

# Appendix to Prosodically conditioned phonology in Cheyenne In Papers of the 51<sup>st</sup> Algonquian Conference

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## 1. Overview

This is an appendix to the paper “Prosodically conditioned phonology in Cheyenne”. Below are results from and transcriptions of the two stories discussed in the paper: “The Frog and Her Brothers” (Story 1) and “The Bat” (Story 2). Both stories were told by Edward Riggs, originally recorded by Donald Olson in 1965 (APS archive), and then transcribed and glossed by Wayne Leman (Leman 1980a). They have been annotated for phrase-final devoicing and pitch reset by Rachel Vogel and Sarah Murray for the purposes of the paper. The annotations are as follows:

**Blue vowels:** word-final not devoiced

**Red vowels:** word-final devoiced

**Underlined words:** the main/independent verb of the clause

**pause:** break between words

**reset:** pitch reset between words

Note that sentences are counted as inclusive of directly quoted material. So “I’ll go” she said’ would be one sentence but two clauses. Clauses are counted by independent verbs (declarative, interrogative, imperative) and include all words that belong with that verb, including embedded/dependent clauses.

## 2. Abbreviations

1 = first person, 3 = third person, AN = animate, ANA = anaphor, ATTRIB = attributive, CAT = cataphora, CIS = cislocative, CTJ = conjunct, DIR = direct, DUB = dubitative, EP = epenthesis, HABIT = habitual, IMPERS = impersonal, INF = infinitive, INV = inverse, ITER = iterative, FAI = final animate intransitive, FEM = feminine, FTA = final transitive animate, FTI = final transitive inanimate, LOC = locative, NEG = negation, NONAFFIRM = non-affirmative, PART = partitive, PL = plural, POSS = possessive, PRET = preterite, PS = possessor, PST = past, PSV = passive, OBL = oblique, OBV = obviative, RPT = reportative, SG = singular, SFX = suffix, TRL = translocative.

### 3. Results from Story 1

Total words: 38

Words **with final devoicing**: 30

Words **without final devoicing**: 8

word categories for examples **without devoicing** (clause #) (sentence position):

sentence-initial particle (1) (1st word of 4 in sentence)

independent verb (1) (2nd word of 4 in sentence)

possessive noun (4) (subject of dependent clause, 1st word of 3)

independent verb (6) (1st word of 3)

numeral (6) (2nd word of 3)

dependent verb (7) (1st word of 6)

dependent verb (8) (1st word of 3)

possessive noun (9) (subject of dependent clause, 1st word of 3)

Words ending in -he (all **with final devoicing**): 9

Words **with final devoicing** in final position of clause: 13/13

Words **with final devoicing** in initial/medial position of clause: 17/25

Words with **reset** in final position of clause: 12/13 (no reset after last word of story)

Words with **reset** in initial/medial position of clause: 5/25

Words with **reset** after them: 17

Words without reset after them: 21

Words **with final devoicing** and **reset**: 17

Words **with final devoicing** only: 13 (including last word of story)

Words ending in -he **with final devoicing** and **reset**: 1

Words **with final devoicing** followed by reset and pause: 11

Words **with final devoicing** but no reset followed by pause: 2

Clauses: 13 (story numbering, counting by independent/matrix verbs)

Clauses **with final devoicing**: 13

Clauses **with reset** after them: 12 (last clause of story not followed by reset)

Total sentences: 9 (counted by periods, including quoted speech as embedded)

Sentences with final devoicing: 9

Sentences with reset after them: 8 (no reset after last sentence of the story)

Independent verbs: 11 (underlined)

Independent verbs **with final devoicing**: 9

Independent verbs **without final devoicing**: 2

Independent verbs followed by **reset**: 7

This measure is whether the independent verb itself is devoiced or followed by reset. Often the main verb is final in the clause, but not always. In this story, of the 11 independent verbs, 6 are clause final. All 6 of those have final devoicing and are followed by reset. The 5 clause-initial/medial independent verbs, one has both devoicing and reset, two have devoicing with no reset, and two have neither devoicing nor reset.

There are 13 clauses but only 11 independent verbs because both Clause 11 and Clause 13 do not contain canonical independent verbs.

#### 4. Story 1: The Frog and Her Brothers, by Edward Riggs

\ref FROG2 clause 1

\tx	Tótseha	<u>éstáho'kónoehoo'o</u>	oonáha'é'héhe <b>pause</b>
\mr	tótseha	é-h-táho'kónoe-hoon	oonáha'é'héhe
\mg	long.ago	3-PST-sit.upon-PRET	frog:FEM

\tx	ma'xého'honáév <b>a. reset</b>
\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	<u>Ehnémenéehoo'o</u> . <b>reset</b>
\mr	é-h-némené-e-hoon
\mg	3-PST-sing-sit-PRET

\ft She sat singing.

\ref FROG2 clause 3

\tx	<u>E'òhketséhéhoo'o</u> , <b>reset pause</b>
\mr	é-h-ohke-tsé-hé-hoon
\mg	3-PST-HABIT-CAT-say-PRET

\ft She would say,

\ref FROG2 clause 4

\tx "Náhtatanemo           òhpèhévenenoohé'ševosèsts<sub>e</sub> **pause**  
\mr na-htataném-o           oh-pèhéve-nenoohé'šé-vó-s-et  
\mg 1POSS-brother-PL       whenever-good-appear(?)-3PL-3-ITER

\tx náohkevoéšetāno," **reset**  
\mr ná-ohke-vóéše-tanó  
\mg 1-HABIT-joyful-mental

\ft "When my brothers look nice (dancing) I am happy,"

\ref FROG2 clause 5

\tx é'òhkèhéhoo'o. **reset pause**  
\mr é-h-ohke-hé-hoon  
\mg 3-PST-HABIT-say-PRET

\ft she would say.

\ref FROG2 clause 6

\tx Exho'sóehoono                   neš<sub>e</sub>   kásováaheho. **reset pause**  
\mr é-h-ho'sóe-hoon-o               néš<sub>e</sub>   kásováhéh-o  
\mg 3-PST-dance-PRET-PL           two   young.man-PL

\ft The two young men danced.

\ref FROG2 clause 7

\tx Néhnéšévose                   votōnèsts<sub>e</sub>   éhnéestsénóvòsestòts<sub>e</sub> **reset pause**  
\mr néh-néše-vó-s               voton-ét       é-h-néestsé-n-óvó-sest-ot  
\mg CJT-two-3PL-3               tailfeather-PL 3-PST-stand(?)-FTI-3PL-ATTRIB-PL

\tx hemé'konēvo **reset pause**       néhe   tsého'sóese. **reset pause**  
\mr he-mé'kon-evó               néhe   tsé-ho'sóe-se  
\mg 3POSS-head-3PL               these   CJT-dance-3PL:PART

\ft Both of those who danced had tailfeathers stuck in their hair on their heads.

\ref FROG2 clause 8

\tx Tséhněšenáamého'sóévòse  
\mr tsé-h-něšená-ame-ho'sóe-vó-s  
\mg CJT-PST-while-along-dance-3PL-3

\tx é'òhkeéestséhoo'o oonáha'é'héhe, reset pause  
\mr é-h-ohke-éestse-hoon oonáha'é'héhe  
\mg 3-PST-HABIT-speak-PRET frog:FEM

\ft While they danced, the frog spoke,

\ref FROG2 clause 9

\tx "Náhtatanemo òhpèhévenenoohé'shevosèsts [reset unclear]  
\mr na-htataném-o oh-pèhéve-nenoohé'sé-vó-s-et  
\mg 1POSS-brother-PL whenever-good-appear(?)-3PL-3-ITER

\tx náohkevóešetāno," reset  
\mr ná-ohke-vóeše-tanó  
\mg 1-HABIT-joyful-mental

\ft "When my brothers look nice (dancing) I am happy,"

\ref FROG2 clause 10

\tx é'òhkèhéhoo'o, reset pause  
\mr é-h-ohke-hé-hoon  
\mg 3-PST-HABIT-say-PRET

\ft she said.

\ref FROG2 clause 11

\tx Hévá=móhe tsé'tóhe tsého'sóese reset kásováaheho reset  
\mr hévá=móhe tsé'tóhe tsé-ho'sóe-se kásováahéh-o  
\mg maybe=right? these.AN CJT-dance-3PL:PART young.man-PL

\tx aénòhevóohehahoon reset pause néhe tsénésòhomó'hese. reset pause  
\mr aénohe-vóoheh-a-hoon-o néhe tsé-nés-ohomó'he-se  
\mg hawk-rabbit-?-PRET-PL these:AN CJT-two-dance-3PL:PART

\ft Apparently these young men who danced, these who danced together, were jackrabbits.

\ref FROG2 clause 12

\tx Mó'òhkèhestatanéméhénótóhe  
\mr mó-h-ohke-he-htataném-é-hé-not-ó-hé  
\mg DUB-PST-HABIT-have-brother-FAI-NEG-FTA-DIR-NONAFFIRM

\tx oonáha'é'héhe vóhkooheho. reset pause  
\mr oonáha'é'héhe vóhkoohéh-o  
\mg frog:FEM rabbit-OBV

\ft The rabbits were the brothers of the frog.

\ref FROG2 clause 13

\tx Hena'háanéhe tséhetaa'óhta'hanéto.  
\mr hena'háanéhe tsé-hetaa'-óhta'hané-tó  
\mg this.is.it CJT-extent-tell.story-1

\ft That is all that I have to tell.

#### 4. Results from Story 2

Total words: 81 (84, but one sentence of 3 words is excluded because it contains a disfluency)

Words **with final devoicing**: 62

Words **without final devoicing**: 19

word categories for examples **without devoicing** (clause #) (sentence position):

Sentence-initial particle (1) (2nd word of 4)	tótseha
Sentence-initial particle (2) (1st word of 6)	naa
Sentence-initial particle (2) (2nd word of 6)	máto
Sentence-initial particle (3) (1st word of 4)	naa
noun (3) (2nd word of 4)	mòséškanetsénoonáhe
noun (5) (1st word of 4)	hováhne
noun (6) (2nd word of 3)	vé'késeho
Sentence-initial particle (8) (1st word of 2/3)	naa
noun (9) (2nd word of 3/5)	vé'késeho
Sentence-initial particle (11) (1st word of 4)	naa
noun (12) (2nd word of 3)	hováhne
Sentence-initial particle (15) (1st word of 2/5)	naa
Independent verb (15) (2nd word of 2/5, within quote)	<u>náme'tatónèšévémáse</u>
Sentence-initial particle (17) (2nd word of 3)	tá'sé=hótáhtse
Sentence-initial particle (18) (1st word of 3)	naa
Sentence-initial particle (19) (1st word of 4)	naa

Particle in disjunction (24) (1st word of 6)	héva
Particle in disjunction (24) (2nd word of 6)	héva
Sentence-initial particle (26) (1st word of 3)	naa

Total sentences: 23 (counted by periods/includes quotes)  
 Sentences **with final devoicing**: 23

Clauses: 32 (counting by independent/matrix verbs)  
 Clauses **with final devoicing**: 31

The one that is not devoiced is internal to a direct quote.

Independent/matrix verbs: 32 (underlined)  
 Independent verbs **with final devoicing**: 31  
 Independent verbs **without final devoicing**: 1

This measure is whether the independent verbs themselves are devoiced.

Words ending in -he: 14 (1 not devoiced)

## 5. Story 2: The Bat, by Edward Riggs

\ref The Bat.001

\t	no'ka /	tótseha //	<u>éhmóheeohtséhoon</u> <b>o</b>	hováh <b>ne</b>
\m	no'ka	tótseha	é-h-móheeohtsé-ho-on-o	hováhn-é
\g	once	long.ago	3-PST-meet-PRET-PRET.SFX-3PL	animal-PL
\p	p	p	pro-tns-vai-mode-mode-num	na-num

\f Once long ago the animals met.

S1C1

\ref The Bat.002

\t	naa	máto // hápó' <b>e</b>	<u>móhmóheeohtséhevō</u> <b>he</b>
\m	naa	máto hápó'e	mó-h-móheeohtsé-hé-vo-hé
\g	and	also likewise	INF-PST-meet-NEG.SFX-3PL-INF.SFX
\p	p	p p	mode-tns-vai-sfx-num-sfx

\t	vé'kése <b>ho</b>	[tséohkèhetaa'eame'hávò <b>se</b> ] //
\m	vé'keséh-o	tsé-ohke-hetaa'e-ame'há-vó-s
\g	bird-3PL	CNJ-HABIT-entire-fly.along-3PL-3
\p	na-num	px-pv-i-vai-num-pro

\f And also likewise birds, those who fly, met.

S2C2

\ref The Bat.003

\t naa // móséškanetsénoonáhe mósto'sevéseéetséhe'òhtséhée  
\m naa móséškanetsénoonáhe mó-h-to'se-vése-éve-tséhe'òhtsé-hé-hé  
\g and bat INF-PST-PROS-with-about-go.to-NEG.SFX-INF.SFX  
\p p na mode-tns-pv-pv-pv-vai-sfx-sfx

\t tséhmóheeohtséstovets~~e~~  
\m tsé-h-móheeohtsé-htóve-tse  
\g CNJ-OBL-meet-IMPERS-OBV  
\p pfx-tns-vai-fii-pro

\f And a bat was also going to go to where there was a meeting.  
S3C3

\ref The Bat.004

\t éstatséhe'òhtséhoo'o [hováhne tséhmóheeohtsetsés~~e~~] o  
\m é-h-ta-tséhe'òhtsé-ho-on hováhn-é tsé-h-móheeohtsé-tse-s  
\g 3-PST-TRL-go.to-PRET-PRET.SFX animal-PL CNJ-OBL-meet-OBV-3  
\p pro-tns-dir-vai-mode-mode na-num pfx-tns-vai-pro-pro

\f He went to where the animals were meeting.  
s4c4

\ref The Bat.005

\t hováhne éstséhetaesesto  
\m hováhn-é é-h-tsé-het-ae-sest-o  
\g animal-PL 3-PST-CAT-tell-INV-RPT-OBV  
\p na-num pro-tns-pv-vta-voice-mode-num

\t nésáahováhévée névé'késéhee  
\m né-sáa-hováhn-éve-hé né-vé'keséh-éve  
\g 2-NEG-animal-be-NEG.SFX 2-bird-be  
\p pro-pv-na-fai-sfx pro-na-fai

\f The animals told him, "You are not an animal. You are a bird."  
s5c5,6,7



\ref The Bat.006

\t	<u>tatséhe'òhtsèste</u>	[vé'késeho	tséhmóheeohtsévo <sup>e</sup> ]
\m	ta-tséhe'òhtsé-ht	vé'keséh-o	tsé-h-móheeohtsé-vó-s
\g	TRL-go.to-IMPV	bird-3PL	CNJ-OBL-meet-3PL-3
\p	dir-vai-mode	na-num	px-tns-vai-num-pro

\f Go to where the birds are meeting!"  
s6c8

\ref The Bat.007

\t	<u>éxhestóhehoo'o</u>	mòséškanetsénoonáhe
\m	é-h-hestóhe-ho-on	mòséškanetsénoonáhe
\g	3-PST-tell-PRET-PRET.SFX	bat
\p	pro-tns-vta.psv-mode-mode	na

\f the bat was told.  
s6c9

\ref The Bat.008

\t	naa	<u>épéhéva'e</u>	<u>éxhetóhoon</u> <sup>o</sup>
\m	naa	é-péhéva'e	é-h-het-ó-ho-on-o
\g	and	3-good	3-PST-tell-DIR-PRET-PRET.SFX-OBV
\p	p	pro-vii	pro-tns-vta-voice-mode-mode-num

\f "Well, that's good," he told them.  
s7c10,11

\ref The Bat.009

\t	<u>náhtaévatséhe'òhtse</u>	[vé'késeho	tséhmóheeohtsévo <sup>e</sup> ]
\m	ná-htse-ta-éva-tséhe'òhtsé	vé'keséh-o	tsé-h-móheeohtsé-vó-s
\g	1-FUT-TRL-back-go.to	bird-3PL	CNJ-OBL-meet-3PL-3
\p	pro-tns-dir-pv-vai	na-num	px-tns-vai-num-pro

\t	<u>éxhéhoo'o</u>	mòséškanetsénoonáhe
\m	é-h-he-ho-on	mòséškanetsénoonáhe
\g	3-PST-say-PRET-PRET.SFX	bat
\p	pro-tns-vai-mode-mode	na

\f "I'll go back to where the birds are meeting,"  
said the bat.

s8c12,13

\ref The Bat.010

\t	<u>éstatséhe'òhtséhoo'o</u>	mòsěškanetsénoonáhe
\m	é-h-ta-tséhe'òhtsé-ho-on	mòsěškanetsénoonáhe
\g	3-PST-TRL-go.to-PRET-PRET.SFX	bat
\p	pro-tns-dir-vai-mode-mode	na

\t	[tséhmóheeohtsetsése	vé'késeho]
\m	tsé-h-móheeohtsé-tse-s	vé'keséh-o
\g	CNJ-OBL-meet-OBV-3	bird-3PL
\p	pfx-tns-vai-pro-pro	na-num

\f The bat went to where the birds were meeting.  
s9c14

\ref The Bat.011

\t	naa	hánaháóhe	tséstáho'eòhtsése
\m	naa	hánaháóhe	tsé-h-ta-ho'eohtsé-s
\g	and	over.there	CNJ-OBL-TRL-arrive-3
\p	p	p	pfx-tns-dir-vai-pro

\t	<u>énèxhósepéohéhoo'o</u>
\m	é-neh-hóse-péót-e-ho-on
\g	3-CIS-again-reject-PSV-PRET-PRET.SFX
\p	pro-dir-pv-vta-voice-mode-mode

\f And when he arrived there he was rejected  
again.  
s10c15

\ref The Bat.012

\t	<u>tatséhe'òhtséstse</u>	[hováhne	tséhmóheeohtsévosé]
\m	ta- tséhe'òhtsé -ht	hováhn-é	tsé-h-móheeohtsé-vó-s
\g	TRL-go.to-IMPV	animal-PL	CNJ-OBL-meet-3PL-3
\p	dir-vai-mode	na-num	pfx-tns-vai-num -pro

\f "Go to where the animals are meeting!  
s11c16

\ref The Bat.013

\t	<u>nésáavé'késéhévéhe</u>	<u>néhováheve</u>	<u>éxhestóhehoo'o</u>
\m	né-sáa-vé'keséh-éve-hé	né-hováhn-éve	é-h-hestóhe-ho-on
\g	2-NEG-bird-be-NEG.SFX	2-animal-be	3-PST-tell-PRET-PRET.SFX
\p	pro-pv-na-fai-sfx	pro-na-fai	pro-tns-vta.psv-mode-mode

\f You are not a bird. You are an animal," he was told.  
s12c17,18,19

\ref The Bat.014

\t	<u>éhne'evaaseohtséhoo'o</u>
\m	é-h-neh-éva-aseohtsé-ho-on
\g	3-PST-CIS-back-leave-PRET-PRET.SFX
\p	pro-tns-dir-pv-vai-mode-mode

\f He left.

s13c20

\ref The Bat.015

\t	naa	<u>náme'tatóněšévémáse</u>
\m	naa	ná-me'-ta-tóněšévé-máse
\g	and	1-should-HORT-what.do-RPT
\p	p	pro-pv-pv-vai-evid

\f "Well, what in the world should I do?

s14c21

\ref The Bat.016

\t	tósa'e	<u>náhó'xéstáhémáse</u>	<u>éxhešetanóhoo'o</u>
\m	tósa'e	ná-hó'xéstahe-máse	é-h-hešetanó-ho-on
\g	where	1-belong-RPT	3-PST-think.this.way-PRET-PRET.SFX
\p	p	pro-vai-evid	pro-tns-vai-mode-mode

\f Where do I belong?" he wondered.

s14c22,23

\ref The Bat.017

\t	tá'sè=hótáhtse	<u>náhováheve</u>
\m	tā'se=hótáhtse	ná-hováhn-éve
\g	like=unexpectedly	1-animal-be
\p	p=p	pro-na-fai

\f "I thought I was an animal,

s15c24

\ref The Bat.018

\t	naa	vé'késo	<u>náhetāne</u>
\m	naa	vé'késo	ná-het-ané
\g	and	bird	1-tell-1PL.PS
\p	p	na	pro-vta-num

\f but I am called a bird.

s16c25

\ref The Bat.019

\t	naa	tséhešesáavé'késéhévéhéto	tósa'e	<u>náhó'xéstáhémāse</u>
\m	naa	tsé-heše-sáa-vé'keséh-éve-hé-tón	tósa'e	ná-hó'xéstahe-māse
\g	and	CNJ-how-NEG-bird-be-NEG.SFX -1	where	1-belong-RPT
\p	p	px-pv-pv-na-fai-sfx-pro	p	pro-vai-evid

\f But since I am not a bird, where do I belong?

s17c26

\ref The Bat.020

\t	<u>násáaxaehéne'enóhe</u>
\m	ná-sáa-xae-héne'en-ó-hé
\g	1-NEG-simply-know-FTI-NEG.SFX
\p	pro-pv-pv-vti-theme-sfx

\f I just don't know."

s18c27

\ref The Bat.021

\t	tsé'tóhe	hóhta'hēō'o	<u>éhešenèhetóšéše</u>
\m	tsé'tóhé	hóhta'heon	é-heše-nè-het-*óš-éš-e
\g	this	story	3-how-ANA-so-***-day-SG
\p	pro	na	pro-pv-pv-i-***-fni-num énehe'éstóšéše (??)

\f That's how this story is told.

s19c28

(alternate gloss?)

\t	éhešenèhe'éstóšéše
\m	é-heše-nè-he'éstóšéšená

\g	3-how-ANA-lie.so		
\p	pro-pv-pv-vai)		
\ref The Bat.022			
\t	tósa'e	<u>ésáahó'xéseotséhesèstse</u>	mòsésškanetsénoonáhe
\m	tósa'e	é-sáa-hó'xéseotse-hé-sest	mòsésškanetsénoonáhe
\g	where	3-NEG-belong-NEG.SFX-RPT	bat
\p	p	pro-pv-vii-sfx-mode	na

\f The bat is said not to belong anywhere.  
S20c29

\ref The Bat.023

\t	<u>mó'òhkéhéseéveahtoešenáhéhe</u>	éšeēva
\m	mó-h-ohke-hése-éve-ahtoešená-hé-hé	éšeēva
\g	INF-PST-HABIT-why-about-hide-NEG.SFX-INF.SFX	daytime
\p	mode-tns-pv-pv-vai-sfx-sfx	obl

\f That must be why he hides in the daytime.  
s21c30

\ref The Bat.024

\t	tósa'e	héva	//	ma'tāā'e	héva	véhpotsēva
\m	tósa'e	héva		ma'taa'-é	héva	véhpot-e-vá
\g	where	maybe		forest-LOC	maybe	leaf-EP-OBL
\p	p	p		ni-sfx	p	ni-sfx-sfx

\t	<u>éohkeahtoešenasèstse</u>
\m	é-ohke-ahtoešená-sest
\g	3-HABIT-hide-RPT
\p	pro-pv-vai-mode

\f Someplace, maybe in the forest or in leaves, he is said to hide.  
s22c31

\ref The Bat.025

\t	tósa'e (inserted into next word after ohke-)	móho'nóhkeéeamēhnèstse	táhta
\m	tósa'e	mó-ho'nó-ohke-éve-amehné-ht	táhta
\g	where	INF-not-HABIT-about-walk-3	openly
\p	p	mode-pfx-pv-pv-vai-pro	p

\f He doesn't go around anywhere in the open.  
not counted

\ref The Bat.026

\t	naa	hena'háanéhe	énehe'éstóšěš
\t	naa	hena'háanéhe	énehe'éstóšěše
\m	naa	hena'háanéhe	é-nè-he'éstósešená
\g	and	that's.it	3-ANA-lie.so
\p	p	pro	pro-pv-vai

\f And that's how the story is told.

s23c32