Parallels between three Cv-Ok aspectual forms and their Sp-FI-Ka cognates

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0. INTRODUCTION. In this paper I present side by side some Cv-Ok and Sp-FI-Ka data that document the presence in the two languages of three cognate constructions, each with parallel allomorphy, to wit:¹

¹The paper is inspired by how Pauline Flett inscribed her s-d Ell'um's, Salish Legends. For me: 'This still has many "ow-ies", but here it is-'. Here are some of my "ow-ies", and may all our "ow-ies" help us all work toward a better understanding of the grammars of these languages.

²I should say that the labels I have assigned to these constructions are subject to revision.
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I wish to point out that the prefixal part of the inceptive circumfix is regularly ks- in first and third person forms. The [s] of ks- is lost only in one circumstance: before the directional prefix t( at)-'back (again)'.

1.1.2. Examples of Sp-Fl-Ka qs-...-mi. Here I list examples that show what I believe is the Sp-Fl-Ka equivalent of Cv-Ok ks-...-mfxa?x 'inceptive'. I found two of these forms in Flett 1995b (I have added the stress marks, otherwise the transcriptions are as in the original, with hyphens and spaces intact). I list them first in isolation, then in context:

qs ya'w'mi  they will gather  p. 16
qs člx'mi  will become evening  p. 50

put čx'ax'ct  n'e n tos'x'qin  m qs ya'w'mi  tu? ut sqelix*, p qs q'm-q'mil'li.
just shortly after noon, the people will gather, you all have something important to discuss.
hö'...  tu?  qax'lx'mi,
just as it was becoming evening.

I wish to point out that while continuative readings may be appropriate for these sentences, so are inceptive readings.

I looked elsewhere for occurrences of suffix-stressed qs-...-mí, and I found several. In a partially interlinearized, unpublished Montana Salish (Fl) text edited by Sarah Thomason, titled čulídy spqam? ‘July’, I found three such forms:

qe qsk'w'čstami (p.2)
qe q̄t-s-k'čščst-mí
1plu IRREALIS-NOM-try.out-hand-INTR.CONT
we will be dressing up

The larger context of this form is:

χ'e qe qsk'w'čstami q'o qswéñlí
We're going to dress up for war-dancing.

where the translation is the free translation provided by the editor at page bottom of the original, slightly different from the interlinear gloss (inceptive or future vs. continuative); and that the second inceptive form may be a subordinate clause. Focusing for a moment on the interpretation of qs- as the sequence q̄t-, I wish to point out that the putative underlying form q̄t-s- is realized as q̄t- only before the directional prefix -(e?)et- ‘back, again, home’, analogous to its Ok counterpart.

In the same text I found
k'Wia'χ'ε etene'q'míš qsk'w'čstpmi
some people have already moved out to go hunting (p. 8)
qe 'im's č'... qčstpmi inmund.
we'd move to ... so my uncle could go hunting
and here, again, I find the intent/inceptive5 reading to be more appropriate than the continuative. A systematic search for these forms should either confirm the pattern just described, or highlight my ow-ie.

In Speck 1980 I found a form that parallels tu? qsk'lx'mi that I gave above:

tu? q̄s-s'-l'-m-i, sey' čaw-m  Before dying, he prayed.

Two observations: the continuative reading seems inappropriate here; the stress valence of Ka Jk'l matches that of Cv-Ok Jk'1.

I also looked at the texts in Vogt 1940. There I found more than a dozen examples of these forms, which I repeat here:

3I use hyphens to mark inflection; I use the plus sign (+) to mark other kinds of word-formation.

4I'd like to find in Sp-Fl-Ka at least traces of a prefix cognate with Cv-Ok and Cr s- intent. See, for example, forms like the following:

qe? s'ur'liciti ... how to regain possession of the fire (38g).

mē: hāt člaxli. He thought: I'll go there. (XIV1).
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put u qe?e?cmi sq?n? (II6) just as the sun came up over the hills
čine?iî qe?e?tq?pmi (III10) (I) tried to get up in the canoe again
čine?e? qstq?pmi I heard there was going to be a dance (III1)
čqičànami (V7) [see X15]
kuqsk?x?cmi (VII1) Let us gamble.
qst?pmi (VII4; VII5) He was going to lose.
qe?e?m (VIII1) (He longed eagerly) for the evening.
čqič?pmi (X13) He was going hunting.
čqičë?pmi (X15) [see V7] I’ll go with you.
čqičë?pmi pu?x (X17; also X14) I’ll run away.
čqičë?pmi (XIX2) Where are we going to hunt?
čqičë?pmi (X11) I’ll go hunting with you
čqičë?pmi (XIX1) Let us go and hunt the black-bear.
čqičë?pmi (XIX2) Where are we going to hunt?

1.2. Stem-stressed inceptive forms. The forms I present here show the following correspondence:

Cv-Ok
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) punch s.b. in the eye
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) punch in the eye
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) hit s.b. on the head
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) point
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) put one's arms around s.b.
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) do s.t. slowly
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) shake hands with s.b.
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) fix
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) cut with knife
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) cut something up
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) sniff
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) hit s.b. in the middle of the head

1.2.1. Examples of Cv-Ok qa-...-a’x ‘inceptive’ forms.

kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) hit s.b. on the head
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) wave
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) kiss s.b.
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) slap in the face
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) jump over s.t.
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) ask s.t.
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) eat s.t.
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) name s.t.
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) go slow
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) struggle
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) climb (ladder, pole, tree)
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) pick one out
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) jump around
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) one sits
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) several go in
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) several come in
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) go to bed and sleep
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) hunt
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) jump over it
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) jump over them
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) one runs
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) several walk
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) one stands
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) one runs fast
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) several ride
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) let oneself go
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) take care of oneself
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) hurry up do s.t.
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) walk
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) get up in the morning
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) get up fast
kn ks?i?p?m (Sp-Fi-Ka) run

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1.2.2. Examples of Sp-Fl qs-...-i. I leave these examples in the order that I found them in their respective sources, Salish Phrases (abbreviated p), and s-q"ell'um't. Salish Legends (abbreviated g).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sp-Fl Form</th>
<th>English Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qa?qs xWuy-i</td>
<td>I'm going to sit down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa?qs xWuy-i</td>
<td>I'm ready to go home now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa?qs xWuy-i</td>
<td>he's going to sit down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa?qs xWuy-i</td>
<td>he's going to go somewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qa?qs xWuy-i</td>
<td>I am going to travel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that -i? found here and in a few other forms is a good match with Cv-Ok -a?(x).

8This is my translation. I can't find it in the text.
While some of these forms might, most do not lend themselves to a continuative reading. I have not tampered with the translations provided by the author.

Vogt 1940 is a rich source of these stem stressed forms.

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1.3. The allomorphy of the inceptive circumfix. It is not difficult to describe the allomorphy of the Ok-Cv circumfix. Synchronically, the prefix part of the Sp-Fl-Ka circumfix presents no difficulties. The suffix part of the Sp-Fl-Ka circumfix can be analyzed as -mf in weak stems in complementary distribution with -i, in strong stems. Needless to say, the (unstressed) -i should not be viewed as the unstressed counterpart of the (stressed) i of -mf. As for the historical connections between the affixes of the two languages, the stressed suffix part of Sp-Fl-Ka -mf corresponds to the Ok-Cv with the not unexpected deletion of the post-tonic material. The unstressed suffix part probably corresponds to the -a of Ok-Cv -a`. The steps that eventually resulted in the suffix -i are not completely clear, but we have some clues. The match Ok ks- / Sp qs also requires some careful accounting.

2. The imperfective forms. In this section I present data from both (groups of) languages that exemplify the intransitive construction that, in Cv-Ok, I have been calling imperfective. Not atypically, this Cv-Ok construction has two allomorphs, one suffix-stressed, found with weak stems; the other stem-stressed, found with strong stems.

In both (groups of) languages these forms are conjugated with the set of intransitive person markers, which for convenience I have called the kn/èn set. Two isoglosses separate Sp from Fl-Ka: whereas Sp has he?c- ~?ec-, Fl-Ka seem to have ex.10. While in these constructions Sp has cy 1sg, Fl-Ka have èn. The alternation and/or variation found in Sp between he?c- and?ec- is not surprising, but I do not know what explanations have been given to account for the (competing?) forms. In Carlson & Flett 1992 we find these data:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inflected Forms</th>
<th>1sg subj</th>
<th>2pl subj</th>
<th>3rd subj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hec-...-i</td>
<td>p. 7; p. 14; p. 15; p. 16 (3 forms); p. 19 (2 forms); p. 21-22-23 (10 forms); p. 43 (5 forms); p. 47 (4 forms); p. 49-50-51 (9 forms); p. 53; p. 77 (6 forms); p. 78-79 (6 forms)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ec-...-i</td>
<td>p. 12-13 (14 forms); p. 15 (3 forms); p. 17-18-19 (8 forms); p. 19 (6 forms); p. 24; p. 48 (4 forms)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>èy-rec-...-i</td>
<td>p. 38 (8 forms); p. 48; p. 53; p. 78 (5 forms)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qe-rec-...-i</td>
<td>p. 40 (5 forms); p. 45-46 (8 forms); p. 76 (4 forms)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k`rec-...-i</td>
<td>p. 76 (4 forms); p. 77; p. 78</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p?ec-...-i</td>
<td>p. 76 (4 forms); p. 77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8Carlson 1972 identifies a continuative suffix ë-iyë and adds that "this suffix cannot be ë-ië or it would be deleted when unstressed" (p. 123)

10To me this signals that we need to sort out the forms that have been called actual, customary, stative, nominalizer, intent and possibly others.
with 'ec- regularly in non-third person forms, and hec- ~ 'ec- in third person forms. On the same page one may find both variants, as, for example, on page 15, where one finds 'heck"il'i and heck"il'i. 'ec-prevails in non-third person forms, and on page 53 one finds an exercise that prompts for 3rd person forms with hec-, and for 1st person forms with cy'ec-.

2.1. Suffix-stressed imperfective forms. The forms I present here show the following correspondence:

<table>
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<th>Fl-Ka</th>
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<td>kn_sac,..-mix 'imperfective'</td>
<td>cн he?c...-mi</td>
<td>cн es...-mi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.1. Examples of Cv-Ok kn_sac,.-mix 'imperfective'

- kn_sac-ea,.-mix: punch
- kn_sac-c"x,-mix: pour liquid
- kn_sac-c"x-lc,-mix: discipline, preach, instruct
- kn_sac-c"q,-mix: hit
- kn_sac-k"ay-mix: fall hunt
- kn_sac-k"awp-mix: shut up
- kn_sac-k"awcn-mix: get quiet
- kn_sac-k"a,.-mix: take off (clothing)
- kn_sac-la,.-mix: slip s.t. on
- kn_sac-k"l p-mix: stop
- kn_sac-c"a,.-mix: look for something
- kn_sac-c"a,.-mix: fetch something
- kn_sac-k"u/t-w-mix: put out the light
- kn_sac-pk,-mix: spill
- kn_sac-q"ay,-mix: write
- kn_sac-q"ot-mix: roast
- kn_sac-(s)ap,-mix: hit, whip
- kn_sac-(s)aq,-mix: split
- kn_sac-k"a+t+q"ay,-mix: write down
- kn_sac-ur-mix: light fire
- kn_sac-txt,-mix: aim with bow and arrow
- kn_sac-tx"at,p-mix: chase after s.b.

<table>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>kn_sac,..-mix 'imperfective'</td>
<td>cн he?c...-mi</td>
<td>cн es...-mi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Thomason edited Fl text July, I found

- esxam'pamf: it's getting dry (p. 18)

In the Vogt texts I found

- ... test"at"eyamf: [I heard people] laughing (13)
- k'e esiya/t,mf: [they] are already coming together (XIII)
- k'esk"amf: you have to die (XIV47; you are lying here,) quite dead (XV27)
- tu?čëškyu estš'omf: in the direction he was running away (XV24)
- k'uc tu?čintš'omf tu?tsxork*: as I was running away in the water (XV28)

2.2. Stem-stressed imperfective forms. The forms I present here show the following correspondences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cv-Ok</th>
<th>Sp</th>
<th>Fl-Ka</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

11hec-...-mi has to be kept separate from hec- 'actual', as in hec nq'mscin i ... he wished for ... 49g.
12I'd like to confirm the stress in hec čol-mi he's yelling, shouting (53p).
2.2.1. Examples of Cv-Ok

kn $x$.
I am walking.
kn $x$.
I am working, I have been working.
kn $x$.
I am eating, I have been eating.
kn $x$.
I have been sleeping, I am sleeping.
kn $x$.
I am washing my face.
kn $x$.
I am looking at a book.

For the sake of thoroughness I should add here that the suffix part of imperfective forms has a variant -$a?x$ when the stem is reduplicated with unstressed a(?)$^{13}$:

Suffix-stressed:

kn $x$.
I am searching.
k$u$.$x$.
we are having a meeting.

Stem-stressed:

kn $x$.
I have been walking.
kn $x$.
I am training.
kn $x$.
I am reading.
kn $x$.
I am watching it.

13I don't know when or if the glottal stop is there.

For the sake of thoroughness I should add here that the suffix part of imperfective forms has a variant -$a?x$ when the stem is reduplicated with unstressed a(?). As expected, these are more numerous than their suffix-stressed counterparts.

Suffix-stressed:

hec $x$.
she'd go dig 8g
hec $x$.
There were many people 27g
hec $x$.
they were dancing 27g
hec $x$.
they were racing 27g
hec $x$.
he was asking 33g
hec $x$.
he was whistling softly 35g
hec $x$.
what a busy camp 38g
hec $x$.
he was enjoying himself thoroughly 39g
hec $x$.
they were starting their own breakfast fires 40g
hec $x$.
she was still talking 41g
hec $x$.
he is really scared 41g
hec $x$.
he was really terrified 42g
hec $x$.
he had been ill 43g
hec $x$.
he was running 44g
hec $x$.
she was sewing on a pair of 49g
hec $x$.
his head hurt 51g
hec $x$.
he was slapping his knee in a good belly laugh 52g

In the Thomason edited texts Six Months and July, I found:

q'o $x$.
we're happy (Six, p. 4)
k$e$.$x$.
you dig ... [in the summer] (Six, p. 7)
k$e$.$x$.
you get ... (Six, p. 14)
k$e$.$x$.
you'll gather, be gathering (Six, p. 16)
$e$.$x$.
we are [I am] tired (Six, p. 20)
ex$e$.$x$.[he] says (July, p. 2)
$e$.$x$.
They're already singing (July, p. 2)
$e$.$x$.
we're doing the giveaway dance (July, p. 3)
$e$.$x$.
it's going to be daybreak (July, p. 6)
The next set of examples is extracted from Vogt 1940. I found at least 60 such forms, not counting several continuatives based on *xwil, where the -i suffix is not as readily observable as in forms that do not have a stem-final i/y, for example:

tčénu t’u*pexwi? t’u*esxw’apin’i t’u*qeupe?exdi (V6-7).

Where are you going? We are going to the pow-wow.

I will provide here many of these forms:

c’čě nú u’k’exšui?i Where have you been? (III8)
k’exšui*staluiši you are walking around here (IV4, VIII5)
há t’á k’exšušum?i don’t you hear? (XIII2)
k’exšušumčélépi you are fooling (XV26)
k’exšušumčšumšuí what is the matter with you (XVII27)
tu’esitt’yuq’ti [I saw two grizzly bears] fighting (11)
ueši’tu?i [the canoe] was moving (II, 8)
tu’esit’o sqešix’i when they gather for gambling (VII1, 13, XII1)
es’Hñí [he] was eating (VII)
tu’esanc’ušlí ta’esšušy’ústiti it splashed in the water by the salmon coming upstream (VIII6)
esesq’qúq’ti [she] was crying (IX17, XII7)
esq’*tsúmanuswi’i [they] were packing each other (IX35)
er’i’tex’u?i [she] walked along (X6)
esesmuí he was going after water (XI14)
ker’exšum’qom’in’tqí [he] is already catching up (XI72)
esekuncanéntqí [he] heard the wolverine singing (XIII11)
esekuncanéntqí [he] was singing (XIII2,3)
etú’esac’usu’i (the man) standing by the log (XIII10) (cf. Ok *ašswíx)
esanpiyéšlí [they] are having a good time (XIII12)
esanx*stáqwi [he] was walking along (XIV1, 6)

cúntam: esanx’suí ftailli he was told to take one bite [?] (XIV2, 4, 10)
esanx’tuk’ti [they] have been coming here (XIV10)
esta*tanuyék’i bigger and bigger (XIV65)
es'ex’ul’í ftaillí she does not hide herself (XIV68)
ues’ul’taí she was sick (XV8)
tu’qeupe?on’qon’ambilqí [he swam] still drinking (XV24)
qex*esx’uil’álstuwuñ’i we are had up (XIV2)
puq’on’ambilqí we have left each other (XIV5) (not clear)
qex*xwilxuí* mpl-tsti it is quite useless for you … (XIV51)
qex*xwilxuí* mpl-tsti then you would have had plenty of food (XIV72)
qex*xwilxuí* mpl-tsti [they] were already in the race (XI22)

3. Perfect forms. There is a circumfix s-…-(mf)x in Cv-Ok, which I have tentatively labelled ‘perfect’ and which I have said “works something like the English perfect with present relevance” (A. Mattina 1993, p. 12). However inadequate my description of its function, the allomorphy of the circumfix is clear, s-…-mix with weak stems, and s-…-x with strong stems. There seem to be in Sp-fl-Ka forms that correspond to these. First I will give examples of Cv-Ok forms.

3.1. Suffix-stressed Perfect forms.

3.1.1. Examples of Cv-Ok s-…-mix ‘perfect’.

s-tar’q-mix.
s-tenq’-mix t kei+q’ay’mín-tat.
s-k’awp-mix.
s-k’a’s’-mix t st’áqpos.
s-sap’-mix15 ʔí t pumin, mi sic16 kon k*nic. ant’í phum.

He has been dancing.

He has been told to take one bite [?] (XIV2, 4, 10)

He has gone to get more paper for us.

I have stopped talking.

I am looking for thread.

I am fetching some thread.

I am hitting the drum, then I will sing.

15 s + s = s.

16 mi sic has the force ‘then, subsequently.’
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3.2. Stem-stressed Perfect forms.

3.2.1. Examples of Cv-Ok s-...-x 'perfect'.

hu m's i? sqilx*, q'apin? i? Hudson_Bay, i? san'tk*nt'ix.

Long ago the People called it Hudson Bay, the travellers. (mychildr 052)

uŋ aŋ'q? kąŋ sök'uptx 'apin'q?.

Now I am feeble. (mychildr 157)

sc'utxalx ʔat'li? wi'xan.

They say it's very long. (su7q'im 011)

niʔ'ip il'l? iʔ? sqilx* sūʔr'x.

All the time they stay there. (su7q'im 023)

k'aʔ sank'lip sʔap'iʔwash, sʔapax'w'yaʔwash.

Coyote is crazy, plays tricks. (su7q'im 053)

uŋ k'u' sc'utx xiʔ's? lüt k' u' t'a ktp'ula'x'taan iʔ? k'u' sqilx*.

We are saying that we the People don't have a border. (su7q'im 067)

sq'ilq'alasc'mtx.

The one with arthritis. (su7q'im 074)

way' incə ald? kən səl'dʔx.

I stay here. (su7q'im 098)

nt'aʔ'k'ak'x'anc'it il'il? uŋ swilk'mištx.

He lowered himself into the water there and hid. (su7q'im 104)

mat way' st'w'sc'utxalx iʔ? k'əl tk'amkn'ltx*.

Maybe they were standing outside. (su7q'im 176b)


I'm not talking about the white men's way of praying. (su7q'im 219)

lut k'ən t' ac'ltx, sc'utx.

I couldn't sleep," he said. (su7q'im 246)

k'aʔ? səc'intx.

OK, what did he say? (su7q'im 277)

a-sʔ'ac'əc' ʔxz' k' s-k'ul'-x t k'ast.

3.2.2. Examples of Ka es-...-i.

činex'əiti I was sleeping (I2)
činex'əisti I was walking (II7)
činex'əitsi [I did it] dreaming (I15); I was dreaming (XVIII4)
činex'emūt I stayed [indoors] (X40)
činex'išiti I have been sleeping (XVI7)
činex'k'ul'i I was working (XVIII2)

4. Closing notes. I add some final observations on the correspondences Cv-Ok /s/ Sp-Fi-Ka /li/; and Cv-Ok /s/ Sp-Fi-Ka /li/. The developments that have led to the present day reflexes are not entirely clear to me (it is possible that this correspondence should be reconstructed as a sequence of segments), but the correspondence Cv-Ok /s/ Sp-Fi-Ka /li/ seems specific to some grammatical morpheme(s), and is not restricted to the inceptive, imperfective and perfect forms I have discussed here. The following matches confirm it:

Sp suyapxi, suyapix white person
Sp s-wiʔ-nun-ti Cv-Ok s-wiʔnamtx good looking (sw'in'um'taʔx dim)
Ka sʔiʔ?ti (XIV43)
Ka sʔiʔ?ti (XIV47)

your-appearance again you perf-do-perf t bad
It looks like you've done something wrong again.

kən s-cut-x.
I perf-say-perf
I have said it.
iiʔ?, way' sʔ'ihnt-x.
there already perf-eat-perf
Leave him alone, he has eaten.
s-wiʔ+s+q'apax'ilx-x.
perf-finish_talk-perf
He has finished talking.
s-wiʔ+cnfx-x.
perf-finish_eat-perf
He has finished eating.
xk'inaŋ pilʔ? s-pfx-ax.
where Pete perf-hunt-perf
Where is Pete? He has gone hunting.
s-k'*ul'-x k'əl səlmaʔ?.
perf-work-perf to White person
He has gone working at the white man's.
I have not had the opportunity to explore in any depth the possible /h/ /s/ correspondence, but (aside from its occurrence in other families) I am alerted to it by such matches as Cr heme? (no stress marked in Nicodemus) Cv-Ok sáma? white person. Finally, with reference to the schwa of Cv-Ok sá-...-(mi)x, the troublesome presence of which I have noted before, I now note that this schwa corresponds to the full vowel /œ/ in Sp-Fi-Ka, and is probably more than an epenthetic vowel.

REFERENCES

17 It is possible Ka -i? matches Cv-Ok -a? (and not i/x).