

Coeur d'Alene Imperative Constructions

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1. **Introduction.** Coeur d'Alene¹ clauses with imperative force may be indicated by particular imperative morphology or by the structure of the clause. Intransitive imperatives are formed by suffixation of an IMPERATIVE marker indicating a singular (-š) or plural (-wl) second person. Transitive imperatives are indicated by the omission of a subject argument from the standard transitive constructions. Negative imperatives are formed of a negative predicate followed by a fully inflected FUTURE predicate. In the following sections I will discuss each of these imperative constructions as well as phrasal imperatives, formed from FUTURE and IRREALIS constructions, and the use of imperatives in sequence.

2. **Intransitive imperatives.** Coeur d'Alene intransitive imperatives are formed by suffixation of -š (SECOND PERSON SINGULAR IMPERATIVE) or -wl (SECOND PERSON PLURAL IMPERATIVE) to an otherwise uninflected

¹Coeur d'Alene is a Southern Interior Salishan language spoken by a small number of elders on or near the Coeur d'Alene reservation in northern Idaho. My research on the language has been supported by the Jacobs Research Funds and an NSF dissertation research grant. The data presented here are based primarily on field work with Felix Aripa, Don George, the late Blanche LaSarte, Lawrence Nicodemus, and the late Margaret Stensgar. Examples are keyed to my notebooks by number and page. Other examples included in this paper are taken from Reichard's unpublished transcriptions of stories entitled "Coyote steals Sun's heart" and "Beaver".

intransitive base.² Reichard (1938:579.309) provides the intransitive imperative constructions given in example 1; my analyses are given in current orthography:

- | | | | | |
|----|----|-----------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| 1. | a. | -š, second person singular: | | |
| | | xui-c | √x ^w uy-š | 'go!' |
| | | x ^w ist-c | √x ^w ist-š | 'depart!' |
| | | hóí-tSEN-c | √hóy=cin-š | 'be quiet!' |
| | b. | -wl, second person plural: | | |
| | | xuy-łl | √x ^w uy=wl | 'go you!' |
| | | hóí-tSEN-łl | √hóy=cin=wl | 'be quiet you!' |

I have reanalyzed Reichard's plural -łl as -wl; ł is not a systematic phoneme in Coeur d'Alene and semivowels regularly vocalize between consonants resulting in lax vowels that are never stressed.

2.1. **Singular intransitive imperatives.** Singular intransitive imperatives are frequent in stories and elicited data. Examples are given in 2-6; in examples 4 and 5, the morphological sequence -t-š is phonologically -č, and in example 6, various directional particles are used to modify the basic imperative given in 6a.

- | | | | |
|----|--|----------|--------------|
| 2. | čí? n'útx ^w š
čí? √n'útx ^w -š
DIR /enter-IMP | Come in! | 10.64 |
| 3. | ʔácqεʔš
√ʔácqεʔ-š
/go.out-IMP | Get out! | 10.64 |
| 4. | x ^w énč
√x ^w εn-t-š
/x ^w εn-DUR-IMP | Hurry! | 10.20, 11.26 |
| 5. | qíłč
√qíł-t-š
/qíł-DUR-IMP | Wake up! | s90.115 |

²The Interior Salishan singular and plural imperative suffixes are mostly cognate. In the singular there are regular phonological correspondences of š and x (see Thompson 1979:703; Mattina 1980); the plural imperatives all include a sequence of a labial or labialized segment and a palatal, in most cases a (semi)vowel: Kalispel -(y)š, -wi (Speck 1980); Colville-Okanagan -x, -wi (Mattina 1980); Spokane -š, -wy (Carlson 1972); Shuswap (-x)-c, x^w-y-e (Kuipers 1974); Thompson (-x)-č or -weʔ, -wz-č (Thompson and Thompson 1992); Lillooet -wi (van Eijk 1985); Columbian -taʔ, -wən-taʔ (Mattina 1980 Columbian addenda).

The origin of the /l/ in the Coeur d'Alene plural imperative suffix -wl is obscure. Coeur d'Alene /l/ normally corresponds to y rather than z in Thompson and /l/ rather than /i/ in the other Interior languages, and these are derived from Proto Salish *l. Thompson z (from PS *y) normally corresponds to y in the other Interior Salishan languages, including Coeur d'Alene. Thus the Coeur d'Alene -wl IMPERATIVE is not a regular historical development from the postulated protoform *-wy suggested by the remainder of the data.

6.	a.	√x ^w úy-š /go-IMP	Go on!; Go!	s90.210
	b.	c√x ^w úy-š DIR/go-IMP	Come here!; Come over!	9.3; 8.1
	c.	t√x ^w úy-š DIR/go-IMP	Get away!	s90.123
	d.	u‡ čic√x ^w úy-š again DIR/go-IMP	Come back here!	10.64

The forms in examples 7-10 have imperative force, though the shape of the imperative suffix is unexpected:

7.	ʔenciʔiš ʔenciʔ-š there-IMP	Stay there!	10.03, 10.07
8.	də́fíš √deʔ-š /lie-IMP	Lie down!	10.03
9.	x ^w éʔiš √x ^w eʔ-š /rise-IMP	Get up! (out of bed)	11.09
10.	č'élíš √c'e1-š /stand-IMP	Get up! (stand)	11.09

The lax high front vowel that occurs with the -š IMPERATIVE in examples 7-10 is unstressed and may be excrescent, in some cases a possible effect of a preceding glottal(ized) segment; however, these singular imperatives, like that in 11a, thus look similar in some cases to forms with the DEVELOPMENTAL suffix -iš, as in 11b. The full vowel of the developmental suffix is stressable (11c), distinguishing it from the IMPERATIVE where contrastive forms exist. Not all of the imperatives have corresponding developmentals, however.

11.	a.	√ʔém-iš /sit-IMP	Sit down!	s90.178
	b.	√ʔém-iš /sit-DEV	He sat down.	
	c.	k ^w u √ʔem-iš 2 ^{NOM} /sit-DEV	You sit down.	s90.178

2.2. Plural intransitive imperatives. The plural intransitive imperatives are quite regular. Example 12b shows the plural imperative -wl in contrast with the singular imperative using the same stem. Example 13 shows the use of the plural imperative with locative morphology. The examples in 14 are taken from Reichard's transcribed texts; 14a includes an adjunct specifying the second person, and 14b includes a nonimperative command.

12.	a.	nšar'ípms n/šar'=ip-m-š LOC/kneel=bottom-MDL-IMPS	Kneel down!	n90.356
	b.	nšar'ípmul n/šar'=ip-m-wl LOC/kneel=bottom-MDL-IMPpl	Kneel down (pl)!	n90.356
13.		čicg ^w ənítul čic/g ^w nit-wl LOC/ask-IMPpl	Call them!; Invite them to come!	n90.326
14.	a.	k ^w inmul tətík ^w tík ^w eʔ √k ^w in-m-wl t+√tik ^w eʔ+CVC /sing-MDL-IMPpl DIM/fa.si+AUG Sing, little aunties!		SunHeart
	b.	téx ^w ul, téx ^w ul, ʔek ^w n u k ^w u p táx ^w √teç ^w -ul, √teç ^w -ul, √ʔek ^w n u k ^w u p √taç ^w /stop-IMPpl /stop-IMPpl /say-3 ^{ABS} u 2 ^{NOM} pl /stop Stop! Stop! He said, you folks stop!		Beaver

2.3. Intransitive imperative middles. Reichard (1938:580.310) states that "[i]f the verb has an indefinite object, or needs a suffix to "complete" it, -əm [-ə̀m], is commonly used." The single example Reichard provides is the plural form given in 15:

15.	púlutəm̀ul √pulut-m-wl /kill-MDL-IMPpl	kill an indefinite one you!
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This suffix -m is one that is often labeled the MIDDLE in Salishan literature, and for the purposes of this paper, that label will suffice. However, the -m suffix is used in several different constructions in Coeur d'Alene and often functions to alter the role of the subject and suggests a change in valency of the stem (which may be what Reichard is referring to in her analysis). Mattina 1980 points out the ambiguity of this lone example, stating that it appears to be transitive, and in Coeur d'Alene transitive constructions are invariably marked with one of the applicatives or transitivizers, all of which include -t: in this example, the identification of the root is essential in determining whether the t that occurs prior to the other suffixes is the transitivizer, some other suffix, or part of the root. The root √pulut *kill* is an unusual one in that it has two full (stressable) vowels and a final -t. Normally, roots are not affected by coronal sequence simplification rules; however, the final -t of √pulut does delete before the -st(u)- transitivizer: pulústus *he killed him*. This suggests that the final -t (or -ut) is a suffix, but the data indicate that it is not a transitivizer.

I have recorded examples of *ROOT-m-IMPERATIVE* constructions that confirm Reichard's analysis of these forms as intransitive imperatives, though all my examples are singular; these include the following:

16.	c'ək ^w inəmš √c'k ^w in-m-š /run-MDL-IMP	Run!	10.44
17.	ʔifmš √ʔif ^w m-š /cut-MDL-IMP	Cut up [the meat]!	7.19
18.	g ^w ešqinəmš √g ^w eš=qin-m-š /comb=head-MDL-IMP	Comb your hair!	11.04
19.	šičqinəmš √šič=qin-m-š /hear=head-MDL-IMP	Listen.	11.29
20.	méy ^w miy ^w mš √mey ^w +mey ^w -m-š /report+AUG-MDL-IMP	Tell stories!	n90.239

2.4. Intransitive imperatives with -ič. In contrast to the intransitive imperative forms with "indefinite objects" marked with the suffix *-m*, Reichard discusses intransitive imperatives where the "object is definitely known" (1938:580). The three examples she provides are intransitive forms made up of a root followed by *-ič* and an imperative suffix, which may be singular or plural (from Reichard 1938:580.311):

21.	púlut-εč-ūl čuceʔ-ič-ūl uʔ-x ^w úy-εč-š	kill the definite one! leave the definite one alone take back the definite one
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I have found no examples of this construction in my data. The use of a suffix *-ič* is a possible analysis for one form with imperative force, but this form includes the *-m* MIDDLE (Reichard's "indefinite object") as well as this "definite object" suffix:

22.	táx ^w meč √tax ^w -m-ič	Stop it!	11.14
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Further study is needed. Mattina 1980, for example, describes a "second-hand imperative" suffix for Colville-Okanagan transitives that may be cognate; its form is *-ik^w* and it is attached to transitive bases (except those formed with *-xí*) with meanings such as to do again, do in sequence, or to repeat a request that some action be done.

2.5. Reflexive imperatives. Coeur d'Alene reflexives are detransitivized structures and thus employ intransitive morphology when they are imperative: the reflexive suffix *-sut* attached to the transitive base is followed by the intransitive imperative suffix *-š*.

23.	xéc ^w mncutš xéc-m-n-t-sut-š /ready-MDL-D-T-RFLX-IMP	Get yourself ready!	3.67
24.	ʔék ^w mncutš √ʔek ^w -m-n-t-sut-š /lie-MDL-D-T-RFLX-IMP	Lay yourself down!	
25.	tuʔst'ék ^w ncutš tuʔs/ʔek ^w -n-t-sut-š INCEP/lie-D-T-RFLX-IMP	Go lie down.	s90.100

I have not come across any reflexives marked with the plural imperative *-wl*.

3. Transitive imperatives. Imperative constructions are built on transitive bases using the lone *-t*-transitive (T), the *-n-t*-DIRECTIVE transitive (D-T), and the *-š(i)-t*-BENEFACTIVE transitivizer (B-T). I have not found any *-st(u)*-CAUSATIVE transitive (CT) imperatives in my data, and no imperatives based on an *APPLICATIVE -t-t* stem either. Mattina 1980 points out the rarity of causative imperatives in Colville-Okanagan, but finds the *-t-t* imperatives as common as the simple transitive imperatives.

The Coeur d'Alene transitive imperative forms presented by Reichard are listed in table 1. Reichard describes these imperatives as "Completive with definite personal object" (1938: section 337). The *-t* of the forms as Reichard lists them is the *-t* transitive suffix, not a part of the imperative itself. Next to Reichard's forms in table 1, I have isolated the sequences that follow the transitivizer in the forms that include it.

Table 1. Transitive imperatives

S-O	Reichard	ff -t
2-1	-ts	-s
2-3	-t	∅
2-1p	(-šeš.š)	
2p-1	(-ts-cl)	(-sel)
2p-3	-t-ūl	-wl
2p-1p	(-šeš-š) (-šeš-ūl)	

Forms in parentheses are unattested.

According to Reichard's description, the 2(p)-1p imperative forms take intransitive morphology; that is, they don't include the *-t* transitive suffix, but instead use the suffix *-šeš* (as is the case in all the

2(p)-1p paradigms). Thus like the regular intransitive imperatives, they take -š following the stem. As is the case throughout the language, overt indication of a plural agent is optional, resulting in the two possible forms given by Reichard for the 2p-1p imperative.

In the following sections, each of the transitive imperatives involving a singular first person or third person object (i.e., the reanalyzed forms in table 1) is discussed.

3.1. 2-1 (-s) forms. The 2-1 imperatives apparently are formed by suffixing -s to a transitive base, with no other pronominal information. Most likely, this suffix is a reduced form of -se(l), the first person object (ACCUSATIVE) suffix:³

26.	čič	Give it to me!	1.53
	√čič-t-s		
	/give-T-1sACC		

In most cases, 2-1 imperatives are homophones of the regular 3-3 transitives. The example given in 26 may also be analyzed as shown in 27:

27.	čič	He gave it to her.	9.15
	√čič-t-θ-s		
	/give-T-3ABS-3ERG		

Example 28 is interesting in that it includes the CAUSATIVE transitivizer sequence -st(u)-; however, the form is one that has been retransitivized with the DIRECTIVE transitive, and the CAUSATIVE is not adjacent to the imperative morphology; there are, in fact, no examples of (nonnegative) causative imperatives in my corpus.

28.	xīstmanč	Let go of me!	11.43
	√xīst(u)-m-n-t-s		
	/leave-CT-MDL-D-T-1sACC		

The following simple transitive (29) and benefactive (30-34) forms are shown with their imperative analyses, as well as with their nonimperative 3-3 transitive glosses:

29.	k ^w i?nc	Bite me!	4.14
	√k ^w i?-n-t-s	(He bit it.)	
	/bite-D-T-1sACC		
30.	čn ^w šic	Help me!	5.20
	√čn ^w -šic-t-s	(He helped him.)	
	/help-B-T-1sACC		
31.	nłəx ^w úfəmx ^w šic	Dig a pit for me!	3.45
	n/łəx ^w =u ^w fəmx ^w -šic-t-s	(He dug a pit for him.)	
	LOC/hole=earth-B-T-1sACC		

³Coeur d'Alene is not tolerant of final vowels in roots and stems, though they are permitted in particles and affixes.

32.	šənnšic	Work for me!	3.53
	√šən+n-šic-t-s	(He worked for him.)	
	/work+n-B-T-1sACC		
33.	miymiyšic	Tell me a story!	n90.174
	√miy+miy-šic-t-s	(He told him a story.)	
	/know+CVC-B-T-1sACC		
34.	tīg ^w šic	Buy something for me!	n90.200
	√tīg ^w -šic-t-s	(He bought something for him.)	
	/buy-B-T-1sACC		

3.2. 2p-1 (-sel) forms. I do not have data verifying the imperative 2p-1 forms Reichard describes (table 1). The suffix sequences Reichard provides suggest that the 2p-1 forms are also constructed from a transitive base by suffixing only the appropriate object pronominal (-se(l)). However, the 2-1 forms (section 3.1) show that the first person singular accusative suffix -se(l) is reduced to -s in final position. A possible analysis is that the intransitive plural IMPERATIVE marker -wl is affixed to the transitive imperative base with the first person object to indicate the plural agent (see the description of the 2p-3 forms described in section 3.4). If such were the case, the sequence -sel-wl would have to reduce, maintaining the suffix vowel ε but simplifying the sequence -l-wl to -l. Until such forms can be verified, the analysis remains one of speculation.

3.3. 2-3 (null suffix) forms. Where a second person subject is commanded to act upon a third person object, the form is one of a transitive base with no (non-null) pronominal suffixes; the transitive suffix -t is word final. The third person object pronominal suffix in regular transitives is zero.

35.	k ^w int	Take it!	10.51
	√k ^w in-t-θ		
	/grab-T-3ABS		
36.	p ^w šc ^w nt	Smash it!	11.35
	√p ^w šc ^w -n-t-θ		
	/smash-D-T-3ABS		
37.	n ^w f ^w ejnt	Pour it in!	11.41
	n/√f ^w ej-n-t-θ		
	LOC/pour-D-T-3ABS		
38.	six ^w ənt	Spill it!	11.41
	√six ^w -n-t-θ		
	/pour-D-T-3ABS		
39.	k ^w i?nt	Bite him!	4.14
	√k ^w i?-n-t-θ		
	/bite-D-T-3ABS		

40. p'ác'nt Shit (on) him! s90.101
 √p'ac'-n-t-θ
 /shit-D-T-3ABS
41. čn'šít Help him! 5.20
 √čn'-ši-t-θ
 /help-B-T-3ABS

Plurality of a third person object is indicated with the standard plural suffix *-ilš*; in 2-3 imperatives this plural suffix appears immediately following the transitivizer since the third person object is a zero morpheme and the regular second person subject morpheme is omitted.

42. čn'šítilš Help them! 5.20
 √čn'-ši-t-θ-ilš
 /help-B-T-3ABS-pl

3.4. **2p-3(p) (-wl) forms.** Transitive imperatives with second person plural subjects acting on third persons take the plural IMPERATIVE suffix *-wl* on a transitive base with zero third person object marking:

43. k^wintul Take it! Beaver
 √k^win-t-θ-wl
 /take-T-3ABS-IMPL
44. čítul Give him it! SunHeart
 √čit-t-θ-wl
 /give-T-3ABS-IMPL
45. tu-yác'xəntul Look at him! SunHeart
 tuʔs/ʔac'x-n-t-θ-wl
 incep/look.at-D-T-3ABS-IMPL

4. **Negative imperatives.** Negative imperative constructions begin with the simple negative predicate *lut* followed by a FUTURE construction (see section 5.2.2).

4.1. **Intransitive negative imperatives.** In intransitive negative imperatives, the future construction following the negative predicate is a FUTURE GENITIVE, formed by following morpheme sequence: the FUTURE particle *čeł*, the second person GENITIVE pronoun *in-*, an *s-* prefix,⁴ and an intransitive stem which may include the *-m* suffix (identified here as the MIDDLE).

46. lut čeł iʔiʔn Don't eat. 10.71
 √lut čeł in-s/ʔiʔn
 /neg FUT 2GEN-NOM/eat

⁴This *s-* is either a NOMINALIZER, as it is identified in the examples, or an INTENTIONAL prefix (see Reichard 1938:586ff;666).

47. lut čeł išičqínəm Don't listen. 11.09
 √lut čeł in-s/šič=qin-m
 /neg FUT 2GEN-NOM/hear=head-MDL
48. lut čeł isnʔayilg^wes⁵ Don't get mad. s90.258
 √lut čeł in-s-hn/ʔey=ilg^wes
 /neg FUT 2GEN-NOM-LOC/angry=heart

4.2. **Transitive negative imperatives.** Negative imperatives are also built on transitive predicate bases, including the CAUSATIVE transitives. The structure is similar to the intransitive negatives: the negative root *lut* is followed by *čeł* FUTURE and *s-*, all preceding a transitive with a second person subject.

49. lut česwiʔncex^w Don't yell at me! 11.49
 √lut čeł s/wiʔ-n-t-se-x^w
 /neg FUT NOM/yell-D-T-1ACC-2ERG
50. lut čeł usʔacxəntx^w Don't look back. 12.17
 √lut čeł ut s/ʔacx-n-t-θ-x^w
 /neg FUT again NOM/look-D-T-3ABS-2ERG
51. lut čeł tq^waʔq^wəʔelmistx^w x^we inuk^wsčint s90.188
 √lut čeł t-√q^waʔq^wəʔel-mi-stu-θ-x^w x^we in-nuk^w-s/čint
 /neg FUT loc/talk-REL-CT-3ABS-2ERG DET 2GEN-fellow-NOM/person
 Don't talk about *your* people.
52. lut čeycʔek^wustx^w lut e isxət s90.258
 √lut čeł s-ʔec/ʔek^wun-stu-θ-x^w √lut he in-s/ʔes-t
 /neg FUT NOM-CUST/say-CT-3ABS-2ERG /neg ART 2GEN-NOM/good-STAT
 Don't tell them they're no good ("you're no good").
53. lut čespúlustx^w Don't kill. b90.106
 √lut čeł s/ʔulut-stu-θ-x^w
 /neg FUT NOM/kill-CT-3ABS-2ERG
54. lu čespúlulustx^w n90.85
 √lut čeł s/ʔulut+CVC-stu-θ-x^w
 /neg FUT NOM/kill+AUG-CT-3ABS-2ERG
 Don't punish them (the children).

4.3. **Negative imperatives with articles.** In some cases, the negative imperative constructions include an article following the negative *lut*; the first two examples (55 and 56) include FUTURE GENITIVE

⁵A similar form which I have not been able to analyze:

- i. lut čəʔinʔayilg^wes s90.18
 Don't get angry.

intransitives; example 57 also includes a FUTURE construction, but it is one based on a transitive predicate; the final example (58) is transitive but is apparently not a FUTURE form. None of the negative imperatives include the IMPERATIVE suffixes.

55. lut e čet ine?k^wu lut e sɣests x^we x^wi ?e smiyem ... s90.188
 √lut he čet in/ine?k^wun √lut he s/ɣes-t-s x^we x^wiye s/miyem
 /neg ART FUT 2GEN/think /neg ART NOM/good-DUR-3GEN DET DEM NOM/woman
 Don't think this woman is no good ...
56. lut e ?aɣ^w čet i?iɬn Don't eat too much. 10.71
 √lut he √?aɣ^w čet in-s/?iɬn
 /neg ART /much FUT 2GEN-NOM/eat
57. lut he čes^wúsntx^w x^we isqif^wtmx^w s90.187
 √lut he čet s/ús-n-t-θ-x^w x^we in-s/qif^wtmx^w
 /neg ART FUT NOM/lose-D-T-3ABS-2ERG DET-NOM/man
 Don't lose your man.
58. lut e čí?æ·x^wúsantx^w Don't look for it. 12.17
 √lut he čí/æx^wus-n-t-θ-x^w
 /neg ART DIR/look.for-D-T-3ABS-2ERG

5. Other imperatives.

5.1. Unmarked imperatives. Apparently, any transitive predicate with a second person subject can be interpreted as an imperative:

59. táx^wəmx^w Stop him! 11.14
 √táx^w-m-stu-θ-x^w
 /stop-MDL-CT-3ABS-2ERG
60. cən'idntx^w ɣecnú?mn Change your clothes! 10.67
 √cən'id-n-t-θ-x^w √ɣec=nú?m-n
 /clothe-D-T-3ABS-2ERG /clothe=body-NOM
61. čít^wcex^w Give it to me! 10.68
 √čít-t-se-x^w
 /give-T-1ACC-2ERG

5.2. Phrasal imperatives. Second person subject pronominal arguments are omitted from intransitive and transitive imperatives that employ overt IMPERATIVE morphology. However, there are two constructions with imperative force (other than the negative) built on fully inflected predicates that are accompanied by the IRREALIS particle *ne?* or the FUTURE particle *čət*.

5.2.1. Irrealis imperatives. Reichard calls one of these phrasal imperative constructions the "exhortative", which she describes as "expressed by the particle *ná^ʔ* [*ne?*] which has weak imperative,

as well as a future dubitative significance." The morpheme *ne?* I will call IRREALIS; in the following sentences it precedes a simple intransitive predicate:⁶

62. ne? k^wu déx^wlš You get down. 11.45
 ne? k^wu √dex^w=ilš
 IRR 2NOM /descend=curved.motion
63. ne? č uɬ twə ?e cétx^w Let's go home! 11.18
 ne? č uɬ twe ?e √cétx^w
 IRR 1PNOM again with obl /house
64. ne? k^wu ?itš Then you go to sleep. s90.102
 ne? k^wu √?itš
 IRR 2SNOM /sleep
65. ne? k^wu tuyémiš You go sit down. s90.230
 ne? k^wu tu?s/ɣem-iš
 IRR 2SNOM INCEP/sit-DEV

Irrealis imperatives appear to be most common with intransitive predicates, but also occur with transitives:

66. ne? ?ek^wústx^w le Lolo česčicx^wuy. s90.230
 ne? √?ek^wn-stu-θ-x^w le Lolo čət-s-čic/x^wuy
 IRR /say-CT-3ABS-2ERG ART Lolo FUT-NOM-LOC/go
 Tell Lawrence to come over.

5.2.2. Future imperatives. A second phrasal imperative construction uses the FUTURE particle *čət*, which precedes a fully inflected predicate. Just as in the negative imperative constructions, the predicates used with the FUTURE are the GENITIVES, formed by affixing the NOMINATIVE (object) and GENITIVE (subject) pronouns on an intransitive base that includes the prefix *s-* (INTENTIONAL OR NOMINALIZER) and the suffix *-m*. Apparently, these FUTURE forms can be interpreted as simple futures ("You will...") or as mildly imperative instructional statements, as in example 67 (see also Reichard 1938:666.758; additional examples are given in the discussion of the negative imperatives in section 4 and in section 5.3, following):

67. čət isng^wənənix^wəne?m ... s90.139
 čət θ-in-s-hn/ǵ^wnix^w+n=ine?m
 FUT 3ABS-2GEN-NOM-loc/believe+C2=ear-MDL
 You believe in that ...

5.3. Imperatives in sequence. Mattina (1980:209) describes Colville-Okanagan constructions wherein "following a first imperative, a second parallel imperative may occur,*either transitive or intransitive."

⁶Note that the imperative suffix *-ɬ* is not used in IRREALIS constructions; the final *ɬ*'s in examples 62, 64 and 65 belong to other morphemes.

Similar constructions occur in Coeur d'Alene. In the following example, a simple intransitive imperative is followed by a simple transitive imperative:

68. $\text{ʔek}^w\text{ústus } x^w\text{e } \text{ʔásq}^w\text{ás } x^w\text{úys } t \text{ u} \text{ ʔ } \text{láq}^w\text{ánt}$ 8.51
 $\sqrt{\text{ʔek}^w\text{n-stu-}\emptyset\text{-s } x^w\text{e } \text{ʔe } s\sqrt{q}^w\text{as } \sqrt{x^w}\text{uy-}\dot{s} } t \text{ u} \text{ ʔ } \sqrt{\text{láq}^w\text{-n-t-}\emptyset}$
 /say-CT-3ABS-3ERG art obl nom/child /go-IMPS dir again /look.for-D-T-3ABS
 She told her son to go look for them.

Generally, within a sentence, like imperatives (i.e., intransitive/intransitive, future/future, etc.) do not occur in sequence; most common is a simple (in)transitive imperative followed by a phrasal (FUTURE or IRREALIS) imperative (69, 70) or by a nonimperative predicate (71).

Intransitive imperative - Irrealis

69. $x^w\text{úys } ne? k^w\text{u } m\dot{i}lx^w$ Go on, now you smoke! s90.210
 $\sqrt{x^w}\text{uy-}\dot{s} \text{ ne? } k^w\text{u } \sqrt{m\dot{i}lx^w}$
 /go-IMP IRR 2NOM /smoke

Intransitive (reflexive) imperative - Irrealis

70. $\text{ʔek}^w\text{ústmes } x^w\text{e } \text{ʔe } \text{Laura } tu\text{ʔst}^w\text{é}k^w\text{mncutš } ne? k^w\text{u } m\dot{i}tm$ s90.114
 $\sqrt{\text{ʔek}^w\text{n-stu-me-s } x^w\text{e } \text{ʔe } \text{Laura } tu\text{ʔs}\sqrt{t}^w\text{ek}^w\text{-m-n-t-sut-}\dot{s} } ne? k^w\text{u } \sqrt{m\dot{i}tm}$
 /say-CT-1ABS-3ERG ART OBL Laura INCEP/lay-MDL-D-T-REFLX-IMP IRR 2NOM /rest-MDL
 Laura told me, go lay down and rest.

Intransitive imperative - Nonimperative

71. a. $x^w\text{énč } k^w\text{u } t\text{əx}^w\text{+sqif}^w\text{tmx}^w$ 10.21
 $\sqrt{x^w}\text{en-t-}\dot{s} k^w\text{u } \sqrt{t\text{ix}^w\text{-t-s}\sqrt{q\dot{i}l}^w\text{tmx}^w}$
 /hurry-ACT-IMP 2NOM /secure-CONN-NOM/man
 Hurry up and get a husband!
- b. $\text{ʔek}^w\text{ústmes } x^w\text{enč } k^w\text{u } tu\text{ʔsqif}^w\text{tmx}^w$ 10.37
 $\sqrt{\text{ʔek}^w\text{n-stu-me-s } \sqrt{x^w}\text{en-t-}\dot{s} k^w\text{u } tu\text{ʔs}\sqrt{q\dot{i}l}^w\text{tmx}^w}$
 /say-CT-2ACC-3ERG /hurry-ACT-IMP 2NOM DIR/man
 I told you [sic] to hurry up and get a man!
- c. $x^w\text{énč } \dagger \text{teg}^w\text{mín}$ 10.20
 $\sqrt{x^w}\text{en-t-}\dot{s} \dagger \sqrt{t\text{eg}^w\text{-mín}}$
 /hurry-ACT-IMP CONN /buy-INSTR
 Hurry up and buy!

The FUTURE and IRREALIS constructions are also used in juxtaposition:

Future - Irrealis (transitive and intransitive)

72. $\text{če} \dagger \text{isng}^w\text{ənanix}^w\text{əne?m } ne? \text{ʔe } p\dot{u}te?ntx^w \text{ ne? } k^w\text{up } t\dot{c}e\text{ʔ}^w\text{m}$ s90.139
 $\text{če} \dagger \emptyset\text{-in-s-hn}\sqrt{g}^w\text{nix}^w + C_2 = \text{ine?m } ne? \text{ʔe } \sqrt{p\dot{u}te?n-t-}\emptyset\text{-x}^w \text{ ne? } k^w\text{u-p } t\sqrt{c}e\text{ʔ}^w\text{m}$
 FUT 3ABS-2GEN-NOM-LOC/believe+NCR=ear(?)=MDL IRR ? /honor-D-T-3ABS-2ERG IRR 2NOM-pl
 LOC/pray-MDL
 You believe in that, have faith in that and pray.

Irrealis - Future

73. $ne? k^w\text{u } t\dot{c}e\text{ʔ}^w\text{m } \text{če} \dagger \text{ispúte?m}$ s90.187
 $ne? k^w\text{u } t\sqrt{c}e\text{ʔ}^w\text{m } \text{če} \dagger \emptyset\text{-in-s-}\sqrt{p\dot{u}te?m}$
 IRR 2NOM LOC/pray FUT 3ABS-2GEN-NOM/honor-MDL
 Just pray and adore him.

The following form is unusual in that it includes the IRREALIS marker immediately following the FUTURE particle:

74. $\text{če} \dagger \text{ne? } ku \text{ ʔest } ne? \text{ kup } \text{ʔecs}q^w\text{əq}^w\text{a?}q^w\text{ə?el.}$ s90.259
 $\text{če} \dagger \text{ne? } k^w\text{u } \sqrt{x\text{es-t } ne? } k^w\text{u-p } \text{ʔec-s-C1} + \sqrt{q^w}\text{a?}q^w\text{ə?el}$
 FUT IRR 2NOM /good-STAT IRR 2NOM-pl CUST-NOM-DIM+ /talk
 Talk good to one another.

6. **Summary of imperative constructions.** Coeur d'Alene intransitive imperatives are formed by suffixing either *-š*, imperative singular, or *-wl*, imperative plural, to an intransitive base, including MIDDLE constructions. Transitive imperatives are formed by the omission of the second person ergative (subject) pronoun from the transitive base. Plurality of the second person transitive subject may also be indicated by *-wl*, the imperative plural marker used in intransitive constructions. Negative imperatives are based on the negative predicate *lut* with a FUTURE predicate following. Phrasal imperatives include second person FUTURE constructions, similar to those used following *lut* in the negative imperatives, and IRREALIS constructions, both of which may occur in sequence with other imperative forms.

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