

- b. te lhixw swóweles
DET three boy.PL
'the three boys'
(Wiltshko 2008:642)
- (12) a. niizh gwiizens-**ag**
two boy-PL(AN)
'two boys'
b. *niizh gwiizens
two boy
- b. qex te s-**th**'eth'im
many DET NOM-berry.PL
'many berries'
- (13) a. niibina miin-**an**
many berries-PL(IN)
'many berries'
b. *niibina miin
many berry

2.2 Plural marking triggers agreement

Another pervasive property of inflectional plural marking is its ability to trigger agreement.

- (14) a. **These** boys can sing. c. ***These** boy can sing.
b. *This boys can sing. d. This boy can sing.
- (15) a. t'ílém ye s-í:wí:qe b. t'ílém te s-í:wí:qe (HS)
sing DET.PL man.PL
'The men are singing.'
c. t'ílém ye swíyeqe d. t'ílém te swíyeqe
sing DET.PL man
'The men are singing.'
(Wiltshko 2008:643)

No agreement elsewhere: subject-verb agreement does not include number, only person. In the case of 3rd person, where the same subject agreement marker (-es) is used for both singular and plural subjects, as illustrated in (16).

- (16) a. máy-t-es ye sí:wí:qe ye sheláli (HS)
help-TRANS-3S DET.PL man.PL DET.PL woman.PL
'The men are helping the women.'
b. máy-t-es te swíyeqe ye sheláli
help-TRANS-3S DET man DET.PL woman.PL
'The man is helping the women.' (Wiltshko 2008:654-655)
- (17) a. maaba gwizens (Ojibwe)
this.AN boy
b. maamig gwizens-**ag**
these.AN boy-PL
'these boys'
c. *maamig gwizens
these-AN boy
'these boys'
- (18) a. maanda baagan
this.IN nut
'this nut'
b. maamin baagan-**an**
these.IN nuts-PL
'these nuts'
c. *maamin baagan
these.IN nut
'these nuts'
- (19) a. nene n-gii-waabm-**ig**
man-1SG 1SG-PAST-see-3SG
'(A) man saw me.'
b. nenwag n-gii-waabm-**igoog**.
men-3PL 1SG-PAST-see-3PL
'Men saw me.'

2.3 Plural marking is not possible inside compounds in Ojibwe

- (20) a. baby-sitting *babies-sitting
b. key-ring *keys-ring
- (21) a. tem-qoqo: qo (Halkomelem Salish)
time-water.PL water
'high water time'
b. tem-weléxes wéxes
time-frog.PL frog
'time of frogs' (= 'March') 'frog' (Wiltshko 2008:644)
- (22) s-xexp'-i:tseł xep (HS)
NOM-stripe.PL-back stripe
'chipmunk (with more than 2 stripes)' 'stripe' (Galloway 1980:63)
- (23) a. aamoo-ziinziibaakwad (24) a. ishkode-daaban (Ojibwe)
bee-sugar fire-car
'honey' 'train'
b. *aamoo-g-ziinziibaakwad b. *ishkode-n-daaban
bee-PL-sugar fire-PL-car

If the nominal is pluralized, the whole compound is necessarily pluralised (25). Thus, the situation is unlike that of Halkomelem Salish, but similar to English.

- (25) ishkode-daaban-an (Ojibwe)
fire-car-PL
'trains'

2.4 Plural marking is not possible inside derivational morphology

- (26) a. dog-ish *dog-s-ish b. mother-ese *mother-s-ese

In contrast, plural marking in Halkomelem Salish is possible inside of derivational morphology. As shown in (27), plural reduplication ignores the nominalizing prefix s-:

- (27) a. p'eq' s-p'eq' s-**p'eq'**p'eq' (*sp'eq'sp'eq') (Halkomelem Salish)
white NOM-white NOM-white.PL
'white' 'white spot on skin' 'white spots on skin'
b. th'ekw' s-th'eth'ikw' s-**th'ekw'**th'ekw' (*sth'ekw'sth'ekw')
be sore NOM-CONT.sore NOM-sore.PL
'be sore' 'sore' 'lots of sores'
(Galloway 1993:379, in Wiltshko 2008:645)
- (28) a. bkwenzh-gan-ag (29) a. wazas-win-an (Ojibwe)
bread-NOM-PL nest-NOM-PL
'breads' 'nests'
b. *bkwenzh-ag-gan b. *wazas-an-win
nest-PL-NOM nest-PL-NOM

In Ojibwe, despite what is claimed in the quotes introduced in (1) and (2), not all mass nouns can be pluralised. My informants rejected pluralization of the nominals in (39). When prompted to pluralize ‘oil’ one speaker even protested, “But it’s a mass noun!”.

(39)	a.	bimide	‘oil’	~	*bimide-n	IN
	b.	(a)niibiishaaboo	‘tea’	~	*(a)niibiishaaboo-n	IN
	c.	doodooshaaboo	‘milk’	~	*doodooshaaboo-n	IN
	d.	miskwi	‘blood’	~	*miskwi-n	IN
	e.	aamoo-ziinzibaawad	‘honey’	~	*aamoo-ziinzibaawad-an	IN
	f.	bangwi	‘ash’	~	*bangwi-n	IN
	g.	nbiish	‘water’	~	*nbiish-in	IN
	h.	negwiki	‘sand’	~	*negwiki-n	IN
	i.	mini	‘pus’	~	*mini-n	IN

3.2 Combination with numeral and quantifiers

Section 3 would not be complete if we did not briefly discuss the case of singular nouns that are interpreted not only as mass, but also as singular measure units.

(40)	a.	n-gii-waabam-aa	mikom	a’.	n-gii-waabam-aa	bezhig mikom.
		1SG-PAST-see-3	ice		1SG-PAST-see-3	one ice
			‘I saw ice/a piece of ice.’			‘I saw a (specific) piece of ice.’
	b.	n-gii-waaband-aa	manoomin.	b’.	n-gii-waabam-aa	bezhig manoomin.
		1SG-PAST-see-3	rice		1SG-PAST-see-3	one rice
			‘I saw rice/a portion of rice.’			‘I saw a (specific) portion of rice.’
	c.	n-gii-waaband-aa	azhashki.	c’.	n-gii-waabam-aa	bezhig azhashki.
		1SG-PAST-see-3	mud		1SG-PAST-see-3	one mud
			‘I saw mud/a chunk of mud.’			‘I saw a (specific) chunk of mud.’
	d.	n-gii-waabam-aa	mandaamin.	d’.	n-gii-waabam-aa	bezhig mandaamin.
		1SG-PAST-see-3	corn		1SG-PAST-see-3	one corn
			‘I saw a piece of corn.’			‘I saw a (specific) cob of corn.’

In English, while count nouns can be modified by cardinal numerals *three nuts*, mass nouns cannot **three mud(s)*. Also, English count nouns can be modified by quantifiers such as *many, few, every* and *each: many/few nuts, every/each nut*. On the other hand, mass nouns cannot be modified by such quantifiers: **many/few mud(s), every/each mud*.

In Ojibwe, nouns denoting substances ontologically can, not only be pluralized – see examples in (37) and (38) – they can, just like count nouns (41), also be modified by cardinals (42) and can be modified by the same quantifiers used for count nouns. Compare (43) with (44).

(41)	a.	bezhig baagan		(42)	a.	bezhig azhashki	
		one nut				one mud	
		‘one nut’				‘one piece of mud’	
	b.	niizh baaganan		b.	niizh azhashki		
		two nuts			two muds		
		‘two nuts’			‘two pieces of mud’		
(43)	a.	gakina	baagan	(44)	a.	gakina	azhashki
		every	nut			every	mud
		‘every nut’				‘every piece of mud’	
	b.	gakina	gwiizens	b.	gakina	ziinzibaakwad	
		every	boy		every	sugar	
		‘every boy’			‘every piece of sugar’		

Not surprisingly, HS behaves exactly like Ojibwe in this regard. The quantifier *qex* (many/much) can be used with nouns denoting substance (45) as well as with nouns denoting individuals (46). It is also possible to combine numerals with both types of nouns as shown by (47) and (48).

(45)	tset	kw’êtslexw	qex	(te)	qó/qoqo
	1sg.s	see-trans-3o	Q	det	water/water.pl
					‘I have seen lots of water.’
(46)	tset	kw’êts-lexw	qex	(te)	theqá/theqtheqát
	1sg.s	see-trans	Q	det	tree.pl
					‘I saw lots of trees.’
(47)	tset	kw’êts-l-exw	isále	siyitsem	
	1sg.s	see-trans-3o	two	sand.pl	
					‘I seen two pieces of/kinds of sand.’
(48)	tset	kw’êts-l-exw	isále	sth’im/sth’eth’im	
	1sg.s	see-trans-3o	two	berry/berry.pl	
					‘I have seen two berries.’

3.3. The abundance reading versus the measure reading

Let me now give some examples of plural mass nouns in more familiar languages: French (49), Hebrew (50), Romanian (51), and Persian (52) (and also Biblical English).

(49)	a.	La fonte	des neiges/les	neiges éternelles	
		the melting	of.the	the snow	eternal
		‘The melting of the snow.’	/	‘The eternal snow(s)’	
	b.	les eaux	du Nil	ont débordé	de leur lit
		the waters	of-the Nile	have spilled	from their bed
		‘The waters of the Nile have spilled over from their bed.’			
	c.	Des viandes	avariées	gisaient	sur la table.
		some meats	bad	lay-IMP	on the table
		‘Bad meats were lying on the table.’			
(50)	Iarad	harbe	šeleg/šlagim		
	fell.3sg.Past	a lot	snow.sg.m/ snow.pl.m		
		‘A lot of snow fell/has fallen’			
(51)	A	căzut	multă	zăpadă	anul ăsta.
	Aux.3.sg	fall.1.sg.Past	a lot.sg.f	snow.sg	year this
		‘A lot of snow fell this year’			
(52)	âba-e/âb-â-ye		daryâ	bâlâ	umad-an.
	water-EZ/ water-PL-EZ		sea	high	came
			‘The sea level rose.’ (Sharifian & Lotfi 2003:231)		

This plural of abundance is one of the many cases discussed in Acquaviva (2008).

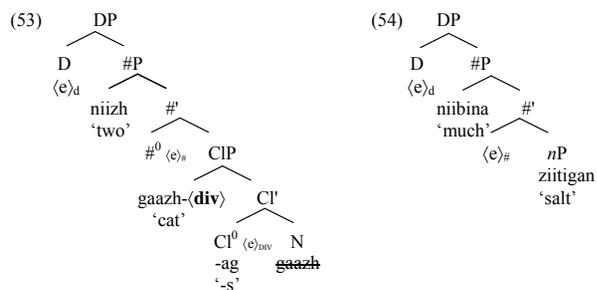
- most obvious case: *scissors* (so-called *pluralia tantum*). Then there are lexically idiosyncratic plural forms, like *pence* from *penny*.
- *she’s got the brains for the job*.
- older Indo-European languages. Sanskrit *māsá* ~ *māsāni* ‘meat bits’. Latin *caro* ‘meat’ ~ *carnes* ‘pieces of meat’.
- Modern Greek has many mass plurals like *sárkes* ‘flesh’, *háles* ‘salt’ and *ksýla* ‘wood’, the singulars of which occur with the meanings ‘piece of flesh’, ‘grain of salt’ and ‘plank of wood’.

All these examples involve the use of what is called in the linguistic literature the *singulative*.

4. The account

4.1 The background theory

Borer (2005) proposes that all nouns in all languages are mass by default, and are in need of being portioned out before they can interact with the count system. This portioning-out function is realized either through the projection of classifiers (Chinese) or through plural inflection (English). Plural inflection is classifier inflection (Sanches & Slobin 1973, Doetjes 1996, 1997).



- (55)
- a. n-gii-waabmag nenwag.
1SG-PAST-see-3PL men-3PL
'I saw men.'
- b. nenwag n-gii-waabm-igoog.
men-3PL 1SG-PAST-see-3PL
'Men saw me.'

It thus must be the case that a Num phrase is projected (Ritter 1991). Assuming a minimalist theory of agreement, the ϕ -features associated with v come in the derivation unvalued (they are uninterpretable).

Number system #1 (ordinary number): The representations in (53) and (54) are relevant for both English and Ojibwe, since the two languages behave exactly the same in many respects when it comes to the use of number marking.

Whereas English and Ojibwe use number marking in order to divide undivided stuff, Chinese uses classifiers (Number system #2). Some examples appear in (56). These are used with count nouns (they are called count-classifiers, cf. Cheng & Sybesma 1999).

- (56)
- | | | |
|--|----|--------|
| san | ge | ren |
| three | CL | people |
| 'three persons' (Cheng & Sybesma 1999:514) | | |

- (57)
- | | | |
|---|---------|------|
| san | ba | mi |
| three | handful | rice |
| 'three handfuls of rice' (Cheng & Sybesma 1999:514) | | |

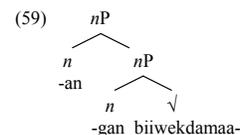
In fact, Ojibwe has numeral classifiers too. They attach to numerals to indicate measure: *-aatig* is used for wooden, pole-like elements, *-eg* for cloth-sheet-like elements, *-aabik* for metal, glass, plastic or stone and *-aabig* for string like elements. Other classifiers include *-naagans* 'cupful', *-ooshkin* 'bagful', *-oonag* 'boatload', *-baneninj* 'handful', *-sag* 'barrelful', etc. Some of these are listed as rare in dictionaries (e.g. 'boatful' in Rhodes 1985). Valentine (2001:502) also notes that their use has diminished in recent years.

- (58)
- | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|----------|
| a. | niizhwaatig | nibi | niizhwaatig | misi |
| | two-CL | water | two-CL | firewood |
| | 'two bottles of water' | | 'two sticks of firewood' | |
| b. | niizhweg | zenibaa | | |
| | two-CL | silk | | |
| | 'two pieces/sheets of silk' | | | |
| c. | niizh-naagans | ziisbaakwad | | |
| | two-cupfuls | sugar | | |
| | 'two cupfuls of sugar' | | | |

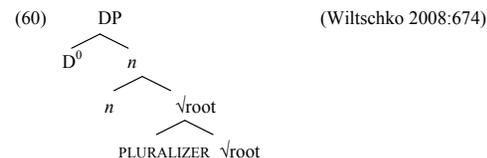
The claim that I am making about Ojibwe is that it has not only Number system #1 (ordinary number) and Number system #2 (classifiers), but a third number system, call it Number system #3. In that system, number is used as a massifier. The use of number in Ojibwe is thus dual: on the one hand, it helps to mark ordinary singulars and plurals (count nouns); on the other, it helps to divide mass and collective terms. While the former use corresponds to the contextual use of number, the latter corresponds to the inherent use of number. The latter is akin to the singularative system best known for languages such as Breton or Arabic.

4.2 Contextual versus inherent inflectional morphology: Num versus n

My proposal involves the claim that number in Ojibwe is inflectional, but that it can be used contextually as well as inherently. This distinction was introduced by Booij (1993, 1995) who shows that in certain languages (he concentrates on Dutch), in addition to the traditional use of number where a verb agrees with a nominal subject, it is possible to use number in a derivational fashion. It nevertheless remains syntactically based.



This is different from Halkomelem because in this case the plural is adjoined to the root. That's (60).



The *pluralia tantum* cases are not the only cases where number is encoded on n . The cases in (49)-(52) all seem to correspond to a special lexical use of number. The variety of uses that Corbett (2000) describes in his book are also all good candidates: the plural of modesty (Greek, Latin, Russian), the exaggerative plural (Finnish), the hyperbolic plural (Russian, French), the approximative plural (Finnish, Dogon), the anti-associative (West Greenlandic) and the plural of abundance. The cases in (49)-(52) and the interpretation that pluralised mass nouns receive in Halkomelem Salish appear to be cases of the plural of abundance, showing that this plural must be available independently of whether or not the language has inflectional number.

- (61)
- | | |
|---|-----------------------------|
| root: bracc- | (Italian) |
| Noun 1: braccio ~ bracci (masc., class -o/-i) | Noun 2: braccia (fem., pl.) |

(Acquaviva 2008:144)

- (62) root: *cervell-*
Noun 1: *cervello* ~ *cervelli* (masc., class -o/-i) Noun 2: *cervella* (fem., pl.)
(Acquaviva 2008:126)

Lecarme (2002, 2008) proposes a similar account for Somali plurals while commenting that the idea according to which “plural formation has a mixed inflectional and derivational nature is hardly new in Cushitic studies.” (Lecarme 2002:119).

- (63) a. *dibí* (-ga) (m) ‘bull’ *dibí* (-da) (f) ‘bulls’
b. *dibi-yó* (-a-da) (f) ‘bulls’
c. *dibi-yaál* (-sha) (f) ‘bulls’
(Lecarme 2002 :120)

Lecarme (2002, 2008) makes a correlation with partial agreement and singulative languages. A proper subset of Afroasiatic languages (e.g. Standard Arabic, Egyptian, Somali) and Celtic languages (e.g. Welsh, Irish, Breton) exhibit partial agreement (gender and person only) with non-pronominal subjects.

4.3 The singulative

Singulatives are individuating morphological forms that are indifferent to the grammatical number of the bases they attach to: what counts is that the entities denoted by the base are not individuals, in the technical sense of being neither discrete nor identifiable.

- (64) a. *buzhug* ‘worms’ ~ *buzhug-enn* ‘a worm’
b. *kraon* ‘walnuts’ ~ *kraon-enn* ‘a walnut’
c. *per* ‘pears’ ~ *per-enn* ‘a pear’
d. *logod* ‘mice’ ~ *logod-enn* ‘a mouse’
- (65) a. *botez* ‘shoe’ ~ *botez-enn* ‘shoe’
b. *lod* ‘part’ ~ *lod-enn* ‘part’
c. *karreg* ‘rock’ ~ *kareg-enn* ‘rocks’

Plurals can also be the target of the singulative. For example, *ster-ed* the pluralised form of *ster*, can be singulativized giving *stered-enn* ‘a star’ (a form which has in fact replaced the obsolete *ster* according to Trépos 1956 and Hemon 1975, cited in Acquaviva 2008).

	POTR ‘boy’	SIVI ‘strawberries’
	Singular: <i>potr</i>	Singulative: <i>sivienn</i>
Singular contexts	<i>ur potr bennak</i> ‘a certain boy’	<i>ur zivienn bennak</i> ‘a certain strawberry’
	<i>meur a botr</i> ‘many a boy’	<i>meur a zivienn</i> ‘many a strawberry’
	Plural: <i>potred</i>	Collective: <i>sivi</i>
Plural contexts	<i>un nebeud potred</i> ‘some boys’	<i>un nebeud sivi</i> ‘some strawberries’
	<i>kalz potred</i> ‘a lot of boys’	<i>kalz sivi</i> ‘a lot of strawberries’

As reported by Acquaviva (2008:245), the precise sense of ‘X-unit’ also appears to vary within the same word. Trépos (1956:269) mentions a textual example where *traez-enn* means ‘a grain of sand’ rather than ‘a beach’. I note that while Acquaviva (2008) gives ‘a shoe’ as a translation for the singulative form *botez-enn* in (68a), Stump (2005:62) gives the translation ‘a kick’.

- (66) a. *c’hoant* ‘a want’ ~ *c’hoant-enn* ‘birthmark’
b. *lost* ‘tail’ ~ *lost-enn* ‘skirt’

- c. *botez* ‘shoe’ ~ *botez-enn* ‘kick’
(Stump 2005:62)

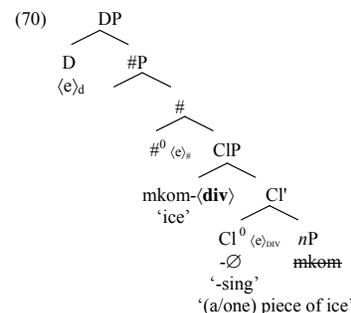
This shift in meaning is also apparent when mass nouns are the target of the singulative operation ((67a,b) are from Stump 2005:62, (67c,d) from Acquaviva 2008:245) while (67e,f) are from Trépos 1980:67). These are the most interesting examples for us, since they show that, like Ojibwe, the function of the singulative consists not only in turning abstract object types into identifiable objects, but also picking discrete entities out of undifferentiated mass.

- (67) a. *douar* ‘earth, ground’ ~ *douar-enn* ‘plot, terrier’
b. *geot* ‘grass’ ~ *geot-enn* ‘blade of grass’
c. *glao* ‘rain’ ~ *glav-enn* ‘a drop of rain’
d. *traez* ‘sand’ ~ *traez-enn* ‘a beach’
e. *plouz* ‘straw’ ~ *plouz-enn* ‘wisp of straw’
f. *ed* ‘wheat’ ~ *ed-enn* ‘stick of wheat’
- (68) a. *ʔamʔh* ‘wheat’ ~ *ʔamʔh-e* ‘a grain of wheat’
b. *εəʂʔb* ‘grass, weeds, herbs’ ~ *εəʂb-e* ‘a blade of grass, a weed, a herb’
(Cowell 2005:298)

As is the case in Breton (as suggested by Stump 2005, see above), the singulative is not productive with all mass nouns. In Syrian Arabic, a few mass nouns designating plants, for example, either have no unit derivative at all, or have one that appears very rarely. In such cases, a periphrastic phrase is used instead (*rās* means ‘head’).

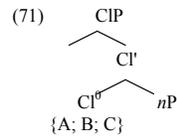
- (69) a. *tūm* ‘garlic’ ~ *rās tūm* ‘a garlic bulb’
b. *ʂnōbar* ‘pine’ ~ *sažaret ʂnōbar* ‘a pine tree’ (Cowell 2005:298)

4.4 The singulative in Ojibwe



Instead of using special partitive phrases, Ojibwe then simply uses number to encode measure and also individualisation. The language does not use partitive phrases so much: it resorts to the use of number instead. I thus propose that on the measure reading in Ojibwe arises from the use of a singulative-like form that is first encoded in *n*, but departing from Lecarme’s (2002) and Acquaviva’s (2008) respective proposals, that it is then encoded on a Classifier head. That classifier head is exactly the same as the classifier head introduced in (53), except that in this case it hosts not the plural, but the singulative marker, which in Ojibwe looks like it remains empty (but see below).

However, since Ojibwe makes use not only of the singulative, but also of regular number and numeral classifiers the Classifier head can have three values as shown in (71).



A = plural (Number system 1)
 B = numeral classifier (Number system 2)
 C = singulative (Number system 3)

Contrary to Borer (2005), I do not assume that pseudo-partitive constructions involve a lower projection. On her account, measure phrases in English or Hebrew Grocerese can undergo division and then be counted. Although, that seems to work for English, since measure phrases can be pluralised, e.g. *six pieces of sugar* and for Hebrew (see footnote 5) in Chinese count-classifiers and mass-classifiers are in complimentary distribution as seen in (72).

- (72) *si liàng gè qìchē
 four CI CI car
 'four cars' (Fassi Fehri & Vinet 2007:8, ms. version).

This indicates that count-classifiers and mass-classifiers target the same head. This must be the case also in Ojibwe, since numeral classifiers are singular in form (cf. (58)). The structure in (71) has more in common with the so-called mono-projectional approach to pseudo-partitives (Stavrou 2003) than with the predicational approach (Den Dikken 2006).

Number system 1: singular as "default" (although technically this is not so, cf. see Borer 2005 and Acquaviva 2008, since the plural is not about counting, but dividing and since a plural form may not have a corresponding singular).

Number system 3: plural as default. The idea that the plural is the default has been a popular idea in recent semantic work (Sauerland 2003, Sauerland, Anderssen & Yatsushiro 2005, Bale 2006).

- (73)
- | | | | | | |
|----|----------|-----|--------|---------------------|----|
| | Singular | | Plural | | |
| a. | nika | a'. | nikag | 'goose' | AN |
| b. | makwa | b'. | makwag | 'bear' | AN |
| c. | mijì | c'. | misan | 'piece of firewood' | IN |
- (Piggott 2007, p. 15)

Case of *zhoonya* 'money' in (74). It is often listed in dictionaries as an inanimate nouns (although it ends in *-a*). As a singular inanimate it is clearly a mass/collective noun. However, when pluralized it means 'coins' and its acquires the animate plural marking (74a). The same goes for *mitig* 'tree' which when inanimate means 'wood' but when animate means 'tree' (74b). This is a clear residual effect of the gender shift correlated with the singulative use.

- (74) a. zhoonya 'money' IN ~ zhoonyag 'coins' AN
 b. mitig 'wood' IN ~ mitig 'tree' AN

Fox: Goddard (2002).

- (75) a. šo-niya-hi (IN) 'silver, money' ~ šo-niya-ha 'a coin, a bill'
 b. mi-čipe-hi (IN) 'game (collective)' ~ mi-čipe-ha 'a game animal'
 c. owiye-he-hi (IN) 'animals, small game (coll.) ~ owiye-he-hi 'a (small) animal' (Goddard 2002:213)
- (76) a. owi-ya-si (IN) 'meat, flesh' ~ owi-ya-sa (AN) 'a piece or cut of meat'
 b. owi-nenwi (IN) 'fat (generic) ~ owi-nenwa (AN) 'a piece of fat, bear fat'
 c. anake-hkwi (IN) 'bark' ~ anake-hkwa (AN) 'a piece of bark used (or intended for use) as lodge covering' (Goddard 2002:213)
- (77) a. aseni (IN) 'stone' ~ asenya (AN) 'stone used in sweatlodge'
 b. apèhkwe-šimo-ni (IN) 'head support' ~ apèhkwe-šimo-na 'mattress'

- c. mehtekwi (IN) 'stick, tree' ~ mehtekwa (AN) 'tree that is inviolable'
 d. nehka-či (IN) 'my foot' ~ ohka-ta (AN) '(animal) foot (as food)' (Goddard 2002:214)

4.5 The diminutive as singulative

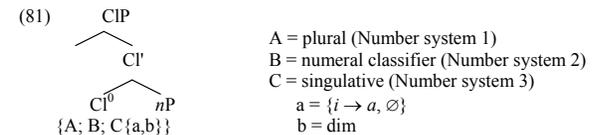
On its most basic use, the diminutive process turns nouns such as *mkisin* 'shoe' into *mkiznens* 'little shoe'. "The highly lexicalized English diminutives frequently used to gloss these forms belie this productivity. Any concrete Ojibwa noun can form a diminutive up to the limits of semantic compatibility. This extends even to borrowings." Rhodes (1990:152).

- (78) a. sin 'stone' ~ siniins 'pebble'
 b. ziibi 'river' ~ ziibiins 'brook, creek'
 c. miikan 'road' ~ miiknaans 'path'
 d. waagaakwad 'axe' ~ waagaakdoons 'hatchet'
 e. mBill 'Bill' ~ mBiliins 'Billy' (Rhodes 1990:152)
- (79) a. mkwa 'bear' ~ mkoons 'bear cub'
 b. nimosh 'dog' ~ nimoons/nimshens 'puppy'
 c. bzhiki 'cow' ~ bzhikiins 'calf'
 d. binoojiinh child ~ binoojiins 'baby' (Ot)
 e. kwe 'woman' ~ kwezens 'girl' (Rhodes 1990:152-153)

The diminutive can also help individuate nouns denoting substances as shown in (80).

- (80) a. mtig 'wood' ~ mtigoons 'stick'
 b. mkwam 'ice' ~ mkwamiins 'icicle'
 c. goon 'snow' ~ goonens 'snowflake'
 d. zisbaakwad 'sugar' ~ zisbaakdoons 'a piece of candy'
 e. mshkiki 'medicine' ~ mshkikiins 'pill'
 f. semaa 'tobacco' ~ semaans 'cigarette' (Rhodes 1990:153-154)
 g. bkwezghan 'bread' ~ bkwezghaans 'donut, sweet roll, cookie'
 h. bigw 'gum, pitch' ~ bigjiin-s 'chewing gum'

The lexical distinctions achieved by the use of the diminutive show great cross-dialectal variation. Valentine (2001) reports that while *goon* means 'snowflake' at Walpole Island, it otherwise means 'fallen snow, chunk of snow'.



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