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Diminutives in Colville-Okanagan
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0. INTRODUCTION. As in other interior Salish languages, two processes are associated with the derivation of diminutive words in Cv-Ok: C_1 -affixation;¹ and laryngealization of resonants. In this paper we describe the ways Cv-Ok makes diminutive words. Schematically, these are:

- 1.1. a copy of C_1 prefixed to the stem (and laryngealization of eligible resonants)
- 1.2. a copy of C_1 prefixed to the stem plus -a?- infix after C_2 (and laryngealization of eligible resonants)
- 1.3. a copy of C_1 infix after the stressed vowel (and laryngealization of eligible resonants)
- 1.4. a copy of C_1 plus -a?- infix after C_1 (and laryngealization of eligible resonants)
2. Laryngealization of # R_1 - and of other eligible resonants²

Resonants eligible to be laryngealized in diminutive words include all posttonic resonants that are part of the stem, and most pretonic ones.³ The laryngealization of # R_1 includes the laryngealization of word-initial vowels, so that the resulting diminutive words begin with #V?. Resonants that immediately precede an unstressed vowel are not eligible for laryngealization. Resonants that immediately precede a glottal stop do not receive (extra) laryngealization. In the case of resonants before glottal stop then, we could speak of neutralization of contrast

¹In this schematic representation, and in the ones to follow, we use the symbol X- to stand for extra-stem material—material that does not participate in the diminutive reduplication. C_1 stands for the consonant that immediately precedes the stressed vowel; C_2 stands for the consonant that comes after the stressed vowel; a is an arbitrary index; R stands for *resonant*; C, C_1 , C_2 , V, \check{V} , #, and () are self-explanatory.

²This scheme suggests that there is a sense in which laryngealization of resonants and single consonant reduplication are equivalent.

³This cannot be defined more precisely. Some segmentable pretonic resonants do not become laryngealized in diminutive words; other do—so laryngealization of resonants in pretonic position, as the treatment of all other extra-stem material, is lexical item specific (see, for example, section 1.4.).

between plain and laryngealized resonants in that environment. Finally, resonants that are laryngealized in the simplex, remain so laryngealized in the diminutive word.

1. C_1 REDUPLICATED FORMS. In this section we discuss the forms that copy C_1 or C_1 to derive diminutive words.

1.1. COPY OF C_1 PREFIXED TO THE STEM. The simplest diminutive word consists of a stem plus a copy of C_1 of the stem prefixed to the stem, with concomitant laryngealization of all resonants that are part of the stem. After C_1 -reduplication, the resulting diminutive word template is (X-) C_1 - C_1 ...

In actuality CVC forms like

$c'al$ $c'ac'al'$ ⁴ (little) tree

are quite rare. More common are forms with three consonants or more, and additional morphological material:

Basic stem:	Diminutive word:	
(X-) C_1 \check{V} C	(X-) C_1 - C_1 \check{V} C	
$n-c'ax'$	$n-c'ac'ax'$	s.t. (small) poured
pil	$pəpɪl'$	Bill(ie)
tim	$títəm$	Tim(my)
sim	$sísəm$	Jim(my) ⁵
(X-) C_1 \check{V} CC...	(X-) C_1 - C_1 \check{V} CC...	
$p'úk'la?$	$p'əp'úk'la?$	(little) ball
$k'a?lʔ$	$k'ək'a?lʔ$	(a little) slow
$s-c'u?xán$	$s-c'ac'u?xán'$	(little) foot
$s-táʔm$	$s-tətáʔm'$	(little) boat

move to 1.3.

⁴Unlike other Interior Salish languages, there is no deglottalization of the first consonant, at least not in citation forms or careful speech. All epenthetic schwas follow the lexical formation, and therefore readers should ignore them when matching these surface forms with their underlying templates.

⁵The last three examples, borrowings, show that the affix is productive; the absence of further Ok examples bespeaks the rarity of CVC words.

We point out that the *l* of *p'əp'úk'la?*, contiguous to unstressed *a*, is not laryngealized. We also note that the form *s-táitám'* competes with *s-táitám'* (cf. 1.3.), some speakers favoring the former, others the latter.⁶

(X-)C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ ...	(X-)C ₁ -C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ ...	
c'q'áq'	c'əc'q'áq'	(small) cry, whimper
k'sus	k'ək'sús	(little) ugly face
tmix'	tətm'ix'	(little) creature(s)
xλ'ut	xəxλ'út	(little) rock
xwit	xəxw'ít	(little) trail
x'at'	xəx'át'	joker
ǰ'ap	ǰəǰ'áp	(little) breeze
tyap	təty'áp	(little) flow of liquid
q'sápi?	q'əq'sápi?	a (little) while
cwix	cəcw'ix-a?	(little) creek
twit	tətw'ít	(little) boy
t'pus	t'ət'pús	lying on stomach
kri?m	kəkri?m'	(quick) glance
s-ǰc'i?	s-ǰəǰc'i?	(little) stick
s-c'ak''	s-c'əc'ak''	(little) flower
n-sl'ip	n-səsl'íp	(a little) confused
s-plím'cən	s-pəpl'ím'cən'	(little) mouth
n-c'x'itk''	n-c'əc'x'itk''	s.t. (small) poured in s.t. larger; kicker
n-xt'itk''	n-xəxt'itk''	Oroville
i-s-q'si?	isq'q'si?	my (little) son
i-s-t'əm'k'ílt	i-s-t'ət'əm'k'ílt	My (little) daughter

We note that the initial *n* of *n-c'əc'x'itk''* and *n-xəxt'itk''* remains plain, as though extra-stem.

(X-)C ₁ C ₂ C ₃ ...	(X-)C ₁ -C ₁ C ₂ ...	
q'əy'mín	q'əq'əy'm'ín' (q'əq'i'i'm'ín')	(little) paper
ǰ'ak'mít	ǰ'əǰ'ak'mít	tea

⁶Examples of competing forms are not rare. Here we give another example:
 sc'ásxən' s-c'əc'ásxən' ~ s-c'əc'sxən' (little) shale rock

p'ək''p'úk''la?	p'əp'ək''p'úk''la?	(little) balls
səm'íftx''	sə səm'íftx''	(small) board house
k'n-úsəs	k'ək'an'úsəs	(little things, e.g. chicks) running aimlessly

We note that laryngealization follows the long *n* in the form *k'ək'an'úsəs*—there is no rearticulation of *n*. Also here belong

s-q'y'ála?x''	s-q'əq'əy'ála?x''	(small) patch of grass
s-təítáftm	s-təítáftm'	(little) boats
c-tək'ták	c-tək'ták	(small) bushes

For convenience we include here a diminutive form C_aC_aCVCCVCC whose simplex has the shape CCVCCVCC:

ǰ'ancútn	ǰəǰ'an'cútn'	(little) fan
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In summary we note that the diminutive words discussed here conform to the template C_aC_a(C)(C)V...

1.2. COPY OF C₁ PREFIXED TO THE STEM PLUS -A?- INFIXED AFTER C₂. This type of diminutive word consists of C₁- prefixed to stem, plus -a?- infix after C₁, the consonant that immediately follows the stressed vowel:

(X-)C ₁ (C)(C)V C ₁ ...	(X-)C ₁ -C ₁ (C)(C)V C ₁ a?...	
cítx''	cəcíta?x''	(out)house
k'ast	k'ək'ása?t	little bad (*k'ása?i)
ǰast	ǰəǰása?t	little good (*ǰása?i)
t'pink	t'ət'pína?k	(little) big belly
n-sk'iw's	n-səsk'íwa?s	(little) narrow
n-tk''ils	n-tək''íla?s	(little) company
s-t-xríkst	s-t-xəxr'íka?st	briefcase, pouch
*n-ǰsitk''	n-ǰəǰsíta?k''	(little) good to drink
n-p'k'c'aps	n-p'əp'k'c'ápa?s	speeder (< 'slap on butt')
s-qəlqílx''	s-qəqəl'qíla?x''	(small) group of Indians
səm'íftx''	sə səm'ífta?x''	outhouse

Note that the word *sasmʔtʰaʔxʷ* 'outhouse' is based on the simplex *səmʔtʰxʷ*, and note further that *sasmʔtʰxʷ* is also a diminutive word based on the same stem (see section 1.1.). While the reference of *sasmʔtʰxʷ* can be construed as the simple sum of the meanings of the two morphemes of the simplex (*sámaʔ* 'non-Indian'; *-tʰxʷ* 'house'), *sasmʔtʰaʔxʷ* can not. Analogously *cixʷ* 'house' derives a diminutive word *cactʰaʔxʷ* the meaning of which, 'outhouse', is not directly retrievable from the simplex. The form *s-cʔacʔmʔilʔt* 'doll', a diminutive without an occurring simplex, coexists with *s-cʔacʔmlaʔt*, with the same referential meaning.

Paralleling other words with ablaut, one diminutive form that conforms to the template being discussed shows this derivation:

qʔit qʔáqʔaʔt (little) rain

In summary we note that the diminutive words discussed here conform to the template $C_a C_\alpha (C)(C) \check{V} C_\alpha aʔ \dots$

1.3. COPY OF C_r INFIXED AFTER \check{V} . This type of diminutive word is based on a stem, plus a copy of C_r (where, again, C_r is the consonant immediately preceding the stressed vowel—in most, but not all, cases this is also C_1 of the stem) infix after the (stressed) stem vowel. The resulting diminutive word template is $(X-)C_r \check{V} C_r C_r \dots$, where C_r represents the consonant immediately following the stressed vowel of the simplex:

$(X-)C_r \check{V} C_r \dots$	$(X-)C_r \check{V} C_r C_r \dots$	
kilx	kiklʔx	(little) hand
qʔáqʔən	qʔáqʔcʔənʔ	(little) hat
ciikst	ciclʔkst	(little) five
ʔiʔntn	s-n-ʔiʔnʔtənʔ	(little) restaurant
kənʔtʰən	kənʔtʰənʔ	I eat (a little)
qʔáqʔən	qʔáqʔcʔənʔ	(little) hat
tʔáqʔəmʔkst	tʔátʔqʔəmʔkst	(little) six
tʔíqʔəlqʔ	tʔíqʔəlʔqʔ	tall (but not so)
tawn	s-tatwʔnʔ	(little) town
s-tátm	s-tátʔtmʔ	(little) boat
(i)kʔlʔ	(i)kʔlʔliʔ	a (little) way over

A form that begins with *n*, derives a diminutive where the *n* is laryngealized as well as reduplicated:

nʔkʔmən nʔnʔkʔmʔənʔ (little) knife

When C_i is a *w* (we have no examples with *y*), normal resonant laryngealization occurs, which, in the cases where /*w*/ precedes a consonant, produces phonetic sequences [uʔ]:

niwt	nʔfnuʔt	(little) wind
siwʔkʔ	sʔsuʔʔkʔ	(a little) water
kən_siwst	kən_sʔsuʔst	I drink (a little)
*xiwtm	xʔxuʔtəmʔ	(little) girl

Some stems show ablauting diminutives, where *a* replaces *i*:

$(X-)C_r i C_r \dots$	$(X-)C_r a C_r C_r \dots$	
qilt	s-qaqlʔt	(not so high) top
s-qilxʔ	s-qaqlʔxʔ	(little) Indian

In summary we note that the diminutive words discussed here conform to the template $C_a \check{V} C_a C_a \dots$

1.4. COPY OF C_r PLUS *-aʔ-* INFIXED AFTER C_r . This type of diminutive word consists of the infixation of *-C_raʔ-* after the stressed vowel (where, again, C_r is the consonant immediately preceding the stressed vowel—in most, but not all, cases this is also C_1 of the stem) of the stem. The resulting diminutive word template is $(X-)C_r \check{V} C_r aʔ C_r \dots$

pus	púpaʔs	(little) cat
xʔist	xʔfxʔaʔst	(little) walk
tʔikʔʔt	tʔíʔaʔkʔʔt	(little) lake
packʔ	pápaʔckʔ	(little) leaf
wist	wʔfwaʔst	(a little) high
naqs	nʔánaʔqs	(little) one
mus	mʔúmaʔs	(little) four
c-wix	c-wʔfwaʔx	(a little) living place
s-pikst	s-pʔpaʔkst	(little) glove
wnixʔ	wʔnʔfnaʔxʔ	true
nwist	nʔwʔfwaʔst	(little) high

Note that while in the form *nwist* one can recognize at least two morphemes, *n-* 'locative' and *wis+t* 'long+stative', the diminutive *nʔwʔfwaʔst* does not treat the *n-* as extra-stem.

In summary we note that the diminutive words discussed here conform to the template $C_aVC_a?C...$

2. LARYNGEALIZATION OF #R-. The other main type of diminutive word consists of the laryngealization of the stem initial resonants, including unstressed vowels. Also laryngealized are subsequent resonants that are not contiguous to unstressed vowels. The laryngealization of vowels results in sequences of vowel plus glottal stop. Similarly, a stem that ends in a vowel adds a glottal stop—again, analogously to the laryngealization of other resonants. All these word-initial resonants are followed by consonant; many such words are of French origin.

m ^h aq ^h	m'q ^h aq ^h	(a little) falling snow
lti	l'tiʔ	(a little) tea
lkapí	l'kapíʔ	(a little) coffee
lk ^h ut	l'k ^h ut	(a little) far
nqsfíʔc'aʔ	n'qsfíʔc'aʔ	one (little) room
kən_knaqs	kən_kn'ánaʔqs	I'm one; I'm alone
lwakín	l'waʔkín'	a (little) wagon
lulíwíx	luʔl'íw'í'x	a (little) bell
atmupí	aʔtmuʔpí'	(little) car

Whether one treats the surface *u* of *lulíwíx* as a(n underlying) *w* or *u*, the resulting diminutive word is the same. In *lwakín* *a* is treated as a resonant, and a ʔ is inserted following it. Finally, two form with stem-initial *l* reduplicate and laryngealize the *l*:

lapál	l'laʔpál'	a little shovel
k-əl ^h k ^h út	k-l'əl'k ^h út	far; around here

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