Dynamic -Vý also tends to precede the Emphatic Coordinator enclitic =nih,[150] used primarily to signal coordination (see §18.1.3). Most notably, whereas Dynamic -Vý is limited almost entirely to association with verbs, in the context of =nih it may occur following virtually any part of speech, including a verb stem (example 20), a bound noun bracketing a relative clause (21), a negative marker (and 'Filler' syllable) (21), and a Telic/adverbializer enclitic (22).

(20) tih   kéy-óy = nih
3sg   see-DYNM=EMPH.CO
'He's seen too.' (a boy who has been initiated to see the Yurupari flutes) (ru)

(21) tih = dó   wón-óp = ?ih-íy = nih,   tih = tohó
3sg=red   follow-DEP=MSC-DYNM=EMPH.CO 3sg=white

won-nih-íw-íy = nih
follow-NEG-FLR-DYNM=EMPH.CO
'The brown (dog) chases animals, the white one does not.' (el)

(22) núp   ?inih = hin   cáp = yi?-íy = nih   káh
this   1pl.POSS=also   other=TEL-DYNM=EMPH.CO ADVR
'Also ours (i.e., language) is different, too.' (after listing various other dialects) (txt)

The -Vý suffix has an additional non-aspectual function: it acts as an attributive marker in a small set of nominal compounds, many of which involve an adjective as the first element (see §5.1.4):

(23) núp   j'ób-óy = d'óh
this   night-DYNM=PL
'Those of tonight' (cv)

(24) hikán-ãy = ?ãy   ?ãm ?
where-DYNM=FEM 2sg
'A woman-from-where are you?' (i.e., 'where are you from?') (cv)

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[150] The -Vý suffix receives extra stress and vowel lengthening in these constructions, as it does in the nominal compound forms below.

(25) póh-óy   déh
high-DYNM   liquid
'Water from the roof' (cv)

Despite their profound differences, there is a possible semantic link between these various realizations of the -Vý suffix. Like the verbal Dynamic marker, which signals a dynamic and concurrent relationship between coordinated events, time frames, and/or the current speech moment, -Vý used as a coordinator and even as an attributive marker may be signaling a dynamic connection between two or more events, propositions, or entities – i.e., they are intrinsically associated, interdependent, and temporally consistent. Such a conceptual and/or historical link between temporal, spatial, and propositional or abstract concepts appears in many aspects of Hup grammar.

12.3. Inchoative -ay

The suffix -ay combines with predicates to mark inchoative aspect, and indicates a transition into a state or the initiation of an event. Inchoative -ay is independent of tense; when occurring alone with no other aspect or tense markers markers, its interpretations can vary as to whether an event or a transition into a state has just begun, is currently beginning, or is about to begin, vis-à-vis a given temporal reference point.

Formally, Inchoative -ay is unusual in that it can act either as a Boundary Suffix or as an Inner Suffix, followed by another Boundary Suffix. Like several other vowel-initial Boundary Suffixes, -ay is unstressed, while the stem it follows receives stress. Also – like all other vowel-initial suffixes in Hup – Inchoative -ay conditions consonant-gemination on stems, as discussed in §2.1.2.1. Because it is consistently oral, this results in a homorganic nasal-oral consonant cluster when the stem is nasal, such that the surface realization of a form like hám-ay (go-INCH) is [hám-bay] (compare hám-ãy (go-DYNM) [hám-mãy]).

In direct combination with verb roots, -ay typically indicates that an event is about to take place:

(26) b'éh-ay
cross.stream-INCH
'(I'm) going across the stream.' (i.e., home to the other end of the village) (cv)

(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'ŏj-ay*
water rain-INCH
'It's beginning to rain.' (OR: 'It is about to rain.') (cv)

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

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

(31) *húp-ăn tíh wæd-tú-ay, pík-ĩw-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'ŏp-ăy !*
caxiri serve-INCH.IMP
'Start serving caxiri!' (i.e., it's ready, go ahead)

(33) *ʔŏh-yíʔ-ăy !*
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

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) *ʔãh 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 *-Vy* 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 ni-hipáh-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,

the Inchoative and the Boundary Suffix -Vý (Dynamic) do not normally co-occur.[151] This fact may have a semantic explanation: the Inchoative itself en-codes an element of dynamicity (vis-a-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 Se-quential -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) yóʃ-yíʔ-yóʔ... tih=tít hid dʼoʔ-dʼǎk-ay-áh
peel-TEL-SEQ 3sg=string 3pl take-stick.against-INCH-DECL
'Having peeled it, they attach its string.

tih=tít dʼoʔ-dʼak-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 pro-noun to create an inclusive future sense (examples 39–40; see §13.3), and fol-lowing the Future suffix -te- (where it yields a progressive or prospective fu-ture; compare English "going to do V"), as in example (41).

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

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151 However, one apparent exception to this rule has been encountered:
dǎh hɔ́p-ǒy-ay
water dry.up-DYNM-INCH
'The water is starting to subside.' (cv)

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

(41) ...ʔin 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 func-tions as with the verbal predicates above:

(42) tih bʼɔk bʼíyíʔ-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) dǎh-ay ʔin-ǐh
water-INCH 1pl-DECL
'We're about to get rained on.' (cv) (cf. example 28)

(44) tih nǔh-ay, nup=mʼǽ 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 nǔh-ay miʔ=mah tih ʔáh, tih bábʼ=nʼǎn
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) híd=nʼǎn hikəd-ní=dʼəh-ay
3pl=PL.OBJ change-be=PL-INCH
'It's we (the Hupdʼəh) 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 náw-ay (good-INCH) 'I'm well/satisfied', whereas the response náw 'good' is appropriate in circumstances where no transition from a less-well state is in-

volved. Similarly, *pǎ-ay* (NEG-EX-INCH) means 'all gone, none left', whereas *pǎ* means 'none, does not exist'. A further example is given in (47).

(47) *gɨ́-ay*   *ʔɨ́n-ɨ́h*
     hot-INCH 1pl-DECL
     'We're about to get hot.' / 'It's getting hot on us.' (cv)

Inchoative *-ay* has the same function with other kinds of predicates as well, such as the adverbial expression *máh=yiʔ* (near=TEL) 'close by':

(48) *ʔɨn*   *máh=yiʔ-ay*
     1pl   near=TEL-INCH
     'We're getting close; nearly there.' (cv)

In what is probably a related function, Inchoative *-ay* follows the Directional marker *-an* (resulting in the form *-an-ay* [an-day]), to form a temporal adverbial in a dependent clause (see §18.2.6.2):

(49) *tɨh*   *hɔp-hí-an-ay=mah*   *jʼám,*   *núp*   *pŏtʔah...*
     3sg dry.up-descend-DIR-INCH=REP DST.CNTR this upriver

   tu-dʼoʔ-kəd-pǽ-ǽy=mah
   go.down-take-pass-go.upstream-DYNM=REP
   'As it (the water) went down, there upriver… he pushed (a fish-trap) upstream.' (txt)

A distinct – but undoubtedly related – function of Inchoative *-ay* is its use as a marker of Inchoative focus, especially with nominal arguments (see §7.1.1), as in (50). This can perhaps be compared with the use of 'now' with nominals in English as a marker of contrastive topic or focus.

(50) *hɨ́d-ǎn*   *tɨh*   *mǽh-ǽw-ay…*   *hɨ́d=ʔɨ́n-ay*
     3pl-OBJ 3sg kill-FLR-INCH 3pl=mother-INCH
     'She beat them, their mother (did).' (txt)

A very common use of Inchoative *-ay* involves its combination with the 'Filler' syllable *-Vw-*. While the Filler syllable *-Vw-* in Hup, and in general appears to be itself semantically empty (see §15.2.4), its combination with the Inchoative suffix results in an inchoative form (*-Vw-ay*) with marginally distinct semantics from *-ay*. The primary function of this form is to

signal entry into a relatively long-term or (semi-) permanent state. With an active verb, this long-term state is understood to be the result of the event in question.

Examples of the use of this long-term state use of *-Vw-ay* include *hipáh-ǎw-ay* (know-) 'knows it completely' (e.g., a language in which one has attained fluency); *bʼóy-ow-ay* (study-) 'studying' (e.g., has begun for the day and will continue all day); *nǽn-ǽw-ay* (come-) 'coming to stay for good or long-term'; *macǎ-ǎw-ay* (get.strong-) 'fully recovered' (after an illness; compare *macǎ-ay* (get.strong-INCH), used to mean 'getting better'); and *kéy-ew-ay* (see-), used in reference to a boy who has been initiated into the Yurupari tradition (i.e., he has entered the stage of seeing the instruments, from which there is no going back).

Other examples include (51), which was uttered in response to my question of why a dog had died; it was starving, and had entered the stage of being on the edge of death, with no recovery expected. The same thing is sometimes said of people who are very old or terminally ill, once they reach the stage of being bed-ridden. Likewise, example (52) was in reference to a small child who had reached the stage of having learned to walk. Further examples are given in (53–55).

(51) *tɨh*   *náʔ-ǎw-ay*
     3sg lose.consciousness-FLR-INCH
     'He was dying.' (cv)

(52) *tɨh*   *gʼet-gʼôʔ-ow-ay*
     3sg stand-go.about-FLR-INCH
     'She's walking.' (cv)

(53) *pěd*   *tǽhʔɨ́p*   *ni-tǔk-uw-ay=nih=cud=mah*
     Ped   child.father be-want-FLR-INCH=EMPH.CO=INFR=REP
     'It looks like Ped (has come to the stage of) wanting (i.e., being ready for) a husband, they said.' (cv)

(54) *tɨh*   *tǽ=yɨ́ʔ,*   *wiʔwɨ́ʔ-ɨ́y=mah…*   *tɨh*
     3sg   YET=TEL tremble-DYNM=REP   3sg
   ʔəg-nɨ́h
   drink-NEG

   ʔəg-ow-ay,   *náw*   *cuʔ-yɨ́ʔ-ɨw-ay=mah-ǎh*   *tɨh-íp* !
   drink-FLR-INCH good grab-TEL-FLR-INCH=REP-FOC 3sg-DEP
   'When he hasn't drunk yet, they say he trembles… once he starts drinking, he's fine, they say, that one!' (cv)

(55) yúd ʔin cúd-uw-ay
clothes 1pl be.inside-FLR-INCH
'We wear clothes now.' (in reference to the days when the Hupd'əh wore loincloths) (el)

Whereas the simple Filler + Inchoative form is used for a current, on-going state, the Declarative is typically added for a state that is not concurrent with the present moment, as it is with the simple Inchoative (see 38–41 above):

(56) tíh cak-g'áʔ-ãw-ay-áh
3sg climb-be.suspended-FLR-INCH-DECL
'He climbed up and lay down in the hammock (never to wake again).' (txt)

(57) tíh-ăn wid-hám-ay-áh, dɔʔkěy hám-ãw-ay-áh
3sg-OBJ arrive-go-INCH-DECL right go-FLR-INCH-DECL
'They fit him, went just right.' (txt)

The 'long-term' Inchoative also figures in contexts of clause coordination, indicating that when X begins, Y will occur (see §18.1.2):

(58) hŭh-an wid-hám-ãw-ay, wág kəd-nɨh
São.Gabriel-DIR arrive-go-FLR-INCH day pass-NEG

'verdúra' ʔáh wæd-té-h
greens(Pt) 1sg eat-FUT
'When I go to São Gabriel, I will eat green vegetables every day.' (el)

In some contexts, the use of the 'long-term' Inchoative appears to be linked not to aspect, but to emphasis. This probably relates primarily to the ability (elsewhere in Hup) of the Filler syllable to mark emphasis (see §15.2.4), as well as that of the Inchoative to mark focus. This is illustrated in the following examples (from a conversation among several men who had perhaps had a little too much to drink); note that the use of Filler -Vw- here is general, occurring on both verbs and nouns, in keeping with its emphatic use.

(59) ʔan-yæ̆h-nɨh-ɨ́w-ay mæ̆h-æ̃́w-ay ʔáh-ãw-áh, cə́c !
make.love-allow-NEG-FLR-INCH hit-FLR-INCH 1sg-FLR-DECL INTERJ
'If she doesn't let me make love to her I hit her, darn it!' (cv)

(60) hă̌y-ăn key-d'óʔ-ow-ay ʔáh-ãw-áh,
um-OBJ see-take-FLR-INCH 1sg-EMPH-DECL

nút tɔ̆k j'ɔ́ŋ ! hi-yæ̆t-æ̃w-ay !
here hip hit descend-lie-FLR-INCH
'I've caught a glimpse of what's-his-name, he hits her hip here! and gets down from the hammock!' (cv)

12.4. Perfective -ʔeʔ / -ʔe-

The formative -ʔeʔ and its phonologically reduced variant -ʔe- indicate a type of perfective aspect: they focus attention on an event via-à-vis its final endpoint, such that the event is conceptualized as a single, bounded situation with a limited duration. This function is generally consistent with the definition of perfectivity provided by Comrie (1976: 16), who states that "perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation". In Hup, expression of perfectivity is independent of tense (although it is most commonly used for past events); an event can be perceived as temporally bounded regardless of whether it occurred in the past, is currently on-going, or will occur in the future.

While the function of the -ʔeʔ- / -ʔe- suffix seems to be best captured by the label 'perfective', its use does not actually *exclude* additional reference to the internal temporal structure of the event. This is in keeping with Comrie's observation (1976: 21) that "perfectivity involves lack of explicit reference to the internal temporal consistency of a situation, rather than explicitly implying the lack of such internal temporal consistency". In Hup, the Perfective marker itself does no more than define the event as temporally bounded, and can co-occur with various other verbal aspectual forms that provide further aspectual information about the event, such as the Dynamic suffix -Vy, the 'long-term' Inchoative form -Vw-ay, and the Distributive marker -pɨd-. The Distributive marker, for example, indicates repetition of an event within a specific period of time; thus its combination with the Perfective marker signals that the event is repeated within a bounded time frame.

Formally, the Perfective marker is usually realized as an Inner Suffix on verbs, although it can also occur with predicate nominals and other parts of speech. It belongs to the set of formatives that have both a full (CVC) variant and a phonologically reduced (CV) variant. As is true of all the phonologically reduced variants in this set, the CV form can occur only as a verbal Inner Suffix, and must be followed by a member of the set of vowel-initial Boundary Suffixes (see §3.6); the Boundary Suffix itself drops its copied vowel in this