

(40) *?in du-wæd-ʔáy-ay-áh*
1pl buy-eat-VENT-INCH-DECL
'We'll go and buy something to eat.' (txt)

(41) *...?in hi-ciʔ-wob-té-ay-áh !*
1pl FACT-stick-rest.on-FUT-INCH-DECL
'...We'll stick (her hair) on!' (cv)

The Inchoative suffix also combines with predicate nominals (including some relative clauses, as in 46), where it performs the same inchoative functions as with the verbal predicates above:

(42) *tih b'ók b'iyiʔ-ay*
3sg skin only-INCH
'Only his skin is left now.' (cv)
(said to tease a small child, after the "monster" adult has just pretended to suck out his insides)

(43) *déh-ay ?in-ih*
water-INCH 1pl-DECL
'We're about to get rained on.' (cv) (cf. example 28)

(44) *tih nũh-ay, nup = m'æ tih cadáp-áh*
3sg tapioca/solid matter-INCH this=MEAS 3sg settle.out-DECL
'It develops the solid matter (as the water boils off), just this much settles out.' (txt)

(45) *tih nũh-ay mĩʔ = mah tih ʔid-ih, tih báb' = n'ăn*
3sg head-INCH UNDER=REP 3sg speak-DECL 3sg sibling=PL.OBJ
'Despite having become only a head, he spoke to his relatives.' (a jaguar had eaten the man's body) (txt)

(46) *hid = n'ăn hikəd-ní = d'əh-ay*
3pl=PL.OBJ change-be=PL-INCH
'It's we (the Hupd'əh) who have now taken their place.' (txt)

It does the same with predicate adjectives; for example, when asked how one is after an illness, or whether one has had enough to eat after a meal, one responds *naw-ay* (good-INCH) 'I'm well/satisfied', whereas the response *naw* 'good' is appropriate in circumstances where no transition from a less-well state is in-

the Inchoative and the Boundary Suffix *-Vý* (Dynamic) do not normally co-occur.¹⁵¹ This fact may have a semantic explanation: the Inchoative itself encodes an element of dynamicity (*vis-à-vis* the temporal reference point) that is otherwise conveyed by Dynamic *-Vý*; the final *-y* of the Inchoative may even be a formal reflection of this. Thus while the Declarative is preferred on clause-final *-ay* when the event is not concurrent with the speech moment, *-ay* occurs by itself when the event is on-going (as in the examples above).

The combination of Inchoative and Declarative is very common in past-tense narrative and in general descriptive discourse, where it tends to alternate with clauses marked by the Sequential *-yóʔ*, chaining events together in a sequence. The event is introduced with Inchoative *-ay-áh*, then re-summarized with Sequential *-yóʔ*, and then the next event is introduced, as in example (38) (see also §18.2.6.3). This use of the Inchoative has to do less with the actual aspectual nature of the event than with the packaging of information within the text.

(38) *yɔj-yiʔ-yóʔ... tih = tít hid d'oiʔ-d'ák-ay-áh*
peel-TEL-SEQ 3sg=string 3pl take-stick.against-INCH-DECL
'Having peeled it, they attach its string.
tih = tít d'oiʔ-d'ák-yóʔ...
3sg=string take-stick.against-SEQ
Having attached its string...' (txt)

The Inchoative + Declarative form *-ay-áh* is also used in other contexts in which the simple Declarative appears, such as with the first person plural pronoun to create an inclusive future sense (examples 39–40; see §13.3), and following the Future suffix *-te-* (where it yields a progressive or prospective future; compare English "going to do V"), as in example (41).

(39) *?in ʔəh-ay-áh*
1pl sleep-INCH-DECL
'We're (all) going to sleep.' (i.e., 'good night') (cv)

¹⁵¹ However, one apparent exception to this rule has been encountered:

déh hóp-əy-ay
water dry.up-DYNM-INCH
'The water is starting to subside.' (cv)