0. INTRODUCTION. As in other interior Salish languages, two processes are associated with the derivation of diminutive words in Cv-Ok: C1 affixation; and laryngealization of resonants. In this paper we describe the ways Cv-Ok makes diminutive words. Schematically, these are:

1.1. a copy of C1 prefixed to the stem (and laryngealization of eligible resonants)
1.2. a copy of C1 prefixed to the stem plus -a?- infixed after C2 (and laryngealization of eligible resonants)
1.3. a copy of C1 infixed after the stressed vowel (and laryngealization of eligible resonants)
1.4. a copy of C1 plus -a?- infixed after C1 (and laryngealization of eligible resonants)
2. Laryngealization of #R and of other eligible resonants

Resonants eligible to be laryngealized in diminutive words include all posttonic resonants that are part of the stem, and most pretonic ones. The laryngealization of #R 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 between plain and laryngealized resonants in that environment. Finally, resonants that are laryngealized in the simplex, remain so laryngealized in the diminutive word.

1. C1 REDUPLICATED FORMS. In this section we discuss the forms that copy C1 or C2 to derive diminutive words.

1.1. COPY OF C1 PREFIXED TO THE STEM. The simplest diminutive word consists of a stem plus a copy of C1 of the stem prefixed to the stem, with concomitant laryngealization of all resonants that are part of the stem. After C1 reduplication, the resulting diminutive word template is (X)-C1-C1...

In actuality CVC forms like

c'al
c'ac'\l

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

Basic stem: Diminutive word:
(X)-C1VC (X)-C1-C1VC
n-\lax
n-c'ac'\lax
s.t. (small) poured
pil popil
Tim Tim(i)
Sim Sim(i)
(X)-C1C1VC
p'uk\l
p'ac'\l
(little) ball
k'a?i?i?
k'a?k'a?i?
(a) slow
s-c'u?x\dn
s-c'ac'u?x\dn
(little) foot
s-tatm s-tatm
(little) boat

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. C1 stands for the consonant that immediately precedes the stressed vowel; C2 stands for the consonant that comes after the stressed vowel; a is an arbitrary index; R stands for resonant; C, C1, C2, V, \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 resonants do not become laryngealized in diminutive words; other do—in 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.).

5Unlike 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.

6The 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'ak'p'uk'la?, contiguous to unstressed a, is not laryngealized. We also note that the form s-tattothm' competes with s-tattotm' (cf. 1.3.), some speakers favoring the former, others the latter.6

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(X)-C1CVCC...</th>
<th>(X)-C1-C1-C1CVCC...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C?q'aq'</td>
<td>C'?C?q'a?d'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'sus</td>
<td>k'ak'sad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tmíx'</td>
<td>txml'tx'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x?kat'</td>
<td>xaxk'at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xwit</td>
<td>xaxw'it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x?at'</td>
<td>xax'at'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xap</td>
<td>xax'ap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q'sdp'</td>
<td>q'q'a?d'p'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cwix</td>
<td>cawx'tx-a?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twit</td>
<td>tw'tit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'mus</td>
<td>t'at'p'us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'r?m</td>
<td>kak'r?m'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-x?c'i?</td>
<td>s-xaxc'i?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-c'ak'w</td>
<td>s-c'ac'kax'w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-sl'ip</td>
<td>n-sal'ip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-plim'tcon</td>
<td>s-ppol'lm'tcon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-c'x'tik'</td>
<td>n-c'ac'x'tik'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-t'lik'</td>
<td>n-xaxt'lik'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-s-q's?</td>
<td>isq'q's?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-s-t'amk'flt</td>
<td>i-s-t'at'am'k'?t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We note that the insured n of n-c'ac'x'w'd'k' and n-xaxt'lik' remains plain, as though extra-stem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(X)-C1-C1-C1CVCC...</th>
<th>(X)-C1-C1-C1-C1CVCC...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q'oy'min</td>
<td>q'q'oy'm'inx' (q'q'oy'm'inx')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'?k'mítp</td>
<td>s'?kx'mítp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We note that laryngealization follows the long n in the form k'ak'an'id'as--there is no rearticulation of n. Also here belong

| n-s'q'yalìa'x'       | n-s'q'q'oy'n'dìala'x'  |
| s-tattothm'          | s-tattothm'            |
| o'z'akt'ík           | o'z'ak't'ík             |

For convenience we include here a diminutive form C1C1-CVCCVCCC whose simplex has the shape CCVCCVCCC:

| X'w'anc'ùtn         | X'w'x'án'c'dùtn'      |

In summary we note that the diminutive words discussed here conform to the template C1(C1)CVCCVCCC...  

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?- infixed after C2, the consonant that immediately follows the stressed vowel:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(X)-C1(C1)CVCC...</th>
<th>(X)-C1-C1(C1)CVCC...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ciù'</td>
<td>caðt'a'?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ast</td>
<td>k'ak'ásat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xast</td>
<td>xax'ásat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'pink</td>
<td>t'at'pína'k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-s'k'iw's</td>
<td>n-saxk'lw'as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-t'lik's</td>
<td>n-tak'tlá'as</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-t-xrikst</td>
<td>s-t-xaxr'k'af'st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*n'-ksi'tk'</td>
<td>n-xax fla'k'k'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n-p'pak'a'ps</td>
<td>n-p'ap'k'v'apa'ps</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s-qalq'ox'</td>
<td>s-qaq'alq'la'x'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'm'hxt'</td>
<td>sasm'hx'ax'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We note that the initial n of n-c'ac'x'w'd'k' and n-xaxt'lik' remains plain, as though extra-stem.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(X)-C1-C1-C1-C1CVCC...</th>
<th>(X)-C1-C1-C1-C1-C1CVCC...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>q'?y'min</td>
<td>q'q'oy'm'inx' (q'q'oy'm'inx')</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'?k'mítp</td>
<td>s'?kx'mítp</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We note that competing forms are not rare. Here we give another example:

| sc'o'daxan'             | s-o'daxan'               |
| s-c'o'daxan'            | s-c'o'daxan'             |

*Examples of competing forms are not rare. Here we give another example:
Note that the word *sasm?fta?X' 'outhouse' is based on the simplex *sam?(tX", and note further that *sasm?fta?X' is also a diminutive word based on the same stem (see section 1.1.). While the reference of *sasm?fta?X' can be construed as the simple sum of the meanings of the two morphemes of the simplex (sdma? 'non-Indian'; -fta?X' 'house'), *sasm?fta?X' can not. Analogously *citx" 'house' derives a diminutive word *x?=fta?X' the meaning of which, 'outhouse', is not directly retrievable from the simplex. The form *s-c';JC'm'm' 'doll', a diminutive without an occurring simplex, coexists with *s-c';JC'm'fla?X", with the same referential meaning.

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

q'it  
q'?aq'at  
(little) rain

In summary we note that the diminutive words discussed here conform to the template C_n(C)(C)(C)~c.a?..

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

(X-)C_nVC_n,...  
(X-)C_nVC_nC_n,...  
kix  
kix'x  
(little) hand

q'?aq?'q'q?on'  
q'?aq?'q'q?on'  
(little) hat

clikst  
cicl'kst  
(little) five

'n?Htnn  
's-n-?Htn'tan'  
(little) restaurant

kan_?itan  
kan_?itan'  
I eat (a little)

q'?aq?'q'?q?'q?on'  
q'?aq?'q'?q?'q?on'  
(little) hat

t'q'?aq'?q'mkst  
t'?t?q'?q'am'kst  
(little) six

(t)'q'?aq'?q'q'  
(t)'t?q'?q'ol'q'  
tall (but not so)

tawn  
s-taw'n'  
(little) town

s-tawtm  
s-tatfam'  
(little) boat

(i)k'flö  
(i)k'thil?  
a (little) way over

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

n?k'mon  
n'nt'k'm'on'  
(little) knife

When C_n 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 [u?]:

niwt  
n'?nu?t  
(little) wind

siwtk*  
sfu?tk*  
(a little) water

kan_?iwst  
kan_?sfu?st  
I drink (a little)

*xiwtm  
xfu?tam'  
(little) girl

Some stems show ablauting diminutives, where a replaces i:

(X-)C_nC_n,...  
(X-)C_nC_n,...  
qilt  
s-qaq'l't  
(not so high) top

s-qilk*  
s-qaq'lx*  
(little) Indian

In summary we note that the diminutive words discussed here conform to the template C_nVC_nC_n,...

1.4. COPY OF C_n PLUS -a?x INFIXED AFTER C_n. This type of diminutive word consists of the infixation of -C_nC_n after the stressed vowel (where, again, C_n 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_nVC_nC_nC_n...

pus  
pupa?x  
(little) cat

x'ist  
x'?ix'a?st  
(little) walk

t'ik't't  
t'?t'a?k'x't't  
(little) lake

pack?  
p?pa?ck?  
(little) leaf

wist  
w'fwa?st  
(a little) high

naqs  
n'ana?qas  
(little) one

mus  
m'uma?s  
(little) four

c-wix  
c-w'fwa?x  
(a little) living place

s-pikst  
s-p?pa?kst  
(little) glove

wnix  
w'n'fwa?x  
true

nwist  
n'w'fwa?st  
(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 n'w'fwa?st does not treat the n- as extra-stem.
In summary we note that the diminutive words discussed here conform to the template C_vC,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.

mq"aq"           m'q"aq"     (a little) falling snow
lti               l'ti?       (a little) tea
lkapf             l'kapf?     (a little) coffee
lk"ut             l'k"ut      (a little) far
nqs?c'a?          n'qs?c'a?   one (little) room
kan_knaqa         kan_kn'âna?qs  I'm one; I'm alone
lwakhir          l'wa?khn'     a (little) wagon
lulifWX           lu'li'fWX'    a (little) bell
atmupfl            a'tmu?pfl'   (little) car

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

lapflu          l'la?pflu?    a little shovel
k-olk"ut       k-l'ol'k"ut  far; around here

Bibliography


