it come to them? Ého’éhótaenovotse? Did they come to them?

Examples in sentences
Káhmáxe né’ā’ta’óehe? Did a stick accidentally hit you?
Péhváhóthoote’éhé a’ta’óetsehe hestónaho? Did happiness come to his daughter (obviative)?
Néa’ta’óenovotse he’konotse? Did bones accidentally hit you (plural)?

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Interrogative relational verbs

Ná’a’ta’óetsehe? Did his __ acc. hit me? Ná’a’ta’óetsenotse? Did his __ (pl) acc. hit me?
Né’a’ta’óetsehe? Did his __ acc. hit you? Né’a’ta’óetsenotse? Did his __ (pl) acc. hit me?
É’a’ta’óetsehe? Did his __ acc. hit him? É’a’ta’óetsenotse? Did his __ (pl) acc. hit him?
É’a’ta’óetsehetshehe? Did his __ acc. hit him (obv)? É’a’ta’óetsenotse? Did his __ (pl) acc. hit him (obv)?
Ná’a’ta’óetsehetsonehe? Did his __ acc. hit us (ex)? Ná’a’ta’óetsehetsenovotse? Did his __ (pl) acc. hit us (ex)?
Né’a’ta’óetsehetsonehe? Did his __ acc. hit us (in)? Né’a’ta’óetsehetsenovotse? Did his __ (pl) acc. hit us (in)?
É’a’ta’óetsehetsenohehehe? Did his __ acc. hit you (pl)? Né’a’ta’óetsehetsenovotse? Did his __ (pl) acc. hit you (pl)?
É’a’ta’óetsehetsenohehehe? Did his __ acc. hit them? É’a’ta’óetsehetsenovotse? Did his __ (pl) acc. hit them?

Examples in sentences
Káhmáxe né’ā’ta’óehehehe? Did his pencil (relational) acc. hit me?
Káhmáxe né’ā’ta’óehehehe? Did his pencil (relational) acc. hit you?

Inanimate Subject—Transitive Animate Negative Interrogative verbs

Násá’a’ta’óehehehe? Didn’t it acc. hit me? Násá’a’ta’óenotse? Didn’t they acc. hit me?
Nésá’a’ta’óehehehe? Didn’t it acc. hit you? Nésá’a’ta’óenotse? Didn’t they acc. hit you?
Ésá’a’ta’óehehehe? Didn’t it acc. hit him? Ésá’a’ta’óenotse? Didn’t they acc. hit him?
Ésá’a’ta’óehetsehehehe? Didn’t it acc. hit him (obv)? Ésá’a’ta’óehetsehehehe? Didn’t they acc. hit him (obv)?
Nósá’a’ta’óehetsehehehe? Didn’t it acc. hit us (ex)? Nósá’a’ta’óehetsehehehe? Didn’t they acc. hit us (ex)?
Nésá’a’ta’óehetsehehehe? Didn’t it acc. hit you (pl)? Nésá’a’ta’óehetsehehehe? Didn’t they acc. hit you (pl)?
Ésá’a’ta’óehetsehehehe? Didn’t it acc. hit them? Ésá’a’ta’óehetsehehehe? Didn’t they acc. hit them?

Examples in sentences
Hemóxe’estónestóte’he náa’ta’óetshehehe? Did his pencil (relational) acc. hit you?
Káhmáxe nésá’a’ta’óehetsehehehe? 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.

| Námétahésse | I gave it to myself | Émétáhtsetse | He (obv) gave it to himself |
| Némétátse | I gave it to you | Námétaetusenone | He (obv) gave it to us (ex) |
| Náméto | I gave it to him | Námétaetusenôvo | He (obv) gave it to us (in) |
| Námétamôho | I gave it to him (obv) | Námétaetusenôvo | He (obv) gave it to you (pl) |
| Nématsênôvo | I gave it to you (pl) | Émétäsenôvo | He (obv) gave it to them |
| Námétôno | I gave it to them | | |
| Némétse | You gave it to me | Námétatsemeno | We (ex) gave it to you |
| Némétahôtsse | You gave it to yourself | Námétamonone | We (ex) gave it to him |
| Némét | You gave it to him | Námétahsênéno | We (ex) gave it to ourselves |
| Némétamôho | You gave it to him (obv) | Námétatsemeno | We (ex) gave it to you (pl) |
| Némétsemeno | You gave it to us (ex) | Náméteone'o | We (ex) gave it to them |
| Námétôno | You gave it to them | | |
| Námétâa’e | He gave it to me | Námétône | We (ex) gave it to him |
| Námétáa’ee | He gave it to you | Námétamonone | We (ex) gave it to himself |
| Émétâhtse | He gave it to himself | Náméteone’o | We (ex) gave it to ourselves |
| Émétôho | He gave it to him (obv) | | |
| Námêtaenône | He gave it to us (excl) | Námêtsênôvo | You (pl) gave it to me |
| Námêtaene | He gave it to us (incl) | Némêtonôvo | You (pl) gave it to him |
| Námêtaenôvo | He gave it to you (pl) | Nâmêtonovo | You (pl) gave it to him (obv) |
| | | Nâmêtaenôvo | You (pl) gave it to us (in) |
| Námêtae | He (obv) gave it to me | | |
| Nâmêtaetse | He (obv) gave it to you | | |
| Émétâa’ee | He (obv) gave it to him | | |

108 Also Námêtsemeno
109 Also Nämêtanôno
110 Also Námêtanôno
111 Also Nämêtanôno
112 Also Nämêtanôno
113 Also Nämêtonone
114 Also Nämêtonone

108 Also Námêtsemeno
109 Or Émeto for some speakers because of its stem-final phonemic high pitch
| English                    | Zoko                      | English                    | Zoko                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| You (pl) gave it to them  | Námétamon                    | They gave it to me        | Námétamon                    |
| Námétaenóvo               |                             | They gave it to you       | Námétaenóvo                |
| They gave it to them      | Námétaenóvo                | They gave it to us (ex)   | Námétaenóvo                |
| Námétaenone               | Námétaenóvo                | They gave it to us (in)   | Námétaenóvo                |
| They gave it to you (pl)  | Námétaenóvo               | They gave it to you (pl)  | Námétaenóvo                |
| Émétahntsénóvo            |                             | They gave it to themselves| Námétaenóvo                |

'give (some things to someone)'

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

| English                    | Zoko                      | English                    | Zoko                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| I was given it            | Námétamon                   | We (ex) gave them to you  | Námétamon                   |
| Námétáne                  | Námétamon                   | We (ex) gave them to him  | Námétamon                   |
| You were given it         | Námétamon                   | We (ex) gave them to us (ex)| Námétamon                   |
| Émetse                    | Námétamon                   | We (ex) gave them to (obv)| Námétamon                   |
| Námétanénóne              | Námétamon                   | We (ex) gave them to (in) | Námétamon                   |
| We (ex) were given it     | Námétamon                   | We (ex) gave them to (pl) | Námétamon                   |
| Námétanénóvo              | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| You (pl) were given it    | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| Émetsénóvo                | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| They were given it        | Námétonon                   |                                | Námétonon                   |

| English                    | Zoko                      | English                    | Zoko                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| You (pl) gave them to me  | Námétaenóvo               | They gave them to us (ex) | Námétaenóvo               |
| Námétaenóvo               |                             | They gave them to (obv)   | Námétaenóvo               |
| They gave them to you     | Námétaenóvo               | They gave them to (in)    | Námétaenóvo               |
| Námétaenóvo               | Námétaenóvo               | They gave them to (pl)    | Námétaenóvo               |
| They gave them to themselves| Námétaenóvo             |                                | Námétaenóvo               |

| English                    | Zoko                      | English                    | Zoko                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| I was given them          | Námétamon                   | We (in) gave them to (ex) | Námétamon                   |
| Námétanénóne              | Námétamon                   | We (in) gave them to (obv)| Námétamon                   |
| We (ex) were given them   | Námétamon                   | We (in) gave them to (in) | Námétamon                   |
| Némétsénóvo               | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| You (pl) were given it    | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| Émetsénóvo                | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| They were given it        | Námétono                   |                                | Námétono                   |

| English                    | Zoko                      | English                    | Zoko                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| They gave them to us (ex) | Námétaenóvo               | They gave them to (obv)   | Námétaenóvo               |
| Námétaenóvo               |                             | They gave them to (in)    | Námétaenóvo               |
| They gave them to (pl)    | Námétaenóvo               | They gave them to (pl)    | Námétaenóvo               |
| They gave them to themselves| Námétaenóvo           |                                | Námétaenóvo               |

| English                    | Zoko                      | English                    | Zoko                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| I was given them          | Námétamon                   | We (in) were given them   | Námétamon                   |
| Námétanénóne              | Námétamon                   | You (pl) were given them  | Námétamon                   |
| We (ex) were given them   | Námétamon                   | You (pl) were given them  | Námétamon                   |
| Némétsénóvo               | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| You (pl) were given it    | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| Émetsénóvo                | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| They were given them      | Námétono                   |                                | Námétono                   |

| English                    | Zoko                      | English                    | Zoko                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| They gave them to us (ex) | Námétaenóvo               | They gave them to us (in) | Námétaenóvo               |
| Námétaenóvo               |                             | They gave them to (obv)   | Námétaenóvo               |
| They gave them to (obv)   | Námétaenóvo               | They gave them to (in)    | Námétaenóvo               |
| They gave them to (pl)    | Námétaenóvo               | They gave them to (pl)    | Námétaenóvo               |
| They gave them to themselves| Námétaenóvo           |                                | Námétaenóvo               |

| English                    | Zoko                      | English                    | Zoko                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| I was given them          | Námétamon                   | We (ex) were given them   | Námétamon                   |
| Námétanénóne              | Námétamon                   | You (pl) were given them  | Námétamon                   |
| We (ex) were given them   | Námétamon                   | You (pl) were given them  | Námétamon                   |
| Némétsénóvo               | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| You (pl) were given it    | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| Émetsénóvo                | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| They were given them      | Námétono                   |                                | Námétono                   |

| English                    | Zoko                      | English                    | Zoko                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| They gave them to us (ex) | Námétaenóvo               | They gave them to (obv)   | Námétaenóvo               |
| Námétaenóvo               |                             | They gave them to (in)    | Námétaenóvo               |
| They gave them to (pl)    | Námétaenóvo               | They gave them to (pl)    | Námétaenóvo               |
| They gave them to themselves| Námétaenóvo           |                                | Námétaenóvo               |

| English                    | Zoko                      | English                    | Zoko                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| I was given them          | Námétamon                   | We (in) were given them   | Námétamon                   |
| Námétanénóne              | Námétamon                   | You (pl) were given them  | Námétamon                   |
| We (ex) were given them   | Námétamon                   | You (pl) were given them  | Námétamon                   |
| Némétsénóvo               | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| You (pl) were given it    | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| Émetsénóvo                | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| They were given them      | Námétono                   |                                | Námétono                   |

| English                    | Zoko                      | English                    | Zoko                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| They gave them to us (in) | Námétaenóvo               | They gave them to (obv)   | Námétaenóvo               |
| Námétaenóvo               |                             | They gave them to (in)    | Námétaenóvo               |
| They gave them to (pl)    | Námétaenóvo               | They gave them to (pl)    | Námétaenóvo               |
| They gave them to themselves| Námétaenóvo           |                                | Námétaenóvo               |

| English                    | Zoko                      | English                    | Zoko                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| I was given them          | Námétamon                   | We (ex) were given them   | Námétamon                   |
| Námétanénóne              | Námétamon                   | You (pl) were given them  | Námétamon                   |
| We (ex) were given them   | Námétamon                   | You (pl) were given them  | Námétamon                   |
| Némétsénóvo               | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| You (pl) were given it    | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| Émetsénóvo                | Námétamon                   |                                | Námétamon                   |
| They were given them      | Námétono                   |                                | Námétono                   |
**/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).

| Verbose Form | Translation                      | Verbose Form | Translation                      |
|--------------|----------------------------------|--------------|----------------------------------|
| Námétáhtsenótse | I gave him to myself            | Námétaenovo   | They gave him (obv) to me        |
| Némétatsonótse  | I gave him to you               | Némétaenovo   | They gave him (obv) to you       |
| Námétotonoto    | 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)          | Némétaenóvo'o | They gave him (obv) to us (in)   |
| Námétotonovo    | I gave him (obv') to them       | Némétaenóvo'o | They gave him (obv) to you (pl)  |
| Némétsonótse    | You gave him to me              | Námétanótse   | I was given him                   |
| Némétatsonótse  | You gave him to yourself        | Némétanótse   | You were given him                |
| Némétamónoto    | You gave him (obv') to him (obv) | Émésonoto     | He was given him (obv)            |
| Némétasemo      | You gave him to us (ex)         | Némétanénone  | We (ex) were given him            |
| Néméttonovo     | You gave him (obv') to them     | Némétanénone  | We (in) were given him            |
| Námétanaenoto   | He gave him (obv) to me         | Némétanovo    | You (pl) were given him           |
| Némétanoto      | He gave him (obv) to you        | Námétanovo    | They were given him (obv)         |
| Éméťáhtsénóto   | He gave him (obv) to himself    | Éméťsenovo    |                                      |
| Émétonoto       | He gave him (obv') to him (obv) | Námétanénóneo'o |                                      |
| Námétanénone    | He gave him (obv) to us (ex)    | Éméťsenóvo    |                                      |
| Némétanénone    | He gave him (obv) to us (in)    | Námétanénone  |                                      |
| Némétanovo      | He gave him (obv) to you (pl)   | Némétanénone  |                                      |
| §§RECHECK PROX/OBV of secondary object??: | | | |
| Námétatedsenoto | He (obv) gave him (obv') to me  | Éméťsenovo    |                                      |
| Némétatedseneto | He (obv) gave him (obv') to you | Námétanénone  |                                      |
| Éméťaenoto      | He (obv) gave him (obv') to him | Námétanénóne'o |                                      |
| Éméťahtséstenoto | He (obv) gave him (obv') to himself | Námétanénóne'o |                                      |
| Námétatedsenone | He (obv) gave him (obv') to us (ex) | Némétanénóne'o |                                      |
| Némétatedsenone | He (obv) gave him (obv') to us (in) | Námétanénone |                                      |
| Námétatedsenovo | He (obv) gave him (obv') to you (pl) | Némétanénone |                                      |
| Éméťaenovo      | He (obv) gave him (obv') to them | Némétanénone |                                      |
| Némétatsemeno   | We (ex) gave him to you         | Némétanénóvo  |                                      |
| Némétonone      | We (ex) gave him (obv) to him   | Némétanénone  |                                      |
| Némétamónone115  | We (ex) gave him (obv') to him (obv) | Némétanénone |                                      |
| Námétatšétnéone | We (ex) gave him to our selves  | Némétanénóne'o |                                      |
| Némétatšémeno   | We (ex) gave him to you (pl)    | Némétanénóne'o |                                      |
| Némétonone      | We (ex) gave him (obv) to them  | Námétanénóne'o |                                      |
| Némétamónone116  | We (in) gave him (obv') to him (obv) | Némétanénóne'o |                                      |
| Némétatšétnéone | We (in) gave him to our selves  | Némétanénóne'o |                                      |
| Némétonone      | We (in) gave him (obv) to them  | Némétanénóne'o |                                      |
| Némétšénóvo     | You (pl) gave him to me         | Námétanénóvo  |                                      |
| Némétonovo      | You (pl) gave him (obv) to him  | Némétanénone  |                                      |
| Némétamóuno     | You (pl) gave him (obv') to him (obv) | Némétanénóne'o |                                      |
| Némétsemeno     | You (pl) gave him to us (ex)    | Némétanénóne'o |                                      |
| Némétáhtsénóvo  | You (pl) gave him to our selves | Némétanénóne'o |                                      |
| Némétonovo      | You (pl) gave him (obv) to them | Némétanénóne'o |                                      |

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                            | Námétahtsénovoo'o | You (pl) gave them to yourselves |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------------|
| Némétoño | I gave them to you                           | Némétoño | You (pl) gave them (obv) to them |
| Námétahtsénoto | I gave them (obv') to him (obv)               | Námétahtsénoto | They gave them (obv) to me      |
| Námétoño | I gave them (obv') to him (obv)               | Námétoño | They gave them (obv) to you     |
| Námétahtsénoto | I gave them (obv') to him (obv)               | Námétahtsénoto | They gave them (obv) to us (ex)  |
| Námétoño | I gave them (obv') to him (obv)               | Námétoño | They gave them (obv) to us (in)  |
| Námétahtsénoto | I gave them (obv') to them (obv)             | Námétahtsénoto | They gave them (obv) to you (pl) |
| Námétoño | I gave them (obv') to them (obv)             | Námétoño | They gave them (obv) to themselves |

117 This can also be translated as 'him (obv') since
118 obviatives can be either singular or plural.
119 Also Námétahtsénoto
119 Also Námétoño
Some other Ditransitive Independent Indicative verbs

Návóo'séhônôtte I showed them (inan) to him
Évóo'sêhónoto He showed them (obv’) to him (obv)
Návóo'sêhaenône He showed it to us (exclusive)
Návóo'sêhaenoto He showed them (obv) to me
Nánomáhtsêhaenôtte He stole them (inan) from me
Nánomáhtsêhaenoto He stole him (obv) from me

Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Indicative verbs

Násáamétôhe I didn’t give it to him
Násáamêtaehe He didn’t give it to me
Násáavóo’sêhaehe He didn’t show it to me
Násáamêtohenôtte I didn’t give them (inan) to them
Ésáamêtaehênôvo He (obviative) didn’t give it to them
Násáamêtohênônestse We (exclusive) didn’t give them (inan) to him
Nésáamêtohênône We (inclusive) didn’t give it to him
Násáamêtaehênôvôtte They didn’t give them (inan) to you
Násáamêtaehênôvoto They didn’t give him/them (obv) to me
Násáanomáhtsêhônenôtte I did not steal them (inan) 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?
Émétovohe? Did they give it to him (obv)?
Némétaenótse? Did he give them (inan) to you?
Némétaenotohe? Did he give him (obviative) to you?
Névóo’sêhônovotose? Did you (plural) show them (inan) to them?

Some Ditransitive Independent Negative Interrogative verbs

Nésáamêtohênovohe? ?? Didn’t you (plural) give it to them?
Nésáamêtaehênovôtte? ?? Didn’t he give them (inan) to you?
Ésáamêtaehênotohe? Didn’t he (obv) give him (obv’) to him?

Some Ditransitive Independent Inferential verbs

Mómêtohe? He must have given them (inan) to him (obv)
Mónávóo’sêhaehenôtôhe?? He must have shown him (obviative) to me
Mónánomáhtsêhaehêhe He must have stolen it from me

Some Ditransitive Imperative verbs

Métsêhah! Give it to him!
Néhmetsêstse!¹²⁰ Give it to me!

Some Ditransitive Hortative verbs

Métoha! Let him give it/them to him (obv)
Vóo’sêhóvoha!?? Let them show it/them to him (obv)

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

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

Indicative

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

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

Potential

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

- māhméovóonā'o when it is morning
- māhnèxho'èhnèstse when he arrives

Conditional

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

- māhvé'néménéstse if he sings
- māhvé'háomóhtáhévòhtse if they are sick

Irrealis

The irrealis mode uses just the vé'- preverb and refers to action or a state which is contrary to reality. This preverb is used in independent verbs to refer to an action which is prohibited, which is semantically related to its meaning in conjunct order verbs.

- vé'néménéstse if he were a singer / or, if he had sung

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

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

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

- hó’néménése whenever he sang
- hó’tonéto whenever it was cold

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

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

ōhméovóona'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 –nēše and sometimes also the preverb kánome-.

- hó’nēšenéménéstse even if he sings, even though he sang
- hó’nēšē-hoháetonéto even if it is really cold

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

Máa’séōhe néménéstse. I thought he was singing (but he wasn't).
Máa sēōhe háomóhtāheto. 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’enómomo. 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’énóhe 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-nemeotőtse, 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'.

**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'ño-. It optionally takes the inferential prefix mó-.

(Mó)ho'ño-néménéstse He must not have sung
Ho'ño-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-.

| Participle | Meaning |
|------------|---------|
| tsénéménéstse | the singer (i.e. the one who sings) |
| tsénémonese | the singers (those who sing) |
| tséheškese | the one who is his mother |
| Tsétséhéstāhese (Tsitsistas) | Cheyennes (i.e. those who are Cheyennes) |
| néhnéšése | the two of you |
| néhno'káhélo | I alone |
| néstőxéstse | 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):
Conjunct Order morphology summary
("tse" = /te/; "est" = /eht/; /eht/ = "est")

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

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

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

AI iterative
-tó 1
-to 2
-ht´
-tse-h t 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'
t-sé + -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/)
-sé 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'
t-sé 3(PL)('):1PL
-sé 3(PL)('):2PL
-a’é + -tse + -s (INV-OBV-3.CJT) 3':1
-áta’ + -osé 3(PL)'-2
-ae + -s (INV-3.CJT) 3';3
-a’é + -vo + -s’ (INV-3PL-3.CJT) 3PL:1

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

-ht 2:3
-a’é + -ht 3:1

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-ht’ 3:3’
-ae + -ht 3:3
-a’én -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 + -tse 1PL:I(PL) (What is -a here?)
-a + -sé 2PL:I(PL)
-e + -vó + -s 3PL:I(PL)

Ani mate Intransitive Conjunct Indicative verbs

/-némené/ 'sing'

| Form             | Meaning               |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| tséhénémenétó    | when I sang           |
| tsénémeneto      | when you sang         |
| tséhénéménsé     | when he sang          |
| tséhénémenetsé   | when he (obviative) sang |
| tséhénénétsé     | when we sang          |
| tséhénénéssé     | when you (plural) sang|
| tséhénénévéssé   | when they sang        |

-mané 'drink'

| Form             | Meaning               |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| tséhmanétó       | 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 |
| tséhmanévössé    | when they drank       |

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

| Form             | Meaning               |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| tséxháóénátó     | when I prayed         |
| tséxháoenató     | when you prayed       |
| tséxháóénäsé     | when he prayed        |
| tséxháoenatsése  | when he (obviative) prayed |
| tséxháóénátse    | when we prayed        |
| tséxháóénäsé     | when you (plural) prayed |
| tséxháóénévössé  | when they prayed      |

-mésehe 'eat'

| Form             | Meaning               |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| 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.
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'

-éma/ 'take a sweat'

tse'émáto when I took a sweat
tse'émato when you took a sweat
tse'émáse when he took a sweat
tse'ématsése when he (obviative) took a sweat
tse'émátsé when we took a sweat
tse'émáse when you (plural) took a sweat
tse'émáv when they took a sweat

-néehove 'be the one'

Conjunct forms of the verb -néehove take the conjunct indicative third person suffixes and /h- marker following the tsé- prefix, but have meanings more like participles:

tsehnehévéto as for myself

tsehnehóveto as for you

tsehnehévose as for him/her

tsehnehéhvetsése as for him/her (obviative)
tsehnehévétse as for us

tsehnehévóse as for you (plural)
tsehnehévóvose as for them

-né- prefix conjunct verbs

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

'the one alone'

néhno'káheto I alone
néhno'kaheto you alone
néhno'kaese?? he/she alone
néhno'kahetsése?? he/she (obviative) alone
néhno'kahétse?? we alone
néhno'kahése?? you (plural) alone
néhno'kahévose they alone

'both of'

néhnésétse both of us
néhnésése both of you
néhnésévose both of them
néhnésetsése?? Both of them (obviative)

'all of'

néstoxétse all of us
néstoxése all of you (plural)
néstoxévose 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: Mähnemeneto náhtapéhétanóotse 'When you
sing I'll be happy'.

/-némené/ 'sing'

máhnénémenétó when I sing
máhnénémeneto when you sing
máhnéménéstse when he sings
máhnéménetséstse when he (obviative) sings
máhnéménéstse when we sing
máhnéménése when you (plural) sing
máhnéménévóhtse when they sing

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

máxháóénátó when I pray
máxháóenató when you pray
máxháóénátse when he prays
máxháóenatséstse when he (obviative) prays
máxháóénátse when we pray
máxháóénáse when you (plural) pray
máxháóénávohtse when they pray

-mésehe 'eat'

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

/-sévanó/ 'ski, skate'

mášévanótó when I skate
mášévanottó when you skate
mášévanóhtse when he skate
mášévanotséstse when he (obviative) skates
mášévanótse when we skate
mášévanóse when you (plural) skate
mášévanóvóhtse when they skate

/-oveše(ná)/ 'go to bed'

ma’ovéšenátó when I go to bed
ma’ovéšenató when you go to bed
ma’ovéšéstse when he goes to bed
ma’ovéšenatséstse when he (obviative) goes to bed
ma’ovéšenátse when we go to bed
ma’ovéšenáse when you (plural) go to bed
ma’ovéšenávohtse when they go to bed

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

/-némené/ 'sing'

tséssáanénémenéhéto when I did not sing
tséssáanénémenéheto when you did not sing
tséssáanénémenése when he did not sing
tséssáanémenéhetsese when he (obviative) did not sing
tséssáanémenéhets when we did not sing
tséssáanémenéhése when you (plural) did not sing
tséssáanémenéhévose when they did not sing

-méshe 'eat'

tséssáaméséhéhets when I did not eat
tséssáaméséhéhets when you did not eat
tséssáaméhéése when he did not eat
tséssáaméséhéhetsése when he (obviative) did not eat
tséssáaméséhéhets when we did not eat
tséssáaméséhéhése when you (plural) did not eat
tséssáaméséhéhévose when they did not eat

/-háoéná/ 'pray'

tséssáaháóénahets when I did not pray
tséssáaháóenaheto when you did not pray
tséssáahóénése when he did not pray
tséssáahóénahetsése when he (obviative) did not pray
tséssáahóenahétse when we did not pray
tséssáahóenahése when you (plural) did not pray
tséssáahóenahévose when they did not pray

/-néé/ 'be standing'

tséssáanéhéto when I was not standing
tséssáanéheto when you were not standing
tséssáanése when he was not standing
tséssáanéhetsése when he (obviative) was not standing
tséssáanéhétse when we were not standing
tséssáanéhése when you (plural) were not standing
tséssáanéhévose when they were not standing

-hoo'/-hoe/ 'be at'

tséssáahoehéto when I was not (here/there)
tséssáahoeheto when you were not (here/there)
tséssáahoése when he was not (here/there)
tséssáahoehetsése when he (obviative) was not (here/there)
tséssáahoehétse when we were not (here/there)
tséssáahoehése when you (plural) were not (here/there)
tséssáahoehévose when they were not (here/there)

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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'**

| Verb                                      | Meaning                                               |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| másánámenénéhéto                          | when I do not sing                                    |
| másánámenénéhto                           | when you do not sing                                  |
| másánámenééstse                           | when he does not sing                                 |
| másánámenénéhtséstse                      | when he (obviative) does not sing                     |
| másánámenénéhéselle                       | when we do not sing                                   |
| másánámenénéhése                          | when you (plural) do not sing                         |
| másánámenénéhévohstse                     | when they do not sing                                 |

**/mésehe 'eat'**

| Verb                                      | Meaning                                               |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| másáaméséhéhéto                           | when I do not eat                                     |
| másáaméséhéhto                            | when you do not eat                                   |
| másáaméchééstse                           | when he does not eat                                  |
| másáaméséhéhtséstse                       | when he (obviative) does not eat                      |
| másáaméséhéhtse                           | when we do not eat                                    |
| másáaméséhéhése                           | when you (plural) do not eat                          |
| másáaméséhéhévohstse                      | when they do not eat                                  |

**/háoéná/ 'pray'**

| Verb                                      | Meaning                                               |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| másáaháoénáhésel                          | when I do not pray                                    |
| másáaháoenáhto                            | when you do not pray                                  |
| másáaháónésestse                          | when he does not pray                                 |
| másáaháoénhtaestse                        | when he (obviative) does not pray                     |
| másáaháoénhéséltest                        | when we do not pray                                   |
| másáaháoénhése                            | when you (plural) do not pray                         |
| másáaháoénhévohst                          | when they do not pray                                 |

**/-néé/ 'be standing'**

| Verb                                      | Meaning                                               |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| másánénéhéto                              | when I am not standing                                |
| másáahnéeheto                             | when you are not standing                             |
| másánénééstse                             | when he is not standing                               |
| másánénéhtséstse                          | when he (obviative) is not standing                  |
| másánénéhtse                              | when we are not standing                              |
| másánénéhése                              | when you (plural) are not standing                    |
| másánénéhévohst                           | when they are not standing                            |

**/hoo'../hoe'/ 'be at'**

| Verb                                      | Meaning                                               |
|-------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------|
| másáahoehétot                             | when I am not (here/there)                            |
| másáahoeheto                             | when you are not (here/there)                         |
| másáhoeéstse                              | when he is not (here/there)                           |
| másáhoehtséstse                           | when he (obviative) is not (here/there)              |
| másáhoehtse                               | when we are not (here/there)                          |
| másáhoehése                               | when you (plural) are not (here/there)               |
| másáhoehévohst                             | when they are not (here/there)                        |

### Animate Intransitive Conjunct Habitual verbs

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

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

-\textit{naóotse 'sleep'}

\begin{itemize}
\item (óh)naóotsétonòhtse when I sleep
\item (óh)naóotsétoséstse when you sleep
\item (óh)naóotsesèstse when he sleeps
\item (óh)naóotsétseséstse when he (obviative) sleeps
\item (óh)naóotsétsee'èstse when we sleep
\item (óh)naóotsésee'èstse when you (plural) sleep
\item (óh)naóotsévoséstse when they sleep
\end{itemize}

/-\textit{ho'sóe/ 'dance'}

\begin{itemize}
\item xho'sóetonòhtse when I dance
\item xho'sóotoséstse when you dance
\item xho'sóeséstse when he dances
\item xho'sóetseséstse when he (obviative) dances
\item xho'sóetsee'èstse when we dance
\item xho'sóosee'èstse when you (plural) dance
\item xho'sóevoséstse when they dance
\end{itemize}

-\textit{mésehe 'eat'}

\begin{itemize}
\item to'seméséhétonòhtse when I'm going to eat
\item to'seméséhétoséstse when you are going to eat
\item to'seméséhesèstse when he is going to eat
\item to'seméséhtsesèstse when he (obviative) is going to eat
\item to'seméséhtsee'èstse when we are going to eat
\item to'seméséhsee'èstse when you (plural) are going to eat
\item to'seméséhvoséstse when they are going to eat
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Generic}

\begin{itemize}
\item sáanaóotséhétonòhtse when I do not sleep
\item sáanaóotséhtoséstse when you do not sleep
\item sáanaóotséhesèstse when he does not sleep
\item sáanaóotséhtsesèstse when he (obviative) does not sleep
\item sáanaóotsésee'èstse when you (plural) do not sleep
\item sáanaóotsévoséstse when they do not sleep
\end{itemize}

\textbf{Examples in sentences}

\begin{itemize}
\item Öhnaóotséoséstse néohkenésó'enome.\textsuperscript{128} When(ever) you sleep you snore.
\item Xho'sóetonòtse náohkéhohátsé'tóó'e he'eo'o.\textsuperscript{129} When I dance the women laugh at me.
\item Tsévéstoemo éohkhéhéne'ena to'seméséhétonòhtse. My wife knows when I'm going to eat.
\item Ma'heo'o éohkepékáçátsésta óhméhosanéttsee'èstse. God likes it when we love.
\end{itemize}

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

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

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

/-némené/ 'sing'

hó'némenéto whenever I sang/sing
hó'némeneto whenever you sang/sing
hó'néménéstse whenever he sang/sings
hó'néménetséstse whenever he (obviative) sang/sings
hó'némenétse whenever we sang/sing
hó'némenése whenever you (plural) sang/sing
hó'némenévôhtse whenever they sang/sing

-a'xaame 'cry'

hó'ea'xaamēto whenever I cried/cry
hó'ea'xaameto whenever you cried/cry
hó'ea'xaâmēstse whenever he cried/cries
hó'ea'xaametséstse whenever he (obviative) cried/cries
hó'ea'xaamētse whenever we cried/cry
hó'ea'xaamēse whenever you (plural) cried/cry
hó'ea'xaamēvôhtse whenever they cried/cry

Examples in sentences

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

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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'

| Verb Form | Meaning                               |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| Móho'nónemenéto | I must not have sung                 |
| Móho'nónemeneto | You must not have sung                |
| Móho'nónéménéstse | He must not have sung                |
| Móho'nónemenetséstse | He (obviative) must not have sung |
| Móho'nónemenétse | We must not have sung                |
| Móho'nónemenése | You (plural) must not have sung      |

-mésehe 'eat'

| Verb Form | Meaning                               |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| Móho'nómësëhëto | I must not have eaten                 |
| Móho'nómëseheto | You must not have eaten               |
| Móho'nómëseestse | He must not have eaten                |
| Móho'nómësehetséstse | He (obviative) must not have eaten |
| Móho'nómësehëtse | We must not have eaten                |
| Móho'nómësëhëvohtse | They must not have eaten              |

/-háóéná/ 'pray'

| Verb Form | Meaning                               |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| Ho'nóháóénáto | I must not have prayed                |
| Ho'nóhaoenato | You must not have prayed              |
| Ho'nóháóénáhtse | He must not have prayed              |
| Ho'nóhaoenatséstse | He (obviative) must not have prayed |
| Ho'nóháóénátse | We must not have prayed               |
| Ho'nóháóénáse | You (plural) must not have prayed     |
| Ho'nóháóénávohhtse | They must not have prayed             |

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Participles

/-némené/ 'sing'

| Verb Form | Meaning                               |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| tsénémenéto | I who sing                            |
| tsénémeneto | you who sing                          |
| tsénéménéstse | he who sings                          |
| tsénéménetsese | he (obviative) who sings         |
| tsénéménétse | we who sing                           |
| tsénéménése | you (plural) who sing                 |
| tsénémënenése | they who sing                        |

/-hetanéve/ 'be a man'

| Verb Form | Meaning                               |
|-----------|---------------------------------------|
| tséhetanévéto | I who am a man                        |
| tséhetanévéto | you who are a man                     |
tséhetanévéstse he who is a man
tséhetanévetsese he (obviative) who is a man
tséhetanévétse we who are men
tséhetanévése you (plural) who are men
tséhetanévese they who are men

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

-tséhséstahe 'be Cheyenne'
Tsétséhséstahe I who am a Cheyenne
Tsétséhséstahteto you who are a Cheyenne
Tsétséhséstaestse he who is a Cheyenne
Tsétséhséstahtetsese he (obviative) who is a Cheyenne (practical spelling: Tsitsistaists)
Tsétséhséstahtétse we who are Cheyennes (practical spelling: Tsitsistats)
Tsétséhséstahtése you (plural) who are Cheyennes
Tsétséhséstahtese they who are Cheyennes (practical spelling: Tsitsistas)

-hotse'ohe 'work'
tséhotse'óheto I who work
tséhotse'óheta you who work
tséhotse'óstse 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 étséhéstahéto The singers are Cheyennes
dtséhéstahéto étáhéné The ball that is yellow is big
Hetane tséhotse'óhéstse The man who is working is tired

Animate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Participles

/-némoné/ 'sing'
tsésaánímenéheto I who do not sing
tsésaánímenéheto you who do not sing
tsésaánímenééstse he who does not sing
tsésaánímenéhétse he (obviative) who does not sing
tsésaánímenéhéstse we who do not sing
tsésaánímenhése you (plural) who do not sing
tsésaánímenéhese they who do not sing

/-hetanévé/ 'be a man'
tsésäähetanévéheto I who am not a man
ntsésäähetanévéheto you who are not a man
ntsésäähetanévééstse he who is not a man
| Grammatical Form | Translation |
|------------------|-------------|
| tsésáahetanéhevsese | she (obviative) who is not a man |
| tsésáahetanévéhéétse | we who are not men |
| tsésáahetanévéhése | you (plural) who are not men |
| tséhétanévéhese | they who are not men |

/-háóéná/ 'pray' |
|------------------|-------------|
| tsésáaháóénáheto | I who do not pray |
| tsésáaháóenáheto | you who do not pray |
| tsésáaháóénáéstse?? | he who does not pray |
| tsésáaháóenáhetsese?? | he (obviative) who does not pray |
| tsésáaháóenáhéste | we who do not pray |
| tsésáaháóenáhése | you (plural) who does not pray |

-hotse'ohe 'work' |
|------------------|-------------|
| tsésáahotse'óhéhéto | I who do not work |
| tsésáahotse'óheheto | you who do not work |
| tsésáahotse'óééstse?? | he who does not work |
| tsésáahotse'óehetsese | he (obviative) who does not work |
| tsésáahotse'óhéhété | we who do not work |
| tsésáahotse'óhéhése | you (plural) who does not work |
| tsésáahotse'óhehese | they who do not work |

Examples in sentences:

Nánóhtsevátámo tsésáahóééstse?? I miss the one who isn't here
Nánéševátámo tsésáahóóenáéstse I pity the one who doesn't pray
Mómáta'echohevóhe 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'at'ae'estse\(^\text{132}\)  
  when they (inanimate) were (here/there)

- tsé'o'o  
  when it was dry

- tsé'o'o'oo'estse  
  when they (inanimate) were (here/there)

**Examples in sentences:**

> Tséhvóonā'o nátatsēhe'ohtse É'éxováhtóva  
  This morning I went to Billings

> Nátavóóhta mōxe'estoo'o tséxhó'ta máhe'one  
  I saw the book when/where it was in the house

**Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Indicative Relational verbs**

- tséhvóona'otse  
  when it was morning (relational)

- tséxhoo'kóhotse  
  when it rained (relational)

- tséxho'atatse  
  when it was (here/there)

- tséxho'atatsee'estse\(^?)  
  when they (inanimate) were (here/there)

**Examples in sentences**

> Móhe'kēšenāhehe tséhvóona'otse  
  He must have gotten stuck this morning (relational)

> Éaseōhtse tséxhoo'kóhotse  
  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**

> óhvóona'oo'estse  
  in the mornings

> óhtoné'too'estse  
  when it's cold

> xhoo'kōhoo'estse  
  when it rains

> xhoo'etoo'estse  
  when it snows

> to'séháho'taa'estse  
  when it's going to be hot

> óhméséhé'stovee'estse  
  when there is eating

**Examples in sentences**

> Hátsēskheho éohkēhēne'enánóvo to'séhoo'kōhoo'estse  
  Ants know when it's going to rain

> XHáoho'taa'estse nāohkēametō'hóna  
  When it's hot I swim

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\(^\text{132}\) Some speakers use the singular subject forms to refer to both singular and plural inanimate subjects.
Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Generic relational verbs

- xho'éetotsee'ëstse when it snows (relational)
- to'seméséhéstovetsee'ëstse when there's going to be eating (relational)

Examples in sentences

Xho'éetotsee'ëstse éohkevá'nenaóotse ma'háhkéso When it snows (rel) the old man just sleeps.
Épéhétanoo'o óhméséhéstovetsee'ëstse They are happy when there's eating (rel)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential verbs

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

- (Mó)ho'nóhoo'kóho It must not have rained
- (Mó)ho'nopéhéva'e It must not be good
- (Mó)ho'nopéhéva'ee'ëstse They (inanimate) must not be good
- (Mó)ho'nóméséhéstove There must not have been eating

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Inferential relational verbs

- (Mó)ho'nopéhéva'e It (relational) must not be good
- (Mó)ho'nóméséhéstove There must not have been eating (relational)

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Participles

- tséheóvo that which is yellow
- tséheóvoo'ëstse those which are yellow
- tséheóvéstéavo'o'ë yellow flower (lit., that which is yellow-headed plant)
- tséheóvéstéavo'o'ee'ëstse yellow flowers
- tséhéesevó'ta that which boils
- tséhéesevó'taa'ëstse those (inanimate) which are boiling
- tsépéhéva'ë that which is good
- tsépéhéva'ee'ëstse those (inanimate) which are good
- tsésáaho'tánhane that which is not (here/there)
- tsésáaho'táhanéhee'ëstse those which are not (here/there)
- tsésáahéovóhane that which is not yellow
- tsésáahéovóhanéhee'ëstse those which are not yellow
- tsésáapéhéva'èhane that which is not good
- tsésáapéhéva'éhanéhee'ëstse those which are not good

Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Relational Participles

- tséheóvotse that (relational) which is yellow
- tséheóvotsee'ëstse those (relational) which are yellow
- tséhéesevó'tatse that (relational) which is boiling
- tséhéesevó'tatsee'ëstse those (relational) which are boiling
|        | Inanimate Intransitive Conjunct Negative Relational Participles |        |
|--------|---------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| tsépēhéva'etse  | that (relational) which is good                           |        |
| tsépēhéva'étsee'èstse(??) | those (relational) which are good                   |        |
|        | **Examples in sentences**                                   |        |
|        | Éhestāna ho'évohk'otse tsésáapéhéva'éhanēhetsete          | He must have taken the meat that (rel) isn't good. |
|        | Nátavóóhta hemähē'o tsésáaheóvōhanēhetsete               | 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’õse | 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  | tséhvóomahtsēvōse | when they saw themselves |
| tséhvóometo     | when you saw me  | tséhvóomanēto   | when I was seen |
| tséhvóomāhtseto | 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 |
| tséhvóöomemenoto | when you saw us (ex) | tséhvóomanēsetse | when we were seen |
| tséhvóomōse     | when you saw them | tséhvóomanēse | when you (pl) were seen |
| tséhvóomā’ēse   | when he saw me   | tséhvóomēvōse   | when they were seen |
| tséhvóomā’tēse   | when he saw you  |                   |                 |
| tséhvóomah-tsēse | when he saw himself |                   |                 |
| tséhvóomōse     | when he saw him (obv) |                   |                 |
| tséhvōomāetse   | when he saw us   |                   |                 |
| tséhvōoamēse    | when he saw you (pl) |                   |                 |
| tséhvōomaetsēse | when he (obv) saw me |                   |                 |
| tséhvōomōse     | when he (obv) saw you |                   |                 |
| tséhvōomā’aēse  | when he (obv) saw him |                   |                 |
| tséhvōomāhtsēsesēse | when he (obv) saw himself |                   |                 |
| tséhvōomētse    | when he (obv) saw us |                   |                 |
| tséhvōoomēse    | when he (obv) saw you (pl) |                   |                 |
| tséhvōoomēvōse  | when he (obv) saw them |                   |                 |
| tséhvōomamē’e’se | when he (obv) helped him |                   |                 |
| tséhvōomamē’tēse | when he (obv) fought him |                   |                 |
| tséhvōomamē’sē’se | when he (obv) was seen |                   |                 |
| tséhvōomēvēsē’se | when he (obv) taught us |                   |                 |
| tséhvōomēvōsē’se | when he (obv) taught them |                   |                 |

**Other examples**

| tséhvostahēmaa’ēse | when he (obv) helped him |
| tséhvōomā’tēse | when we were seen |
| tséhvōomē’tēse | when they were seen |
| tséhvōomēvē’se | when he (obv) taught them |

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133 Also pronounced as ts’ovéstomōétse
-héne'enov 'know (someone)'

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

tséxhéne'enóváhtséto when I knew myself
tséxhéne'enovātse when I knew you
tséxhéne'enovo when I knew him
tséxhéne'enóvamo when I knew him (obv)
tséxhéne'enòvatsé? when I knew you (pl)
tséxhéne'enovōno when I knew them

| tséxhéne'enoveto when you knew me | tséxhéne'enovēse when you (pl) knew me |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| tséxhéne'enóvahnteto when you knew yourself | tséxhéne'enovōse when you (pl) knew himself |
| tséxhéne'enówamose when you knew him (obv) | tséxhéne'enōvamōse when you (pl) knew him |
| tséxhéne'enovemenoto when you knew us (ex) | tséxhéne'enóvahntsēse when you (pl) knew ourselves |
| tséxhéne'enovōse when you knew them | tséxhéne'enovēse when you (pl) knew them |

| tséxhéne'enóó'ēse when he knew me | tséxhéne'enóva'ëvōse when they knew me |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| tséxhéne'enovātsē when he knew you | tséxhéne'enovōse when they knew you |
| tséxhéne'enóvamōse when he knew him | tséxhéne'enōoamōse when they knew him |
| tséxhéne'enovēmōse when he knew him (obv) | tséxhéne'enōvēmōse when they knew him (obv) |
| tséxhéne'enōētsë when he knew us | tséxhéne'enōēse when they knew us |
| tséxhéne'enōēse when he knew you (pl) | tséxhéne'enōvamōse when they knew you (pl) |

| tséxhéne'enovōa'etsē when he (obv) knew me | tséxhéne'enonēto when I was known |
|----------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| tséxhéne'enatā'oos when he (obv) knew you | tséxhéne'enoneto when you were known |
| tséxhéne'enoo'ëse when he (obv) knew him | tséxhéne'enooëse when he was known |
| tséxhéne'enōvētsē when he (obv) knew himself | tséxhéne'enōhetsēse when he (obv) was known |
| tséxhéne'enōētsë when he (obv) knew us | tséxhéne'enonētse when we were known |
| tséxhéne'enōēse when he (obv) knew you (pl) | tséxhéne'enonēse when you (pl) were known |
| tséxhéne'enōvōvēse when he (obv) knew them | tséxhéne'enonōhēvōse 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
máhvóomāhtseto  when you see yourself
máhvóomōhtse  when you see him
máhvóomamōhtse  when you see him (obv)
máhvóomemenono  when you see us (ex)
máhvóomōse  when you see them

máhvóomā’ēstse  when he sees me
máhvóomā’ēstse  when he sees you
máhvóomāhtsēstse  when he sees himself
máhvóomōhtse  when he sees him (obv)
máhvóomaēte  when he sees us
máhvóomaēse  when he sees you (pl)

máhvóoma’etsēse  when he (obv) sees me
máhvóomaata’ōse  when he (obv) sees you
máhvóomaa’ēstse  when he (obv) sees him
máhvóomahtsēstse  when he (obv) sees himself
máhvóomaēte  when he (obv) sees us
máhvóomaēse  when he (obv) sees you (pl)
máhvóomaēvōse  when he (obv) sees them

máhvóomatsemeno  when we (ex) see you
máhvooomētse  when we see him
máhvóomamōtse  when we see him (obv)
máhvóomatsētse  when we see ourselves
máhvóomatsemeno  when we (ex) see you (pl)
máhvooomōtse  when we see them

máhvóomēse  when you (pl) see me
máhvóomēse  when you (pl) see him
máhvóomamōse  when you (pl) see him (obv)
máhvóomemenono  when you (pl) see us (ex)
máhvóomāhtsēse  when you (pl) see yourselves
máhvóomōse  when you (pl) see them

máhvóoma’ēvōhtse  when they see me
máhvóomaata’ōse  when they see you
máhvóomovōhtse  when they see him (obv)
máhvóomaētse  when they see us
máhvóomaēse  when they see you (pl)
máhvóomahtsēvōhtse  when they see themselves

máhvóomānēto  when I am seen
máhvóomaneto  when you are seen
máhvóomēstse  when he is seen
máhvōometsēse??  when he (obv) is seen
máhvóomanētse  when we are seen
máhvóomanēse  when you (pl) are seen
máhvōomēvōhtse  when they are seen

Other examples

máhvéstahēma’ēstse  when he (obv) helps him
máhmēota’ēstse  when he (obv) fights him
máxhēne’enōētse  when he knows us
máhvovēstomōētse 34 when he teaches us
máxho’eotsehō  when I bring him
máxho’eotseose  when you bring him
máxho’eotsēhōtse  when we bring him
máxhēne’enōōētse  when he knows me
máxhēne’enoo’ētse  when he (obv) knows him
ma’ovēstomoo’ētse  when he teaches me
ma’ovēstomoo’ētse  when he (obv) teaches him
máxhēne’enōēvōhtse  when he (obv) knows them
ma’ovēstomōēvōhtse  when he (obv) teaches them
ma’ēeststovo  when I speak to him
máxheto  when I tell him
máxháona’tovo  when I pray to him
masē’a’hamo  when I throw him in

Examples in sentences

Máhnōhtsēvōhtse nēstsevēstahema.
When you ask him, he’ll help you.

Máhmēōtōhtse nāhtceaseōhtse.
When he fights him (obv), I’ll leave.

Máhvéstahēma’ēstse nāhtsepēhēvetāno.
When he (obv) helps him, I’ll be happy.

34 Also pronounced as ma’ovēstomōētse

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**Transitive Animate Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs**

- **vóm 'see (someone)'**

| Verb Expression              | Meaning                                           |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| tséssáavóomáhtséheto         | when I did not see myself                         |
| tséssáavóomáhetse            | when I did not see you                            |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when I did not see him                            |
| tséssáavóomamóhóhevo         | when I did not see him (obv)                      |
| tséssáavóomséhéte            | when I did not see you (pl)                       |
| tséssáavóomóhóhevo            | when I did not see them                           |
| tséssáavóoméheto              | when you did not see me                           |
| tséssáavóomáhtséheto          | when you did not see yourself                     |
| tséssáavóomóhóhevo            | when you did not see him                          |
| tséssáavóomamóhóhevo          | when you did not see him (obv)                    |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when you did not see (ex)                         |
| tséssáavóomóhóhevo            | when you did not see (pl)                         |
| tséssáavóomáhtséhete          | when you did not see us (ex)                      |
| tséssáavóomóhóhevo            | when you did not see (pl)                         |
| tséssáavóomíhóhevo            | when you did not see them                         |
| tséssáavóoméhete             | when he did not see me                            |
| tséssáavóomáhtséhete          | when he did not see himself                       |
| tséssáavóomóhóhevo            | when he did not see him                           |
| tséssáavóomamóhóhevo          | when he did not see him (obv)                     |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when he did not see us (ex)                       |
| tséssáavóomóhóhevo            | when he did not see (pl)                          |
| tséssáavóomáhtséhete          | when he did not see us (pl)                       |
| tséssáavóomóhóhevo            | when he did not see them                          |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when (obv) did not see me                         |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when (obv) did not see you                        |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when (obv) did not see him                        |
| tséssáavóomamóhóhevo          | when (obv) did not see him (obv)                  |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when (obv) did not see us (ex)                    |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when (obv) did not see (pl)                       |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when (obv) did not see them                       |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when we (ex) did not see you                      |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when we (obv) saw you                             |
| tséssáavóomamóhóhevo          | when we (obv) saw him                             |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when we (obv) saw us                              |
| tséssáavóomamóhóhevo          | when we saw ourselves                             |
| tséssáavóomamóhóhevo          | when we saw ourselves                             |
| tséssáavóomamóhóhevo          | when we saw them                                  |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when you (pl) did not see me                      |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when you (pl) did not see you                     |
| tséssáavóomamóhóhevo          | when you (pl) did not see him                     |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when you (pl) did not see him (obv)               |
| tséssáavóomamóhóhevo          | when you (pl) did not see us (ex)                 |
| tséssáavóomamóhóhevo          | when you (pl) did not see (pl)                    |
| tséssáavóomamóhóhevo          | when you (pl) did not see them                    |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when they did not see you                         |
| tséssáavóomáhóhevo            | when they did not see him                         |
| tséssáavóomamóhóhevo          | when they did not see him (obv)                   |
| tséssáavóomamóhóhevo          | when they did not see us (pl)                     |
| tséssáavóomamóhóhevo          | when they did not see themselves                  |
| tséssáavóománhóheto           | when I was not seen                               |
| tséssáavóománhóheto           | when you were not seen                            |
| tséssáavóoméhóheto            | when he was not seen                              |

**Other examples**

- tséssáavéstahémaëese when he (obv) did not help him
- tséssáaméotaëëse?? when he (obv) did not fight him
- tséssahéne’enéhëse when he did not teach us
- tséssáahénoetsëhevo when I did not bring him
- tséssáahénoetsëeëëse?? when he did not bring him (obv)
- tséssáahénoetsëhëëhëse when we did not bring him
- tséssahéne’enéëëse when he did not know me
- tséxhéne’enëëëse when he did not know him
- tséssaa’ovéstomëëëse when he did not teach me
- tséssaa’ovéstomoëëëse when he (obv) did not teach him
- tséssahéne’enëëëëëse when he did not know them
- tséssaa’ovéstomëëëëëse when he (obv) did not teach them

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135 Also pronounced as tsésáa’ovéstomöëëse
Transitive Animate Conjunct Iterative verbs

-vóom 'see (someone)'

hó’vóomáhtsēto whenever I saw myself
hó’vóomāte whenever I saw you
hó’vóomātse whenever I saw him
hó’vóomamó whenever I saw him (obv)
hó’vóomatūse whenever I saw you (pl)
hó’vóomō whenever I saw them
hó’vóometo whenever you saw me
hó’vóomahtseto whenever you saw yourself
hó’vóomamōhtse whenever you saw him (obv)
hó’vóomemenoto whenever you saw us (ex)
hó’vóomō whenever you saw them
hó’vóomā’ėstse whenever he saw me
hó’vóomāta’ė whenever he saw you
hó’vóomāhtstėse whenever he saw him (obv)
hó’vóomaėse whenever he saw us
hó’vóomaēse whenever he saw you (pl)
hó’vóomaetsėse whenever he (obv) saw me
hó’vóomata’ėse whenever he (obv) saw you
hó’vóomahtsetėse whenever he (obv) saw him
hó’vóomaėse whenever he (obv) saw us
hó’vóomaēse whenever he (obv) saw you (pl)
hó’vóomasemanoto whenever he (obv) saw them
hó’vōomotė whenever we (ex) saw you
hó’vōomotėse whenever we (ex) saw you (pl)
hó’vōomomote whenever we saw me
hó’vōomamōte whenever we saw him
hó’vōomamōtse whenever we saw them (obv)
hó’vōomatūmote whenever we saw ourselves
hó’vōomō whenever we saw them

Other examples

hó’vé’hóomohtse whenever he looked at him (obv)
hó’méotótse?? whenever we fought him
hó’méotá’ėstse whenever he fought me
hó’totōxema’ta’ė whenever he discussed you
hó’hoxomāėse whenever he fed us
hó’mó’o whenever I found him
hó’mó’øó’ėstse whenever he found me
hó’oomā’ėstse whenever he hit me
Transitive Animate Conjunct Generic verbs

Conjunct generic mode verbs state a kind of generalization. These verbs have a broad time idea of 'when', similar to the meaning of English 'whenever', but without the idea of repeated action which is communicated by the conjunct iterative mode. The generic mode is similar to what has been called a generic aspect for some languages, although the Cheyenne generic need not state an action that is continuously occurring. The oh- prefix is often omitted.

| -vóom 'see (someone)' | -vóom 'see (someone)' |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| óhvóomahtsétonehtse | when I see myself       |
| óhvóomatsétoséstse   | when I see you          |
| óhvóomoo'éstse       | when I see him          |
| óhvóomamoo'éstse     | when I see (obv)        |
| óhvóomatsésee'éstse | when I see (pl)         |
| óhvóomótonehtse      | when I see them         |
| óhvóomótohtsétse    | when you see me         |
| óhvóomáhtsétoséstse | when you see yourself   |
| óhvóomoséstse       | when you see him        |
| óhvóomamoséstse     | when you see (obv)      |
| óhvóoomemenoséstse  | when you see us (ex)    |
| óhvóomósee'éstse    | when you see them       |
| óhvóoma'eséstse     | when he sees me         |
| óhvóomata'oséstse   | when he sees you        |
| óhvóomáhtseséstse  | when he sees himself    |
| óhvóomoséstse       | when he sees (obv)      |
| óhvóomaeetsee'éstse | when he sees us         |
| óhvóomaeséseéstse  | when he sees you (pl)   |
| óhvóoma'étseséstse | when (obv) sees me      |
| óhvóomata'étseséstse| when (obv) sees you     |
| óhvóomaeéseéstse    | when (obv) sees him     |
| óhvóomáhtséesseéstse| when (obv) sees himself|
| óhvóomaeéseéstse    | when (obv) sees us      |
| óhvóomaeveséseéstse | when (obv) sees you (pl)|
| óhvóomamatsemenoséstse| when (obv) sees them    |
| óhvóomótseéseéstse | when we (ex) see you    |
| óhvóomamótsee'éstse | when we see him         |
| óhvóomáhtséseéstse | when we see (obv)       |
| óhvóomatsemenoséstse| when we (ex) see you (pl)|
| óhvóomótseéseéstse | when we see them        |
| óhvóomoeséseéstse   | when you (pl) see me    |
| óhvóomósee'éstse    | when you (pl) see him   |
| óhvóomamoeéseéstse  | when you (pl) see (obv) |
| óhvóomamenoséstse   | when you (pl) see us (ex)|
| óhvóomáhtséseéstse | when you (pl) see yourself|
| óhvóomósee'éstse    | when you (pl) see them  |
| óhvóomávoseséstse   | when they see me        |
| óhvóomata'ósee'éstse| when they see you       |
| óhvóomóvoséstse     | when they see him (obv) |
|                       | when they see us        |
|                       | when they see you (pl)  |
|                       | when they see themselves|
|                       | when I am seen          |
|                       | when you are seen       |
|                       | when he is seen         |
|                       | when he (obv) is seen   |
|                       | when we are seen        |
|                       | when you (pl) are seen  |
|                       | when they are seen      |

Other examples

| Other examples | Other examples |
|----------------|----------------|
| óhméhotatsséöstse| when I love you   |
| óhméhóoo'éstse   | when I love him   |
| óhméhotatssééeéstse| when I love you (pl) |
| óhméhototovonótse| when I love them  |
| óhméhoxoetoséstse| when you love me  |
| óhméhoteostéstse | when you love him |
| óhméhotaseééstse | when you love them|
| óhméhota'áséstse | when he loves me  |
| óhmého tá'o'séstse| when he loves you |
| óhméhottoséstse  | when he loves him |
| óhméhota'aséstse | when he loves him (obv) |
| óhmého xoëweedéstse | when he loves us  |
| óhméhota'aséeéstse| when he loves (pl) |
| óhméhoxeeséstse  | when we (ex) love them|
| óhméhoto'séstse  | when you (pl) love me|
| óhméhota'aséeéstse| when you (pl) love him|
| óhmého xenomoséstse | when they love me |
| óhméhota'aséesťeéstse | when they love you |
| óhméhota'teséstse | when they love him (obv) |
| óhméhóovëseéstse | when they love us  |

'$$RECHECK:'

| òhvëhoomoo'éstse | when I look at him |
| o'ovéstomóö'éstse??| when I bring him    |
| óhvóvéstomóöéseéstse??| when he teaches us |
| óxhëne'enöö'éstse??| when he knows me    |
| óxhëne'enëë'üstse??| when he (obv) knows him |
| óxhëné'ëëëvëseéstse?? | when he (obv) helps him |
| óxhëné'enëëvëseéstse?? | when he (obv) teaches him |
| o'ovéstomóëvëseéstse?? | when he (obv) knows them |
| o'ovéstomóëvëseéstse?? | when he (obv) teaches them |
Transitive Animate Conjunct Participles

/-méhót/ 'love (someone')

$8$RECHECK

| tséméhótahséto       | I who love myself          | tséméhohetsésetse?       | the one (obv) who is loved |
|----------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| tséméhótátsete       | I who love you             | tséméhoteñetse           | we who are loved             |
| tséméhóteto          | the one I love              | tséméhoteñeñese          | you (pl) who are loved       |
| tséméhótamote        | I who love him (obv)       | tséméhohese              | those who are loved          |
| tséméhòatséñese      | I who love you (pl)        | tséméhoteñeñese          |                                |
| tséméhótóno          | those I love                | tséméhoteñeñese          |                                |
| tséméhoxeto          | you who love me            | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhótahtseto      | you who love yourself      | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhotohohtse      | the one you love           | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhotamohótse     | you who love him (obv)     | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñatemote      | you who love us (ex)       | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñatemote      | the ones you love          | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñát'estse     | the one who loves me       | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñata'tëse     | the one who loves you      | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñataht'sëtse  | the one who loves himself  | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñate'tse      | the one who loves him (obv)| tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñate'ése      | the one who loves you (pl) | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñatoëtsëse    | he (obv) who loves me      | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñatoëtsëse    | he (obv) who loves you     | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñatoëtsëse    | he (obv) who loves him     | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñatoëtsëse    | he (obv) who loves us      | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñatoëtsëse    | he (obv) who loves you (pl)| tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñatoëtsëse    | he (obv) who loves them    | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñatoëtsëse    | we (ex) who love you       | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñátseëse      | we who love him            | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñatsetëse     | we who love him (obv)      | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñatsetëse     | we who love ourselves      | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñatsetëse     | we who love them           | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñòteëse       | you (pl) who love me       | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñòteëse       | you (pl) who love him      | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñotamotëse    | you (pl) who love him (obv)| tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñotamotëse    | you (pl) who love us (ex)  | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñotamotëse    | you (pl) who love yourselves| tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñotamotëse    | you (pl) who love them     | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñotamotëse    | those who love me          | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñotamotëse    | those who love you         | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñotamotëse    | the one(s) (obv) they love | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñotamotëse    | those who love us          | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñotamotëse    | those who love you (pl)    | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñotamotëse    | those who love themselves  | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñotamotëse    | the one (obv) who loves him(obv') | tséméhoñatemote |                                |
| tséméhoñotamotëse    | I who am loved             | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñotamotëse    | you who are loved          | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |
| tséméhoñotamotëse    | the one who is loved       | tséméhoñatemote          |                                |

Other examples

| tsévóomo             | the one who I see           |                                |
| tsévóomata'ótse      | he (obv) who sees me        |                                |
| tsévóomósése         | he (obv) who sees him (obv')|                                |
| tsévóométsese        | he (obv) who is seen        | the one I fight                |
| tséméto              | the one who I fight         |                                |
| tsévéstoemo          | my spouse                   |                                |
| tsévéstoemóhtse      | his/her spouse (obv)        |                                |
| tsévéstoemótsese     | the one who teaches me      | the one who teaches us         |
| tsévéstoemótsese     | the one who teaches us      | the one who knows us           |
| tsévéstoemótsese     | the one who knows us        | the one I help ??              |
| tsévéstañámo        | the one (obv) he helps ??   |                                |
| tsévéstañámo        | 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'éehe. Its participle equivalent is tséhéhéto, which is glossed here as 'my father'. But a more accurate translation of the participle is 'the one who I have as father'. Tséhestónahétóse is glossed as 'your daughters', but a more accurate translation is 'those who you have as daughters'.

father

| tséhéhéto   | my father               | tséhéhetono  | my fathers        |
| tséhéheto   | your father             | tséhéhétóse  | your fathers      |
| tséhéhese   | his father(s)           | tséhéhese    | his father(s)     |
| tséhéhéte   | our father              | tséhéhetsee'e | our fathers       |
| tséhéhéve   | 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      |
| tséheškése  | his/her mother(s)       | tséheškése    | his/her mother(s) |
| tséheškést  | our mother              | tséheškéstsee'e | our mothers      |
| tséheškése  | your (plural) mother    | tséheškése'e  | your (plural) mothers |
| tséškévose  | their mother(s)         | tséškévose    | their mother(s)   |

daughter

| tséhestónahéto | my daughter               | tséhestónahétóse  | my daughters    |
| tséhestónaheto | your daughter             | tséhestónahéstse  | your daughters  |
| tséhestónahese | his/her daughter(s)       | tséhestónahése    | his/her daughter(s) |
| tséhestónahést  | our daughter             | tséhestónahéstsee'e | our daughters |
| tséhestónahése  | your (plural) daughter   | tséhestónahése'e | your (plural) daughters |
| tséhestónahévose | their daughter(s)       | tséhestónahévose  | 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'ö'estse | the one who has me for a mother |
| tséhešké'ose | those who have me for a mother     |
| tséhešké'tovätse | I who have you for a mother        |

Transitive Animate Conjunct Absentative Participles

Conjunct participles take an absentative suffix\(^{137}\) when the person referred to is absent or deceased.

| tséhéhevoo'o | the one who is my absent father |

\(^{137}\) It is possible that the –vo of this absentative suffix is related to the –vo suffix of the conjunct oratio oblique mode.
the one who is my absent mother
the one (obviative) who I shot stiff

$\text{RECHECK ?? the following "tentative" forms from earlier editions of book:}$

- tséhéhevôse  the one who is your absent father
- tséhéhévôtse  the one who is our absent father
- tséhéhévôse  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, tséhvóóhto means either 'when he saw it' or 'when he saw them (inanimate)'.

Unlike with TI independent order verbs, there is no difference in pronunciation between the conjunct order TI verbs which refer to exclusive 'we' and inclusive 'we'.

Speakers differ on whether the last vowel is "e" or "o" on first and second person singular subject verbs which have a TI theme of –om. So, for instance, 'when I saw it' is pronounced both as tséhvóóhtómo and tséhvóóhtóme.

'see (something)'

| Verbs                        | When I saw it / them       | When you saw it / them       | When he saw it / them       | When we saw it / them       | When you (plural) saw it / them | When they saw it / them       |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| tséhvóóhtómo / tséhvóóhtóme  | when I saw it / them       | when you saw it / them       | when he saw it / them       | when we saw it / them       | when you (plural) saw it / them | when they saw it / them       |
| tséhvóóhto                  |                             |                             |                             |                             |                                 |                             |
| tséhvóóhtotésése            |                             |                             |                             |                             |                                 |                             |
| tséhvóóhtomátse             |                             |                             |                             |                             |                                 |                             |
| tséhvóóhtomáse              |                             |                             |                             |                             |                                 |                             |
| tséhvóóhtomévéose           |                             |                             |                             |                             |                                 |                             |
| tséhvóóhtomévéose           |                             |                             |                             |                             |                                 |                             |
| tséhvóóhtotése              |                             |                             |                             |                             |                                 |                             |
| tséhvóóhtomédéstse          |                             |                             |                             |                             |                                 |                             |

'listen to (something)'

| Verbs                        | When I listened to it / them       | When you listened to it / them       | When he/she listened to it / them       | When we listened to it / them       | When you (plural) listened to it / them | When they listened to it / them       |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| tsé’aahómo / tsé’aahóme      | when I listened to it / them       | when you listened to it / them       | when he/she listened to it / them       | when we listened to it / them       | when you (plural) listened to it / them | when they listened to it / them       |
| tsé’aahómo                  | when I listened to it / them       | when you listened to it / them       | when he/she listened to it / them       | when we listened to it / them       | when you (plural) listened to it / them | when they listened to it / them       |
| tsé’aahóto                  | when he/she listened to it / them   | when he/she listened to it / them   | when he/she listened to it / them       | when we listened to it / them       | when you (plural) listened to it / them | when they listened to it / them       |
| tsé’aahotésése              | when he/his listening to it / them | when he/his listening to it / them | when he/she listened to it / them       | when we listened to it / them       | when you (plural) listened to it / them | when they listened to it / them       |
| tsé’aahotomátse             | when he/his listening to it / them | when he/his listening to it / them | when he/she listened to it / them       | when we listened to it / them       | when you (plural) listened to it / them | when they listened to it / them       |
| tsé’aahotomáse              | when he/his listening to it / them | when he/his listening to it / them | when he/she listened to it / them       | when we listened to it / them       | when you (plural) listened to it / them | when they listened to it / them       |
| tsé’aahotomévéose           | when he/his listening to it / them | when he/his listening to it / them | when he/she listened to it / them       | when we listened to it / them       | when you (plural) listened to it / them | when they listened to it / them       |
| tsé’aahotóhe ??             | when it was listened to            | when it was listened to            | when it was listened to                | when it was listened to            | when it was listened to            | when it was listened to            |
| tsé’aahotóhe??              | when it was listened to            | when it was listened to            | when it was listened to                | when it was listened to            | when it was listened to            | when it was listened to            |

'eat (something)'

| Verbs                        | When I ate it / them       | When you ate it / them       | When he/she ate it / them       | When we ate it / them       | When you (plural) ate it / them       | When they ate it / them       |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| tséhméséto                  | when I ate it / them       | when you ate it / them       | when he/she ate it / them   | when we ate it / them       | when you (plural) ate it / them       | when they ate it / them       |
| tséhméseto                  | when I ate it / them       | when you ate it / them       | when he/she ate it / them   | when we ate it / them       | when you (plural) ate it / them       | when they ate it / them       |
| tséhmésése                  | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when we ate it / them       | when you (plural) ate it / them       | when they ate it / them       |
| tséhmésetsése               | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when we ate it / them       | when you (plural) ate it / them       | when they ate it / them       |
| tséhmésétse                 | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when we ate it / them       | when you (plural) ate it / them       | when they ate it / them       |
| tséhmésétse                 | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when we ate it / them       | when you (plural) ate it / them       | when they ate it / them       |
| tséhmésétse                 | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when we ate it / them       | when you (plural) ate it / them       | when they ate it / them       |
| tséhmésétovése              | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when we ate it / them       | when you (plural) ate it / them       | when they ate it / them       |
| tséhmésétovése              | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when we ate it / them       | when you (plural) ate it / them       | when they ate it / them       |
| tséhmésétovése              | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when we ate it / them       | when you (plural) ate it / them       | when they ate it / them       |
| tséhmésétovéstse??          | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when he/she ate it / them   | when we ate it / them       | when you (plural) ate it / them       | when they ate it / them       |

'have (something)'

| Verbs                        | When I had it / them       | When you had it / them       | When he/she had it / them       | He/she had it / them       |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| tséxo'tsèto                  | when I had it / them       | when you had it / them       | when he/she had it / them   | he/she had it / them       |
| tséxo'tseto                  | when I had it / them       | when you had it / them       | when he/she had it / them   | he/she had it / them       |
| tséxo'tsèse                  | when I had it / them       | when you had it / them       | when he/she had it / them   | he/she had it / them       |
| tséxo'tsetsése               | when I had it / them       | when you had it / them       | when he/she had it / them   | he/she had it / them       |

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tséxho’tsétse when we had it / them
tséxho’tsé when you (plural) had it / them
tséxho’tévōse(ēvōse??) when they had it / them

'take (something)'
tséxhestanōmo / tséxhestanōme when I took it / them
tséxhestanomo / tséxhestanome when you took it / them
tséxhestāno when he took it / them
tséxhestanotsēse when he/she (obviative) took it / them
tséxhestanomātse when we took it / them
tséxhestanomāse when you (plural) took it / them
tséxhestanomēvōse(ēvōse??) when they took it / them

'want (something)'
tséxho’āhēto when I wanted it / them
tséxho’āhēto when you wanted it / them
tséxho'aese when he/she wanted it / them
tséxho'āhetsēse when he/she (obviative) wanted it / them
tséxho'āhētse when you (plural) wanted it / them
tséxho'āhēvōse when they wanted it / them

Examples in sentences
Tséhvóóhtóm eho'évohkōtse námese. 'When I saw the meat I ate it.'
Tsé'éšeááhto némenestōtse náéestséstōvo. 'After he listened to the radio I talked to him.'

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Negative verbs

'see (something)'
tséssáavóóhtohēmo / tséssáavóóhtohēme when I did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtohemo / tséssáavóóhtoheme when you did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtoēse when he did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtohetsēse when he/she (obviative) did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtomāhētse when we did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtomāhēsē when you (plural) did not see it / them
tséssáavóóhtomēvōse when they did not see it / them

'take (something)'
tséssāahestanōhēme when I did not take it / them
tséssāahestanōheme when you did not take it / them
tséssāahestanōōēse when he did not take it / them
tséssāahestanōhetsēse when he/she (obviative) did not take it / them
tséssāahestanomāhētse when we did not take it / them
tséssāahestanomāhēsē when you (plural) did not take it / them
tséssāahestanomēhēvōse when they did not take it / them

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Generic verbs

TI conjunct generic verbs take suffixes like those of TA conjunct generic verbs. As with other conjunct generic verbs the ōh- prefix is often omitted by Cheyenne speakers.
'see (something)'
| oźvóohtomonôtse | when I see it / them |
| oźvóohtomôsôstse | when you see it / them |
| oźvóohtotsôstse | when he/she sees it / them |
| oźvóohtotsôstse | when he/she (obviative) sees it / them |
| oźvóohtomásee'ôstse | when we see it / them |
| oźvóohtomásee'ôstse | when you (plural) see it / them |
| oźvóohtomásee'ôstse | when they see it / them |

'take (something)'
| xheztanomôntohtse | when I take it / them |
| xheztanomôstôstse | when you take it / them |
| xheztanôstôstse | when he/she takes it / them |
| xheztanôstôstse | when he/she (obviative) takes it / them |
| xheztanomásee'ôstse | when we take it / them |
| xheztanomásee'ôstse | when you (plural) take it / them |

'cook (something)'
| xho'oestšótonôhtse | when I cook it / them |
| xho'oestšótošôstse | when you cook it / them |
| xho'oestšótošôstse | when he/she cooks it / them |
| xho'oestšótošôstse | when he/she (obviative) cooks it / them |
| xho'oestšótošôstse | when we cook it / them |
| xho'oestšótošôstse | when you (plural) cook it / them |
| xho'oestšótošôstse | when they cook it / them |

Examples in sentences
Öhvóohtomonôhtse vêtsêškévahonoo'o náohkev̓e'šepēhétâno. 'When I see frybread I get happy.'

Xho'oestšótošôstse váotsevâheho'évokôtse náhkema'xemésehe. 'When she cooks deer meat I eat a lot.'
Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Participles

Unlike with other conjunct verb modes, conjunct participles are inflected for number of their objects by some speakers. Other speakers, however, use the singular object forms to refer to both singular and plural objects.

'see (something)'

tévóóhtómọ\(^{138}\) what I saw tévéóhémonóhtse those that I saw
tévóohotmo what you saw tévéóhohtomóstse those that you saw
tévóóhtó what he saw tévéóhohtoséstse those that he saw
tévóóhtsésé what he (obv) saw tévéóhohtótséséstse those that he (obv) saw
tévóóhtomá what we saw tévéóhohtomáčééstse those that we saw
tévóóhtomáwhat you (pl) saw tévéóhohtomáseeńéśtse those that you (pl) saw
tévóóhtomé what they saw tévéóhohtomášéstse those that they saw

'eat (something)'

témésétọ what I ate témésetonóhtse those which I ate
témésétọ what you ate témésetoséstse those which you ate
témésétsetse what he ate téméseteséstse those which he ate
témésétsetse what he (obv) ate téméseteséstse those which he (obv) ate
témésétsetse what we ate téméseteséstse those which we ate
témésétsetse what you (pl) ate téméseteséstse those which you (pl) ate
témésétsetse what they ate téméseteséstse those which they ate
témésétsetse what they ate téméseteséstse those which they ate

'take (something)'

téhestánómo what I took ténéhestanomonóhtse those which I took
téhestánomo what you took ténéhestanomóstse those which you took
téhestánóhtse what he took ténéhestanoséstse those which he took
téhestánótsesse what he (obv) took ténéhestanótseséstse those which he (obv) took
téhestánomá what we took ténéhestanótseséstse those which we took
téhestánomá what you (pl) took ténéhestanótseséstse those which you (pl) took
téhestánomá what they took ténéhestanótseséstse those which they took

'want (something)'

\(\text{tsěho'ahéto}\what I want \(\text{tsěho'ahéto'ānt} \) those that I want
\(\text{tsěho'aheto}\what you want \(\text{tsěho'ahetosést} \) those that you want
\(\text{tsěho'ahéste}\what he wants \(\text{tsěho'ahésesést} \) those that he wants
\(\text{tsěho'ahétsese}\what he (obv) wants \(\text{tsěho'ahétcesést} \) those that he (obv) wants
\(\text{tsěho'ahése}\what we want \(\text{tsěho'ahétese'ęést} \) those that we want
těhěse what you (pl) want \(\text{tsěho'ahésee'ęést} \) those that you (pl) want
těhëse what they want \(\text{tsěho'ahévéöst} \) those that they want

'make (something)'

témanéstětětě what I made ténémanéstśétōntętse those which I made
témanéstětětě what you made ténémanéstśétōstętse those which you made
témanéstětětě what he made ténémanéstśetętętse those which he made
témanéstětětě what he (obv) made ténémanéstśetętętętse those which he (obv) made
témanéstětětě what we made ténémanéstśetętętętętse those which we made
témanéstětětě what you (pl) made ténémanéstśetętętętętętse those which you (pl) made
témanéstětětě what they made ténémanéstśetętętętętętętętse those which they made

\(\text{tsěho'ahéto}\) Another pronunciation is tsěvóóhtómé. Similarly, other first and second person singular subject participle forms with the TI theme -om have an alternate pronunciation with a word-final "e".

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\(^{138}\) Another pronunciation is tsěvóóhtómé. Similarly, other first and second person singular subject participle forms with the TI theme -om have an alternate pronunciation with a word-final "e".

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Examples in sentences
Hénová'e tsévóohetomo? What did you see
Hénová'e tséméseto? What did you eat?
Hénová'ehôtese tsémanétsétonóhtse? What (plural) did you make?
Nápéhévátsésta tsého'tséstse. I like what he had.
Tsémanétseto épéhává'e. What you made is good.

Transitive Inanimate Conjunct Negative Participles

'see (singular object)'
tsésáavóóhtohémó what I didn't see
tsésáavóóhtohemó what you didn't see
tsésáavóóhtéstse what he/she didn't see
tsésáavóóhtohetsése what he/she (obviative) didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhtése what we didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhése what you (plural) didn't see
tsésáavóóhtoméhévóse what they didn't see

'see (plural object)'
tsésáavóótóhemonóhtse those that I didn't see
tsésáavóóhtoheséstse those that he/she didn't see
tsésáavóóhtohetseséstse those that he/she (obviative) didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhtése 'estse those that we didn't see
tsésáavóóhtomáhese'éstse those that you (plural) didn't see
tsésáavóóhtoméhévóse 'estse those that they didn't see

'make (singular object)'
tsésáamanétséhéto what I didn't make
tsésáamanétséheto what you didn't make
tsésáamanétséstse what he/she didn't make
tsésáamanétséhetsése what he/she (obviative) didn't make
tsésáamanétséhése what we didn't make
tsésáamanétséhése what you (plural didn't make
tsésáamanétséhévóse what they didn't make

'make (plural object)'
tsésáamanétséhetonóhtse what I didn't make
tsésáamanétséhethoséstse what you didn't make
tsésáamanétséheséstse what he/she didn't make
tsésáamanétséhetseséstse what he/she (obviative) didn't make
tsésáamanétséhetsése 'estse what we didn't make
tsésáamanétséhese'éstse what you (plural) didn't make
tsésáamanétséhévóse 'estse what they didn't make

Other examples
tsésáahestanóhémó what I didn't take
tsésáahestanóhemeséstse those which he/she didn't take
tsésáaméshéto what I didn't eat
tsésáaméséheto what you didn't eat
tsésáaméséstse what he/she didn't eat
Examples in sentences $$RECHECK/#3 "I'm looking for those who don't have them"??

Tsésáaméséheto éseepehévééno’e.  What you didn't eat tastes very good.
Tsésáahestanóéstse ésó’hó’ta.??  What he didn't take is still here. ??
Nánóhtsevóohtanótsí tseésáaho’tséhevoséstse.  I’m looking for those (in) that they don’t have. ??

**Ditransitive Conjunct Indicative verbs**

Ditransitive conjunct indicative verbs look like Transitive Animate Conjunct Indicative verbs. ($$RECHECK THAT). Ditransitive conjunct verbs are inflected for person and number ?? of the subject of the verb as well as the indirect object (morphosyntactic primary object). Animacy and number of the semantic secondary object (the thing or person which is given) are not marked on the conjunct ditransitives, as they are on independent order ditransitive verbs. So when the thing given is translated as "it" in the following verbs, the translation could also be "him", "her", or "them (inanimate or animate)".

$$RECHECK??

tséhmétsé = when I gave it to myself

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Examples in sentences

tséhméto oéskésého  when I gave him a dog/dogs (obviative) $$ADD MAIN VERBS
tséhméto mótššéke  when I gave him a knife
ntséhméto mótskékehótsí  when I gave him knifes

ntséhmétóno še’xo  when I gave them a duck/ducks (obviative)

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tséhmétóno sémonótse  when I gave them boats (inanimate)
tséhmétóse póesono  when you gave him a cat/cats (obviative)
tséhmétóse 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 oeškeso  when he gave me a dog/dogs (obviative)
tséhmétá’ése motšése  when he gave me a knife
tséhmétá’ése mótsêshehôtse  when he gave me knives

Ditransitive Conjunct Negative Indicative verbs

tséseamétáhtsêhêto sémo  when I did not give myself a boat
tséseamétôhevo şe'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
ntséhmétsevôse  when you (pl) gave his ____ to me / us (ex)
tséhmétatsevo  when I gave his ____ to you
etc.

Ditransitive Conjunct Participles

??
tsémétásêto  what I gave myself
ntsémétâtsê  what I gave you
ntsémêto  what I gave him
ntsémêtsamôto  what I gave him (obv)
tsémêtsatseêse  what I gave you (pl)
tsémêtôno  what I gave them

tsémêtseto  what you gave me
tsémêtâhtseto  what you gave yourself
tsémêtohtêse  what you gave him
ntsémêtâmôtse  what you gave him (obv)
tsémêtsêmenoto  what you gave us (ex)
tsémêtôse  what you gave them

tsémêtsêse  what you gave me
tsémêtâtsê  what he gave you
ntsémêtâtsêse  what he gave me
ntsémêta-tsêse  what he (obv) gave me
ntsémêta-tsêse  what he (obv) gave you
ntsémêta-tsêse(tsémêta'âtsê??)  what he (obv) gave him
ntsémêtaêtsêse  what he (obv) gave himself
ntsémêta-etse  what he (obv) gave us
ntsémêta-evose  what he (obv) gave you (pl)
tsémêtotsee'e  what he (obv) gave them
ntsêmêtasemenoto  what we (ex) gave you
ntsêmêhotôtsê  what we gave him
ntsêmêtomôtsê  what we gave him (obv)
tsêmêthôtsêse  what we gave ourselves
ntsêmêtomôse  what we gave them

$RECHECK
Examples of ditransitive participles in sentences

| Participle          | Translation                           |
|---------------------|---------------------------------------|
| tsémétsemenoto      | what you (pl) gave us (ex)            |
| tsémétáhtsése       | what you (pl) gave yourselves         |
| tsémétosee’e        | what you (pl) gave them               |
| tsémétá’ese         | what they gave me                     |
| tsémétata’öse       | what they gave you                    |
| tsémétovose         | what they gave him (obv)              |
| tsémétasee??        | what they gave us                     |
| tsémétáhtsese       | what they gave themselves             |
| tsémétotsese        | what he (obv) gave him (obv’)         |
| tsémétanēto         | what I was given                      |
| tsémétaneto         | what you were given                   |
| tsémétseestse       | what he was given                     |
| tsémétanētse        | what we were given                    |
| tsémétanēse         | what you (pl) were given              |
| tsémétse           | what they were given                  |

Examples of ditransitive participles in sentences

| Question                        | Translation                           |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| ? ?                              | What did you give him?                |
| ? ?                              | What did he give him (obv)?           |
| ? ?                              | What did he (obv) give him?           |
| Who gave it to you?             | Who gave it to you?                   |
| Who gave it to him (obv)?       | Who gave it to him (obv)?             |
| Who (obv) gave it to him?       | 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.

Náméséhéétáno. 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.
Návéstéhémáhtsétáno. I want to be helped.
Návéstéhémáhtsétanó’tóvo. I want to be helped by him.
Véstéhémáhtsétanó’toveha! Want to be helped by him!
Návéo’séháatanó’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'
a'ěstse amáho'hestōte '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 tsévéhonnevéstse? 'Who is the boss?'
Tóne'še nééváho'éhóo'ōhtse? 'When did you get back home?'
Tósa'e néhoo'e? 'Where do you live?'

$\textbf{STUDY NATURAL TEXTS TO SEE IF THERE MIGHT BE A PREDOMINANT ORDER OF CONJUNCT VERBS PRECEDING INDEPENDENT VERBS}$

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. $\textbf{($\text{GIVE EXAMPLES FROM HER BOOK}$)}$ She discovered that a word that is "newsworthy" occurs as the first element in a Cheyenne sentence. A word is newsworthy if it receives some special attention such as if it is emphasized or contrastive. $\textbf{($\text{RECHECK THAT SENTENCE}$)}$ The newsworthy word in a sentence may be a subject or object noun, a verb, or some other sentence element. The first word in each of the following sentences is newsworthy:

Mé'ěstse néohkenėheto'ėetahe! 'Always you're doing that!'
Naa mósěškanetsénoonáhe móstsevéseéetséhe'ohtséhēhe tséhmőheehtséstovetse. '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)

$\textbf{($\text{OTHER EXAMPLES?}$)}$

If you are a Cheyenne speaker and someone asks you how to translate an English sentence to Cheyenne, do not copy the order of words in the English sentence. Cheyenne word order is different from English word order in sentences. English sentences usually have a required word order based on English syntax (grammar), namely, subject nouns come before their verbs and object nouns follow them. Cheyenne grammar does follow this syntactic order for words in a sentence. A Cheyenne sentence which follows the English word order may not sound wrong by itself, but it will not have the best word order unless it follows the natural order for words as a Cheyenne conversation or other discourse progresses.

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139 The "newsworthiness" concept has been described by Mithun (1987).
140 Or it can be in the second position if the first position is a discourse connector such as naa 'and'.

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Free word order

Linguists often refer to languages such as Cheyenne as free word order (or nonconfigurational) languages. In such languages subject and object nouns, verbs, and sometimes other sentence elements can occur in any order. But what these linguists actually mean by the term free word is that the order of words is not determined by the syntax of the language. Instead, Cheyenne, like many other languages, has word order which is determined by the speech context (known as pragmatics), rather than syntax.

Basic word order and naturalness

Linguists refer to basic word order in languages in terms of the abbreviations S, V, and O, where S = Subject, V = Verb, and O = Object. English is an SVO language because in a typical English sentence the subject comes before the verb and if there is an object it comes after the verb. For instance, if there is a man we've been talking about and he shot a deer we could say what happened in English as "The man shot a deer." "The man" is S (Subject). The verb (V) is "shot". And the O (Object) is "a deer".

Sometimes linguists ask if Cheyenne is an SVO language, or if it has some other basic word order, such as SOV. To answer this question, we must return to the observations just made, that overall Cheyenne word order in sentences is not determined by syntax, but, instead, by speech context (pragmatics). So we really cannot say that Cheyenne has a basic word order such as SVO.

Next, it should be noted that it is rare in Cheyenne for both a subject and object noun to occur with a verb. If you study natural Cheyenne texts, such as those which appear in the Texts section of this book, you will find very few sentences with subject and object nouns along with a verb. So it's basically a moot question to ask what is the basic word order in Cheyenne, in terms of linguistic symbols such as S, V, and O.

It is important for Cheyenne sentences to be grammatically correct as well as natural. So, if you are a Cheyenne speaker and someone asks you to translate an English sentence with both a subject and object noun, hesitate before simply translating the English sentence word for word. For instance, hesitate before translating an English sentence such as "The man saw a deer" to Cheyenne. It is possible to translate this sentence directly to Cheyenne as: Hetane móhvóomóhevóhe váotseváhne. That is a grammatical sentence in Cheyenne. But this sentence would not occur naturally in Cheyenne as often as it might in English.

Instead, in natural Cheyenne, speakers would more likely express the same meaning in more than one sentence. Typically, a Cheyenne speaker would introduce the man in a sentence such as: Hetane mó'ameohatsēhēhe '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 tséxhénóhtsevóómóse
  vého tsé- h- hé- nóhtsevóom -ó -s
  chief CNJ- OBL- PURP- look.for -DIR -3
  na pfx- tns- pv- vta -voice -pro

kásovááheho
kásovááhíh -o
young man -OBV
na -num

tséto'séhevéxahe
  tsé- to'se- he- véxahe -se
  CNJ- PROS- have- have.child-in-law -OBV
  pfx- pv- r- vai -pro

hestónaho
he- htónah -o
3PS- daughter -OBV
pro- na -num

tséto'sevéstoemótse
  tsé- to'se- véstoem -ó -tse -se
  CNJ- PROS- married.to -DIR -OBV -OBV
  pfx- pv- vta -voice -pro -pro

A chief when he went to look for a young man to be his son-in-law, who would marry his daughter.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.002

éxxaemáhé'tánése
There were many tepees.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

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

3ps-very-hungry -IMPERS -FII -RPT
pro-REDUP-vai -fii -sfx -mode

There was great hunger.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

2days-and
pro-na p p

3-days
p

For two days and for three days this young man would disappear.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

3ps-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

apparently
pro-inf-pst-TRL-HABIT-PURP-hunt -NEG.SFX -INF.SFX
mode-tns-dir-pv-pv-vai -sfx -sfx
Apparently he would go to hunt.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.

é'ňōkē'ó'exěśéstse
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.

é'ňōkē'ó'ėsóvăsę̱stse
é- h- ohke- o'ėsóva -sest máhtamahááhe
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.

éxhōhăeeseněhă̱sę̱stę̱
é- h- ho- háešeněhe -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.

néhěšě̱ ame
neněhešé̱ ame
ten pemmican
p né

mó'ňōkămaněstēsēhē̱̱e
mó- h- ohke- manest -é̱ -hé̱ -hé̱
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.

mó'ňōkemęšēhēnōvō̱hē
mó- h- ohke- mé̱ -hé̱ -nō̱ -vo̱ -hé̱
néh- něšē -vō̱ -s
INF- PST- HABIT- eat -NEG.SFX -FTI -3PL -INF.SFX
CJT.PPL- two -3PL -3
mode- tns- pv- vti -sfx -sfx -num -sfx
pfx- vai -num -pro

hevăx̱a̱ho
he- vēxah -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'sē ē'amēhōo'xeváhneséstse hetane
naa nēhē'sē ē- h- ame- hōo'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

tsēheto'honée'tatse ē'amēhneséstse
tsē- heto'honée'tá -tse ē- h- amehné -sest
CNJ- be.at.camp.edge -OBV 3- PST- walk -RPT
pfx- vīi -pro pro- tns- vai -mode

Along the edge of camp he walked.

A Man Who Looked for a Son.in-law.015

vo'estane
vo'estane
person
na

nēmō'otaēvo vého
nē- 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'senȯhtsevóome tsēto'sevéstoemȯhtse
é- to'se- nōhtsevōom -e tsē- to'se- véstoem -ó -ht
3- PROS- look.for -PSV CNJ- PROS- married.to -DIR -3
pro- pv- vta -voice pfx- pv- vta -voice -pro

éxheséstse
é- h- he - sest
3- PST- say -RPT
pro- tns- vai -mode
(this person?) is going to be looked for, someone to marry her," he said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son.in-law.017

éxhetóo'xeváhneséstse
é- h- hetōo'xevá -sest
3- PST- soannounce -RPT
pro- tns- vai -mode

He announced that way.

A Man Who Looked for a Son.in-law.018

vee'e éxho'tánēse
é- h- ho'tá -né -s
A tepee was there in the place-of-honor.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.019

Then they gathered, young men, men.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.020

The young lady was in the place-of-honor.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.021

Many men gathered-came inside.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.022

Many men gathered inside.
Then this young man said to his grandmother.

"Grandmother, you, too, go there!" he told her.

"Go to listen!"

"Go to find out who is going to be son-in-law!" he told her.
A Man Who Looked for a Son

In law.028

“This pemmican, take it along!” he told her.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

In law.029

“Just a little one, make a package!

A Man Who Looked for a Son

In law.030

And there was great hunger.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

In law.031

And then

máhtamáhááhe
Then that old lady also went there.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.032

Then exactly what she had been told, she did it.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.033

When the talking was about over, she came out.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.034

"I'm going to cook for my grandson," she said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.035
She got up.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.036

móhnéxhóehnéhéhe
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

móstatšíseo'ha'enóhēhe
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

hé ne'xhóe
that
pro

tséstao'séshého'vá'xe'se
tsé- h- ta- to'se- é'se- hóva'xe -s
CNJ- OBL- TRL- PROS- already- go out -3
pfx- tns- dir- pv- pv- vai -pro

When she was about to go outside, "Hey!" she said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.039

éxheséstse
hé é- h- he -sest
dey 3- PST- say -RPT
p pro- tns- vai -mode

"Oh! My grandson's ointment, I dropped it," she said.
A Man Who Looked for a Son

She turned around.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

She quickly picked back up that pemmican.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

"Let's see, pass that around!" that chief said.

A Man Who Looked for a Son
A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.045

It was passed around, behold, (it was) pemmican!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.046

That man unwrapped it.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.047

He ate it.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.048

Then he told that old lady.
A Man Who Looked for a Son

A Man Who Looked for a Son

A Man Who Looked for a Son

A Man Who Looked for a Son

A Man Who Looked for a Son

A Man Who Looked for a Son

A Man Who Looked for a Son

A Man Who Looked for a Son

A Man Who Looked for a Son

When the old lady returned, she told her grandson. (Does māhtamāhāhe go with the preceding or following verb??)
You are invited," she told him.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.054

éstaosáanéneghé'ôhtseséstse
é- h- ta- osáane- néhe'ôhsé- sest
3- PST- TRL- so- go there -RPT
pro- tns- dir- pv- vai -mode

néhe kásovááhe
néhe kásovááheh
that young man
pro na
That young man went there.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.055

éstáho'èneséstse
é- h- 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

éhnóhtseséstóesesto vého
é- h- nóhtsést- òé- sest -o vého
3- PST- ask s.o. -INV -RPT -OBV chief
pro- tns- vta -voice -mode -num na
He was asked by the chief.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.057

néhoháeesenéhémése
né- ho- háeesenehe -mé -s
2- very- have.much.food -1/2PL -RPT
pro- REDUP- vai -num -mode
"You (pl) have plenty to eat.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.058

hóxe'anáhtseo'o
hóxe'an -ahtse -o
clean -REFL -IMPV.DEL
vta -sfx -mode
Prepare (lit., clean) yourself!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.059

néhééseeheo'o
néh- hé- éseehe -o
CIS- PURP- move.in -IMPV.DEL
dir- pv- vai -mode
tséhóhe
here
Move in here!

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.060

nénéehove nétavóomâtse
né- néhéohvé né- ta- vôom -atse
2- be the one 2- HORT- choose -1:2
pro- vai pro- pv- vta -voice
tséto'ovéstó̱móhtse
tsé- to'se- véstoem -ó -ht
CNJ- PROS- married.to -DIR -3
pfx- pv- vta -voice -pro

náhtona
na- htónah
1PS- daughter
pro- na

éxhetaesesto
é- h- het -ae -sest -o
3- PST- tell -INV -RPT -OBV
pro- tns- vta -voice -mode -num
You are the one, I select you to marry my daughter," he told him.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.061

é'oseepéhetanóotsèséstse
é- h- osee- phéhetanóotse -sest
3- PST- very- happy quickly - become -RPT
pro- tns- pv- vai -mode

néhe kásovááhe
néhe kásováahéh
that young man
pro na
That young man became very happy.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.062

héhe'e éxeséstse
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'êêhe éhmo'ónátamaaheséstse
naa néhe káse'êêhéh é- h- mo'ónátamahe -sest
and that young woman 3- PST- beautiful.appearance -RPT
p pro na pro- tns- vai -mode
And that young lady was beautiful.

A Man Who Looked for a Son-in-law.064

éstaéváhóo'ôhteséstse
He went back home.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

He told that to his grandmother.

He went with the one who announced.

That man announced.

"Come after it!

Walk toward (me)!

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Come after your food!" the chief was told.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

And then that's how this young man received the young lady who was beautiful.

A Man Who Looked for a Son

That's all.

Word formation
Cheyenne words are often made up of smaller parts (morphemes). These parts are like building blocks.

Noun formation
A noun may consist of a single morpheme. The following nouns cannot be divided into any smaller meaning parts:

ame 'pemmican'
he'e 'woman'
hetane 'man'
hohe 'soup'
šé'še 'duck'
vé'ho'e 'non-Indian'
vo'e 'cloud'

**Prenoun compounds**
A noun may consist of a prenoun plus a noun that can exist as a single word by itself:

ma'aatae-meo'o 'railroad, train' (literally, iron-road)
mo'õhtâe-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'ëškône 'girl' (literally, woman-child)
hetané-ka'ëškône '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:

mõxé'ëstône-mâhêô'o 'school' (literally, writing-house)
amë'ha-ve'ho'e 'pilot' (literally, flying-non-Indian)
homôsé-ve'ho'e 'cook' (literally, cooking-non-Indian)

A noun may consist of an initial, an optional medial, plus a noun final:

éškôse-esë-hotâme 'pig' (literally, sharp-nose-domesticated.animal)
ka'-ëné-hôtame 'bulldog, cat' (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal)
vôhp-ô'ha 'white horse' (literally, white-horse)
to-ôm-äšëšë-stôtse 'soda pop, cold drink' (lit., cool-liquid-drink-NOM)
Mo'õhtâv-åhahtâ-tane 'Blackfeet Indian' (lit., black-foot-person)

**Nominalization**
A noun may be consist of verb stem plus a nominalizer (a suffix that turns a verb into a noun):

ame'ha-htôtse 'airplane' (literally, flying-thing)

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141 Historically, hôtâme referred to a dog. Later, the word oëškëse was used to mean 'dog'. When that happened, hôtâme 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'ënéhôtâme to refer to a cat. They also use the word póëso 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'ëeséhotâme (literally, short-nose-domesticated.animal) for 'cat'. Petter began his work in Oklahoma, before moving to Montana, perhaps Southern Cheyenne have used both ka'ënéhôtâme and ka'ëeséhotâme for a cat.

143 The Cheyenne noun final /-o'há/ descends from a PA final that originally meant 'dog'. Over time, the final came to mean 'horse' in Cheyenne.
mésēhe-stötse 'food' (literally, eating-thing)
ēškōs-ééné- hô 'greyhound' (literally, sharp-face-being)
tsēhe'-ēse-esé- he 'elephant' (literally, long-nose-being)
vovéstomósané-he 'teacher' (literally, teaching-being)
hoéstónēhe-he 'student' (literally, writing-being)

**Verb formation**

As we have already seen in discussion of verbs, Cheyenne verbs can be long, consisting of many morphemes. Independent order verbs typically are made up of a pronominal prefix, optional tense markers, preverbs that have aspectual and adverbial meanings, then a verb stem, then one or more suffixes which typically give information about person, number, and mode.

**Pronominal prefixes**

Pronominal prefixes are high pitched except when they precede the future tense marker:

| Prefix | Meaning                  |
|--------|--------------------------|
| 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**

| Prefix | Meaning                  |
|--------|--------------------------|
| náhtse- | first person + future tense |
| néstse- | 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.

| Verb     | Meaning                  |
|----------|--------------------------|
| Návóómo. | 'I see him', or 'I saw him'. |
| Ênéméne. | 'He's singing', or 'He sang'. |
| Êho'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. [ʃ] preceding [k]
3. ['] preceding a vowel
4. [x] preceding [h]

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144 This is the most general of the Cheyenne nominalizers. It is phonemically /-htot/. It can create either animate or inanimate nous from verbs.

146 The suffix /-hé/ is another animate nominalizer. It seems to have a more specialized meaning than /-htot/ that is difficult to characterize semantically, perhaps something like 'being'. It often acts as a personifier, as in the common word vovéstomósanéhe 'teacher', literally 'teaching-being' or 'teaching-person'.

146 The pronominal prefix é- is omitted with future tense.
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-tståeh'késtahé. You were short.
- É-h-néméne. He sang.
- É-'-a'xaame. He cried.
- É-s-séstáno. He skied.
- É-x-jo'soo'e. He danced.
- É-s-tséstó'esto. He is said to have said this to him (reportative mode).
- É-s-ko'ka'xé'séstse. He is said to have danced (reportative mode).
- É-x-hóhoono. He said that to him (preterit mode).

**Far past tense**

$$RECHECK TO DETERMINE IF /neh-/ WAS IN ERROR AS FAR PAST IN THE EARLIER GRAMMAR??$$

- Ná-néh-vóómo. I saw him a long time ago.
- É-néh-üsehe. He ate a long time ago.
- É-néx-jo'oo'e. He danced a long time ago.

**Future tense**

Future tense is marked by htse-. Instead of their usual high pitch, pronominal prefixes are pronounced with low-pitched vowels preceding future tense. Because the low-pitched vowel precedes /h/, the vowel is also whispered (devoiced). The third person prefix /é-/ is omitted before the future tense marker and then the future tense marker is shortened to tse-. Examples of verbs with the future tense follow:

- Ná-h-tse-mésehe. I shall eat.
- Né-stse-vel'ñešéve! 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.

- Ná-h-ta-vé'háhtse. I will go along.
- Né-sta-évahósevómátse. 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-nex-ho’ehne. He's coming.
- É-ne’t-amoo’kōho. Rain is approaching.
- É-nēs-tsēheta’hāhtse. He threw it toward here (that is, toward the speaker).

Imperative cislocatives

- Nē-h-mēstse! Give it to me!
- Nēx-héstānohtse! Bring it to me!
- Nēs-tsēhe’ooestse! Come here quickly!

**Translocative**

The directional that indicates action away from a speaker is called a translocative. It is spelled ta-.

- É-tā-hémanohe. He went for water.
- É-ta-ēsheta’ēhne ēsē’he. The sun has set.

**Preverbs**

Preverbs give aspectual and adverbial information about the action or state expressed by the verb stem. Preverbs occur near the beginning of verbs, between any tense markers and the verb stem. In the following verbs the preverbs are boldfaced to make them easier to see. Except for the first two sentences, all of these sentences come from stories told by Cheyennes. Sentence 1 is a common way of saying "good-bye" today. Sentence 2 was said in a natural Cheyenne conversation by a fluent speaker who believed he did not speak Cheyenne as well as others. A glottal stop is inserted (epenthetically) after the negative preverb sāa- before anything else that begins with a vowel. This glottal stop is not itself a preverb.

**Examples of verbs with preverbs**

1. Nē-sta-évā-hōse-vōo-mātse.
   2-FUT-TRL-back-again-see-AOAM-INV:1
   I will see you again.

2. Nā-ohkē-sāa-’-onē’seōme-pēhēve-tsēhēst-o’anē-he.
   1-HAB-not-EP-truly-well-Cheyenne-pronounce-NEG
   I truly do not pronounce Cheyenne well.

3. Mō’-ohkē-hēse-éve-ahto-ešenā-hē-he.
   Q-HAB-why-about-bury-lie-NEG-INF147
   That must be why he lies around buried hiding. (The Bat)

4. Tse-nēs-sāa-’-évā-ho’e-anōhe-ohtsē-he.
   FUT-CIS-not-EP-back-arrive-down-go-NEG

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147 Glossing with Q for the inferential prefix and INF for the inferential suffix comes from Sarah Murray (p.c.).
He won't come back down. (The Whiteman and the Indian)

5. É-sta-néšé-hetóse-amé-néhov-ó-sest-o.
   3-FUT-TRL-continue-continually-chase-DIR-RPT-OBV
   It's said he kept on following them.

6. Né-nés-to'sé-hé-héhpóheh-a.
   2-CIS-going.to-PURP-scare-INV
   He is going to come to scare you.

7. Né-to'se-vá'ne-onésé-héhpóheh-a.
   2-going.to-only-try-scare-INV
   He is only going to try to scare you.

8. É-h-ne'-osáane-éé-néšé-to-táha'há-htsé-nó-se.
   3-PST-CIS-commence-about-continue-REDUP-throw.on-FTI-IOAM-RPT
   It's said he began to throw it on.

9. Né-stà-hóse-né-hešë-mét-áne.
   2-FUT-TRL-again-ANA-REL-give.s.t.-PSV
   It will again be given to you this way.

10. É-s-tà-éva-né-hešë-ho'-hóo'-ohtsé-sest-o.
    3-PST-TRL-back-ANA-manner-arrive-home-go-RPT-3PL
    It's said they arrived back home that way.

11. Tse-méo-hóe-évo'soo'e.
    FUT-morning-out-play
    He will come out to play early in the morning.

12. tsé-s-tà-hósé-hé-manoe-se
    CNJ-PST-TRL-again-PURP-fetch.water-3
    when she went again to get water

13. Mó-nés-tóněšé-hóso-sóhp-o'ehé-tó-hané-he.
    Q-CIS-how-again-through-roll-motion-FII-NEG.II-INF
    Somehow it must have rolled through again.

14. Ná-to'se-vá'ne-tšéške'-mé'ést-á.
    3-going.to-just-little-explain-IOAM
    I'm just going to explain it a little.

15. tsé-ohke-ée-méhae-ne'étam-ése
    CNJ-HAB-about-used.to-depend.on-2PL
    what you (plural) used to depend on
16. É-s-ta-éšé-hetóse-ma'xe-mé’estom–ősane–sèstse.
3-PST-TRL-already-big-explain-DETRANS-RPT
It's said he was constantly explaining a lot. (Sweet Medicine)

17. É-h-ne'osáane-másó–ame–méohé–sest–o.
3-PST-CIS-commence-all.group–along–run–RPT–3PL
It's said they all started running.

18. E-s-tá-xamae-másó-éšé–ho'ó't–ov–áhtsé–sest–o.
3-PST-TRL-simply-all.group–in–pile–FTA–RECI#-RPT–3PL
It's said they simply all piled in on each other.

19. É-x-he'ké-hešé-hosó–hné–hoo'o.
3-PST-slowly-REL-backwards–walk–PRET
Once upon a time he slowly went backwards.

20. É-s-ta-éšé-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-'ohké-sáa–sé'hove–évá–ho'–éhne–he–hoo'o.
3-PST-HAB-suddenly–back–arrive–walk–NEG–PRET
Once upon a time he would suddenly not come back.

23. Ná-ta-móne–éva–asé–hóo'–ôhtsé–me.
1-TRL–soon–back–start–home–go–1PL
We soon started to go back home.

Preverbs list
Here are some of the most commonly occurring preverbs. In this list a vowel which is in parentheses ( ) will occur if the next morpheme begins with a vowel.

| Preverb     | Meaning                            |
|-------------|------------------------------------|
| áahtsé'     | simultaneously                     |
| áhane–      | extremely                          |
| a'ene–      | forever                            |
| a'me–       | along                              |
| anóhe–      | down                               |
| a'ise–      | start                              |
| e'(e)–      | upward                             |
| e'se–       | afraid to                          |
| émoose–     | secretly                           |
| éne–        | end, stop                          |
| ése–        | in, into                           |
| éše–        | already                            |
| éva–        | back                               |
| háanae–     | heavy, respected                   |
| háe–        | much                               |
| hávėséve–   | badly                              |
| he–         | have                               |
| hé–         | for the purpose of                 |
| Preverb     | Meaning                   | Preverb     | Meaning                   |
|-------------|---------------------------|-------------|---------------------------|
| hehpe-      | more                      | no'hé-      | aside                     |
| he'ame-     | up                        | nó'se-      | over                      |
| he'aná-     | easily                    | nonaháxé-  | might                     |
| he'ke-      | slowly, softly            | ohke-       | regularly                 |
| he'kone-    | hard                      | o'ome-      | bypass                    |
| heóme-      | too much                  | ó'ose-      | mistakenly                |
| hése-       | for such reason           | onáxé-      | might                     |
| he'se-      | manner                    | oné'seóme-  | truly                     |
| hetóeve-    | in evening                | onéése-     | 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                   | péhévé-     | good, well                |
| hoove-      | mistakenly                | sáa-        | not                       |
| hóse-       | again                     | sé'e-       | down into                 |
| hóxe'e-     | cleanly                   | sé'hove-    | suddenly                  |
| kánome-     | although                  | sétové-     | middle                    |
| mae-        | all over                  | sóhpe-      | through                   |
| máhe-       | all                       | só'(e)-     | still                     |
| máhove-     | tiredly                   | taa'vé-     | at night                  |
| ma'heóne-   | sacredly                  | tae-        | exactly                   |
| má'se-      | complete                  | ta'e-       | disappear                 |
| ma'xe-      | big, much                 | taome-      | by self                   |
| máso'       | suddenly, in a group      | táve-       | slightly                  |
| méhae-      | used to                   | táxe-       | on top                    |
| me' -       | should                    | to'se-      | going to                  |
| mé'(e)-     | appear                    | tónéše-     | how?, somehow             |
| méo-        | early morning             | tôxe-       | along the edge            |
| móne-       | recently                  | tse-        | referring forward         |
| ne-         | referring back            | tšēhe'se-   | never                     |
| neh-        | toward, cislocative       | tšēške'-    | little                    |
| nésta-      | previously                | váhtome-    | nevertheless              |
| nēše-       | continue                  | vá'ne-      | just                      |
| nēšená-     | while                     | vá'oše-     | complete                  |
| nēševe-     | fast                      | vé'(e)-     | prohibit                  |
| nétahévé-   | differently               | véše-       | with                      |
| nōhtove-    | know how to               | xae-, xamae | simply, ordinarily        |
| no' -       | also, included            | xanove-     | straight                  |

**Aspectual preverbs**

Some preverbs are primarily aspectual in nature, including:

- ase-
- éne-
éše-
méhae-
hetóse-
móne-
nèše-
ohke-
ósáane-
má’se-
nonáháxe- / onáháxe- / onáxe-
to’se-

Examples with aspectual preverbs
Máheameóestse nèhéno é- médec- ‘éevó’éstanéheve. All Runner used to live there. (1987:182)
Tse-nonáháxe-pe’pe’eotse. There might be trouble. (1987:27)
É’-osáane-asénoovósesto. He began to sing to them. (1980:45:18)

Path preverbs
Other preverbs indicate a path for the action of the verb:
anòhe-
e’(e)-
ése-
he’ame-
hóe-
o’hé-
s’é-
sé’hove-
sóhpe-
só’(e)-
táxe-
tóxe-

Examples with path preverbs

Quantity preverbs
Some preverbs communicate information about quantity and intensity:

áhane-
háe-
hehpe-
heóme-
máhe-
ma’xe-
osee-
Examples with quantity preverbs

Quality preverbs
Other preverbs focus on quality:

hávéséve-
hóxe'e-
pēhéve-
véhóne-
xae-, xamae-

Examples with quality preverbs

Temporal preverbs
Some preverbs focus on time:

a'ene-
hetóeve-
méo-
taa'éve-

Examples with temporal preverbs

Important preverb combinations
Some combinations of preverbs coalesce (contract together):
ta- + to'se- > tao'se-
Tšéške'e né-tao'se-vá'néhóhta'haovatsénóvo naměšéme. 'I'm going to tell you (pl) a little about my (great) grandfather.' (1987:17)

Certain combinations of preverbs communicate unique information about aspect and modality:

éšé-hó'ko-: of necessity
É-éšé-hó'ko-méšehe. 'He HAD to eat.' (for example, he said he wasn't going to eat, but I told him to stay and eat, so he had to eat).

éšé-to'sé-: on the verge of
Mó-éšé-to'sé-hestsevévéšéhéhe. 'He's about to grow horns.' (fig. =he's "crazy")

me'-hé-: emphatic
Né-me'-hé-vonetáno'továtse! 'I would NEVER forget you!'

me'-hó'ke-: should have
Né-me'-hó'ke-mé’éstomeve. 'You should have told me.'

oh-to'se-: almost but failed
Ná-oh-to'sé-hovánee'e. 'I almost died.'

sáa-tónēše-: cannot, unable to
Ná-sáa-tónēše-tséhe'ôhtšéhe. 'I am not able to go (there).'
És-sáa-tónēše-éne-e'kó'o'ôhesêstse. 'It's said he just couldn't stop looking out.' (1987:298)

sáa-tšēhe'se-: never
Né-sáa-tšēhe'se-vóomatséhe. 'I never see you.' (= I haven't seen you in ages)

tó'e-ase-: almost
Nhóho po ehe'se'hâna; mó-tó'e-ase-ávoonéhéhe. 'He ate up absolutely all of his food; he must have been (almost) starved.'

tó'-tæe-
tónēšè-hé-
vé'-hè-
$$OTHERS??
$$FULL VERB EXAMPLES??

**Verb stem formation**

Verb stems are the central core of verbs. Verb stems are built from roots, initials, medials, and finals. Even though pronominal prefixes are not part of verbs stems, they will be included in our examples, following, so that there are complete verbs which may be pronounced as words.

**Roots**

A verb stem may consist of just a root. A root cannot be divided into any smaller meaning parts, nor does it need any other parts to complete its meaning. A root can stand alone as a complete verb, as long as it has any required grammatical affixes, such as person prefixes and suffixes. Here are some Cheyenne roots:

| root      | meaning       |
|-----------|---------------|
| -a'xaame  | cry           |
| -ase      | leave         |
|/--émá/    | take a sweat  |
|-émohóne   | hunt          |
| -he'ke    | be tender     |
|/--hoe/    | be at         |
| -ho'ahe   | want          |
|/-ho'sóe/  | dance         |
|/-homosé/  | cook          |
|/-hotse'óhe/ | work     |
|/-mae/    | bark (of a dog) |
| -mane     | drink         |
| -mésehe   | eat           |
|/--mó'é/   | invite to a meal |
|/-naa'é/   | doctor        |
Examples of verbs with roots

| Verb      | Example           |
|-----------|-------------------|
| /-nae/    | die               |
| /-néé/    | be standing       |
| /-némené/ | sing              |
| /-néne/   | nurse (of a baby) |
| -nomáhtse | steal             |
| /-ohaé/   | arise             |
| /-sévanó/ | skate, slide      |
| /-to'é/   | get up (from bed) |
| /-vée/    | camp              |

Examples of verbs with roots

| Verb      | Example           |
|-----------|-------------------|
| 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       | Meaning                |
|---------------|---------------|------------------------|
| á'(k)av-      | droop         | én-                    |
| áhan-         | extreme       | ést-                   |
| áv-           | fall over     | éstov-                 |
| a'e'-         | separate (be) | éš-/éx-                |
| a'enó'n-      | dark          | éškos-                 |
| a'k-          | round         | év-                    |
| a'kón-        | squat         | éxov-                  |
| a't-/a's'-    | accidentally  | e'(k)os-               |
| ae'ta'é-      | face          | e'-                    |
| áestom-       | false         | e's-                   |
| ahko'-        | roll          | e't-/e's-              |
| ahto(h)-      | under         | e'xov-                 |
| am-           | along         | há-                    |
| ames(t)-      | crosswise     | háahk-                 |
| an-           | down          | háahp-                 |
| ane'k-        | prick         | hánoht-/hános-         |
| ase(t)-       | away/start    | hávéšév-               |
| axe-          | scratch       | hahé-                  |
| é'(k)om-      | oily          | hahp-                  |
| é'-           | break         | hé'hév-                |
| ém(ooh)t-     | secretly      | hé'hešk-               |

Ends

| End            | Meaning       |
|----------------|---------------|
| end            | into          |
| into           | blow          |
| blow           | already/finish|
| already/finish | pointed       |
| pointed        | about         |
| about          | warm          |
| warm           | turn over     |
| turn over      | up            |
| up             | dress         |
| dress          | fear          |
| fear           | peel          |
| peel           | much          |
| much           | long          |
| long           | small (very)  |
| small (very)   | large         |
| large          | back (head posture) |
| back (head posture) | bad    |
| bad            | rub           |
| rub            | fasten        |
| fasten         | suck          |
| suck           | wrinkled      |
| wrinkled       |
mano' - together
touch
appear
ha'ry
appear
ma'h/ma'h
dig
exchange
gather
new
black
beauti'ful
angry/mean
lumpy/curdled
bunched
sort
brush
wither/stale
supreme/best
catch
wild
energetic
avoid/forbid
numb
clear/transparent
extract/doff
stand/arise
slanted
circular/revolve
two
different
four
wipe
cover/obstruct
tight fit
heat/hot
wash
rapid
dull
cute
energy/heat
over
hide
approach
dried up/brown
slow/late
include
aside
one/alone
nohtóv -
nomon-
noné'k-
nonótov-
nonom-
noón-
nook-
ór-
ó'oh-
ó'os-
ó'x-
ónést-
ónéš-
o'a-
o'á-
o'hém-
o'om-
o'otó-
oéhnov-
oév-
oes-
ohas-
omóm-
oné'xov-
oné(st)-
onéha'-
oném-
onéně-
onésova-
onéstahk-
one'seóm-
onó-
ono'-
ononés(t)-
ononov-
oo(k)-
oo'há-
otá'tav-
ota-
ótó'xov-
óv-
óvá'k-
óvána'xa-
óváne'-
oxés(t)-
páháv-
páho(n)-
know how
drowsy
smeared/streaked
hurry
quiver
brown (faded)
omit
dry
mistake
split/half
open
pain
sharp
miss
scarce
bypass
full
patient
scabby
discharge
shine
cry/tear
peel (thin surface)
test
untie
twisted
break/damage
apart
round/circular
ture/reall
ashore
proper
confused
confused
bare
examine
blue
pierce through
skill
prostrate
round (formed)
peace
stab
side/other way
good
stuck to
pa'(k)- lump/knob/hump
páhpon- flat on top
pano'- spread on
pé(n)- grind
péhp- loose/shaggy
pèhév- good
pe'pe'- rough/troubled
pó'(k)- gray
pó'- explode/pop
pó(n)- hit/slap
póh- swell
pónoma'- uncovered
po'- off of
popé'- rough
sé'- into/center
sé'h-/sé's- awake
sé'ho'- stake in
sé'se(n)- scrape
sé(hp)- stretch
séet- same
sét-/séš- remain
sétov- middle
sóhkom- slender
sóhp- through
sóv- diminish
šé(š)/-šé(x)- free
táh-/táx- top
tátse- antagonize
táv- goofy
ta'- disappear
ta'ov- angry
ta'p- weak
ta'ta'- open/unlock
taeváh- measure
tähpe'- big
tam- stubby
tó'èses(t)- long
tó'h- stop
tó'hov- between
tó'kes(t)- short
tó'om- steady/firm
tó'ov- for good
tó(n)ov- thick
tóhp- poke
tóhto(n)- flat
tóhtom- aimless
tónet-/tônéš- how?
tóoxe'- copy
tóv- stubborn
tóva- imitate/pattern
tóx- edge/around
tóhovó- gap (cf. slit)
to(n)- cold
toést- string (e.g. bead)
toe(n)- hold
tóhkom- few
tomóht-/tomóš- raise
toox- low
tovó'k- slit (cf. gap)
tséo'- sprawl
tseva(n)- dusty
tséhés(t)- Cheyenne
tséhe'ès(t)- long
tšéhe'kès(t)- short
tšéške'- small
vá'oht-/vá'ós- complete
vé'h- contain
vé'ke- sweet
vé'ohk- bitter/sting/pain
vé's- rapid
véh- chiefly
véhpor- empty/hollow
tés(t)- disagreeable/cross
vés(t)- with
ve'ev- concave
vó'(k)om- white
vó'ho'- light/shine
vó'n- light
vó(hp)- light (color)
vóeše- rejoice
vóhk- bend
vóho'oš- discard
vóhpon- strict
vóon- all night
vós- hole/depression
vóvo'k- naked
von- remove
vón- lift
vovēh- scarred
vovó'h- spotted (white)
vovó- first/ahead
xá'xán- massage
xanov-  straight
xo'-  salve (put on)
xo'xon-  dent
Initials and medials
We will study medials more thoroughly shortly. A verb stem may consist of an initial plus a medial:

É-momóht-óhtá. He has diarrhea. (lit., he-move-stomach)
É-nèše’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-o’o’e. The snow is deep. (lit., it-deep-snow-lie)
É-am-óov-ä’a. He moved the water with his foot. (lit., he-along-water-by-foot)
Ná-to-óom-án-a. I cooled the liquid by hand. (lit., I-cool-water-by-hand-IOAM)

Medials
Medials are noun-like meaning parts that are included in some verbs. Many body parts have medial forms in Cheyenne. Sometimes the spelling of a body part medial is unrelated to the spelling of the noun for that same body part. Some other things have medial forms, as well. Some medials have no noun counterpart.

Body part medials

| meaning       | medial | noun       |
|---------------|--------|------------|
| ankle         | -nóna  | honono     |
| arm           | -na’evá| ma’ahtse   |
| back          | -’pa’oná| ma’pa’o    |
| belly         | -ásé   | matonése   |
| blood         | -ma’emá| ma’e       |
| breast, udder | -tanahá| mataná     |
| calf          | -sevá  | hésevo     |
| ear           | -’está | máhtovoo’otse |
| elbow         | -htsé’ooná| máhtse’oo’o |
| eye           | -’éxané| ma’exa     |
| face          | -éné   | -----      |
| finger        | -(hk)osé| mo’èško    |
| foot / feet   | -hahtá | -----      |
| hair          | -ovésé, -a’é | me’ko |

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148 Ma’ahtse includes the hand and forearm.
| Part       | Meaning              | Example                |
|------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| hand       | -he'oná              | I twisted my ankle.    |
| head       | -htséá, -a'é         | I fell and broke my leg.|
| heart      | -htáhá               | He has a cute face.    |
| hip        | -chéoná              | He has a red nose from the cold. |
| leg        | -(hk)óhtá            | Wash your hands!       |
| mouth      | -ahtse(ná)           | He has cramps in his arms. |
| nape       | -hané'é              | He has cramps in his thigh. |
| navel, umbilical cord | -hta'né | He has cramps in his thigh. |
| neck       | -notová              | He has a black dirty neck. (lit., he-crowlike-neck) |
| penis      | -ohosé               | He has long arms.      |
| nose       | -esé                 | He has cramps in his thigh. |
| stomach, abdomen, bowels | -ohtá | He has cramps in his thigh. |
| testicle   | -ta'xevá             | He has a black dirty neck. (lit., he-crowlike-neck) |
| thigh      | -nómá                | He has long arms.      |
| throat     | -éstononá            | His ears stick out.    |
| tongue     | -tanevá              | He has thrush. (lit., he-white-tongue) |
| tooth      | -onené               | I punched him in the head. |
| vagina     | -ahá                 | He has a big belly.    |

**Examples of verbs with body part medials**

Body part medials are boldfaced in the following verbs:

- **Nánémó-noná-otse.** I twisted my ankle.
- **Náéś'-škóhtá-xe.** I fell and broke my leg.
- **Énéxóós-éne.** He has a cute face.
- **Éma'e-esé-vose.** He has a red nose from the cold.
- **Néš'e-šé-he'ōná-hťse!** Wash your hands!
- **Éhese-na'eva-otse.** He has cramps in his arms.
- **Éhese-nomá-otse.** He has cramps in his thigh.
- **Éoókheve-notóva.** He has a black dirty neck. (lit., he-crowlike-neck)
- **Étsēhe'se-na'eva.** He has long arms.
- **Étotšēške'e-ēsta.** His ears stick out.
- **Évóhpe-tanēva.** He has thrush. (lit., he-white-tongue)
- **Nápóe-stséá-hno.** I punched him in the head.
- **Étahpe'-ase.** He has a big belly. (lit., he-dry-bowels)
- **Éó'-ōhta.** He is constipated. (lit., he-dry-bowels)
- **Éhéveo-tanahá-no'hāme.** He's milking. (lit., he-squeeze-udder-livestock).
- **Náexové-háltá-ho'he.** I'm warming my feet.(lit., I-warm-foot-by.heat)
- **Éhēš-konené'-o.** He (especially a dog) is showing his teeth (for example, when snarling at someone).

Néstsevé'hetsēhēno éše'he! Néstsematse-ōse. 'Don't point at the sun (or moon)! You'll get an infected finger.'

Taa'èva néstsevé'novo'ehotséme! Méstaa'e nēstseném-áhtsená-o'haēvo. 'Don't eat outside at night! A ghost will give you Bell's palsy (lit., crooked mouth).'

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149 Rarely used as a noun.
Other medials

| meaning       | medial | noun        |
|---------------|--------|-------------|
| ground, land  | -ómá'  | ho'          |
| husband       | -éhamá| naéhame\(^{150}\) |
| snow          | -één   | hést’a’se    |
| strand        | -ón(e) | -----       |
| water, liquid | -óom   | mahpe        |
| wood          | -ó'(e) | -----       |
| wife          | -'evá  | náhtse’eme\(^{151}\) |

Examples of verbs with other medials

Ée'-ómá'-o'e. It's upward sloped ground.
Évóhp-een-oo'e. The ground is covered with white snow.
Éanoh-óné-áná. He lowered it with a rope.
Éto-óom-aše'se. He's drinking a cool liquid.
Évon-ó'é-ma. He was lost in thick bushes.
Énéše-'éva. He has two wives.

Finals

Finals are the last meaning part of many verb stems before any grammatical suffixes occur referencing person, number, animacy, obviation, and mode. Finals can be categorized into two groups, concrete finals and abstract finals.

Concrete finals

Concrete finals specify what kind of an instrument, position, or action was used to carry out what the verb, as a whole refers to, such as whether the action was done by hand, foot, mouth, heat, cutting, standing, sitting, lying down, flying, or running. Here are some common concrete finals in Cheyenne:

Instrumental finals

Instrumental finals tell what kind of an instrument was used to perform the action of the verb:

| 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).
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)
Étsēške'-óóva. It shrunk from washing. (lit., it-small-by.water)
Éta'p'-ose. He gets cold easily. (lit., he-weak-by.cold)
Éhe'kon-ōhta. It’s frozen. (lit., it-hard.by.cold)
Návon-ahō'h-a. I burned it up. (lit., I-remove-by.heat)
Énomon-e'hāna. He fell asleep eating (lit., he-drowsy-eat)
Nápéhév-ém-o. I spoke well of him. (lit., I-well-by.speaking-him)

Positional finals

Positional finals indicate a position or posture in which the action of a verb is performed:

| 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-oéstá. It’s noon. (lit., it-middle-hang)
Éov-ēš-e. He went to bed. (lit., he-prostrate-lie)
Návéhp-ēš-emo. I emptied him (e.g. a jug; lit., I-empty-lie-him)
Éháóéná-ōo'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        | -aséš'e |
| eat          | -e'haná |
| fall         | -a'ó    |
| flow         | '-sevó  |
| fly          | -e'há   |
| go           | -ohtsé  |
| housework    | -mosé   |
| jerk         | -a'xe   |
Examples of verbs with action finals

| Verb            | Meaning                                          |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 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)  |
| Énēhē-mōse.     | She does housework quickly. (lit. he-quickly-do.housework) |
| Éanōhe-'sēvo.   | It's flowing down. (lit., it-down-flow)          |
| Éhahpe-nó'e.    | She's sewing. (lit., she-fasten-sew)             |
| Námā'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:

| Verb             | Meaning          |
|------------------|------------------|
| Épēhév-ahe.      | He is good.      |
| Épēhév-a'e.      | It is good       |
| Éhe'kot-ahe.     | He is a quiet person. |
Éotá’tav-\textit{ahe}. He's blue.
Éotá’tav-\textit{o}. It's blue.
Éhe’kon-\textit{ahe}. He's hard.
Éhe’kon-\textit{o}. It's hard.
Éméhoht-\textit{ahe}. He is a loving person.
Éméhó-\textit{sáne}. He loves.
Évovéstom-\textit{ósáné}. He's teaching
Éáaht-\textit{ósáné}. He listens (to people).
Émásetsést-\textit{ósáné}. He welcomes (people).
Éháoen-\textit{htove}. There is praying.
Éméhoht-\textit{ahe}. He's hard.
Éhe'kon-\textit{o}. It's hard.
Éméhó-\textit{sáne}. He loves.
Évovéstom-\textit{ósáné}. He's teaching
Éáaht-\textit{ósáné}. He listens (to people).
Émásetsést-\textit{ósáné}. He welcomes (people).
Éháoen-\textit{htove}. There is praying.
Éháoen-\textit{htove}. There is praying.
Éhe'kon-\textit{o}. It's hard.
Éméhó-\textit{sáne}. He loves.
Évaht-\textit{ahe}. He is a loving person.
Éevomóhtahe. I feel good (physically).
Éháoen-\textit{htove}. There is praying.
Éháoen-\textit{htove}. There is praying.
Éháoen-\textit{htove}. There is praying.

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 heš- 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-\textsuperscript{152} performs the same anaphoric discourse function as does the heš-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

\textbf{Examples with relative roots}

Oóxésta ná-\textit{hesta}. 'Same as always, that's how I am.'
Névé'-né-\textit{hešéve}! 'Don't do that!'
"Nápéhévomóhtahe," é-\textit{hevoo'ó}.\textsuperscript{153} "I’m feeling good," that’s what he said.
é-\textit{héso} ‘it's that way’

\textbf{Examples with the relative preverb}

Kovááhe ná-\textit{heše}-véhe. 'Youngman, that’s how I am called (named).'
Täháohé hákó’e tósá’e hoháá’èse móstá-\textit{hešé}-hétóo’èhehevóhe. 'Far away somewhere that's where they were taken to prison.' (1987:185)

\textbf{Examples with the relative initial}

Mónáoseeháeanàhêhe; náhahpo ná-\textit{heš}-ë’hâna. 'I must have been very hungry; everything,

\textsuperscript{152} The pronunciation heš- is used before the "e" vowel; het- is used before "a" and "o".
\textsuperscript{153} The verb of saying in quote margins functions as a relative root.
that's what I ate.'

ná-{**het**}-áhtomóne 'I heard (it) that way'

é-{**het**}-óhta'hāne 'he told the story that way.'

'**have**' stems

he- **$\text{DEVELOP THIS SECTION OR COMBINE IT WITH THE PREVIOUS SECTION ON 'have' stems UNDER AI VERBS}$**

**Instrumentals**

Instrumentals are language forms that indicate the tools or means used to do actions. Cheyenne has two ways of expressing that someone is doing something "with" or "by means of" something:

1. Instrumental preverb vé'se-
2. Instrumental suffix --vá

Ná-vé'se-mésehe ane'kóhomó'héstótse. I ate with a fork.
Námésehe ane'kóhomó'héstó-vá. I ate with a fork.

**$\text{ARE THE EXAMPLES FROM THE ORIGINAL EDITION OF THE BOOK NATURAL ENOUGH TO INCLUDE?? TRY TO INCLUDE SOME NATURAL EXAMPLES FROM TEXTS BELOW.}$**

**Instrumental preverb vé'se-**

The preverb vé'se- is used to indicate that the action or state of a verb was accomplished or reached by means of something.

Návé'se-ooma káhámáxe. ?? He hit me with a stick.

Ho'évohkôtse ná-vé'se-hámóhtahéotsë. The meat made me sick.
Kokóhéáxa ná-vé'se-hámóhtahéotsenótse. The chicken (animate) made me sick. **$$\text{IS THIS A NATURAL EXAMPLE??}$$**

**Instrumental suffix --vá**

The suffix /--vá/\(^{154}\) marks a noun which is used to perform some action.

Náoooma káhamáxhé-vá. He hit me with a stick.
Náá'taxestse mátšéské-vá. I accidentally cut myself with a knife.

**Use of both the instrumental preverb and suffix**

It is possible for both the instrumental preverb and instrumental suffix to be used in the same sentence: **$$\text{HOW NATURAL IS THIS??}$$**

Ná-vé'se-oó'xoemáháne hóhkóxé-vá. I chopped wood with an ax. **$$\text{RECHECK}$$**

**Other examples**

Náoo'xoemáháne hóhkóxéva. I chopped wood with an ax.
Návé'seoó'xoemáháne 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 nápenóha ho’honáéva. I ground ?? meat with a rock.
Máhaemenótse nápenóhanótse ho’honáéva. I ground corn with a rock.
Máhaemenótse návé’šepénóhanótse ho’honáéva. I ground corn with a rock.

Benefactives

Cheyenne verbs can indicate that an action was done for the benefit of someone. There are several TA verb endings which can express such a benefactive meaning.

-vomotah 'for the benefit of'

The TA final –vomotah expresses a benefactive meaning:

| Náháóéna | I prayed |
| Náháoenavomotāho | I prayed for him |
| Néháoenavomotaahtse | I prayed for you |
| Néháoenavomotatsemeno | We (exclusive) prayed for you (sg/pl). |

-vomotah can also express a substitutive meaning, which is a kind of benefactive meaning. A substitutive meaning communicates the idea that someone does something in place of someone else.

| Náhotse’óhevomotāho | I worked for him (that is, I worked in his place). |

The English sentence "I worked for him" is ambiguous in that it can mean that I worked in his place. Or, it can also mean that I worked for someone to 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’óto'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. |
| Nánéméoovo. | I sang for him (benefactive). |
| Nánémoeva. | He sang for me (benefactive). |
| Náhonóhta. | I baked it. |
| Náhonóhtoméovo. | 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:

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155 Corn is referred to as a grammatical plural in Cheyenne.
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)
- Éhetótemóho. 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. REVISI 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
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):

| Demonstrative | Description            |
|---------------|------------------------|
| tsé'tóhe      | this (animate)         |
| hétóhe        | this (inanimate)       |
| tá'tóhe       | that (animate)         |
| há'tóhe       | that (inanimate)       |

Demonstratives can modify a noun which they precede:

| Demonstrative | Description            |
|---------------|------------------------|
| tsé'tóhe      | this child             |
| hétóhe        | these houses           |
| tá'tóhe       | that horse             |
| há'tóhe        | that house             |

Demonstratives can stand alone, referring to something which is not overtly mentioned by name:

| Demonstrative | Description            |
|---------------|------------------------|
| tsé'tóhe      | this one (animate)     |
| hétóhe        | 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.

| Demonstrative | Description                                      |
|---------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| 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**

| Indefinite Pronoun | Description            |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| hová'èhe            | something, nothing     |
| hovánee'e           | no one                 |
| nevá'eséstse        | someone                |
| nevá'èsesto         |                        |
| néséhoo'o           |                        |
néséhoono
nésévooho
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
tóne'še
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
anòheto below
ehe'ama up
heama side
táxeto top
tóxeha edge
Epistemic particles

Epistemic particles are important for communicating how Cheyenne speakers relate to what they are saying. They are especially useful in conversation as Cheyenne interact with each other. They are to a dialogue something like what seasoning is to food. Without these particles Cheyenne utterances would be less flavorful. Following are a number of these particles, with attempts to translate them to English. The late linguist Robert Longacre referred to particles like these as "mystery particles". That is an good label for particles which are so important to a discourse, yet are sometimes mysteriously difficult to analyze and define.

Exclamatory particles

Exclamatory particles express strong feelings, typically of surprise or amazement. Cheyenne exclamatory particles traditionally have different pronunciations for females and males. Cheyenne exclamatory particles function like English interjections.
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

| Emphatic Particle | Meaning          |
|-------------------|------------------|
| ameto             | as time goes on  |
| anōheto           | down             |
| hehpeto           | later            |
| hōseto            | again            |
| onē'séómeto       | truly            |
| sōhpeto           | through          |
| táxeto            | on top           |

Examples with emphatic particles

hehpeto tsé'éšeméose Tsėhe'ėsta'ėhe 'after the battle with Long Hair (Custer)' (1987:59)

Naa nëhe'se hóseto, "Amēške 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: nëšéé'èstse, etc.)

Cheyennes usually teach children Cheyenne numbers in bilingual school programs. They teach children to count in Cheyenne, since they, the teachers, were taught to count in English when they were in school. But it is likely that number counting was never a natural Cheyenne activity--and it probably is not a natural activity for learning to speak English, either. And it is questionable how useful reciting numbers is for learning to converse in Cheyenne.

If you are a Cheyenne language teacher, I would encourage you to teach children numbers in natural ways, rather than teaching them a list of numbers and asking them to recite them. For instance, you might show them three balls and ask them, in Cheyenne, of course, how many balls there are. Ask them how many times they have played hand games. Teach them to ask how many months old a baby is and teach them how to give right answers to such a question.

Try to avoid teaching any lists of words, whether they are lists of number, colors, or animals. Speakers of any language do not normally recite lists of words. Instead, people naturally use words as they experience life. Try to remember how you were taught to understand and speak Cheyenne, and then try to teach that same way to children in Cheyenne language programs. The main point is: Make language teaching natural. Just keep speaking in Cheyenne to children, just as parents speak any language to their children. Parents keep talking to their children even though their children don't understand every word right away. But by repeating words and sentences over and over when it is the right time to say them in natural speech contexts, children begin to understand the words, whether it is "Don't do that!" in English or its equivalent "Névé'néhešévé!" 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.

| Number  | Pronunciation           |
|---------|-------------------------|
| 1       | na'ëstse                |
| 2       | neše                    |
| 3       | na'he                   |
| 4       | neve                    |
| 5       | noho                    |
| 6       | naesohto                |
| 7       | nésohto                 |
| 8       | na'nohto                |
| 9       | sóohto                  |
| 10      | máhtohto                |
| 11      | (máhtóhtó)hóhtânëstse    |
| 12      | (máhtóhtó)hóhtânëshe    |
| 20      | nésö’e                  |
| 21      | nésö’e hóhtânëstse      |
| 22      | nésö’e hóhtânëshe       |
| 23      | nésö’e hóhtânëhe        |
| 30      | na'nö’e                 |
| 35      | na’nö’e hóhtânnoho      |
| 40      | névö’e                  |
| 50      | nöhöno’ë                |
| 60      | naesóhtöhnö’e           |
| 70      | nésóhtöhnö’e            |
| 80      | na’ñohtöhnö’e           |
| 90      | sóohtöhnö’e             |
| 100     | no’ká máhtóhtöhnö’e ??  |
Examples of numbers of things

- na’éstse hetane: one man
- na’éstse kahámáxe: one stick
- neše máheonótse: two houses
- neve he’eo’o: four women
- noho ka’éskóneho: five children
- naesohto póesono: six cats
- nésó’e mo’kéhanótse: twenty shoes

Multiplicative numbers

Multiplicative numbers tell how many times some action was done. This set of numbers end with -a for 1-5 and -ha for 6-10.

- no’ka: once
- nexa: twice
- na’ha: 3 times
- neva: 4 times
- nóhona: 5 times
- naesohtoha: 6 times
- nésóhtoha: 7 times
- na’hóhtoha: 8 times
- sóohtoha: 9 times
- máhtóhtoha: 10 times
- (mahtóhtoh)hóhtahnoko: 11 times
- (mahtóhtoh)hóhtahnexa: 12 times
- nésó’e: 20 times (same pronunciation as for 20 things)
- no’ka máhtóhtohnó’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’estóva ‘one step length’ (lit., ‘once by step’; this is approximately one yard)
3. nexa hámóhtséhéstóva tsénéhe’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 náhoxéhéšéva.?? 'Four times I pledged to put on a Sun Dance.’

Numbers of groups

These numbers tell how many groups there are. A group can be a pair, a band, etc. A group number is composed of a number stem plus the group suffix /-óvé/.

- nó’kóvé: one group
- nésóvé: two groups
- ná’nóvé: three groups
- névóvé: four groups
- nóhónóvé: five groups
- naesohtohnóvé: six groups
nésòhtóhnóvé seven groups
na'nóhtóhnóvé eight groups
sóóhtóhnóvé nine groups
mántóhtóhnóvé ten groups

Examples of numbers of groups
nésóvé mo'kékhanótse two pairs of shoes
névévé xamaevoréstaneo'o four tribes of Indians
níóhónóvé nótráxeo'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.

Example of numbers of days

| Number Preverb | Days          |
|----------------|---------------|
| no'kéé'éše     | one day\(^{156}\) |
| néšéé'éše      | two days      |
| na'heé'éše     | three days    |
| névéé'éše      | four days     |
| nóhonéé'éše    | five days     |

Examples in sentences:
Névéé'éše náévohó'ehohtse. 'I returned four days ago.'
Névéé'éše móñnéma'méóhehévóhe. '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:

| Number Preverb | Number |
|----------------|--------|
| 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-néšé-énó'tse. It's the second day of the week.
Nána'he-enó'tse. I camped three nights.
É-na'he-némeneo'o. There are three of them singing.
É-névé-énó'tse. It was four overnights ago.
Vé'ho'éotó'a tse-névé-óhta. The cow will have four legs. (Sweet Medicine's prophecy)
É-nóhone-aénáma. He is five years old.

\(^{156}\) That is, an overnight.
Number initials

Here are some number initials:

- no'k- one
- nés- two
- na'n- three
- név- four
- nóhon- five

Examples with number initials

- É-néso'eme. He/It costs two (dollars).
- É-na'noéséne. Three hang. (e.g. of three stars in a constellation)
- É-névanëne. He did it four times.
- É-nóhon-oe-me. 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-nésho'o. There are two of them (animate).
- Ná-néshëme. There are two of us (exclusive).
- É-na'heo'o. There are three of them (animate).
- É-nëvëo'o. There are four of them (animate).
- É-nóhö憎ne. There are five of them (animate).
- É-naësôhtôxeo'o. There are six of them (animate).
- É-na'na'ntôxëo'o. There are eight of them (animate).
- É-sôohtôxeo'o. There are nine of them (animate).
- É-mâhtôhtôxeo'o. There are ten of them (animate).
- É-nëso'o'heo'o. There are twenty of them (animate).
- É-nèsô'oënëstse. There are twenty of them (inanimate).

Inanimate subjects

- É-nò'ka'e. There is one of it.
- É-nëxâñëstse. There are two of them (inanimate).
- É-na'hâñëstse. There are three of them (inanimate).
- É-nëvëñëstse. There are four of them (inanimate).
- É-nóhonëñëstse. There are five of them (inanimate).
- É-naësôhtôñëñëstse. There are six of them (inanimate).
- É-nësôhtôñëñëstse. There are seven of them (inanimate).
- É-na'na'ñôhtôñëñëstse. There are eight of them (inanimate).
- É-sôohtôñëñëstse. There are nine of them (inanimate).
- É-mâhtôhtôñëñëstse. 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**

| Participle          | Meaning                                      |
|---------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| tsé-no'kaestse      | the one (animate) which is one in number     |
| tséh-no'káheto      | by myself, I alone                          |
| néh-no'káheto       | I alone                                      |
| néh-néssése         | both of you (plural)                        |
| tsé-néssése         | the two of them (animate)                   |
| tsé-na'hese         | the three of them (animate)                 |
| tsé-névése          | the four of them (animate)                  |
| tsé-nóhonese        | the five of them (animate)                  |
| tsé-naesóhtóxexe    | the six of them (animate)                   |
| hotóhkeo'o tsé-nésóhtóxexe | the seven stars (Cheyenne for the Pleiades constellation) |
| tsé-na'nóhtóxexe    | the eight of them (animate)                 |
| tsé-sóohótxexe      | the nine of them (animate)                  |
| tsé-máhtóhtóxexe    | the ten of them (animate)                   |

**Inanimate Intransitive participles**

| Participle          | Meaning                                      |
|---------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| 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-):

| Ordinal     | Meaning                          |
|-------------|----------------------------------|
| 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-sóohóhna'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 /-vé/ suffix we saw on particles for numbers of groups.

| Group number verb | Meaning                                      |
|-------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| É-nésóvaheo'o.    | There are three groups (animate).            |
| É-névoáheo'o.     | There are four groups (animate).             |
| É-névovátónéstse. | There are four groups (inanimate).           |
Numbers in days of the week

Numbers are used in names for some of the Cheyenne days of the week. Note that in Oklahoma the first day begins on Tuesday, while in Montana the first day begins on Monday. Here are some of the ways to say the Cheyenne days of the week. For other ways, see the later section of this book on Days of the week in the larger section on words for Time in Cheyenne. To make them easier to see, numbers in the names for days of the week are highlighted here:

Oklahoma days of the week

Here are days of the week for Oklahoma, as listed by Cheyenne language teacher Lenora Holliman:

- Éno'ke éno'e. Tuesday (lit., 'It's the first day.')
- Énéšééno'e. Wednesday (lit., 'It's the second day.')
- Éna'he'éno'e. It's Thursday (lit., 'It's the third day.')
- Énévééno'e. It's Friday (lit., 'It's the fourth day.')
- Étséske'ma'heóneéšeeve. It's Saturday (lit., 'It's the little holy day.')
- Éma'heóneéšeeve. It's Sunday (lit., 'It's the holy day.')
- Éénemá'heóneéšeeve. It's Monday (lit., 'It's the end of the holy day.')

Montana days of the week

- No'ka éšëeva Monday (lit., 'on the first day')
- Nexa éšëeva Tuesday (lit., 'on the second day')
- Na'ha éšëeva Wednesday (lit., 'on the third day')
- Neva éšëeva Thursday (lit., 'on the fourth day')
- Nóhona éšëeva Friday (lit., 'on the fifth day')
- Tšéske'ma'heóneéšëeva Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day')
- Ma'heóneéšëeva Sunday (lit., 'on the holy day')

Language change

Changes occur over time in every language. Sounds and meanings of Cheyenne words have experienced such historical changes.

Cheyenne has descended from Proto-Algonquian (PA), the ancestor of all the Algonquian languages. Through careful study linguists are able to observe changes which have occurred in the sounds and grammar between Proto-Algonquian and each of its descendant languages, including Cheyenne.

We have also been able to observe further changes taking place in the Cheyenne language in the past few decades. Let's outline some of the main changes which have occurred in the long history that has led to the current sounds and grammar of Cheyenne.

Proto-Algonquian to Cheyenne changes

Following are some Cheyenne words with their Proto-Algonquian (PA) source words (etyma). Proto-words are marked with the asterisk (*), following standard practice.

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157 From Internet webpage: http://www.swosu.edu/academics/catc/dictionary/c04.aspx
ame (PA *pemyi, "grease")
he’e (cf. PA *weθkweni, "his liver")
hē’e (PA **eθkwe-wa, "woman")
hetane (PA *er*$enyiwa, "man")
matana (PA *meθenyi, "milk")
še’es
sémo
xōo’o
pe’e
neťse
hotōá’e
neše
na’he

PA: Cheyenne correspondences
Common Cheyenne reflexes of PA are:

| PA    | Cheyenne |
|-------|----------|
| *a    | o        |
| *e    | a        |
| *o    | e        |

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     | háťseške                   |
| ball    | ozzem     | hóhtséme                   |
| Sioux   | Ohoomoheo | Ho’óhomo’eo’o              |
| grass   | oxooxzz   | cf. hoxo’ohtsévő’estse ‘grass’ |

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'èstoo'o              | xe'èstoo'o                    |
| I asked him   | nánöhtéstéstóvo           | nänéstóvo                     |
| berries       | menôtte                  | menéstse ??                   |
| your pet      | néstôtse                 | stôtse                         |
| Kills On The Water | Mähpevana'hâne         | Pevana'hâne                   |
| I see you     | névóomáttse              | 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' | éš'e'he   | éš'e'óho  |
| 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/   | hésé      | heso      |
| rock          | /ho'honáé/ | ho'honáá'e | ho'honaa'o |
| alien         | /nóte/   | notse     | noto      |
| nighthawk     | /pé'e/   | pe'e      | pe'o      |
| duck          | /šé'sé/  | šé'se     | 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. For several decades many fluent speakers have

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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.

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been regularizing these alternations so that obviatives take only the single suffix /-óho/. So, the obviative nouns in the preceding list are increasingly pronounced as in the following list:

| meaning       | phonemic   | proximate | obviative             |
|---------------|------------|-----------|-----------------------|
| fly (insect)  | /hésé/     | hésé      | hésóho ($$ RECHECK)   |
| rock          | /ho'honáé/ | ho'honáá'e| ho'honáóho($$ RECHECK) |
| alien         | /note/     | notse     | nótoho($$ RECHECK)    |
| nighthawk     | /pé'e/     | pe'e      | pé'óho                |
| duck          | /šé'sé/    | šé'se     | šé'xóho               |

The same regularization is occurring with verbs which are marked for obviation:

| meaning | phonemic stem | older negative | newer negative | meaning |
|---------|---------------|----------------|---------------|---------|
| he (obv) is praying | /-háoéná/ | éháoenaho?? | éháoénáho ??$$ | he (obv) is praying |
| he loves her (obv) | /-méhót/ | éméhoto | éméhótóho | he loves her (obv) |
| he fought him (obv) | /-méót/ | éméoto | éméótóho | he fought him (obv) |
| he ate him (obv) | /-mév/ | émevo | émévého | he ate him (obv) |
| he (obv) invited to feast | /-mó'é/ | émo'o | émó'óho | he (obv) invited to feast |
| she suckled him (obv) | /-néh/ | énehóho | | she suckled him (obv) |
| he (obv) is nursing | /-néne/ | éneno | énénóho | he (obv) is nursing |
| there are two of them (obv) | /-néše/ | énexo | énéxóho | there are two of them (obv) |
| there are four of them (obv) | /-névé/ | énevo | énévého | there are four of them (obv) |
| he hates him (obv) | /-péót/ | épéoto | épéótóho | he hates him (obv) |

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      |
|----------|---------|----------------|----------------|--------------|
| návóóhta | I saw it | násáavóóhtóhe | násáavóóhtáhe | I did not see it |
| éhestána | he took it | ésáahestáñgéhe | ésáahestánáhéhe | he did not take it |
| náhéne'ëna | I know it | násáahéne'ënóhe | násáahéne'enáhe | I do not know it |

**Regularization of irregular possessives**

We previously mentioned that Cheyennes have been changing irregular possessive prefixes so that they are regular. We repeat a few examples here:

| irregular       | regular             |
|----------------|---------------------|
| nénove 'my home' | navénove ??         |
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 tōhēvetse, phonetically [tʰoːvɪc]. This is a sound translation from the English term "two bits" which was used commonly in the past to refer to a 25 cent coin.

A century or so ago Cheyennes adapted the name of the capital of the United States, Washington, pronouncing it as Vášetaēno. This is a sound translation of the word "Washington" plus the Cheyenne locative suffix –no which means 'place'.

Loan translations
Cheyennes traditionally had no greetings or leavetakings. After bilingualism with English increased, Cheyennes literally translated English greetings and leavetakings to Cheyenne. These have been used for several decades by at least some Cheyenne speakers.

Greetings
Pévevóona’o 'Good morning'
Péveéšeeva 'Good day'
Pévēhetóéva 'Good evening'
Pévetaa’ēva 'Good night'

These greetings have been adapted to be pronounced as verbs, creating more natural sounding greetings used by some speakers:

Épévevóonā’o 'It's a good morning'
Épéveéšeeve 'It's a good day'
Épévéhetóeve 'It's a good evening'
Épévetaa'eve 'It's a good night'

**Good-bye**

The English leavetaking 'good-bye' (historically shortened from "God be with you") has not been literally translated to Cheyenne. Instead, Cheyennes have borrowed English "See you later!" as a leavetaking used by many speakers today. Cheyennes have adapted this borrowing to be pronounced as a fully inflected verb:

Néstáéváhósevóomá́tse 'I'll see you again later.'

**Other loan translations**

The Cheyenne verb náé’ahe means 'I am out of money' (literally, 'I-broken'). This appears to be a semantic borrowing from the English idiom "I am broke". The Cheyenne sign that accompanies this verb is the same sign used for something that is literally broken.

Other semantic borrowings are: $$

Cheyennes enjoy translating other English idioms literally to Cheyenne and then laughing about how silly they sound. Some examples are:

Né(tó'tae)pónóhta $$?? toóneoho'o! You hit the nail on the head!

We're scraping the bottom of the barrel.$$ We're scraping the bottom of the barrel. $$

During one work session an elder and I literally translated an English idiom to Cheyenne:

É-ma' xminé-he'anátó 'It's plum easy'

The Cheyenne word for 'plum' is má'xeme. We used it as a preverb along with the Cheyenne verb stem /–he'anátó/ meaning. We then had fun combining this new preverb with other verbs, such as Éma' xenéhoťoanátó '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

285
Recently created words

Here are some words recently created which are not widely used, but they could be if more Cheyennes knew about them:

$$(\text{see file DKMC signs.doc})$$
$$\text{Storybook}$$
$$\text{Bulletin board}$$
$$\text{Computer}$$
$$\text{Blender}$$
$$\text{microwave}$$
$$\text{High pitch mark}$$
$$\text{Mountain Dew}$$
$$\text{Wrist watch}$$
$$\text{RV}$$
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’ēševōtse 'baby', ka’ēškóne 'child', oeškēse 'dog', mahpe 'water', hoohtsēstse 'tree', and mé’ēstse 'always'.

Binomials

Sometimes one language requires two or more words to say the same thing said in another language by only one word. A two word phrase that refers to something is called a binomial. Cheyenne speakers use a single word (monomial), kāsovāáhe, that requires two words (binomial) to say the same thing in English, "young man". English uses one word (monomial), "boy", that requires a compound word to say the same thing in Cheyenne, hetané-ka’ēškóne, literally "male-child". For now, we will consider a compound word as a kind of binomial (double word). Which is the better way of referring to a boy, the single English word "boy" or the Cheyenne double word, "hetané-ka’ēškóne"? Hopefully, you will answer that neither one is better. Both are good, appropriate ways to say the same thing in each language.

With that understanding, that each way of saying something is good, let us compare some monomials (single words) and binomials (double words) of Cheyenne and English:

| monomial       | binomial                      |
|----------------|-------------------------------|
| mé’ēštse 'always' | hetané-ka’ēškóne 'male-child' |
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. |
| Néešemésethéhe? | Did you already eat? |
| Êépê’va’ë. | It’s good. |
| Êho’kôho. | It’s raining. |
| Nésáatséhe’ševóomatséhe. | I never see you. ?? |

**Semantic ranges**

Sometimes a word in one language does not exactly match a word (or words) in another language. The words in the different languages might have slightly different meanings. Or they might share some of the same meanings, but have some meanings that are not the same. Again, this does not mean that one of the languages is better than the other language. It just means that the languages have different ways of saying things.

The set of meanings that a word has is called its semantic range. Often the semantic ranges of words between languages do not match up exactly. This makes the job of translating between these language more difficult, but not impossible.

Cheyenne and English have different semantic ranges for words having to do with siblings. For instance, in the Cheyenne language there are several words that refer to sibling relationships: older sibling, younger sibling, older brother, younger brother, sibling/cousin, etc. **$\$DEVELOP THIS SECTION**

**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.

| Cheyenne Expression | English Meaning |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| Énéšetaneva.??      | He lies. (lit., he is two-tongued) |
| Éhéstova'kehe.      | He is duplicitous. (lit., he is dual-natured??) |
| Ého'ñehevêhõhtse.   | She outsmarts men. (lit., she has wolf footprints) |
| Êpêeeêse.          | He is a hellraiser. (lit., he has a ground up nose) |
| Êhesó'xotoo'êsta.?? (Êhesó'xo'êsta??) | He doesn't listen. (lit., he has slippery ears) |
| Énéhestáha.        | He's gets angry easily. (lit., he is quick-hearted) |
| ó'kõõhóme           | sly, conniving person (lit., coyote) |
| Êó'kõõmõmêhevêxâne. | He is sly/he cheats. (lit., he has coyote eyes) |
| Énéhpo'ëse ma'ëno.  | It's foggy. (lit., the turtle is hanging shrouded) |
| Nâmëvâá'e.         | They gossiped about me. (lit., they ate me) |
| Heávohe nêtáxe'hâ'tova. | You are in a bad mood. (lit., the devil is hanging over you) |
Wow, that's amazing! (lit., wow, close to a drymeat rack)

It has snowed and snow is hanging on tree branches. (lit., Old Man Winter is hanging drymeat)

never (lit., when frogs have teeth)

He's "crazy". (lit., he's about to have horns)

He's angry. (lit. The mad drummer came to him)

I'm going to be stubborn. (lit., I'm going to swallow a rock)

I got up really early. (lit., I put on my shoes with the morning star)

Who is the boss? (lit., Who has the bell? This idiom is based on the image of the lead cow wearing a bell)

He drinks all the time. (lit., he is clothed with whiskey)

He's courting. (lit., he's barking)

My stomach is growling. (lit., my tapeworm can almost talk by itself)

Semantic domains

Semantic domains are how speakers of a language group words according to how they belong together in topics. Speakers of a language group words together as they view that they belong together. The culture of the speakers determines how the groupings of words are made. Groups of words that belong together, according to speakers of a language, are called semantic domains. Some Cheyenne semantic domains have been influenced by interaction between traditional Cheyenne culture and other cultures, especially those of the vé’hó’e (white people) and their educational, business, and entertainment cultural patterns. Following are some of the semantic domains of Cheyenne language and culture. Many others can be found in the Cheyenne Topical Dictionary (Glenmore and W. Leman, 19__??), as well as online copies of the Cheyenne Dictionary.

Numbers

The Cheyenne language has words for various numbers. Cheyennes have traditionally spoken about how many deer they shot or how many children they have. Cheyennes tell how many times they have done some action. Cheyenne speakers knew their numbers as fluent speakers of the language. It is probable, however, that Cheyennes never traditionally counted as an exercise in itself, as in done today in Cheyenne bilingual education programs. But counting is now considered an important part of Cheyenne language learning. Many Cheyenne children have learned to count from 1 to 10, using one or both of the two traditional Cheyenne number systems, numbers for how many things and numbers for how many times something is done:

Numbers of things

Numbers of times

Animals

Horses

Cheyenne life changed significantly after Cheyennes moved to the Great Plains and acquired horses. A horse culture developed. Words about horses became one of the most developed semantic domains of the Cheyenne language.
Fluent Cheyenne speakers have traditionally referred to various colors. Some of the words for colors can be used about almost any object. Other words are only used for certain purposes, such as the various colors of horses.

For several decades Cheyenne children have been taught Cheyenne colors in bilingual education programs.
| Color          | O'odham                        | English                          |
|---------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| black         | émo?óhtávvo                   | What color is he?                |
| black         | émo?óhtávheh                  | What color is it?                |
| blue          | éctéítávvo                    | What color are they (an)?        |
| blue          | éctéítavheh                   | What color are they (inan)?      |
| brown         | émóséškáno                    | What color is his fur, How is he furred? |
| brown, tan    | éncóno                        | What color is his skin?          |
| gray          | épó?o                         |                                  |
| green         | éhoxo?óhtsévo                 |                                  |
| orange        | éma?éheóvo                    |                                  |
| pink          | éma?ámo?óhtsévo               |                                  |
| purple        | éhoxohkó?so                   |                                  |
| red           | éma?ó                              |                                  |
| turquoise     | éhoxo?óhtsévo-otá?távo        |                                  |
| white         | évó?ómo                       |                                  |
| white, light  | évó?ómo                       |                                  |
| yellow        | éheóvo                        |                                  |
| yellow-furred | éheóvo                        | He is yellow-furred.             |
| he has nice fur | éheóvo                        | He has nice fur.                 |
| bay-colored | évo?néóva                     | He (e.g. a horse) is bay-colored. |
| chestnut-colored | éhokkó?sóva                 | He is chestnut-colored.          |
| brown-black-colored | émo?óhtáxamánóva              | He is brown-black-colored.       |
| buckskin      | émo?éváhetóva                 |                                  |
| tan-colored  | éncónóva                      |                                  |
| pinto         | évovó?hase                    |                                  |

**COLOR PARTICIPLES:**
- tséheóvo: the yellow one (inan)
- tseheóvoqéstse: the yellow ones (inan)
- tseheóveestse: the yellow one (an)
- tseheóváhese: the yellow ones (an)
- tsémaítase: the red ones (an)
- tsévó?komooqéstse: the white ones (inan)

**COLORS AS "ADJECTIVES":**
- heóve-nee?e: yellow feather
- heóve-méheó?o: yellow house
- otá?tave-amahó?nestóte: blue car
- vóhpe-nahkohé: polar bear (white-bear)

**COLORS IN VERB CONSTRUCTIONS:**
- éheóvoqése: He has yellow hair.
- éma?eëse: He has a red nose.
- émo?ésékanó?sxáne: He has brown eyes.
Kinship terms

| the one who is ___ | the one who is my ___ | meaning |
|---------------------|------------------------|----------|
| tséhéstovééhést | tséhéhétó | father, paternal uncle |
| tséhéškéstovéstse | tséhéšké | mother, maternal aunt |
| tséheméšéméstovéstse | tséheméšémé | grandfather, fa-in-law |
| tséhevěškeméstovéstse | tséhevěškémé | grandmother, mo-in-law |
| tséheé?hahéstovéstse | tséheé?hahé | son |
| tséhestónahéstovéstse | tséhestónahé | daughter |
| tséhevěxahéstovéstse | tséhevěxahé | grandchild |
| tséhestataméstovéstse | tséhestatamé | brother (of female) |
| tséheméhéstovéstse | tséheméhé | older sister |
| tséheváseméstovéstse | tséhevésemé | younger sibling |
| tséhe?néhestovéstse | tséhe?néhé | older brother |
| tséhevésésónéstovéstse | tséhevésésóné | sibling (incl. cousin) |
| tséheáé?heiméstovéstse | tséheáé?heimé | sister (man's), sis-in-law (fem) |
| tséhešéhéstovéstse | tséhešéhé | maternal uncle |
| tséheškamónéstovéstse | tséheškamóné | maternal aunt, stepmother |
| tséhevétaméstovéstse | tséhevétamé | paternal aunt |
| tséhvě?tovéstovéstse | tséhvě?tové | cross sibling-in-law |
| tséhe?haméhéstovéstse | tséhe?haméhé | brother-in-law (man's) |
| tséhe?tsénotahéstovéstse | tséhe?tsénotahé | cross niece |
| tséhe?éméstovéstse | tséhe?émé | cross nephew |
| tséhehaméstovéstse | tséhehamé | wife |
| tséhéstónahamónéstovéstse | tséhéstónahamóné | husband |
| tséheé?hamónéstovéstse | tséheé?hamóné | cross niece |
| tséhehamónéstovéstse | tséhehamóné | nieces, stepdaughter |
| tséhehamónéstovéstse | tséhehamóné | nephews, stepson |
| tséhenésonhéstovéstse | tséhenésonhé | paternal uncle, stepfather |
| tséhenésonhéstovéstse | tséhenésonhé | child |

(Notes: see other material on kinship terms under TRANSITIVE ANIMATE CONJUNCT PARTICIPLES.)
Medical terms

I'm going to check you.
Where do you hurt?
Where do you have pain?
Does your belly hurt?
Are you pregnant?
How many months (pregnant) are you?
Does it hurt here?

Have you started labor?
Take your shirt, coat, off!
Take your pants off!
Take a deep breath!
Stop breathing!
I'm going to look at your ear.
You are going to have an x-ray.
Stand up!
Sit down!
I'm going to listen to your heart.
Your heart is good.
How old are you?
How many months old is he?
How long have you been sick?
How do you feel?
Do you feel bad?
Yes, I feel bad.
I feel sick.
How many children have you borne?
Did you hurt yourself?
How sick do you feel?
I'm a little sick.
I'm really sick.
Are you a diabetic?
I'm a diabetic.
Do you have a fever?

Do you sleep well?
Are you constipated?
Do you have diarrhea?
I have diarrhea.
Take this medicine!
Drink this medicine!

Take one before you eat!

Take two before you sleep!

Take one four times per day!
Is it a sharp pain?
Do you vomit?
My blood pressure is high.
Do you cough?
I cough, have a cold.
Terms having to do with telling time and passage of time are one of the semantic domains of the Cheyenne lexicon. Time was traditionally noted in Cheyenne by the position of the sun, seasons of the year, and months. As Cheyennes have been increasingly influenced by the dominant culture surrounding them, this influence is reflected in terms for telling time, with adoption of terms for days of the week. There has also been some shift from using animate subjects with verbs for telling time to inanimate ones.

Traditionally, time was noted in Cheyenne by the position of the sun. Since éše'he 'sun' is animate, any verbs explicitly or implicitly referring to the position of the sun required animate subjects. Cheyennes extended use of the word for 'sun' to refer to clocks. Oklahoma Cheyennes also adopted an additional word for 'clock', kó'ko'èhasēō'o, which literally means 'ticking thing'. This word is also animate.

Questions about time

| Cheyenne                  | English                                                                 |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Tóne'še ého'oése éše'he? ?? | What time is it? (lit., When has the sun arrived hanging?)             |
| Tóne'še ého'óesta?        | What time is it? (lit., When has it arrived hanging?)                  |
| Étöne'ého'oése (éš'ehe)?  | What time is it? [lit. How high is he (the sun) hanging?]              |
| Étöne'ého'oóesta?         | 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:

| Cheyenne                  | English                                                                 |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Éasevó'néöhtse.           | It's daybreak. (lit. it's starting to get light)                        |
| Éhosóvoománo'e.           | It's dawn.                                                              |
| Éhosóvoomaeöhtse.         | It's dawning.                                                           |
| Éméovóonā'o.              | It's early morning.                                                    |
| Évóonā'o                  | It's morning.                                                           |
| Éméséhévoóesta.           | It's noon. (lit., it's eating time)                                     |
| Ésétovóósta.              | It's noon.                                                              |
| Ését(hehpè)sétovoóesta.   | It's afternoon. [lit., it's already (past) noon]                       |
| Éhomoése.                 | It's almost sunset time.                                               |
| Êkáhoése.                 | It's close to evening [lit., he (the sun) is hanging close]            |
| Êhetóéve.                 | It's evening.                                                           |
| Êtaa'eeve.                | It's night.                                                             |
| Êsétôhtaa'eeve.           | It's midnight. (lit., it's middle-night)                               |

Past times

Conjunct indicative verbs are used to refer to time which is already past:

| Cheyenne                  | English                                                                 |
|---------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| tséhméovóonā'o            | when it was early morning                                              |
| tséhvóonā'o               | when it was morning                                                    |
| tséssétovóóesta           | when it was noon                                                        |
| tséxhetóéve               | when it was evening                                                    |
tséstaa'eve              when it was night
tséssétohtaa'eve         when it was midnight

*Future times*

Conjunct potential verbs are used to refer to time which has not yet occurred:

máhméovónā’o              when it is early morning
máhvónā’o                   when it is morning, when it is tomorrow
másétovóéta                 when it is noon
máxhetóève                    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:

éšéēva                        in the daytime, yesterday
hetóéva                        in the evening
taa’ēva                         at night
sétohtaa’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’koxe'oehe.        It’s 1 o’clock.
Ééšenésōxe'ohe.        It’s 2 o’clock.
Ééšena'nōxe'ohe.        It’s 3 o’clock.
Ééšenévōxe'ohe.        It’s 4 o’clock.
Ééšenónhonōxe'ohe.    It’s 5 o’clock.
Ééšenaesōhtōxe'ohe.    It’s 6 o’clock.
Ééšenésōhtōhnōxe'ohe. It’s 7 o’clock.
Ééšena’ńōhtōxe'ohe.    It’s 8 o’clock.
Ééšésōohtōxe'ohe.      It’s 9 o’clock.
Ééšemáhtōhtōxe'ohe.    It’s 10 o’clock.
Ééšehóhtáhnokoxe'ohe.  It’s 11 o’clock.
Ééšehóhtáhnésōxe'ohe.  It’s 12 o’clock.
Ééšenésôxe'ohe tséhvóonā'o. It's 2 o'clock in the morning.
Ééšemȧhtóhtôxe'ohe tséstaa'eve.?? It's 10 o'clock at night.
Neva o'xe ééšehhepoéstā. It's 4:30.

Past hours
- tséhno'kôxe'ohe when it was 1 o'clock
- tséhnésôxe'ohe when it was 2 o'clock
- tséhna'nôxe'ohe when it was 3 o'clock
- tséhnévôxe'ohe when it was 4 o'clock
- tséhnóhonôxe'ohe when it was 5 o'clock
- tséhnaesóhtôxe'ohe when it was 6 o'clock
- tséhnèsôhtôhnôxe'ohe when it was 7 o'clock
- tséhna'nóhtôxe'ohe when it was 8 o'clock
- tséssôhtôxe'ohe when it was 9 o'clock
- tséhmáhtóhtôxe'ohe when it was 10 o'clock
- tséxhóhtáhno'kôxe'ohe when it was 11 o'clock
- máxhóhtáhnsôxe'ohe when it was 12 o'clock

Future hours
- máhno'kôxe'ohe when it's 1 o'clock
- máhnésôxe'ohe when it's 2 o'clock
- máhna'nôxe'ohe when it's 3 o'clock
- máhnévôxe'ohe when it's 4 o'clock
- máhnóhonôxe'ohe when it's 5 o'clock
- máhnaesóhtôxe'ohe when it's 6 o'clock
- máhnèsôhtôhnôxe'ohe when it's 7 o'clock
- máhna'nóhtôxe'ohe when it's 8 o'clock
- másôhtôxe'ohe when it's 9 o'clock
- máhmahtóhtôxe'ohe when it's 10 o'clock
- máxhóhtáhno'kôxe'ohe when it's 11 o'clock
- máxhóhtáhnsôxe'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
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'xėhohtseéše'he, Big Hoop Moon: February
Pónoma'a'èhasenéeše'he, Drying Up Moon: March
Véhpotseéše'he, Leaf Moon: April

Énano'eéeše'he, Planting Moon: June
Méanééeše'he, Summer Moon: July
Oenenéeše'he, Harvest Moon: August
Tonóeše'he, Cool Moon: September
Sé'énehé, Facing Into: October (This name refers to when thin ice begins to form on ponds and rivers.)
He'koneneéše'he, Hard Face Moon: November
Ma'xéhe'koneneéše'he, Big Hard Face Moon: December

Some alternative names are:
He'koneneéše'he, Hard Face Moon: January (instead of November)
Tšéške'hohtseéše'he, Little Hoop Moon: February
Pónoma'a'èhasenéhe, Drying Up: March (or April)
Hešé'kévénéhe, Dusty Face: March (also, variant Hešé'événéhe)
Hešé'événéhéêsé'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
Sétoveméanééšë’he, Midsummer Moon: July
Hémotééšë’he, Breeding Moon: latter part of August and first part of September
Tonóvééšë’he, Cool Moon: September
Sé’eneéšë’he, Facing Into Moon: October
Se’ma’o mevééšë’he, Starting To Freeze Moon: October
Hešé’kévénéstse, Dirt In the Face (Moon): October
Sétovééneééšë’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 éšë’evëva Monday (lit., 'on the first day')
Nexa éšë’evëva Tuesday (lit., 'on the second day')
Na’ha éšë’evëva Wednesday (lit., 'on the third day')
Neva éšë’evëva Thursday (lit., 'on the fourth day')
Nóhona éšë’evëva Friday (lit., 'on the fifth day')
Tšëške’má’heónééšë’evëva Saturday (lit., 'on the little holy day')
Ma’heónééšë’evëva 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

Èno’keéño’e. Tuesday (lit., 'It's the first day.')
Ènéšëéño’e. Wednesday (lit., 'It's the second day.')
Èna’heéño’e. It's Thursday (lit., 'It's the third day.')
Ènévééño’e. It's Friday (lit., 'It's the fourth day.')
Ètšëške’má’heónééšëevë. It's Saturday (lit., 'It's the little holy day.')
Èma’heónééšëevë. It's Sunday (lit., 'It's the holy day.')
Èénema’heónééšëevë. It's Monday (lit., 'It's the end of the holy day. ')

Montana past days of the week
No’ka tsé’ëšëevë when it was Monday
Nexa tsé’ëšëevë when it was Tuesday
Na’ha tsé’ëšëevë when it was Wednesday
Neva tsé’ëšëevë when it was Thursday
Nóhona tsé’ëšëevë when it was Friday
Tšéstšëške’má’heónééšëevë?? when it was Saturday
Tséhëma’heónééšëevë when it was Sunday

Montana future days of the week
No’ka ma’ëšëevë when it is Monday
Nexa ma’ëšëevë when it is Tuesday
Na’ha ma’ëšëevë 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
Mahtššeške'ma'heónešeeve?? when it is Saturday
Máhma'heónešeeve?? when it is Sunday

Overnights
Cheyennes refer to the passage of time both in terms of how many overnights have occurred and in terms of how many days have gone by.

Some particles and verb finals /-éno'e/ and /-éno'tse/ refer to time spent as overnights:

-éno'e final
The verb final –éno'e refers to how many overnights have gone by:
Étanéšeéno'e. It was two days (lit., overnights) ago.
É-améstőheéno'e. It is a week.
ma'taaméstőheéno'e in the coming "days" (lit., overnights)
ma'táhóseaméstőheéno'e next week

-éno'tse final
The verb final –eno'tse refers to how many nights of camping:
Éno'keenô'tse. He camped one night.
Éněšeenô'tse. He camped two nights.

Numbers of days
Numbers of days can refer to how many days ago something happened or how many days it will be until something happens in the future:
no'kēē'ěše one day
néšée'ěše two days
na'hēē'ěše three days
névéé'ěše four days
néhonée'ěše five days
naesóhtóhée'ěše six days
nésohtóhée'ěše seven days
na'nóhtóhée'ěše eight days
sóhtóhée'ěše nine days
máhtóhtóhée'ěše ten days

Numbers of weeks

Numbers of months
$$Number of months old, etc.

A number preverb plus the verb stem -ēš'e'hamá refers to how many months old someone is or how many months have transpired: ??
Éno'keéšé'hāma. ?? He's one month old.
Énéveéšé'hāma. ?? He's four months old.

Other preverbs can occur with this verb stem:

Étónéstôhe-éšé'hāma? How many months old is he?/ How many months pregnant is she?
Énéheštôhe-éšé'hāma. That's how many months she has (= her months are up; she is due to deliver her child).

Numbers of years

$$He's so many years old, etc.

Éno'keaénáma. He's one year old.
Énéšeaénáma. He's two years old.

A number plus the noun stem –aa'e 'year' tells how many years something occurred or how many years ago something occurred:

no'keāā'e for one year
néšeāā'e for two years
na'heāā'e for three years

No'keāā'e étanėhe'xove. It's been one year ago.

Temporal particles

Some particles refer to time:

á'e soon
ta'e until
hehpeto later
nenóveto shortly, a little while later
maato in the future
hákó'e far in the past
tóteha long ago
évaveto back then
nómóse a long time
séetó'e'se at the same time
vétséno right then

Temporal suffix particles

Some time particles referring to the length of time have the temporal / locative suffix /-vá/:

káse'xóvéva for a short time
háé'xóvéva for a long time

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160 Á'e can also refer to being physically close.
161 Maato can also refer to being physically ahead.
162 Hákó'e can also refer to far distance.
Some preverbs refer to time in relation to the action of the verb stem which they precede:

- háa'éše- for a long time, late
- nenóvé for a short while
- he'éše- as long as
- he'še- during
- éše- already
- móne- recently
- nesta- previously
- vonéše- for a long time
- váone- all night
- sē'hove- suddenly

Examples of verbs with temporal preverbs

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.

| Cheyenne            | English                  |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| šé’šeno             | rattle                   |
| šé’šenovótse        | snake                    |
| Évávahe.            | He's swinging.           |
| hevávhkema          | butterfly                |
| po’po’ého’hóvahtótse| firecracker, motorcycle  |
| Épó’ého’he.         | He was fired / He had a blowout. |
| pó’ého’hémahpe      | beer (lit., exploding water) |
| po’po’ého’hémahaemenótse | popcorn (lit., popping corn kernels) |
| Épá’panestse.      | He repeatedly farted.    |
| kó’konóxe’éstónestótse | typewriter (lit., pecking thing) |
| kó’ko’éhasēō’o       | clock (lit., ticking thing; an Oklahoma Cheyenne word) |
| herovotāso          | 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'hahtōtse, literally 'flying thing'. The

Cheyennes did the same thing when they created the word for 'car, automobile'. They took a verb already widely used by Cheyennes, -amaho’he 'to go along by heat' and turned it into nouns, animate amåho’héhe and inanimate amåho’héstōtse, 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 émôna’e which literally means "The year is new." Now, this expression doesn't initially sound like it has the same meaning as English "Happy New Year!" But it is what Cheyennes have said at the beginning of a new year, for as long as they have known about the ending and beginning of a year. Even though the English and Cheyenne expressions do not literally mean the same thing, the Cheyenne saying can be at least a first candidate as a translation equivalent, since it performs much of the same cultural function. For both English and Cheyenne, the two expressions are what people say to note the beginning of a new year. The two expressions are as close as we can find without creating a new expression that would literally mean "Happy New Year!" But how would one even try to say in Cheyenne that a new year is happy?! Translation is difficult. Of course, Aa’e émôna’e says nothing about "happy" and for some Cheyennes it might be important to include the meaning of "happy" in a translation of "Happy New Year!" So, we can consider revising the Cheyenne expression already in use
by adding Pevetano! 'Be happy!' to it. Would the final expression of Aa’e èmôna’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’kòhomôxháaheta 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’ēško. My finger hurts.
Náháamá’tovoo’o namo’ēškono. My fingers hurt.

The first example can be literally translated as 'I hurt to my finger.' This literal translation sounds odd in English, but there is nothing odd about the Cheyenne verb. In spite of what some Cheyennes believe and have said, based on what they have learned, explicitly or implicitly, from teachers and
administrators in English schools, there is nothing "backwards" about the Cheyenne language. Each language is beautiful and has unique ways of saying things. Just because a language expresses something in a different grammatical way from another language does not make that language backwards, ugly, or in any way inferior to any other language.

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

So, if you are translating a Cheyenne sentence such as Nátáá’e hóhkéha‘e, an accurate and natural translation in English would be "The cap fits me," even though the literal translation would be 'I fit to the cap.' This literal translation would be accurate in English, but not natural. A translation must be both accurate and natural for it to be an adequate translation.

| Cheyenne           | English                     |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| 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:

| Cheyenne           | English                     |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| Nátáa’ōvo ēstse’he.| The shirt fits me. (lit., I fit to the shirt) |
| Nátáa’ovoo’ō ēstse’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 –péhévé’áhtá:

| Cheyenne           | English                     |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| Nápéhévé’áhta ho’évohkítse. | 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.'

| Cheyenne           | English                     |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| 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 translate something from English to Cheyenne, here are the steps we recommend that you follow to make the translation as natural as possible while communicating the same meaning:

1. Figure out what the meaning of the English is. This is often always easy. You need to find out if the English expression is figurative or not. If it is figurative, you should try to translate its figurative meaning, not its literal meaning. You can use an English dictionary if you are not sure what the English expression means. For instance, if someone asks you to translate "He blew a fuse," ask yourself if you know what meaning is intended by that English sentence. If it is referring to blowing a fuse in a fuse box, it should not be too difficult to translation the
sentence to Cheyenne. But if the sentence is not really referring to blowing a fuse but to something else, you need to know what that something else is, and translate meaning, so that the Cheyenne will mean the same thing as the English expression does.

2. Figure out how the meaning is actually expressed in Cheyenne. Do not try to find a literal way to say the same thing in Cheyenne, since literal translations often turn out sounding strange or even humorous instead of communicating the same meaning. Often people want to know how to say something in Cheyenne. For people all over the world, the first reaction when there is a request to translate something is to try to say it the same way in their own language. But saying it the same way may not be how it is actually said in Cheyenne. So, if you are asked "How do you say ____ in Cheyenne?" stop and think a while before answering. Ask yourself: "What do Cheyennes actually say to communicate that same meaning?" Another way of getting at this point is to avoid answering the question "Can you say ____ in Cheyenne?" Instead, try to change the question to: "How is actually it said in Cheyenne?" Try to focus on what fluent Cheyenne speakers actually say to communicate the same meaning.

3. Test your translation with other Cheyenne speakers. Ask them what it means. Ask them if fluent speakers would actually use the translation expression. If the translation does not pass these tests, try a different way to express the translation. Keep trying until you find a way to say something in Cheyenne that has the same meaning, including emotional connotations, and also sounds like what a fluent Cheyenne speaker would actually say.

The common temptation is to translation literally whenever you are asked to translate from English to Cheyenne. But a literal translation is often not the most accurate translation. And most of the time a literal translation is not how fluent Cheyenne speakers would actually say something with the meaning of the English expression you are trying to translate. Of course, if enough Cheyenne speakers prefer a literal translation and they can, in time, get the same meaning from it that the English expression has, it is fine to use a literal translation. But a literal translation should only be used if it comes to be accepted and used by a good number of Cheyenne speakers.

**Language and social interaction**

Like every other language, Cheyenne is used for a variety of social purposes. Some of the most common uses for language is to inform, question, command, exclaim, entertain, and rebuke.

Cheyennes speak their language following the norms of Cheyenne culture. These cultural norms influence which Cheyenne language forms are used.

One traditional Cheyenne cultural norm is that a woman must not speak to her son-in-law. She should not even say his name, especially in front of him. And a man must not speak to his sister after she has reached puberty. And he should not speak to his daughter-in-law either.

If a woman wants to communicate something to her son-in-law, she can do so through her daughter, the wife of her son-in-law. Or she can speak indirectly to her son-in-law in his hearing (and usually the hearing of someone else also) using third person verbs, rather than direct speech with second person verbs.

A humorous story is told about a woman who unwittingly said her son-in-law's name, breaking the cultural norm:
Frogs Say "Kovaaahé", by Josephine Glenmore (Montana)

Na'èstse káse'éhe éhñòhñtséstovósesto heške,  
One young woman asked her mother,

“Éohkeóxóhevoõne oonähá’e ohmónenéstoohévoséstse?”  
“What do they say, frogs, when they first croak (in the spring)?”

“Héméhe, naa Kovááahé, éohkéhevoõne, éxheséstse.  
“Oh, well, 'kovaaahé,' they say,” she said.

náa éxhohátse'töhësëstse màhtamáhááhe,  
And she was laughed at, the old lady, (because)

Kovááahé móxheševëhehevéhe hevéxäho.  
Kovaahé he was named, her son-in-law.

If a woman wants her son-in-law to fetch some water or firewood, she can speak about him, in his hearing, with words like these:

Tell that lazy husband of yours to get some water. $$

Brothers-in-law are expected to tease each other within Cheyenne culture. Such teasing has become an art form. Language forms and quality of speech are influenced by the effort to tease, sometimes close to the point of shaming, a brother-in-law in front of others.

The following story illustrates brother-in-law teasing. Notice all the direct in-your-face kind of speech in this text. This is characteristic of teasing speech. $$TRY TO FIND SPECIFIC LANGUAGE FORMS TO COMMENT ABOUT IN THIS TEXT

The Brothers-in-law

Tséhéno he'ameo'hé'e éhëstahe  ëhëtane. Aéñòhñëstoohe éohkëhestohe.  
There up the river he is from, a man. Hawk Howler he is called.

Naa náohkeévená'so'ëmáhtëseme164. Nëhestoä ohbóomoo'ëstse  tséhëóhe màhoëve'ho'eno,  
And we always tease each other. Every time whenever I see him here in town,

náohkëévéo'ëhøta. "Né'tóve," náohkëheta. "Hémanòxëha!  
he always comes to me. "My brother-in-law," he says to me. "Give him a drink!

É'tóvé  ëvéëta'hohó'éne," náohkëheta. "Nësàa'åëstomëhevë'tove'tovatsëhe,"  
Your brother-in-law is very thirsty," he says to me. "You are not my brother-in-law for nothing,"

náohkëheta.  
he tells me.

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163 This text was first recorded and transcribed by linguist Kenneth Croft, in 1949, in Oklahoma. His fieldnotes label this as "Text 56". The Cheyenne narrator is not given in the fieldnotes. We have updated Croft’s spelling. We have stayed close to his English translations. The editor (Leman) has added paragraphing.

164 This text illustrates Cheyenne humor of joking relationships. Cheyenne culture encourages brother-in-law joking.
"Nétónéševéhev'étové'továtse néhe'še?" náheto.
"How am I a brother-in-law to you then?" I told him.

"Heé, naa náméhevéstoomoo' naaxaa'éhemo, néhéne'енovátse," náketa.
"Yes, and you married all my sisters, I know you," he told me.

"Hová’áháne, néévenets'é", náketo. "Mónéohkevá'nenéhesétaméhêhe," náketo.
"No, you are lying," I told him. "You must just think of me that way," I told him.

"Hová’áháne, néotá'pêhévéhéne'енovátse. Náméhevéstoomoo' naaxaa'éhemo," náketa.
"No, I know you very well. You married all my sisters," he told me.

"Nonótovéhémentóhe é'tóve!" náketo. "Náota'ëévëhâoëéne," éhevoo'o.
"Hurry give a drink to your brother-in-law!" he told me. "I am very thirsty," he said.

Naa vó'éstane ohstsévëhë'ëhótaetsë'éstse tsëohkeëvéhëšeémënoë'ëesto
And whenever a person comes to us here in town, he always tells about me, "This one, my brother-in-law," he says about me, where they always stand in bunches
tsëhëóhe máhoëve’ëno náohkhëósema, "Tsë'tóhe né’tóve," náohkëhëta,
here in town, he always tells about me, "This one, my brother-in-law," he says about me,
"ëmáhëvéstoomóho naaxaa'éhemo. Hená'hanetsëhe / nánéhëhëévë'tovenâstse," náohkëhëta.\n"he married all my sisters. That's how I am a brother-in-law to him," he says about me.

Naa néhe’së ho’ótova táháóhe Nomá’heo’hë’é mótaëtsëhë’ëhtsëhëhe.
And then all of a sudden over there to Kingfisher165 he must have gone.

Násaanahaxëxévovómóhe. Êtânéšëhâa’xóvetse.
I had not seen him for awhile. Quite a while went by.

Naa ho’ótova náho'óseëvovómo. Tsëhéno éne’ameóhtse háp’o’e
And all of a sudden I saw him again. Here he was coming along just
tsëstameohtsevo. Sé’ea’ë éne’ëeëxàëëmenë’o. Naa náho’ëhóto,
when I was going along. Right away he was smiling. And I went to him.

"Êaa! Tósa’ë néa’ënëhâse?" náheto. "Nésàatšëhe’ëshëëmëtsëhe,“ náheto.
"My! Where have you been all the time?" I said to him. "I never see you," I said to him.

"Naa táháóhe Nomá’heo’hë’é nátaëtsëhëëhëítse. Náhá’ohe / návéëva’ënoo’e,” náketo.
"Well, over there to Kingfisher I went. There I stayed all this time," he told me.

"Hénáa’ë náháóhe tsëtáhëhësë’ënootë? Heëa’ë náháóhe nëtâhe’ëtâno tósa’ë
"Why there did you stay so long? Maybe there you wanted a woman somewhere at
Nomá’heo’hë’ë,” náketo.
Kingfisher," I told him.

"Heé, ovánëhoo’ëstse! Heëa’ë néhéne’ënëvo Këhâëné’ë. Náháóhe náho’ëhóto,
"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.

"Hééhe’e," náheto. "Naa néohkého’é’čsenoto neaxaa’ehemo. Néhe Kéha’ené’e "Yes," I told him. "And you always accuse me of your sisters. That Squint Eye Woman

néhe’haméhénótsé, mónétaéséhevéxahé’tovatséhéhe," náheto. "Né’tóvé, is my niece, you must (therefore) already be my son-in-law," I told him. "Brother-in-law, néohkevé’eéváhe. Námésemé né’óhkehéšéstse néhe’sé. don’t again call me that. Father-in-law, always call me from now on.

Nétaéséhevéxahé’tovatsémoho166" náheto.
You are already now my son-in-law!" I told him.

"Hová’háane," éhevoo’o. "Néésetá’hóxéhevé’tove’totátse, "No," he said. "I am so used to being a brother-in-law to you, ésáatónéseévanetáhévéoutséhane," náheta.
it cannot be made different," he said to me.

"Heé, hétóhe émóná’ę, nétašemónenóhóoeve," náheto.
"Hey, this is brand new, this is the first time you’ve been married," I told him.

"Néstatséenáéséhevéxahé’trotátse. ’É’tóvé, hémonóxeha!" "You are just going to be my son-in-law. ’Your brother-in-law, give him a drink!"

néohkešé, náheto." "Naa néhe’sé háp’o’e hétsetsha, Hémanóxeha you always tell me," I told him. "And from now on likewise now, ’Give a drink to nemésemé! nétáhetátse," náheto. "Nenátséhe’ohtseéstse téshéóhe your father-in-law!’ let me tell you," I told him. "Come take me here

ep’ého’hé-máhpé-máhe’óné néhe’sé néhma’xéhámanoxéstse!” náheto.
to the saloon167 then give me a big drink!" I told him.

Éhohatse. "He’e, táxó’e néstsésáá’énenéhéhe, vo’estane
He laughed. "Hey, again and again don’t keep repeating that, someone

nétsenéstova. Néstaée’avó’èstomo’he (?), will hear you. You will have them all start thinking that way,

náhtsenóhpahkeéemaenésetamáne. Nává’neohkéévééestéstóvo 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.

"Náhtaéemaenéhetoo'o tsé'tóhe tséohkéévéévéhnese vo'éstaneo'o," náhéto,
"I'm going to tell all these who go around, people," I told him,

"tsetamáhehéne'enohe tséhešheheváxahé'továtse," náhéto.
"so then it will all be known that you are my son-in-law," I told him.

"Nésáatónéšenonáháxe'tanóhe," náhéto. "Ohkeéepéhévé'továstse, ohkeéehémanóxeváenéstse
"You have no way to get out of it," I told him. "Always treat me good, always give me a drink

má'óhkevóometo nonóha néstanëhešepéheváxahé'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'estomo'he (?)
He laughed. "Again and again you will have them start thinking that way.

nēšenó'ka nēhešeha!" náheta //
Not even once again say it!" he told me.

"Heé, néšahotómenéhetatséhe neaxaa'éhemo tséhmáhehévéóstomono,
"Hey, I didn't complain to you, (that) your sisters I had married them,
tséohké'evéhetóhta'haneto," náhéto.
the way you always tell the story," I told him.

"Naa náoné'ne'méhetóme, émáhehéne'enohe," éhevoo'o.
"Well, I really tell the truth., it is all known," he said.

"Heé, névááhe tséhmáhehéne'ëno? Névé'nee'óhkeno'kenéheve169
"Hey, who is it that knows all of it? You are the only one who says that

nää," náhéto. "Vo'éstane néakhésaa' étšéhe'sénéhetaëhe," náhéto.
and," I told him. "No one ever told me that," I told him.

Nátaennéšeameoo'évótáhtséme. Hená'hanéhe héné
We went along quarreling with each other. That's it, that's

néohkeénëheñená'so'ëemáhtséme tsé'tóhe hetane, Aënohenéstoohë
how we always tease each other, this man, Hawk Howler,
tséohkéhestoestse.
as he is called.

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168 These two words form a complex sentence in Cheyenne. There is an independent order verb of knowing followed by its complement in the conjunct order. The conjunct verb takes the complementizer preverb heše-.

169 The preferred order of morphemes in this word would be néohkevá'neeeno'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 mémééhe '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'
mémééhe 'grandpa'
nénéhe 'bottle, nurse'
pápááhe 'ride on back'
etc??

Affected speech
Cheyenne speakers can create various kinds of social affect by varying their speech styles.

Exaggeration
A syllable of a word can be lengthened to exaggerate the word:

tóotseha 'a very long time ago' (lengthened version of tótseha 'long ago')
Néváááhe? 'Who?!' (this lengthened version of Névááhe typically indicates that the speaker emphatically does not know who someone is)
Néváááso? 'Who?! (emphasized form of Névááso?)
Náoo! ?? Wow! (emphasized form of Náoo! 'Wow!')
Véetséno! Exactly! (emphasized form of vétséno 'right then')

Tight mouth ?? speech
Sometimes speakers, especially women, tighten their mouths and make them rounder to pronounce some words. This creates a special effect that indicates ___ ??

Cheyenne dialects

Cheyenne speakers and non-Cheyenne researchers sometimes refer to two of Cheyenne, Northern Cheyenne (spoken in Montana) and Southern Cheyenne (spoken in Oklahoma). Some people go even farther and speak of the "Northern Cheyenne Language." Many Cheyennes speak of language differences between Cheyenne spoken in Oklahoma and Montana. Some "Northerners", for instance, say that you can spot a speaker from Oklahoma after listening to just a few words of their speech.

My own research confirms that there are some slight differences in Cheyenne spoken in these two locations. As far as I have been able to determine, there are no differences in pronunciation or grammar. There are, however, a few words which are different between Montana and Oklahoma. Speakers from one location perfectly understand these words spoken in the other location. Are these word differences enough to say that there are two different dialects of Cheyenne? The answer to this
question depends on whether you want to look only at technical linguistic data or also at how speakers of the language actually feel about their language differences.

Because Cheyenne speakers from Montana and Oklahoma so strongly perceive there to be a dialect difference, and because they tease each other so much about those differences, these perceptions themselves create a sociological reality of a dialect difference. It would not be proper to say, therefore, that there is not a Northern versus Southern dialect of Cheyenne. We simply need to be aware what we are referring to when we speak of these "dialects." These are real dialects in the minds of the speakers, themselves, and that is a very important sociological (and sociolinguistic) reality.

On the other hand, we can also point out that there are very few actual linguistic differences between the Cheyenne spoken in Montana and that spoken in Oklahoma. In fact, it is more likely that there are some greater differences in the Cheyenne spoken by different Cheyenne families than there are between speakers from the North and South but these, also, are rather minimal, and often consist of little more than whether or not some people have a slight lisp, pronounce one vowel of a morpheme differently from other speakers, or have some similar small phonetic differences.

I have not heard any Northern vs. Southern dialectal differences in the morphology (grammar) of nouns or verbs. And I am not aware of any differences in the way words or morphemes are pronounced between Oklahoma and Montana speakers.

There are, however, a few individual words which are generally recognized to be used differently by Oklahoma and Montana speakers, even though they are not pronounced differently. Following is the entire list of such words which I have been given by Cheyenne speakers so far. But even in this list there are some words for which it is uncertain that it can be said that the words are different based on the location of the speakers.

1. clock: od: kó'ko'ehase'o'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'xemenòtse '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: nèxó'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: tohévetsy (loan translation from English 'two bits')
   md: tséháónóto (lit. that (coin) which is thick)
6. cat: od: ka'ënë-hótame (lit. short-nosed-dog; the literal meaning may initially sound odd, but historically hótame seems to have been semantically extended beyond orig. 'dog', to something like 'small domesticated animal'; cf. éškóseesé-hotame 'pig' (lit. sharp-nosed-dog); for md speakers, and perhaps for some od speakers, too, this means 'bulldog')
   md: póéso (we suspect this is a sound translation from an English word for cat, "pussy")
7. pay: od: éhóeotsésane 'he got paid' (lit. he's bringing (something) out; refers to bringing money out of the office)
md: éonénéxóhemohe he got paid' (lit. it was destroyed to him; perhaps refers to destroying an indebtedness)
8. crackers: od: tóhkonave-kóhkónóheonótsé (lit. skinny little breads; it is said that od speakers call crackers this, in teasing imitation of the md word)
   md: mo’óhkonave-kóhkónóheonótsé (lit. dried little breads)
9. potatoes: od: aéstome-méséhéstoto (lit. false eating things)
   md: méséhéstoto (lit. eating things)
10. washboard: od: něška’ōsé’o or hahéhaseo’o (lit. rubbing-thing)
    md: něškéhásé’o
11. He’s really a strong Christian (typically said with derision):
    od: éhoháestaahé (lit. he-very.much-baptized(?))
    md: éhoháéma’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’héstótse, 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 nåhtotse, 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'esesto with reportative suffixes

Cheyenne discourse

Discourse is ___ $$FILL OUT THIS SECTION; INCLUDE TYPICAL BEGINNINGS OF DISCOURSE MONOLOGUES (náto'séh'sémo, etc.), DISCOURSE-FINAL SAYINGS: Who would add tie on anything? That's the way it lies, hena'hóanéhe, etc., PREPONDERANCE OF POST-QUOTE MARGINS, DISCOURSE STATUS OF OVERT NOUNS, ETC.

Dialogue

Dialogues are conversations that occur between two or more people. It is essential for anyone wishing to speak Cheyenne to learn to converse in Cheyenne. Cheyenne dialogues follow rules for what grammatical forms are appropriate to use for each turn of a conversation. It is also essential that conversation follow these rules so that each turn will sound natural. Conversations turns must not be literal translations from English dialogues.$$SEE IF ANYTHING NATURAL ENOUGH CAN BE IMPORTED FROM "LET'S TALK CHEYENNE"

Topic continuity

Questions and answers

$$AVOID COPYING "ELICITATION" PAIRS FROM ENGLISH

Single word utterances

Common utterances and responses ($$copy from dictionary, etc.)

Etc.

Monologues

Monologues are longer stretches of speech by a single individual. Typical kinds of monologues are prayers, instructions, sermons, and stories. Many of the same patterns followed in dialogues are followed in monologues, except that all elements of the patterns are provided by a single individual in monologues. Sometimes monologues are called texts. ??

Following are texts which were told by Cheyennes in Oklahoma and Montana:

When Cheyennes Crossed the Ice, by Mrs. Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

\_sh v3.0 400 Cheyenne Interlinear

\ref 001
\t hoóma móhvo'estanéhevéhevóhe
\m hoóma mó- h- vo'estanéheve -hé -vo -hé
\g across INFER- PST- live -NEG -3PL -NEG
\p p tns- vai -sfx -fta -sfx
\t tósa'e.
\m tósa'e

315
They lived across somewhere.

And there were some Indians near there.

They did not visit them.

And one day they visited them.

Then all of a sudden they heard them.

They were talking Cheyenne as they talked.
And they found out about (those) near (them), that they were (just like) them.

They moved together.

And they made rafts (lit. things by which one moves on water, which are small, however they wove them).
"We'll turn over.

"We'll drown," they would say.

They quit making them.

And then one day, the big river, they say, was frozen solid.

It was frozen thick.
They moved across.

And when half of them had moved across, there was an exploding sound.

It was terrible.

The ice broke up.

Some turned back.
And some had already come across.

They did not know where those others were.

Maybe they drowned.

And those kept moving across.
That’s how the old men tell the story.

Sweet Medicine, by Mrs. Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

1) Hé'tóhe hóhta'heo'o, éhóhta'heóneve. 
   This story, it is a story.

2) Vé'hó'e tséssáa'éshó'ëhnéhévéso hákó'ë móxhésóhanéhe. 
   Whitemen, before they came, it (the story) from long ago must be from.

3) Naà násáapéhévëné'ënóhe. 
   And I do not know it well.

4) Naà tséohkeéevá'néhetáhtomónéto náhtanéhehëemë'ëstë. 
   And just the way I heard it, I’ll tell it like that.

5) Éohkemaetotóxëme oha násáahéne'ënovóhe / -héne'ënóhe / 
   He’s discussed all over, but I do not know him, -do not know it.

6) Motsë'éøvé, éohkëhevévoöne, mó'ohkeévééesstóëeehevovóhe, vé'hó'ë 
   Sweet Medicine, they say, used to talk to them, whitemen 

   tséssáa'éshó'ëhnéhévéso. 
   before they came.

7) Naà mó'ohkeéemë'éstomóehehënovóhe hová'ëhe, héva tsésto'sëho'ëhnétotse, 
   And he used to explain to them something maybe that was going to come, 
   hová'ëhe. 
   something.

8) Naà hétsetseha náto'vá'ne/=ta'së=tsëshke'më'está /// hetoo /// 
   And now I’m just going to tell, like, a little. Uh, 

9) néto'sëho'ã'õ'tëëvo /// vo'estane éhhesanesëstse /// 
   “He’ll come to you, a person,” (Sweet Medicine) said.
10) tsemáhevéšenohe éxhe- / éxheséstse ///
"He'll be all sewed up," he-, he said.

11) ho’évótse tseohkéhestohe éxheséstse //
"Earth Man, he will be called," he said.

12) Tósa'e ésáapo'véšenóhéhe, tsé'tóhe vo'ëstane
Nowhere will he not be sewed up, this person

tséto'sého'a'ó'tóése.
who is going to come to you.

13) néto'vonéano'táe'vo / netao'o hová'éhe / tséméhæae'/óhkeéene'ätamése5 //
He'll destroy for you everything that you used to depend on.

14) "Éto'semáhevonéanôhtse," éxhetósesto.
"He'll destroy everything," he told them.

15) "Naa / máto / néto'sého'a'ó'tóévo mo'éhno'ha /
"And also it will come to you, the horse.

16) "Mo'éhno'ha," néstseohkéhetóvo 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 tsenévéóhta //
And his legs, there will be four.

20) néstseohketáhóénóvo hoháá'èše
You'll ride him very far away.

21) néstseohketséhe'óhtséháévo,
He will take you there,

22) tsé'tóhe mo'ehno'ha / néstseohkéhetóvo //
this horse, you will call him that.

23) tséohkèsó'tó'ome'ého'øése éše'he
It will still hang firm (in the sky), the sun (during your travels)
24) nēstseohkèho'eoheòme hákó'e / éxhesanesèstse / you will arrive far away,” he said.

25) nēstsenèheše / vo'estanèhevéme
"You will live like that.

26) nēstsenèheše / eva'xe / tsé'tóhe mo'èhno'ha tséhešéévoa'xe / exhesanesèstse / You will be on the go the way this horse rolls his eyes," he said.

27) nā / máto vé'ho'ètótà'è nēstseohkèhetòvo
And also (will come), (the cow) 'whiteman-buffalo', you will call it that.

28) máto tsénevéóhta / Also it will have four legs.

29) tsénèshéêsta
It will have two ears.

30) nā / mátò=he'èxánèstse tsenèxanetotse / And also his ears, there will be two.

31) hestsèhévéàxe / tseohkèmèhexôneehatse / ho'èva / His tail will reach all the way to the ground.

32) tsénèsòhkònàvéhâhta // hestòohevono tsenèsòhkonaho / éxhesèstse / It will have split hooves, his hooves will be split," he said.

33) nā hoto / tsé'tóhe hóva nēstseohkèmèvòvo / And, uh, this animal (cow), you will eat it.

34) Vé'ho'ètótà'è nēstseohkèhetòvo / Ve'ho'ètota'è you will call it.

35) hohà'êxe tseohkèhešèmèa'xe éxhesèstse / From very far away he'll be smelled," he said.

36) Éxhetòsesto néhe hovâhne, "Vé'ho'ètótà'è," tséohkèhetòse.
He told them (about) this animal, "Cow," as you'll call it.

37) nā tsé'tóhe tséto'sèho'á'òtóése
And this one who will come to you

tsemahètàeotsèta ho'è tséxhetaa'òma'ò'e / will take over all the land throughout the world.

38) Totósa'è nēstseohkeevemè'à'éème.
Here and there your heads will appear (in various places).

39) "Néstseohkemo'kohťavěstséame," éxhesanesěstse / "You will have black hair," he said.

40) Naa móhma- / má'tamášěháněése / másaá'évatóxetano'tomáhése / nésta "But if you are crazy, if you do not think about the way previously
tséheševo'éstaněhěvése, něstamóhkevóhpa'émę," éxhesanesěstse.
how you used to live, you'll have gray hair," he said.

41) naa máto mé'ěšev tse tsěhóehevěése / And also a baby will come out (be born) with teeth.

42) Êstaéšěhetősema'xemé'ěstomósanesěstse.
He was constantly explaining a lot.

43) Nává'néhetaa'mé'ěstomóvo.
I am just telling this much about him.

44) Néhe'se
The end.

FOOTNOTES:

1This text was first collected by Donald Olson during 1963-1964 in Oklahoma. It appeared in print
in a previous collection of Cheyenne texts (W. Leman 1980b). It appears here with spelling slightly
updated. Some slight changes to bring the transcription closer in line with the taped recording have
been made. Original clause numbers are retained.

2Usually, this word would indicate that something is "just a story". The word hóhta'heo'o 'story'
should not be applied to accounts of history. On the whole, Cheyennes regard the story of Sweet
Medicine to be of more credible historicity than the usual legend or folktale, for which the label
hóhta'heo'o is appropriate. However, here it is probable that the narrator is not casting doubt on the
historicity of the account. Hesitation on the tape may indicate that the narrator wasn't quite sure what
to say at this point but used a word which fit grammatically here.

3Sweet Medicine is the most important prophet in Cheyenne history. For other accounts of Sweet
Medicine’s prophecy, see the following:

Grinnell, The Cheyenne Indians, Their History and Ways of Life, Vol. II, pp. 379-81.
Powell, Sweet Medicine, Vol. II, p. 466.
Standsintimber and Liberty, Cheyenne Memories, p. 40.

4The condensed preverb to'- here is pronounced to'še- 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-.

5 The usual order of preverbs here, probably preferred by this narrator also, is ohkeéeméhae.

6 The 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'.

7 The motif of a baby being born with teeth is well known in Cheyenne folklore. Note it in another text in this volume, "The Baby With Teeth".

The Corn and Meat, by Albert Hoffman (Oklahoma)

\name The Corn and Meat
\ref The Corn and Meat 001
\t éxo'hooné'tánése taa'eva.
\m é- ho'hooné'tá -né -s taa'eva
\g 3- PST- be_camp_in_a_circle -FII -REPORT at_night
\p pro- tns- vii -sfx -sfx obl
\t There was a camp at night.

\ref The Corn and Meat 002
\t é'ováxenásesto hetaneo'o.
\m é- ováxena -s est -o hetane -o
\g 3- PST- dream -REPORT -PL man -PL
\p pro- tns- vai -sfx -sfx na -sfx
\t Men dreamed.

\ref The Corn and Meat 003
\t naa tséhvóona'o é'ahkóheohtsésesto
\m naa tsé- h- vóona'ó é- h- ahkóheohtsé -s est -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 And the next morning young men were playing the hoop game.

\ref The Corn and Meat 004
\t netao'o éxoháetanevoo'énése.
\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
\t Everywhere there was a big crowd.

\ref The Corn and Meat 005
\t naa néhe'se éhváxeésesto.
And then they were dressing fancy.

One who was on (from?) the south side (of the camp) who had dreamed came to the center.

He was painted yellow; a feather stood on his head.

And from the north side one who had dreamed came to the center.

He was dressed the same (as the other one).
When the one from the south looked at that one from the north, (he said,)

"Maybe you are copying me," (he said).

"And I was thinking the same about you," (the other one said to him).

"Well, I dreamed," (said the first man).

"And likewise I dreamed," (said the second man).

"Look at our people, they are very hungry," (he said).
"What did you dream?" (asked the first man).

Well, this, where water came out, an old woman called me," he said.

"And I dreamed the same," (answered the second man). (More modern word, nánéhešeováxe.)

"Well, let's go there!" they said.

And they stopped playing the hoop game.

They suddenly sat down.
They went to where that water ran down.

They went in.

Here, the old woman was there.

"I have called you, my grandchildren. Sit down!" she told them.

They sat down.
"Eat this, meat and corn," she told them.

They were in a hurry (to eat).

They got full.

Here, the meat and corn remained the same (in amount).
It stayed the same amount.

They looked over there.

Corn was simply waving.

It was already tasseled.

And then, "Here, look again!" she told them.
They looked again.

A buffalo herd was standing.

"And take this out!

Feel (the herd) first!

Call (the herd)!

An old man will announce.
The old men will eat first.

And then these (others) according to their ages will eat next,” that’s how she called the old men.

All the old men came to the center.

They ate.

And step-by-step according to their ages.
And the children ate next.

The Corn and Meat 050

The Corn and Meat 051

Children who had just learned to eat ate it all up.

And babies who did not yet know how to eat, that grease was put on their heads.
And look toward here early in the morning!

A calf will come out to play," she told them.

And then maybe the next one who will be one year old," she told them.

And then a little (bigger) one who is bigger.
And then a buffalo will appear as it comes out," she told them.

And they told the story that way.

And then in the morning they looked.

A calf appeared playing.

And then the next sized one.

And then a buffalo will appear as it comes out," she told them.

And they told the story that way.

And then in the morning they looked.

A calf appeared playing.

And then the next sized one.

And then a buffalo will appear as it comes out," she told them.

And they told the story that way.

And then in the morning they looked.

A calf appeared playing.

And then the next sized one.
And then a buffalo came out last.

And then in the morning a buffalo herd was standing.

And there they all chased (buffalos).

In this way they had plenty to eat.

That's all that I know of (the story).

The Whiteman and the Indian, by Leonard Yelloweagle (Oklahoma)

Vé'ho'e naa xaevo'éstane é'éenéšeohtséesto.
Whiteman and Indian were going along together.

And in the evening they roasted a duck in the fire.

Naa tsé'éšééxáho'hetsése é'áhto'hohnóvösesto páéva.
And when it was done cooking they buried it in the ashes.

Naa mósto' seovéšenahevóhe.
And they were going to lie down.

Naa néhe'se vé'ho'e éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe xaevó'estanóho.
And then the whiteman told this Indian,

"Tsépēhēvéováxéstse hésetseha taa'eva tsetamevo tsé'tóhe še'xo,"
"He who dreams well now at night will eat this duck,"

éxheséstse.
he said.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevó'estane é'amáhtovósesto tsé'tóhe vé'hó'e.
And this Indian agreed with this whiteman.

Naa néhe'se š'ovéšenásésto.
And then they lay down.

Naa tséhvóona'otse vé'ho'e é'oseméoto'eséstse.
And when it was morning the whiteman got up really early.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevó'estane é'éšeahtse'tótosešenásésto.
But this Indian was already lying with his eyes open.

Naa vé'ho'e é'osehóhta'hanétanoséstse.
And the whiteman really wanted to tell his story.

Éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe xaevó'estanóho, "Nátavóvéhósésta
He told this Indian, "Let me be first to tell
naováxestótse!" éxhetósesto.
my dream!" he told him.

Naa tsé'tóhe xaevó'estane éhpéhévátséstánose.
And this Indian thought well of that.

Naa néhe vé'ho'e é'aséstohta'haneséstse.
And that whiteman started telling his story.

Éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe xaevó'estanóho.
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'éšeho'óesénávóse e'evonóhó'o éhne'anóheneeotse,"
"And here where they were a ladder came down,"

éxheséstse.
he said.
“Naa néhe’še nátaase'eoh'tse,"
"And then I started to go up,"

éxhetóhta'haneséstse tsé'tóhe vé'ho'e.
That's how he told the story, this whiteman.

Naa néhéóhe tséstaa'shého'óhta'hanése tsé'tóhe
And there when he got to that point in the story this

xaevó'estane éhnéhetósesto tsé'tóhe vé'hó'e,
Indian told this whiteman,

"Hee, hápó'e náto'estó'néheto'ováxe
"Hee, likewise I dreamed about the same
tséheto'ováxenáto," éxheséstse.
the way I dreamed," he said.

"Naa hápó'e vëtsóóhe tó'néhe'xóvéva
"And likewise then at exactly the same time
mónáováxenahéhe," éxheséstse tsé'tóhe xaevó'estane.
I must have dreamed," said this Indian.

"Hénéhéóhe nétavóomátse. E'evonóhó'óne
"There I saw you On a ladder
nëtaamee'eohtse," éxhetósesto.
you were going up," he told him.

"'Naa tsenésáa'éváho'eanõhohtséhe,' néhóovèhesétamátse,"
"'And he won't come back down,' I mistakenly thought about you,"

éxhetósesto.
he told him.

"Tsé'tóhe še'she 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 éhmóheeohntséhoono hováhne
Once long ago they met, animals.
Once long ago the animals met.

2. naa mato hapo’e móhmóheeohntséhevóhe vé'késeho tséohkéhetaa'eame'hávóse
And also likewise they met, birds those who fly.
And also likewise birds, those who fly, met.

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3. naa móséškanetsénoonáhe mósésto'sevéseetse'ohtséhēhe
   And bat was also going to go to
   And a bat was also going to go to

4. tséhmóheeoohtséstovetse
   where there was a meeting.
   the meeting.

5. éstatsēhe'ohtséhoo'o hovāhne tséhmóheeoohtsetsēse
   He went to animals where they were meeting.
   He went to where the animals were meeting.

6. hovāhne éstsehetaesesto nésāahovāhėvēhe névē'kēsēheve
   Animals told him, "You are not an animal. You are a bird.
   The animals told him, "You are not an animal. You are a bird.

7. tatsēhe'ohtsēstse vé'kēseho tséhmóheeoohtsēvōse
   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 épēhéva'e éxhetóhoono
   And, "That's good," he told them.
   "Well, that's good," he told them.

10. nāhtaévatsēhe'ohtse vé'kēseho tséhmóheeoohtsēvōse 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. éstatsēhe'ohtséhoo'o móséškanetsénoonáhe tséhmóheeoohtsetsēse
    He went to, bat, where they were meeting,
    The bat went to where the birds were meeting.
    vé'kēseho
    birds.

12. naa hánaháóhe tséståho'eōhtsēse énéxhósepóohehoo'o
    And over there when he arrived he was again rejected.
And when he arrived there he was rejected again.

13. tatsęheʼōhtséstse hováhne tséhmóheeohntsévöse
   "Go over to animals where they are meeting!
   "Go to where the animals are meeting!

14. nésáavéʼkéséhévéhe 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. ēhneʼevaaseohntséhoo’o
   He came away.
   He left.

16. naa námętatónéšévémase
   And "What should I do?
   "Well, what in the world should I do?

17. tósa’e náho’xéstähémase éxhešetanóhoo’o
   Where do I belong?" he thought.
   Where do I belong?" he wondered.

18. tásé=héhtáhtse náhováheve
   "I thought I was an animal, "I thought I was an animal, 

19. naa véʼkéso náhetane
   and 'bird' I am called.
   but I am called a bird.

20. naa tséhešésáavéʼkéséhévéhéto
   And since I am not a bird, 
   But since I am not a bird, 

21. tósa’e náho’xéstähémase
   where do I belong?
   where in the world do I belong?

22. násáaxehéneʼenöhe
   I just do not know."
   I just don't know."

23. tsé tôhe hóhtaʼhöö’o éhešenëhetôšëše
   This story thusly lies (is told that way).
   That's how this story is told.

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24. tósa'e ésáaho'xéseotséheséstse móséškanetsénoonáhe
   Someplace he does not belong, bat.
The bat doesn't belong anywhere.

25. mó'óhkéhéseévéheahtoešenáh'é éšeěva
   That must be why he hides in daytime.
   That must be why he hides in the daytime.

26. tósa'e heva ma' táá'e heva véhpotséva éohkeahoešenaséstse
   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'nóhkeeaměnhéstse táhta
   Someplace he doesn't go around in open.
   He doesn't go around anywhere in the open.

28. naa hena'háanehe énéhe'estóséše
   And that's all. It is thusly told.
   And that's how the story is told.

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The Frog and Her Brothers, by Ed Riggs (Oklahoma)

\ref FROG2 clause 1
\tx Tótseha éstáho'kónoehoo'o oonáha'é'héhe
\mr tótseha é-h -táho'kónoe-hoon oonáha'é'héhe
\mg long.ago 3-PST-sit.upon -PRET frog:FEM

\tx ma'xého'honáéva.
\mr ma'xe-ho'honáé-vá
\mg big -rock -OBL

\ft Long ago a frog sat on a big rock.

\ref FROG2 clause 2
\tx Ehnémenéehoo'o.
\mr é-h -nénené-e -hoon
\mg 3-PST-sing -sit-PRET

\ft She sat singing.

\ref FROG2 clause 3
She would say,

"When my brothers look nice (dancing) I am happy,"

she would say.

The two young men danced.

Both of those who danced had tailfeathers stuck in their hair on their heads.
While they danced, the frog spoke,

"Nahtatanem ophpéhévenoohéševoséstse
na -htataném-o oh -péhévenoohéšé-vó -s-et"

"When my brothers look nice (dancing) I am happy,"

she said.

Apparently these young men who danced, these who danced together, were jackrabbits.
The rabbits were the brothers of the frog.

The Geese, by Maude Fightingbear (Montana)

1. Éxhóhta’hane tséméhaevéstoemo.
   He told a story, the one who was my spouse.

2. Éxhósemóho 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. “Něhe’še ma’aetano’e náxhéseváéna.
   “Then the rifle, I grabbed it.

6. Náhtae’eamoo’o tséhnēšema’xametónove’hávose.
   I shot up at them while they were thickly flying.

7. Hótáhtse na’èstse náhtaa’táno.
   Here, one I accidentally shot.

8. Náhtató’omemāso.
   I shot him stiff.

9. Éhne’ameanā’o.
   He was falling down.

10. Něhe’še éhma’xepe’pe’e’háooheo’o néhe henā’e.
    Then they were really hollering flying, those geese.

11. Éhne’évaanóhénéheohé’tovovo néhe na’èstse tséméhaetó’omemáxamoo’o.
    They followed him down, that one that I shot stiff.

12. É’évanāha’enovo.
    They caught him.

13. Éstaévaaséhe’ame’hao’o.
    They started to fly back up.
14. Éstaéváhe’ameno’âse’hánovo.
   They took off upward with him.

15. Éstaévató’néseassevéseame’ha néhe tséméhaet’omemaso,”
   Right then he also started flying again, that one that I shot stiff,”

16. éxhetóhta’hâne.
   he told the story that way.

**I'm Beading Moccasins**, by Jeanette Howlingcrane (Oklahoma)

1. Tséxho’èhneto náoxa’ôhêne.
   When you came I was beading.

2. Mo’kêhanótse námanéstsenótse.
   Moccasins, I was making them.

3. A’e nåhtaéxananótse.
   Soon I’ll finish them.

4. Hé’tóhe mo’kêhanótse námanéstootáhahtsenótse.
   These moccasins I'm making for myself.

5. Náto'setaomêhemo’kêhanenótse,
   They are going to be my own moccasins,

6. naa mátô=héva vo’estane máxho’aestse náhtanêsëhhohtóvanótse.
   or someone if he wants (them), I'll sell them.

7. Móme’héhaomënëstse.
   They surely won't be expensive.

8. Éohkevá’nemâhtóhtöhanoemënëstse.
   They just cost ten (dollars).

**How Birney Got the Name Oevemanaheno**, by Elaine Strange Owl (Montana)

   Naa tséheškéto nánôntséstóvo hé’tóhe tséhmano’éevôse Oévemanahéno
   And my mother I asked her (about) this where they have a village, Scabby Place,

   tséhestohe. Hénova’e tséohkêhésenêhestohe hé’tóhe Oévemanahéno, náhêto.
   as it is called. "Why is it called that, this Scabby Place?" I said to her.

   Naa hâkóke tótseha tséhéóhe tséssáa’ëšemanô’ëéhêvôse vo’estaneo’o,
   "Well, long ago here when the people did not yet have a village,"

   éhevoo’o, netao’o háá’ēše mómëhaenonó’kevo’estanëhevëhevôhe tsé’tóhe Oévemanaho,
   she said, "all over far away they used to live by themselves, these Scabbies,

   tséohkêhestôhese hêtsetseha, naa tséssáa’ëšemanô’ëéhêvôse, éhevoo’o.
   as they are called now, and when they did not yet have a village," she said.
"It first used to be called Longfoot Town, it used to be called that. A man lived there.

He was tall and he had long feet. Longfoot Town, first used to be called," she said. "And this man was named

And now Scabby Place as it is again called," she said. "And 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 Háts héške éhma'xéhotsė'óhesêstse.
\mr hátšeške é-h -ma'xe-hotse'óhe-cest
\mg ant 3-PST-big -work -REPORT
\ft An ant worked hard.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 3
\tx éhnéšema'xéstovóhtsénôse héstáme hemáheóne.
\mr é-h -néše-ma'xe-éstovortsé -nó -s hé -htamé hé -máheón-é
\mg 3-PST-CONT-big -put.in.s.t.-FTI-REPORT 3POSS-food 3POSS-house -LOC
\ft She brought in her food, lots, to her house.

\ref GRASSHOP clause 4
\tx Méanéva hová'éhe mó'éeho'tségéhe
\mr méane-vá hová'éhe mó-h -éé -ho'tsé -hé -hé
\mg summer-OBL something DUB-PST-about-have.s.t.-NEG -NONAFFIRM
In the summer she had something where she had her house.

And this grasshopper sang.

He would just dance during summer.

"Likewise you should work.

Likewise something should be put in your house so that when it's cold you'll eat something,"

Likewise something should be put in your house so that when it's cold you'll eat something,
He was told by the ant.

"Hová’aháne,"
hová’aháne
no

"No,"

éxheséstse háhkota.
3-PST-say REPORT grasshopper
	said the grasshopper.

"Náto’seéeho’soo’e,
1-gonna-about dance

I'm gonna dance.

naa màto náto’senéméne.
and also 1-gonna-sing

and also I'm gonna sing.

Násáahotse’óhetanóhe.
1-NEG-work want
I don't want to work.

Eheóméhoháaeho’ta."
3-excessive REDUP be sunny
It's too sunny."

Néhe’še tséstotonétotse
Then when it was cold, he wanted to eat.

"Oh yes,
the ant stored a lot (of) her food in her house.

I want to go eat,

he said.

He went to eat.
ref GRASSHOP clause 22

\tx E'ësemehaenëhetæsesto,
\tmr é-ëse -mëhæ -në -het -ae -sës -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 "Nëtsësáahoxomatsëhe máxháeanato."
\tmr \ne -htse-sàa-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 éstanëšëševátmósesto hátšëskë
\tmr nàa é-ë-ha -nëše-ševátm-ó-sës -o hátšëskë
\mg but 3-PST-TRANSLOC-CONT-pity -DIR-REPORT-OBV ant

\tx hâhkotaho
\tmr hâhkotah -o
\mg grasshopper-OBV

\ft But the ant had pity on the grasshopper.

ref GRASSHOP clause 25

\tx éxhoxomósesto.
\tmr é-hoxom -ó -sës -o
\mg 3-PST-feed.s.o.-DIR-REPORT-OBV

\ft She fed him.
The Snake and Mice, by James Shoulderblade (Montana)

1) něťatoʔséhốʔéṣťómeʔvátněsěnoʔo šéʔšěnovōʔte naa hónkehesono
   I’m going to tell you about a snake and little mice.
2) šéʔšěnovōʔte éstaamevóněnhěhooʔo 3) éstáhoʔevóněňtóntačhe vōxe
   A snake was crawling along. He came upon a hole (den).
4) naa éstášševoňóněňhooʔo 5) hoʔátse éxŏhoʔonono hónkehesono
   And it crawled inside. Behold, there were little mice (there).
6) éxůměsěšštěšottěhooño 7) veʔǒtama tsetsehńěstse éxŏhőʔonono
   They really welcomed him! "In place of honor go sit!" they told him.
8) hónkehesono éstáššehtěhooño henésono tséʔtohe něměšěměvo
   The mouse said to her children, "This (is) your grandfather.
9) něńhoʔněňhoʔšěševěvěvo éx̱eʔhőʔonono 10) něńhoʔšě tsetšeššěšeněněvoʔxówěštse
   He came to visit you," she told them. Then after a little while
   éstáššěštehooño naʔěstse henésono něxhěʔastanomóveha káhámášěstse
   she told one (of) her children, "Go fetch firewood!
11) nāhtámohóʔtácohčeʔtóvo něměšěměvo éx̱eʔhőʔonono
   I’ll cook for your grandfather," she told him.
12) éstaosăněněhoʔaʔxówooʔo 13) tsetšeššěšeněněvoʔxůňtěsę
   He went outside. After he had been gone a little while
   éxůměsěšštěšotěhooño naʔěstse něxhěʔoncohómověha mahpe
   she told one (child), "Go fetch water!
14) nāhtámohóʔtácohčeʔtóvo něměšěměvo 15) tsetamšěšěšotę̱tse éx̱eʔhőʔonono
   I’ll cook for your grandfather. He’ll eat," she told him.
16) éstaosăněněhoʔaʔxówooʔo 17) tsetšeššěššěšoněněvoʔxůňtěsę
   He went outside. After he had been gone for a little while
   éxůměsěššěštehooño tsěněšěheʔeotšesęʔe henésono těhěnőʔtsetevōma
   she said to the two remaining (of) her children, "Go look for them!"
18) étěšěšesə̱ttćeʔ 19) éťáhěʔeňhoʔtćeʔ 20) něxhěʔaštántćeʔsęʔma
   What are they doing? They have been gone a long time. Go help them!"
21) éx̱eʔhőʔonono 22) tsetšeššěšoně̱tse she told them. They went outside.
   Again after a nenőveʔxůvětse éňněhőʔonono šéʔšěnovōʔte tsetamaʔchéheʔeňhoʔvůvěse
   little while she said to the snake, "It’s taking them too long!
23) tťáaxaʔe nátăhěnőʔtsetevōmoʔo éx̱eʔhőʔonono 24) naa něńhoʔšě
   Let’s see, I go look for them," she told him. She went outside.
25) tsetšěššěššěšhńěse henésono éstaasevěnoʔočhıntćeʔhoʔono
   *When she got outside, her children she began moving from danger. And then
26) něńhoʔšěnovōʔte hapeʔěvětə tsetšěššěššěšhńěse něńhoʔeňhoʔvóněňhooʔo tsetšěššěšhńěse
   the snake likewise when they did not return crawled back out.
27) hěńaʔhěńahe hapeʔěvětə tsetšěššěšhńěse něńhoʔeňhoʔvóněňhooʔo
   That is it, likewise, what was told to me, this story,
28) hěńaʔhěńahe
   when I was young. That is all.
Corn Pemmican, by Elva Killsontop (Montana)

1) nahko'eehe emanestse ho'xèstoha

2) māheemenótse eeséstáhonohtanótse hononèstova

3) tse'ešeexâho'tatse eevaonananótse

4) epeenanótse

5) naa nèhe'she ehohe'ha amèške

6) eaesto'enanótse māheemenótse ve'kee-mahpe naa nèhe'she amèške

7) eova'kanenèstse

   Nahko'eehe emanestse ho'xestoha.
   My mother made corn pemmnican.

Eesetahonohtanotse
Sheput
   mahaemenotse hononestova. corn intheoven.
Tse' geexaho'tatse
men she took it out.
   Epeenanotse. Naanehe'ge ehohe'ha amegke. She ground it. And then she melted grease.

Eaesto'enanotse
She mixed together
   mahaemenotse, ve'kee-mahpe, naanehe'ge amegke. corn, sugar, and then grease.
Eova'kanenestse.
They were formed into balls.

The Bear, the Coyote, and the Skunk, by Jeanette Howlingcrane (Oklahoma)

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

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

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

4. Nèhe'she éstóo'e'ováhtséhoono.
   Then they met
Then they met.

5. Náhkohe éstatséhetóhoono ó'kòhömeho,
   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'ähane,
   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 them
   he told them.

13. Tséxhe'éšéööevotâhtsevōse éxhe'kemé'ēhnēhoo'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'evonēhnēhoo'o.
    he slowly turned around
    He slowly turned around.
18. Exhe'kéhešéhosóhnéhoo'o.
   he slowly backed up
   He slowly backed up.

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

20. Essáánáhá'òoméhesesto tósa'é tséhešasetxa'xvóse.
   they were not caught sight of wherever they took off to
   No one ever saw them again, wherever they took off to.

Making Chokecherry Patties, by ElvaKillsontop (Montana)

1) to'seo'ešemee'estse menótse

2) eohkeovoheo'enenéstse

3) naa eohkéhoxe'ananéstse

4) eohkepeenenéstse naa mátô=héva eohkepenóhenéstse

5) eohkeova'kanenéstse

6) hešeeše eohkeo'éšemenéstse

7) naa eohkeonee'ósenenéstse kokakhése

8) (naa eohkene'eavovoomeo'o ve'késeho) naa óhtšéseoeotsee'estse

   hoo'henova eohkeeto'ehenéstse

9) tosa'e tse'o'o eohkého'henéstse

$\text{REVISE TEXT AND DELETE FOLLOWING DEFECTIVE SCAN}$
They are made into patties.

\[ eohkeoe'Memenestse \quad naa \]
\[ In \ \text{the sun} \ \text{they are dried and} \]
\[ eohkeone'o'senenestse \ \text{kakahke}. \quad \text{NaaotMeMe'o'ootsee'estse} \]
\[ \text{they are turned over} \ \text{every little while. And when they become dry,} \]
\[ \text{hoo'henova} \ \text{eohkeeto'henestse}. \quad \text{Tosa'e tse'o' o eohkeho'henestse.} \]
\[ \text{in a bag} \quad \text{they are put.} \quad \text{Someplace where it is dry they are kept.} \]

COMMENTS ON THE TEXTS

$$\text{CORRECT DEFECTIVE SCAN}$$

I have attempted to have a wide variety of texts from several viewpoints. There is geographical variety. Speakers who live in Montana have (mt) after the author credit in the text; speakers who live in Oklahoma have (ok). Some stories are told by men, others by women. Some stories are "historical" first-person eyewitness accounts while others are popular folktales. There are other categories of "historicity", too, for instance, first-person accounts which were made up for pedagogical purposes for bilingual programs. I have tried to select texts for inclusion which illustrate the various verbal modes. In this section I will briefly comment on various aspects of the texts.

Two of the texts, "The Drumming Owls" and "The Whiteman and the Indian" illustrate the popular motif of tension between the Indian (xamae-vo'estane, 'ordinary-person') and a trickster. Around the world it is very common to find that different groups of people have stories illustrating the tension they feel as they come into contact with other kinds of people. In some Indian groups of Mexico stories first spoke of the tension between the Indians and the conquering Spaniards. Today the same stories are told, but the oppressor is now the "wealthy" Mexican national land-owner. Often, stories illustrating the cultural tension have plots in which the "underdog" ultimately overcomes or tricksthe oppressor. This motif of the tension between a people and a trickster is a common one in Cheyenne stories, and also in other languages of the people who first inhabited North America. In some languages the trickster is a coyote. It is probably no accident that some of the language groups use the same word for 'spider' and 'trickster'. Such is the case with Cheyenne and Arapaho and I seem to recall that a Muskogean language also uses the same word for 'spider' and 'trickster'. The Cheyenne word is ve'ho'e. The Arapaho word is nih?oo8oo (Salzmann, IJAL 22.151). After having used these words for their cultural tricksters, both Cheyennes and Arapahos applied these words to the white man once he arrived on the scene.

Today, the term "ve'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 "ve'ho'e". Today I speakers know that ve'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 tsêmâhevô'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) Tsêtêshêstâhese 'Cheyennes', (2) nótsêo'o 'other tribes' and (3) vé’hô'e. Cheyennes and other tribes are sometimes grouped together and designated as xamaa-vo'estane'o'o (or xaa-vo'estane'o'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'hô'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 verb-forms use passives. There are some Generic conjunct verbs, e.g. to'seo'egemee'estse 'when they are going to be dried' and ohtge eo'etsee'estse 'when they become dry'.

"The Trek from Oklahoma" is a brief summary of an important historical event for the Cheyenne people. Note that the predominant verbal mode used is the Inferential. The Inferential is commonly used to pass along information that is known to have occurred but which was not viewed first-hand. Note that the first two verbs are Impersonals. Describing a situation with an Impersonal verb is one way of generalizing it, enabling the speaker to leave out reference to specific subjects. This can be done particularly when the participants involved are well-known to the speaker and hearers. In this case, there is no mistaking that the speaker is referring to Cheyennes (not, for example, Crows or Sioux!). There are some Conjunct Intensive Negative verbs, e.g.

COMMENTS ON THE TEXTS (cont'd)

ho'noamahtavotse and ho'nonexhohtamaevotse.

The story about Sweet Medicine and his prophecies is a very important tale 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. êhesêstse 'he is said to have said' and êxheto'sesto 'he is said to have told them'. There are some verb forms with body-part medials, e.g. tsenéve'hta 'he will have four legs' and tsene!!e4 esta (??) 'he will have t ,To (??) There are some conjunct potential verb forms toward the end of the text, ma'tamásañeese 'if, when you (pl) are crazy' and màsaa'évatóxetanó'tomáhése 'if, when you (pl) do not want to discuss it'.

The story about "The Geese" has an interesting verb form, tsémenhaetó'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 éstahó'konoehoo'o and éhñemenëehoo'o. The verb õhpehëvenënoohëvoséstse (??) 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 éhñemenëhoono '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, môme'héhaomenëstse 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 'Oevemanåheno'" is one of this type. Note the predominance of inferential verb forms. Also, note the repetition, not uncommon in Cheyenne stories.

It is said that the story of a crossing on ice is common to some of the Algonquian languages. "When Cheyennes Crossed the Ice" fits into this motif. Note the inanimate plural Conjunct Participle, tseohkeve'14(??)eamoohestsestovetsee'estse. The verb is made "relational" because it is the object of a verb with a third-person subject.

There are first-person plural (inclusive) Independent Indicative verb forms with the longer first-plural (inclusive) suffix /-mane/, i.e. _________________ (??) 'We will turn over ' and nestsememestaneman The verb hevahmëmëstanehevóhe (??) has a suffix like an inferential verb, but lacks the usual inferential particle turned prefix, nó-. 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 evahoseamee'éohstseo'o 'they went back up again' there are at least three preverbs, -eva- 'back', -hose- 'again', and -ame- 'along'. The verb eanõhesevanoo'o (??) contains the preverb –anõhe- 'down', and the verb éevahóseveho Meana'haxeo'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 culturaltrickster (subsequently applied to the white man). Thereis
a question and answer dialogue in Henaa'etseohkee'tome? and hová'ëhe

The latterform is interesting in that it is an example of a word which

takes on different meaning depending on whether it is in a "positive" or "negative" environment.

The sentence hova'ëhe naaIta would mean I am afraid of

something but if 'le add hova I then to the verb nasaa e tohe. I am not afraid of

it ye get hova'ëhe nasaa'ë'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 formality and "pushiness" of the white man in the text "The Iteman 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 /nótə́’e/\(^{170}\) '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:

   \[ h \rightarrow [\alpha \text{ PLACE}] / \_ \_ [\alpha \text{ PLACE}] \text{ [-voiced]} \]

   éssóhpeohtseséstse /é-h-sólpeohté-seht/ 'it is said he walked through'
   tséssáanéménéhétó /té-h-sáa-néméné-hé-tó/ 'when I did not sing'
   tséssééšése /té-h-šééšé-s/ when he was lying prone'

3. **h to s Fronting (HSF)**
   Phonemic /h/ is pronounced as [s] when it occurs between "e" and "t":

   \[ h \rightarrow s / e \_ \_ t \]

---

\(^{170}\) 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!'
Néstsehe'ooestse! /néh-tehe'ooeht/ 'Come here quickly!'

náhtona /na-htónah/ 'my daughter'
néstoná /ne-htónah/ 'your daughter'

The same rule (with a minor revision) accounts for the following assimilation: Phonemic /h/ of the directional /néh-/ is fronted to [s] preceding /p/ by some speakers.

néspáháveameotšéšemeno! ~ néhpáháveameotšéšemeno! 'Lead us well!'

All speakers pronounce the sequence [sp] in words with the morpheme ho'esp- 'rare, not done'. It is unclear whether this morpheme is phonemically /ho'ehp- / or /ho'esp-. If it is /ho'ehp-/, this would be another example of h to s Fronting. If it is /ho'esp-/, it would be the only form in Cheyenne with a phonemic /sp/ sequence.

ého'espáhō'ťa 'it's not done'
ého'espemásóho 'he shot him but only wounded him'

4. **h to š Fronting (HŠF)**
Phonemic /h/ is pronounced as [š] when it occurs between "e" and "k":

\[ h \rightarrow š \quad /e \_\_k \]

náhko'éehe /ná-hko'éehe/ 'my mother'
neško /ne-hko/ 'your mother'

5. **š-Backing (š-Back)**
Phonemic /š/ is pronounced as [x] when it precedes a back vowel, /a/ or /o/:

\[ š \rightarrow x \quad /\_\_V \quad [+\text{back}] \]

še'xo /šé'š-o/ 'duck (obviative)' (cf. šéšše 'duck')
néxahe /néšahe/ 'my grandchild' [cf. néše /néšé/ 'Grandchild! (vocative)]
éháóénáxe /éháóénášé/ 'he's lying praying'
énéše'xáhtse /éneše'šahté/ 'he gargled (lit., he washed his mouth; cf. énèše'sévóéne 'he washed his face')
énéxánéstse /énéšánét/ 'there are two of them (inanimate)' [cf. énéše'oo'o 'there are two of them (animate)]

6. **s to š Assimilation**
/s/ assimilates to [š] preceding /š/:

\[ š \rightarrow š \quad /\_\_\text{e š} \]

Note: This rule is optional when the /e/ is voiced, but obligatory when it is voiceless.
hátšeške ~ hátseške /hátehke/ 'ant'
éhemótšeške ~ éhemótseške /éhemótehke/ 'he has a knife'
motšėške /mótehk/ 'knife'
néameotšėšemeno /néameotešemeno/ 'you led us'

7. **h-Dissimilation (h-Diss)**
A phonemic /h/ is pronounced as phonetic [x] preceding another phonemic /h/:

\[
\text{h} \rightarrow \text{x} / \_ \_ \text{h}
\]

nánéxhé’óhtse /ná-neh-hé’ohté/ 1-CIS-there.come.from 'I came from there'
néxhéstánóhtse! /néh-hestán-ó-ht/ CIS-take-IOAM-IMP 'Bring it to me!'
tséxhonónévose /té-h-honóné-vós/ CJT-PST-bake-3PL 'when they baked'
náxhéné'éná /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.

\[
a \rightarrow \text{ɔ} / \_ \_ (\_ \_ \text{h}) \text{o}
\]

énaóótsé[i ɔː c] 'he's sleeping'
émá'ó [i mɔʔ o] 'it's red'
hestónaho [hɪs tόnɔ h] 'his/her daughter'
páhoeséstottse /pahoešéstot/ [pʰɔː s t ɔ c] 'cradleboard'

9. **y-Glide Insertion (YGI)**
A phonetic [ᵊ] glide occurs between "e" and a following back vowel ("a" or "o"):

\[
\emptyset \rightarrow \text{ᵊ} / \text{e} \_ \_ [\text{back vowel}]
\]

Náháéína [n á h á ᵊá n á] 'I'm hungry'
Néá’éná [n ʲ́aʔ i ɲ a] '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’éná 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 [ᵊ] glide occurs between "o" and a following "a":

\[
\emptyset \rightarrow \text{ᵊ} / \text{o} \_ \_ \text{a}
\]

hotóá’e [h o t ˈóː áʾ i] 'buffalo'
Nóávóse [n ˈóː a w ˈós] 'Bear Butte'
Énóahešéve [í n óʷ a h ɪ ší f] 'he is giving away'

Sometimes it is difficult to hear the difference between a non-phonemic [w] glide and the [w] sound of a phonemic /v/ that appears between "o" and "a". But it is often possible to tell whether a "w" sound is phonemic or not by listening to morphological alternations. For instance, we can tell that énóvahe 'he is slow' has a phonemic /v/, rather than the phonetic [w] glide, when the word is pluralized, énóvȧheo'o [í n óf th a v ʔ o] 'they are slow'. The phonetic [f] in this plural can only exist because it is the voiceless pronunciation of phonemic /v/ in the complex syllable of this word.

11. Phrase-Final Devoicing (PFD)
All word-final vowels devoice before a pause:

\[ V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / \_\_ \& \]

Phrase-medially, phonological characteristics vary a little from those of phrase-final phenomena. Complex Syllable Formation occurs across word boundaries in natural speech. Phrase-medially, word-final vowels which precede other words often are not devoiced in natural, connected speech.

This rule is illustrated by each Cheyenne word written in this book, if it is pronounced with a pause after it. **DELETE SENTENCE AND GIVE EXAMPLES??**

12. Prepenultimate Devoicing (PPD)
A low-pitched vowel is devoiced if it is followed by a voiceless fricative and not preceded by /h/:

\[ C \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / C \_ \_ [-\text{voiced}] \_ \_ C, V \_ \_ C, V \]

PPD applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

táhpeno /tahpenon/ 'flute'
kösáne /kosáné/ 'sheep (plural)'
mõxe'ėstoo'o /moše'ehtóon/ 'paper, book'
namêséme /namešémé/ 'my grandfather'
máhnôhtséstovótse /mahnohtehtovot/ 'if you ask him'

13. Penultimate Devoicing (PD)
\[ V \rightarrow [-\text{voiced}] / C \_ (h) C \_ \_ \]

Penultimate vowels devoice if they are followed by an obstruent which, in turn, is followed by a word-final "e". The word-final "e" is inserted by the following rule of e-Epenthesis.

hohköxe /hóhkoš/ 'ax'
tsétáhpétáhtse /tétahpetáht/ 'the one who is big'
tséxhonónévóso /téhkononévóso/ 'when they baked'
éśénéstse /éšenéť/ 'days'
vóhpoma'ōhtse /vóhpoma'oht/ 'salt'
14. **Consonant Devoicing (CD)**
A consonant is devoiced if it precedes a voiceless segment:

\[ C \rightarrow \text{[-voiced]} / \_ \_ \text{[-voiced]} \]

Naturally, if a consonant is intrinsically voiceless, this rule applies vacuously.

émane [i m a h i] 'he drank'
máhtamáháhe [f n a t a m h á: h] 'old woman'
éheóvo [i h v ó f ó] 'it's yellow'

15. **Special a and o Devoicing (SD)**
Non-high /a/ and /o/ devoice at least partially if preceded by a voiced vowel and followed by /h/, a consonant, and two or more syllables:

\[ V [+\text{back}] \rightarrow \text{[-voiced]} / V \_ h C \_ [\text{-high}] \]

This special devoicing is indicated in the examples below, although it would not normally be noted.

náohkého'soo'e 'I regularly dance'
émóheohtseo'o 'they are gathering'
nápóáhtsenáhno 'I punched him in the mouth'

16. **Preverb Devoicing**
Vowels often devoice following a preverb and immediately preceding a voiceless stop:

\[ V \rightarrow \text{[-voiced]} / + \_ \_ C \text{[-voiced]} \]

éěšépěhéva'e ~ ééšepéhéva'e /ééše+pehéva'e/ 'it's already good'
éněšépěhéva'e ~ éněšepéhéva'e /éneše+pehéva'e/ 'it's okay'

The same rule applies at the boundary between an initial and a following voiceless stop: (\$\$\text{COMBINE RULES??})

éasëta'xe ~ éaseta'xe /éase+ta'se/ 'he started to run'
asëtânóhtse ~ asetânóhtse /as+tânóht/ 'Pass it!'
nánéšétáno ~ nánéhešétáno '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’éseméséhéhe 'I did not eat yet'

For other preverbs the rule appears to apply mostly when there is hesitation in speech after the preverb.

18. **e-Epenthesis (e-Ep)**
   An "e" is added to the end of a word ends with a phonemic obstruent:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow e / C \_\# \]

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’këha /mó’kehan/ 'moccasin, shoe' (cf. mo’këhanótse /mókehanot/ 'moccasins, shoes'
mo’éhno’ha /mo’éhno’ham/ 'horse' (cf. mo’éhno’hâme /mo’éhno’hamé/ 'horses'

20. **s-Epenthesis (e-Ep)**
   /h/ is inserted between /e/ and a phonemic word-final /t/. This /h/ is pronounced as [s] according to the preceding HSA rule:

\[ \emptyset \rightarrow h / e \_\_ t \# \]

PPD (Prepenultimate Devoicing) follows, causing the "e" added by e-Ep to be voiceless.

hóhkéhá’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/ [tʰ o h k ʷ ọ] 'hammer'
máheór ‘/maheón/ [m̩ ʰ ʔ ˛ ọ] 'house'
éno’væhoo’ /énóvaheo/ [í nófʰ a⁵ Ọ ʷ ọ] 'they are slow'

\[^{171} V \text{ stands for a voiceless vowel here.} \]
pahoešéstotse /pahoešéstot/ [pʰ ɔː ʃ i s t o c] 'cradleboard'

22. Diphthongization
The two vowels of a complex syllable form a diphthong:

\[ V \rightarrow [-syl] \ / \ ___ V \]

mo'kēhanōtse [m o kʰ a n o c] 'moccasins, shoes'
náohkēhomōse [ná o kʰ o m ə s] 'I regularly cook'
pahoešéstotse [pʰ ɔː ʃ i s t o c] 'cradleboard'
nátahéovēše [n á t b áv o w t ſ] 'I'm going to lie down'
mahēō'o [m ʰ əv ō o] 'house'
Nákho'hā'e [n á h kʰ á i] 'Bear Woman'
énahahkahe [í n b a h k a h] 'he's energetic'

23. h-Absorption (h-Ab)
A phonemic /h/ is absorbed by a preceding or following voiceless vowel:

\[ h \rightarrow Ø / \ V \]

tsééna'hēstse [c iː na ? s c] 'the one who is old'
tséháōéñhtse [c i h ənː n á c] 'the one who is praying'
Hestānōhtse! [h əst ənɔːc] 'Take it!'
Vonāhō'hōhtse! [v o n b əv ō o] '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:

\[ \prime \rightarrow ^/ \{\#\} \ ___ \ # \]

\{\prime\}

šēšē /šēšé/ 'duck'
sēmō /sémón/ 'boat'
éma'ovēse /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:

\[ \prime \rightarrow ^/ \ „ \ # \]

méšéne /méšené/ 'ticks'
návó'omo /návóomó/ 'I see him'

\(^{172}\) The grave accent low pitch mark is only used in the pitch rules themselves when it is needed. Otherwise, low pitches are left unmarked.
póéso /póesón/ 'cat'
éméhósáne /éméhósané/ 'he loves'
éśaśéšévéhe /ésášéšévehé/ 'he is not a duck'
émá'o /éma'ó/ 'it is not red'

26. High-Leveling (HL)
A low is raised to a high if it is preceded and following by high pitches:

```
` → ′ / ′ (V) ($) ′ #
```

One or more voiceless syllables can occur between the pitch that is raised and a following high pitch. It appears that this rule only applies when the word-final pitch is phonemically high. This rule is closely related to the preceding rule of LHR and may be part of a single natural rule of pitch assimilation that includes both LHR and HL.

éávóónése /éávoonešé/ 'he's lying fasting'
éstsénéhé'e 'swamp'
ého'néhénóne /ého'néhenoné/ 'he sang a wolf song'
náhtóhévo /nahtóohévón/ 'my fingernail'
onéhávó'ke 'bead'

27. Low-to-Mid Raising (LMR)
A low is raised to a mid when it precedes a phonemic word-final high and is not preceded by a high. (This second condition can be eliminated from the rule if there is rule ordering and LMR is ordered after LHR.)

```
` → − / __ ′ #
```

kōsa /kosán/ 'sheep (singular)'
he'ē /he'ē/ 'woman'
éhomœse /éhomosé/ 'he is cooking'
etāhpe'āse /etāhpe'asé/ 'he has a big belly'

28. Word-Medial High-Raising (WMHR)
A high is raised if it follows a high (which is not a trigger for the High Push-Over rule) and precedes a phonetic low:

```
` → ′ / ′ ((C V [-voiced] ) C₀ )₀ ___ ′ C₀ V
[-high] [+cont]
```

One or more voiceless syllables may come between the two highs. (A devoiced vowel in this process must be phonemically low, not a phonemic high vowel which has been devoiced by the HPO rule.) Many verbal prefixes and preverbs are affected by WMHR.

éhâméstoo'e /éhâméhtoe/ 'he sat down'
émésehe /émésehe/ 'he is eating'
émôna'e /émôna'e/ 'it's new'
tséhnêmenéto /téhnémenétó/ 'when I sang'
nášâaméhtohénoto /nâsâaméhtohénoto/ 'I did not give him (obv) to him
éssâaméshéheo'o /éssâaméshéheóo/ 'they did not eat'
tsehevésésôneto /têhevésesôneto/ 'the one who is your cousin'
mônéso'hâénanâme /mônéso'hâénanâmé 'Are you (plural) still hungry?'
nvé'ea'xaâmé! /nevé'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):

\[ V \rightarrow ' / \_\_\_ \]stem \_\_\_\_\_\# 

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')
étapposé-stove 'there is getting cold easily (étapose 'he gets cold easily')
náméséhé-otse 'I ate quickly' (cf. námésehe 'he ate')
méséhê-stoto 'potatoes'
amâho'hê-stotôse 'cars' (cf. éamâho'he 'he's going along by car')
éssâanâotsé-hêo'o 'they are not sleeping' (cf. énaâotse 'he is sleeping')
éssâapèhéva'é-hane 'it is not good' (cf. épèhéva'e 'it is good')
tsépêhéva'é-tsee'èstse 'those (things) which are not good'
èhe'kotâhê-sesto 'they are said to be quiet (reportative mode) (cf. éhe'kotahe 'he is quiet)
èameohé-hoo'o 'Wow, he quickly walked!' (preterit mode) (cf. èameohe 'he quickly walked')
ésâapèhévenôohé-hehoono 'Wow, they do not look good!' (cf. épèhévenôohe '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:

' \rightarrow ' / ' \_\_\_ 

As formulated, HPO must be preceded by HR (High-Raising). HPO applies iteratively until its structural description is no longer met.

néhâoenama /néhâóénáma/ 'we (incl) prayed'
némêhotone /némêhótóne/ 'we (incl) love him'
námêhosanême /námêhósanêmé/ 'we (excl) love'

31. High-Lowering (HL)
A high is pronounced as a low\(^{173}\) preceding a word-final low:

\(^{173}\) I perceived this as a "hanging low" pitch (between a mid and low) in my 1981 article on Cheyenne pitch rules and the first editions of this book. Since then, however, I have concluded that there is insufficient evidence to say that there is such a pitch. Most, if not all, speakers pronounce a lowered high as a phonetic low pitch.
pe’e /pé’e/ 'nighthawk'
mene /méne/ 'berry'
motšéške /mótehk/ 'knife'
éhé’eve /éhé’éve/

32. **Word-Final Lowering (WFL)**

A word-final vowel is realized as a low pitch. If the word-final vowel is pre-pause, it will be devoiced by the Phrase-Final Devoicing Rule (PFDR).

\[
V \to \acute{\v} / \_ \_ &
\]

návôomo#nàhkohé 'I saw a bear'
evôohta#máheó’ó 'he saw a house'

33. **Glottal Raising (GR)**

A glottal stop can raise the pitch of a preceding vowel. The amount of elevation in pitch, if there is any, varies depending on the word and the speaker.

\[
\acute{\v} \to \{ \acute{\v} \} / \_ \_ ?
\{ \_ \}
\]

ó’óésié’o /ó’éseon/ 'clothesline'
óová’haséis’o /óova’haseon/ 'pump'
éhestó’tonónho’ó. /éhehto’tonohnóhó’ó 'he braided his (someone else’s) hair.'
tsévéhestá’ámáxe Á /tévehehta’amašese/ 'who had gunshot wounds' (1987:107)

34. **Vowel-Stretching (VS)**

Cheyenne does not permit word-final vowel sequences for pronunciation. If there is a phonemic word-final vowel sequence, a glottal stop and a copy of the last phonemic vowel will be inserted.\(^\text{174}\)

\[
\emptyset \to V \ [\alpha \text{ back}] \_ / [\gamma \text{ PITCH}] \_ \_ \_ V \ [\alpha \text{ back}] \_ \_ \_ ( [+\text{obs}] ) \_ \# \\
[\beta \text{ high}] \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ [\gamma \text{ PITCH}] \\
[\beta \text{ high}] \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ [\text{-voiced}] \\
\]

VS applies if a voiceless obstruent (/s/, /š/, or /t/) follows the phonemic word-final vowel sequence. Subsequent to Vowel-Stretching, a rule of Vowel Assimilation assimilates /e/ to an immediately preceding vowel.

meo’o /méon/ 'road, trail'
honoo’o /honón’o/ 'roast'
vee’e /véen/ 'lodge, tepee'
xā’o /šaón/ 'skunk'

\(^{174}\) This process was first observed in Cheyenne by Algonquianist Ives Goddard and described in a slightly different formulation (1978).
néšéé‘êše /néšeéš/ 'for two days'

There is a minor exception to this formulation of the VS rule when the phonemic word-final vowel sequences are ea# or oa#. Instead of expected phonetic ea’a# or oa’a#, respectively, most speakers pronounce ea’e# and oa’e#. We suggest that some kind of neutralization rule accounts for this exception. Such a rule may involve something like "strong" and "weak" vowels in Cheyenne, where "o" and "a" are strong vowels and "e" is a weaker vowel used in neutralization contexts such as this. Such known exceptions are:

hēā’e /heá/ 'maybe', instead of expected hēā’a
éméa’e /éméa/ 'he gave', instead of expected émea’a
hotóá’e /notóá/ 'buffalo', instead of expected hotóá’a

Another minor exception in the speech of at least some speakers involves retention of high pitch on some phonemic pre-VS penultimate vowels when a lowering of the high pitch is expected. Such exceptions include:

vée’êsé /véês/ 'tooth', instead of expected veé’ëse
séó’ôtse /sét/ 'ghost, corpse', instead of expected seo’ôtse

$\text{IS THERE ANY INTERACTION WITH / INFLUENCE FROM IAH (IMPERMANENT ANTEPENULTIMATE HIGH)?}$

Note: not all surface (pronounceable) forms which end with two vowels, a glottal stop, and a word-final vowel have undergone Vowel-Stretching. Such forms which have not undergone VS are:

énaā‘ē /énæa’ē/ 'he doctored (cf. énaa’e /énae/ 'he died')
náné’póó’o /náné’pøö’ø/ 'I peeked over'
éméó’e /éméö’ë/ 'he fought'

35. Vowel Assimilation

An "e" assimilates to take on the phonetic value of an immediately preceding vowel when that "e" is followed by a consonant:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
V & V & V \\
[-\text{back}] & [\alpha \text{ back}] & [\alpha \text{ back}] \quad \text{C} \\
[\beta \text{ high}] & [\beta \text{ high}] & \\
\end{array}
\]

Sometimes this assimilation is not total, but usually it is nearly so. Assimilation occurring to vowels which have undergone Vowel-Stretching is total, and so I write the second vowel in its assimilated form. I do not write non-Vowel-Stretched sequences in their assimilated forms, since they are sometimes not totally assimilated and also since their underlying (phonemic) forms can be more easily recovered from their written forms.

návóomáā’e [nāwɔomā:ʔi?] 'they saw me'
névéoomaene [níwɔoma:ʕi̯] 'he saw us (incl)'
ého'oöstse [ɪhoʔøːsc] '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.

Námóxe'oha mòxe'ëstoo'o. [ná ŋò xwí t o ŋ á # ŋò xwí t o s t o : ŋ] 'I wrote a book.'

Násáavóomóhe náhhokhe. [nássâawó:mó: # náhhok] 'I did not see the bear.'

h-Loss also occurs with some word-medial sequences in natural rapid speech:

éméhaemane [í mí a: ma ŋí] 'he used to drink'
étšéhe'kéhahe [éh k í ah] 'he is young'
éhoháetonéto [éh á: ton í tó] '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/: 

\[
\emptyset \rightarrow \text{w / o} \ [+\text{back}] \_ [+\text{high}] \ [+\text{cont}]
\]

oha [ohwá] 'only'

namòxe'ëstoo'o [na° m òxwí t o s t o : ŋ] 'my book'

38. **Palatalization**

Cheyenne /h/ is palatalized if it is preceded by /e/ and followed by /a/ (??) or /o/:

\[
\emptyset \rightarrow \text{y / e h} \_ [+\text{high}] \ [+\text{cont}]
\]

eho /ého/ [éh y ŋ] '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'esto'hahtse! /né'ehto'haha-ht/ 'Take your gloves off!'
Po'ōhtse! /po'oh-ō-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=hméméstaněhevóhe '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’ševótsè 'this baby'
hé’tóhe 'this one (animate)'; hé’tó=máhé’ó ‘this house'
néhe ‘that one (referred to; animate); né=ka’ékó ’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=Nóávóše ‘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=’éháóhó’ta 'Is it hot’
mó=’éšépěhéva’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:
The /o/ of the final becomes high-pitched during contraction. Cheyenne contraction reflects vowel coalescence which occurred in Proto-Algonquian and continues to occur in other Algonquian languages. Examples of Cheyene contraction follow:

náhéne’enóó’e ‘they know me’ (cf. náhéne’enova ‘he knows me’)
nánéhóó’e ‘they chased me’ (cf. nánehova ‘he chased me’)
nénéhoehe? ‘Did he chase you?’
néhéne’enohe? ?? 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 --> $ /__ [+obs, +back]  (i.e., k, š)

with a codicil that for the speakers who assimilate 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.

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