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IMPERATIVE FORMATIONS IN COLVILLE-OKANAGAN AND IN THE OTHER INTERIOR LANGUAGES *

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0. Introduction. In this paper I describe the grammar of Colville (Cv) imperatives, intransitive and (di)transitive, positive and negative; then I review the extant discussions of the imperatives in other Interior Salish languages; and finally I make some observations about the emerging picture of the Interior Salish imperative system.

1. Colville imperatives. There are two major types of Cv imperatives, and each of these can be expressed in the positive or negative.

1.1. Intransitives. I will discuss first the intransitive imperatives, organized by person.

1.1.1. Second person. The 2nd person intransitive imperative suffixes are -x 'sg'; -wi 'pl'. These suffixes are added to simple intransitive stem:

x ^w uy-x	'go'	ʔlap-x	'stop that'
x ^w uy-wi	'go pl'	ʔláp-wi	'stop that pl'

or to an extended intransitive stem:

ʔəlp-íkst-x	'stop (doing) that'
ʔəlp-íkst-wi	' " " " pl'
ʔləl-m-íl(x)-x	'put your brakes on'
ʔləl-m-ílx-wi	' " " " "'

These forms constitute full imperative sentences, but may also occur in (longer) imperative constructions. Following the first imperative, a second parallel imperative may occur, either transitive or intransitive:

x ^w ùy-x sp-áp-qə(n)-nt	'go hit it on the head'
x ^w ùy-x ŋ-ləq-íws-x	'go pull weeds'

but more commonly an indicative (with imperative force) follows, either in transitive or intransitive form:

x ^w ùy-x mi c-ɣlít-ənt-x ^w	'go call him'
ʔləp-x k ^w ʔa?-ʔ?-ùs-əm uɿ k ^w kə-kniya?	'stop, look, and listen'
c-x ^w ùy-x ks-əncíɣ-ənt-əm	'come, let's fry it'

1.1.2. First person. The first person singular and plural exhortative commands are given with the inchoative aspect forms and are not true imperatives. These inchoatives consist of the unrealized aspect prefix ks-, a stem, and the inchoative suffix -aʔx.¹ Pronoun reference is accomplished with the intransitive pronouns. Ex:

kən ks-x ^w ùy-aʔx	'let me go, I'm going'
k ^w u ks-x ^w ùy-aʔx	'let's go, we're going'

1.2. (Di)transitives. The (di)transitives are discussed by person in the following three subsections.

1.2.1. Second person. A bare (di)transitive stem, without transitive pronouns, is the 2nd person sg imperative. Cv has four major (di)transitive stem types, and consequently four major (di)transitive imperatives. The suffix -i added to these stems pluralizes them. However, in normal speech the sg forms often function as plurals and in the following discussion I will restrict my examples to singular forms.

k-əlk^w-ílx-m-ənt(-i) 'keep away from him (pl)'
 ʔá-nt(-i) '(go) get him (pl)'

Of the four possible (di)transitive imperatives, corresponding to the four (di)transitive stems in -nt, -st, -ít, and -x(í)t, the -st imperatives are seldom recorded in texts, and difficult to elicit. The reasons for this are unclear to me.

qí-iws-ənt məi təi-m-ənwíx^w-st 'match them and glue them'
 The other three imperatives, however, are perfectly common.

1.2.1.1. -nt. An -nt stem without personal pronouns is an unmarked transitive imperative. Stems consisting of roots and affixes that accept stress do so:

píʔ-ənt 'peel it'
 k-pəlk^w-íca?-nt an-xəń-xń-úst-tɿ 'wrap up your glasses'
 k^wi(n)-nt 'take it'
 k-mʔá-ws-ənt 'put a log on the fire'
 k-pń-ús-ənt 'lay sticks on the fire'

Other stems consist of roots that cannot normally accept stress. These roots behave as though their vowel were stressed \acute{a} , root finally:²

$\acute{x}^w i\acute{c}$ / $\acute{x}^w a\acute{c}$	$\acute{x}^w ca$ -nt	'break it'
(no attested V)	$\acute{k}^w ta$ -nt	'cut it'
$iix^w p$ / $i\acute{x}^w p$	$k-i\acute{x}^w p\acute{a}$ -nt	'hang it there'
iik^w / $i\acute{a}k^w$	$i\acute{k}^w a$ -nt i? ...	'string the ...'
(no attested V)	$i\acute{e}t\acute{k}^w a$ -nt	'flick/poke it with a stick'
"	xla -nt	'chop it'
"	$m\acute{l}sa$ -nt	'smear it'
"	wla -nt	'burn it'
"	$ck^w a$ -nt	'pull on it'
"	$p\acute{a}lk^w a$ -nt	'roll it (e.g. a cigarette)'
"	$x\acute{e}lk^w a$ -nt	'turn it'
"	pna -nt	'lay (the logs) there'
"	$k-pna$ -nt	'put wood in the stove'
$pa?p\acute{i}n$	$p\acute{e}n-pa?p\acute{n}\acute{a}$ -nt	'fold them (e.g. clothes)'
$\acute{k}ir$ / $\acute{k}ram$	$\acute{k}ra$ -nt	'cut it'
$x^w uk^w$ / $x^w ak^w$	$x^w k^w a$ -nt	'clean it'
$x^w i\acute{a}$	$x^w \acute{a}a$ -nt	'make shavings'
$\acute{k}^w i\acute{a}$	$\acute{k}^w \acute{a}a$ -nt	'take it off'

(cf $\acute{k}^w i\acute{a}\acute{e}nt$ 'take them off')

1.2.1.2. -it. An -it imperative is a ditransitive imperative that includes reference to three entities: a secondary goal, a prim-

ary goal in focus, and a second person dative/agent ((You) do X for Y). As with -nt imperatives, -it imperatives must be stem-stressed; however, there is no form *...a-it to correspond to ...a-nt. I have not yet checked what all the -it equivalents of ...a-nt forms are-- but I intend to do so, and this should be fairly easy. What I suspect is that it imperatives of ablauting roots can only occur in one of the two ablaut grades, specifically, the grade that corresponds to 'definite goal'. This would be consistent with the notion that it ditransitives include reference to a primary goal in focus (Z do X for Y).

$k^w u$ $pa?p\acute{i}n$ -it 'fold it for me'

$k^w u$ $t\acute{u}l$ -it i -s- $\acute{e}n$ - $k^w um$ - $c\acute{e}n$ - $t\acute{p}$ 'shine my car'

$i\acute{i}i?$ $k^w u$ kpn - $i\acute{w}$ (s)-it 'put them there for me'

$k^w u$ n - $p\acute{q}^w$ - $i\acute{t}k^w$ -it 'thicken (the gravy) for me'

$k^w u$ c - $\acute{e}n$ - $\acute{u}ix^w$ -it 'bring it in for me'

$k^w u$ c - $\acute{e}n$ - p - $p\acute{i}lx$ -it 'bring them in for me'

n - $\acute{c}ix$ -it 'fry it for him'

$k^w u$ $k-i\acute{x}^w p$ - $i\acute{w}$ (s)-it 'hang it up for me'

$k^w u$ $k(i\acute{x}^w p)$ - $i\acute{n}\acute{a}?$ -it i? $s\acute{i}iq^w$ ← hang s.t. over the meat for me
← cover the meat for me

$k^w u$ $k-iix^w p$ -it $axa?$ i? $q\acute{a}q^w \acute{e}lx$ 'hang the fish for me'

1.2.1.3. -x(i)t. Similarly to -it, -x(i)t imperatives are ditransitive forms that include reference to three entities: a second person dative/agent, a primary goal, and a secondary goal in focus ((You) do X for Y).

$k^w u$ n - $p\acute{q}^w$ - $i\acute{t}k^w$ -xt 'make gravy for me'

k^wu psix-xt 'pack wood for me'
 k^wu piw-cən-xt 'make an echo for me'
 k^wu náq^w-əxt 'steal it ~~from~~ ^{for} me'
 k^wu qəm-xit t s-c-qa?-qá?-m 'swallow my pills for me'³

1.2.1.4. Other ditransitive imperatives. At least two other ditransitive morphemes, -xix and -(t)uit, occur in Cv.⁴ Of these two, word-final -(t)uit functions as an imperative. I do not yet know if -xix works in the same way.

k^wu n-xa?n-ùit in-łkapú 'patch my coat'
 n-qa?-kst-úit 'give him some'
 k^wu k^wəns-túit 'show it to me'
 k^wu məl-məls-ùit i-sq^wsí? 'pacify my child'
 k^wu n-ix^wp-ùit i? a?usa? 'boil an egg for me'

1.2.2. The second-hand imperative. In addition to the (di)-transitive imperatives discussed thus far, there is a special imperative, that for the moment I am calling 'second-hand'. These imperative roughly mean: 'do again ...', 'it's somebody's wish that you do ...', 'I repeat to you to do ...', 'now it's your turn to ...'. The second-hand imperative suffix is -ík^w, added to any (di)-transitive stem, except -x(i)t. Whether this restriction is an accident of my corpus or an actual incompatibility of 'second-hand' with 'secondary goal in focus' remains to be seen.

x^wł-ənt-ík^w 'now it's your turn to make shavings'
 k^wkr-ənt-ík^w 'cut more, cut on'
 ck^w-ənt-ík^w 'pull it more'

px^wəm-st-ík^w 'pass it around'
 k^wu qəm-it-ík^w i-s-c-qa?-qá?-m 'swallow my pills'
 k^wu ik-əm-st-ík^w an-puy-xən ui k^w n-wiwp-m 'turn your car
^{around and back up'} ^{force}

k^wu pa?x-it-ík^w axà? i-s-ulá-p 'make my burn heal'

The connection between -ik^w and a lone form that ends in -k^w is not completely clear to me:

k^wu iətk-əit-ík^w ixi? i? s-up-úla?x^w, x^wíls-k^w 'fork that
 grass for me (move it with a pitch fork), throw it away'

1.2.3. First person imperatives. 1st person sg and pl exhortative commands are given with the unrealized aspect middle forms and are not true imperatives. Unrealized aspect middle forms consist of ks- 'unrealized aspect', a stem, any of the (di)transitivizers, followed by the middle suffix -m. Pronominal reference is accomplished with the intransitive and possessive pronouns:

k^w i-ks-káx-it-əm 'I'm going to light a match for you'

Further discussion of these forms is deferred until section 1.3.2.

1.3. Negative imperatives. A negative imperative is expressed by lut 'not be' followed by one of two constructions, (1) the intransitive unrealized aspect, or (2) the middle unrealized aspect.

1.3.1. Intransitive unrealized aspect. Intransitive unrealized aspect constructions include reference to one and only one actant. These forms consist of a(n intransitive) possessive affix (prefix 1st, 2nd person; suffix 3rd), the unrealized aspect prefix ks-, and

an intransitive stem--without any transitive or middle suffixes. Context clarifies the force of these forms in the participant 1st and second persons (whether imperative/exhortative or future), while third person forms convey unambiguously future reference (in the following examples all underlined morphemes are intransitive suffixes):

- lut a-ks-ən^áám^át 'don't cough'
 lut a-ks-ən^ápáq 'don't get stuck in the mud'
 lut a-ks-mí^á-mél^á-t 'don't be slow'
 lut a-ks-álp-íkst 'don't stop working'
 lut a-ks-x^wtp-encút 'don't run'
 lut a-ks-knəx-qən-mi^á?st 'don't feel sorry for yourself'
 lut ks-xi^á?t-mí^á?st-əmp 'don't run away pl'
 lut a-ks-pa^á?-pa^á?s-íl^áx 'don't start feeling bad'
 lut a-ks-pu-pw-śál^áx 'don't (bang things and) make noise'
 lut a-ks-ck^wuk^wup-númt 'don't cry and feel bad'
 lut a-ks-ənka^á?-wíl^áx 'don't go in the deep water'
 lut a-ks-kka^á?l-í^á?st 'don't go slow'
 lut a-ks-ən^wka^w?c-núx^w 'don't let it get late on you'
 lut a-ks-kəi^w-q^wśaq^wśap-xàn a-ks-ən-səp^á-p-úla^á?x^w 'don't slip and fall'

1.3.2. Middle unrealized aspect.⁵ Four middle unrealized aspect forms correspond to the four (di)transitive indicative Cv paradigms, as follows:

Indicative aspect	Unrealized aspect
-nt	ks- -(V)m
-st	ks- -st-(i)m
-it	ks- -it-(i)m
-x(i)t	ks- -x(i)t-əm
-(t)uit	ks- -(t)uit-əm

k ^w úl-ənt ...	lut a-ks-k ^w úl-əm
k ^w úl-əst ...	lut a-ks-k ^w úl-əst-əm
k ^w úl-əit ...	lut a-ks-k ^w úl-əit-əm
k ^w úl-əxt ...	lut a-ks-k ^w úl-əxt-əm

A fifth ditransitive form, less well understood, also has a corresponding negative:

...-(t)úit	lut a-ks-...-(t)úit-əm
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Examples in context confirm the laboratory analysis:

(1) -(V)m forms are the unmarked negative imperatives and include reference to two and only two actants.

- lut k^wu a-ks-číp-əm 'don't pinch me'
 lut k^wu a-ks-ən-čśáps-əm 'don't wink at me'
 lut k^wu a-ks-kčukús-əm 'don't burn me'
 lut a-ks-wíc-əm 'don't pull it out'
 lut a-ks-hərà-m i? śípi? 'don't soak the hide'
 lut a-ks-tk^wítəxl-əm 'don't stop over it'
 lut k^wu a-ks-ən^wka^w?-íls-əm 'don't be mad at me'

(2) -st-(i)m forms also refer to two and only two actants, but are purposive or customary, paralleling the -st transitive forms.

- lut a-ks-qaʔm-st-ím 'don't nurse him'
 lut kʷu a-ks-lút-st-əm 'don't refuse him' (cf. lut kʷu
 a-ks-lút-əm 'don't say no to me')
 lut a-ks-púl-st-əm 'don't kill him'
 lut kʷu a-ks-tuʔ-tíw-st-əm 'don't baby me'
 lut a-ks-tixʷkʷukʷ-st-əm 'don't tell him the same'
 lut a-ks-qʷəl-qʷíl-st-əm 'don't talk to him'

(3) -it-(i)m forms include reference to three actants, paralleling the -it- ditransitives, with focus on the primary goal (do st for sb).

- lut kʷu a-ks-n-əlq-íw-it-əm 'don't weed my garden'
 lut kʷu a-ks(s)-sìxʷ-it-əm t slíp 'don't chop me wood'
 lut kʷu a-ks-kíicək-it-əm in-ìəxʷ-ìxʷ-íp 'don't trim my
 cherry tree'
 lut kʷu a-ks-ən-ìəpəxʷ-it-ím in-ikáp 'don't bash in my bucket'
 lut a-ks-ìəʔqʷ-əit-ím 'don't show it to him'
 lut a-ks-káx-it-əm 'don't light a match for him'
 lut a-ks-pìʔq-it-ím 'don't cook it for him'
 lut kʷu a-ks-mʷaw-it-əm in-lpút 'don't break my cup'
 lut a-ks-ən-píl-x-it-əm 'don't take them in for him'

(4) -x(í)t-əm forms include reference to three actants, paralleling the -x(í)t- ditransitives, with focus on the secondary goal (do st for sb).

- lut kʷu a-ks-kəi-paʔx-xít-əm 'don't give me advice'
 lut kʷu a-ks-kʷinmaʔ-xt-əm 'don't tell me what to do'
 lut kʷu a-ks-psíx-xt-əm 'don't pack wood for me'

- lut kʷu a-ks-ən-ixʷp-ús-xt-əm 'don't boil it for me'
 lut kʷu a-ks-máy-xít-əm 'don't tell it to me'

(5) -(t)úit-əm forms are less well understood, but they correspond to ditransitives in -(t)úit.

- lut a-ks-kʷæn-túit-əm 'don't lend it to him' (cf. kʷu
 a-ks-kʷúin-əm 'lend it to me')

I conclude this section of the paper with a brief discussion of the place of these constructions in the intransitive-middle-(di)transitive scheme of the language. I have already noted that these imperative constructions are but the negative counterparts of the unrealized forms. The unrealized prefix ks- and the transitive pronouns are not compatible,⁶ and cannot cooccur in the same form. The appropriate cooccurrence compatibility is between ks- 'unrealized' on the one hand, and the intransitive proclitics (kən, kʷ, Ø, kʷu, p) and possessive affixes (i(n)-, a(n)-, -s, -təm, -tp) on the other. Consequently, the unrealized aspect counterparts of the transitives accept only intransitive inflection and require the middle suffix -m. The pairs are exactly those given above, and the expanded chart includes pronominal reference as follows (I give only I-you forms--the rest can be deduced):

(di)trans-indic, you-I	middle, unreal. asp., you-my
-nt-s-ən	kʷ i-ks-...-Ø-əm
-st-(ú)m-ən	kʷ i-ks-...-st-əm
-it-s-ən	kʷ i-ks-...-it-əm
-x(í)t-m-ən	kʷ i-ks-...-x(í)t-əm
-(t)úit-s-ən	kʷ i-ks-...-(t)úit-əm

Examples:

wík-ənt-s-ən	'I see you'
k ^w i-ks-wík-əm	'I'm going to see you'
púl-st-m-ən	'I kill/beat you'
k ^w i-ks-púl-st-əm	'I'm going to beat you'
psíx-it-s-ən	'I pack wood for you'
k ^w i-ks-píx-it-əm	'I'm going to pack wood for you'
ŋ-ix ^w pús-xt-m-ən	'I boil it for you'
k ^w i-ks-ən-ix ^w pús-xt-əm	'I'm going to boil it for you'
k ^w iən-túit-s-ən	'I lend it to you'
k ^w i-ks-k ^w iən-túit-əm	'I'm going to lend it to you'

2. Imperatives in the other Interior Salish languages.⁷ In this section I review the discussions of imperatives in other Salish languages of the Interior: the southern (1) Kalispel (Ka)-Spokane (Sp), (2) Coeur d'Alene (Cr); and the northern (3) Shuswap (Sh), (4) Thompson (Th).

2.1. Ka-Sp. I review the works of three authors: Vogt's 1941 grammar of Kalispel; Carlson's 1977 grammar of Spokane; and Speck's 1977 edition of Post's 1902 Kalispel grammar.

2.1.1. Vogt. Vogt gives the imperative forms of the 'independent' verbs (cf. Cv intransitives) as follows: -(i)š 'sg'; -wi 'pl' and provides the following morphophonemic changes associated with the affixes: (1) šš > š; (2) -ui > -awi after non-labialized post-palatals, as in íáqqawi 'sit down'.

He gives the imperative forms of the 'dependent' verbs (cf. Cv (di)transitives) as follows: -t 'sg'; -ti 'pl' following either n, š, or i, that is, -nt, -št, -it, as in the following:

kúpənt, kúpənti	'push him'
x ^w íčəšt	'give him something'
kupit	'push it for him'

Missing from this list are the -st imperatives, which Vogt calls 'resultative' and describe as follows: -sk^w 'sg'; -skui 'pl'. As example he gives pulsk^w, púlskui (< pulst-sk^w) 'kill him'. In addition Vogt lists these examples:

esəmisték ^w , esəmistékui	'know it'
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which clearly point to affixes -ek^w, -ek^w-i.

Vogt also mentions the use of a 1st person plural completive used as a 'hortative' with or without the indefinite prefix ku. Ex:

qe? eíʔócqe?	'let us go out again'
ku tkuʔút	'let us go'

Finally, Vogt reports that "negative commands are expressed by subjunctive forms," and gives two examples, one with and the other without -m:

ta suwé qesənúʔéupəm	'nobody shall lag behind'
ta qe? esʔáčəxstəp	'don't watch it'

2.1.2. Carlson. Carlson gives the intransitive imperatives as the following affixes added to endingless forms: -š (-yš with middle forms) 'sg'; -wy 'pl'.

He lists the 'simple transitive' affixes as -t 'sg', and -t-y 'pl', adding that they replace the control morpheme /-te/ of the

transitive stems, as in the following:

nək^wént, nək^wénti 'sing it'

k^wupít, k^wupítí 'push it for him'

Carlson adds that in causative imperatives (Vogt's 'resultatives') /-te/ 'control' is replaced by the following affixes: -k^w 'sg', -k^wy 'pl', as in

púlsk^w, púlsk^wi 'kill him'

2.1.3. Speck. I am very surprised not to find in Speck a discussion of the intransitive imperatives, because Post had included them in his grammar. Post lists these affixes: -š, -iš '2nd sg', -wi '2 pl', and notes that "verbs ending in -š do not admit a second š in the imperative; hence itš means 'he slept', and also, 'sleep thou!' iaqšilš, 'he sat', and also 'sit thou'.^{7a}

Speck gives the following account of the transitive imperatives: no suffix is added to simple (-nt), relational (-ít) or benefactive (-š(i)t) transitives, all of which may add -i after the -t to add plural reference. Then she adds that causatives (-st) forms add -ek^w to make imperatives (-stek^w > -sk^w with strong roots). Again, -i adds plural reference.

Finally, she mentions a suffix -ek^w 'imptv sg' "not well understood ... [and] added to apparently simple transitive stems, as in ... iu?-n-t-ék^w 'lance it'."

With regards to the use of imperatives, Speck inexplicably does not report that Post had made the following important observations:

"The imperative may be said to be threefold:

(a) when it is to convey a simple permission or a mere wish of

the one who commands: in this case, the regular Imperative is used, e.g. k^wúliš 'work', k^wúlent 'do it'.

(b) when it conveys a certain civility and petition: in this case, the imperative is preceded by mi or k^wmi?, e.g. mi x^wičít 'please give it to him'.

(c) when it conveys the absolute will of the commander: in this case the subjunctive is to be used, e.g. aqsx^wičítəm 'thou must give it to him'." (p. 37).

2.2. Cr. Reichard reports that the intransitive imperatives are formed by affixation, as follows: -š 'sg'; -ul 'pl'. She adds that an indefinite object is expressed by -m preceding the imperative suffix, while the definite object suffix is -ič (-əč). In spite of the examples that follow, it is not clear what she means, mainly because the forms she offers seem to me to be transitive:

púlut-əm-ul 'kill an indefinite one'

púlut-əč-ul 'kill the definite one'

Reichard identifies the 'imperative active transitive compleatives' as follows:

2-1	-c
2-3	-t
2-lp	-ššš.š
2p-1	-c-é1
2p-3	-t-ul
2p-lp	-ššš-š; -ššš-ul

but gives no examples of these 'definite personal object' morphemes affixed to stems, or in context.

She mentions that the exhortative is expressed by the particle $n\epsilon?$ (probably cognate with Cv $ninwi?$ 'if and when') that "has a weak imperative, as well as a future dubitative significance," as in $n\epsilon? \check{c}in-x\acute{u}i$ 'I will go, let me go'. She does not discuss the formation of negative imperatives, but lists six examples of competitive, customary and continuative negative imperatives. All of these forms include a prefix sequence $\check{c}a(i)-s$ "used to express intention in the immediate future," but none of them includes $-m$ 'middle'.

2.3. Sh. Kuipers lists the following intransitive imperative suffixes: $-(x)e$ 'sg'; $-x^wye$ 'pl'. The longer form of the singular affix ($-xe$) occurs obligatorily after $?$ or V , optionally elsewhere.

When discussing the transitives Kuipers says that the *imptv* ends in $-e$, with plural addresses in $-y-e$ (before which a velar is labialized) [probably by analogy with the intrans *imptv* pl $-x^wye$ < $-x-wye$]. The suffix-stressed type of the $-nt-$ class has a suffix $-\acute{e}k-$ ($-\acute{e}k^w-y$) after the transitivizer in the 3rd person object forms. The 2-1 form [you-me] has $-x-e$ besides $-e$, on the analogy of intr. forms with the suffix $-m$, and the 2p-1 form has an extra suffix $-m-$ after the object-suffix, on the analogy of the 2-1 forms. For example, / pic 'squeeze':

2-3 $p\acute{ic}^1-nt-e$	2p-3 $p\acute{ic}^1-nt-y-e$
2-1 $p\acute{ip}\check{c}^1-n-cm-e$	2p-1 $p\acute{ip}\check{c}^1-n-cl-m-y-e$
$p\acute{ip}\check{c}^1-n-cm-x-e$	
2-1p $p\acute{ic}^1-nt-e k^w\acute{o}x^w$	
2p-1p $p\acute{ic}^1-nt-y-e k^w\acute{o}x^w$ or $p\acute{ic}^1-nt-p k^w\acute{o}x^w$ ⁸	

Examples of suffix-stressed $-nt-$ class *imptv* are (/l x 'squeal on somebody'):

2-3 $lx-nt-\acute{e}k-e$	2p-3 $lx-nt-\acute{e}k^w-ye$
2-1 $lx-n-c\acute{e}cm-e$	2p-1 $lx-n-c\acute{e}cl-m-ye$
$lx-n-c\acute{e}cm-x-e$	

2.4. Th. Thompson and Thompson report these Th affixes:

	sg	pl
trans	$-e$	$-wz-e$
intrans	$-(x)e$	$-(x)wz-e$

The distribution of $-x-e$ (and $-x-wz-e$) is as follows: $-x-$ is "often found suffixed to various kinds of intransitive stems; it is especially common with the middles... Forms with and without $-x$ have been recorded without semantic contrast: $cw\acute{o}mxe \sim cw\acute{o}me$ 'work'."

Thompson does not mention an affix that would parallel Sh $-ek$ (and Cv $-ik^w$), but gives examples of a special *imptv* sg $-we?$, with corresponding plurals, as in $n\acute{e}s-we?$ $n\acute{e}s-uz-e$ 'go'.

3. Summary and conclusions. I schematize the imperative affixes of all the languages discussed, first the intransitive, and then the transitive.

	Intransitives		
	Sg	Pl	Lg
	$-x$	$-wi$	Cv
	$-(i)\check{s}$	$-ui$	Ka
	$-(y)\check{s}$	$-wy$	Sp

-š	-ul	Cr
-(x)e	-x ^w ye	Sh
-(x)e	-(x)wz-e	Th

ta? wan-ta? Cu

Ditransitive

-nt(-ik ^w)	-nt-i ⁹	
-st(-ik ^w)	-st-i	
-it(-ik ^w)	-it-i	Cv
-x(i)t	-x(i)t-i	
-(t)uit	-(t)uit-i	
-nt(ek ^w)	-nt-i	
-it	-it-i	
-š(i)t	-š(i)t-i	Ka
-sk ^w	-sk ^w -i	
-st-ek ^w	-st-ek ^w -i	
-nt	-nt-i	
-it	-it-i	Sp
-sk ^w	-sk ^w -i	
-nt-e	-nt-y-e	
-nt-ek-e	-nt-ek ^w -ye	Sh
-t-e	-téye	Th

-(m)-n(t)-ta?
 -(m)-s(t)-ta?
 -k(t)-ta?
 -x(i)(t)-ta?
 -tut(t)-ta? } Cu

Negative Middle Imptvs
 (corresp to (di)trans)

lut	intr pron	poss pron	ks-stem-(V)m	
"	"	"	"	" -st-(i)m
"	"	"	"	" -it-(i)m Cv
"	"	"	"	" -x(i)t-əm
"	"	"	"	" -(t)uit-əm
ta	"	"	"	" -əm Ka

These charts show well that it is not possible to reconstruct a proto Interior Salish imperative system simply because they are not complete. But the following observations are possible. All the southern languages except Cr share a similar system, with some possible mergers in Ka-Sp; Cr needs further study. The northern languages seem to have superimposed to their original system the intransitive one borrowed from their neighbors to the south. As soon as we discover some relics of the original system we can map out its developments into each of the descendant languages.

Negative Intransitive Imptv

lut	intr pron	poss pron	ks-stem-∅	Cv
ta	"	"	qe'es-stem-∅	Ka

lut k(i)s-stem-∅ Cu