

semantically akin to the expectation that the negative state will exist at some time in the future. However, use of *-ay* in a negative construction is not restricted to future reference, and may also be used to describe a current transition into such a state, as in (35).

- (34) *ʔāh ham-níh-ay*
1sg go-NEG-INCH
'I'm not going to go.' (cv)

- (35) *peʔ-níh-ay*
sick-NEG-INCH
'(I'm) not sick anymore.' (cv)

The Inchoative marker co-occurs with (and typically follows) many other aspect markers. It is particularly common following the Telic marker (an Inner Suffix that indicates complete involvement of the participants, see §12.6). In (36), the same utterance with Dynamic *-Vý* in place of the Inchoative would be translated as 'are you (fully) used to', whereas the Inchoative lends the sense of a transition; similarly, the Inchoative in example (37) indicates the transition to a state of being cool (whereas the Dynamic would mean that it was completely cool and may have been so for some time).

- (36) *húp = d'əh máh ní-hipāh-yíʔ-ay ʔám ?*
Hup=PL near be-know-TEL-INCH 2sg
'Are you getting used/have you gotten used to living with the Hupd'əh?' (cv)

- (37) *kapé m'æ-yíʔ-ay*
coffee cool-TEL-INCH
'The coffee is cooling off; is just cool enough to drink.' (cv)

When the Inchoative is itself followed by a Boundary Suffix, this is most frequently Declarative *-Vh* – although this is of course restricted to clause-final environments (in keeping with the rules governing *-Vh*, see §17.3.2). However,

- (27) *hám-ay*
go-INCH
'(We're) going.' (said on the point of leaving; equivalent to 'goodbye') (cv)

It can also indicate that the event has just begun to take place:

- (28) *děh d'øj-ay*
water rain-INCH
'It's beginning to rain.' (OR: 'It is about to rain.') (cv)

- (29) *n'í-cóʔ tih ní-ay*
there-LOC 3sg be-INCH
'He's living there now.' (recently left previous home) (cv)

- (30) *yú-ay = mah, tih-iw-ih*
wait-INCH=REP 3sg-FLR-DECL
'She's waiting, she says.' (she has just started) (cv)

- (31) *húp-ăn tih wæd-tú-ay, pík-iw-ay = mah*
person-OBJ 3sg eat-want-INCH scream-FLR-INCH=REP
'(When) he wants to eat a person (i.e., upon entering a state of wanting), he begins screaming (to attract them).' (txt)

The Inchoative is common in imperative mood (see §17.5), especially for slightly impatient imperatives. In these constructions, both *-ay* and the preceding stem (or Inner Suffix) take the stress and high tone of the imperative mood:

- (32) *húptok g'óp-áy !*
caxiri serve-INCH.IMP
'Start serving caxiri!' (i.e., it's ready, go ahead)

- (33) *ʔəh-yíʔ-áy !*
sleep-TEL-INCH.IMP
'Go to sleep!'

In negative clauses, Inchoative *-ay* is typically used to indicate a negative *future* event (as in example 34), and is among the few grammatical means for doing so, since the Future suffix *-teg / -te-* is ungrammatical in negative clauses (see §13.1). Presumably, the idea of entering into or initiating a negative state is