

## On the mass/count distinction in Ojibwe

Eric Mathieu  
University of Ottawa

*The classifier is an individualizer which performs the same function as a singulative affix in languages with the collective/singulative opposition (Greenberg 1972:26)*

**Upshot:** echoing Plural inflection is classifier inflection ~ The singulative is classifier inflection

### 1. Introduction

- (1) “Or consider the Algonquian language Ojibway (Richard Rhodes 1990:153-4, and personal communications). Nouns which might be expected not to have a plural do in fact form plurals freely, interestingly with the unit reading and not with the sort reading. Thus *mkwam* ‘ice’ or ‘piece of ice’, *mkwamiig* (plural) ‘pieces of ice’. Rhodes is unable to find a noun that cannot be pluralized in Ojibway.” (Corbett 2000:87)
- (2) “In Ojibwa there is no grammatical distinction like the mass/count distinction of Indo-European. Thus *mkwam* can equally mean ‘ice’ or ‘a piece of ice’. *Nbishi* can mean ‘water’ or ‘an amount of water.’ (Rhodes 1990:153)

Clear morphosyntactic effects in English, but not in Ojibwe? The case of Halkomelem Salish, a language which, like many other Native North American languages (Mithun 1988), has been argued to lack a grammaticized mass/count distinction (Wiltschko 2007, 2008, see also Davis and Matthewson 1999 for Lillooet Salish).

- (3) a. tsel kw'éts-l-exw te/ye th'exth'éxet  
1SG.S see-TRANS-3O DET/DET.PL gravel.PL  
'I saw a lot of gravel.'
- b. tsel kw'éts-l-exw te/ye syiqyiq  
1SG.S see-TRANS-3O DET/DET.PL snow.PL  
'I've seen a lot of snow.' (Wiltschko 2008:669)

**Claim 1:** Although Halkomelem Salish and Ojibwe share the property of systematic noun pluralisation, this property arises independently from the parameter setting proposed by Wiltschko (2007, 2008). Although it is tempting to conclude from the fact that mass nouns can systematically be the target of pluralisation in Ojibwe that the language has no grammaticized mass/count distinction, this conclusion would be too premature.

**Claim 2:** Number in Ojibwe, although clearly inflectional, can also be used inherently (see Booij 1993, 1995 for the distinction between contextual and inherent inflectional morphology).<sup>1</sup>

- (4) a. n-gii-waabam-aa-g mikom-iig. c. n-gii-waaband-aa-nan azhashki-in.  
1SG-PAST-see-3-PL.AN ice-PL.AN 1SG-PAST-see-3-PL.IN mud-PL.IN  
'I saw pieces of ice.' 'I saw chunks of mud.'
- b. n-gii-waaband-aa-nan manoomin-an. d. n-gii-waabam-aa-g mandaamin-ag.  
1SG-PAST-see-3-PL.IN rice-PL.IN 1SG-PAST-see-3-PL.AN corn-PL.AN  
'I saw portions of rice.' 'I saw pieces of corn.'

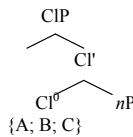
- unit readings are not (necessarily) conventionalized. In most cases, the measure reading has pseudo-partitive/measure import that is independent from conventions.
- I will also show that Ojibwe has both *pluralia tantum* and *singularia tantum*.

Classifier versus number: (Doetjes 1996, 1997), (Cheng & Sybesma 1999), Borer (2005).

- (5) a. three | Chinese | CL | cat | c. three | English | -s | cat  
b. three | MS | meat | d. three | portions of | meat

Mass/count workshop, University of Toronto, February 7-9, 2009

**Hypothesis:** The hypothesis that I develop is that Ojibwe has three different number systems. Number system #1 is English: the plural is a divider rather than a counter; Number system #2 is like Chinese: numeral classifiers are used as dividers; Number system #3: the singulative. All three options are encoded on a Classifier head in complimentary distribution.

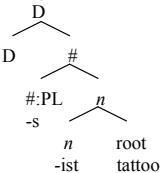
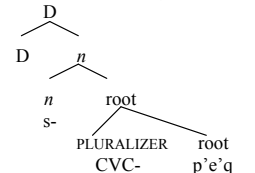
- (6)  A = plural (Number system 1)  
B = numeral classifier (Number system 2)  
C = singulative (Number system 3)

Pluralisation of mass nouns in Ojibwe is claimed to be a reflex of a singulative number system that is correlated to gender shift, but which has become less transparent in the modern language. Another value for the singulative is shown to be the diminutive.

### 2. Number as an inflectional category in Ojibwe

- (7) “In the vast majority of North American languages ... only certain nouns have plural forms. In most of these, only nouns referring to human beings have plurals, or only some nouns referring to humans, often kin terms. (Multiple animals that are considered ‘sentient things,’ such as pets or characters in legends, are also often referred to by plural nouns.) The plurals that do exist are used only on some occasions, not every time multiple participants are discussed.” (Mithun 1988:212)

Plural marking is either split (e.g. Slave, an Athabaskan language spoken in parts of the Northern Territories, British Columbia and Alberta, Canada, Rice 1989) or it is totally optional (Halkomelem Salish, Wiltschko 2008). According to Greenberg (1972:16): “*there are a considerable number of Amerind languages [...] which do not have measure constructions [including Ojibwe, Greenberg 1974]. Numeral occur directly both with nouns designating mass as well as countable objects.*” Although the lack of a grammaticized mass/count distinction appears widespread in Native North American languages, there are notable exceptions. Mithun (1988) asserts that all nouns in Taos, Kiowa, Zuni, and the Algonquian languages are inflected for number.

- (8) a. English  b. Halkomelem Salish (cf. Wiltschko 2008) 

#### 2.1 Plural marking is obligatory in Ojibwe

- (9) a. the three boy-s b. \*the three boy
- (10) a. te lhixw swiweles (11) a. qex te s-th'im  
DET three boy many DET NOM-berry  
'the three boys' 'many berries'

- 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'ilém ye s-í:wí:qe b. t'ilém te s-í:wí:qe (HS)  
sing DET.PL man.PL  
'The men are singing.'  
c. t'ilém ye swíyeqe d. t'ilém 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:tset 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

### 2.5 Ojibwe has pluralia tantum

Wiltchko (2008) argues that, since number is not a grammatical category in Halkomelem Salish, no mismatches between form and meaning can arise.

- (30) a. biiwekdamaagnan ‘wood shaving’ (W)  
 b. bootsan ‘boots’ (from English boots, Odawa)  
 c. e-baasgobjigemgakin ‘spring-tooth harrows’, a farm implement.  
 (Valentine 2001:182)

### 2.6 Ojibwe has bare plurals

Since on Wiltchko’s (2008) analysis plural marking in Halkomelem is merged as a modifier, it is predicted that in that language the plural marking does not change the category of the noun it merges with. The HS noun is smaller than an #P. If the presence of some functional structure (such as #) is sufficient to turn a nominal predicate into an argument (Déchaine & Wiltchko 2002), bare nouns will be possible. This is the case in English.

- (31) a. I saw bears.                      b. Bears saw me.
- (32) a. tsel kw’ets-l-exw                      \*(te) {swiyeqe/si:wí:qe} (HS)  
 1SG.S see-TRANS-3O                      DET man/man.PL  
 ‘I saw the man/the men.’/ ‘I saw a man/men.’  
 b. t’ít’elem                      \*(te) {sháli/slhelhláli}  
 singing                      DET woman/woman.PL  
 ‘The woman/women is/are singing.’/ ‘A woman/women is/are singing.’
- (33) a. n-gii-waabmag                      nenwag.                      (Ojibwe)  
 1SG-PAST-see-3PL                      men-3PL  
 ‘I saw men.’  
 b. nenwag                      n-gii-waabm-igoog.  
 men-3PL                      1SG-PAST-see-3PL  
 ‘Men saw me.’

### 2.7 Intermediate summary

	English	Halkomelem	Ojibwe
obligatory plural marking	yes	no	yes
obligatory agreement	yes	no	yes
Plural inside compounds	no	yes	no
Plural inside derivational morphology	no	yes	no
Pluralia tantum	yes	no	yes
Bare plurals	yes	no	yes

- (34) SINGULAR PLURAL GLOSS
- a. giin                      giinwaa                      ‘thou (SG) ~ you (PL)’  
 wiin                      wiinwaa                      ‘he ~ they’  
 maanda                      nanda                      ‘this (one) IN proximal ~ these (ones) IN proximal’  
 n... -im                      n...-naan                      ‘my ~ our (excl)’  
 ....                      ....                      ‘his ~ their’
- b. giuwe                      giuwewag                      ‘go home (PRES, 1/2/3 SG) ~ go home (PRES, 3PL)

**Paradox:** on the one hand, everything points to the view that in Ojibwe, number is a functional head rather than a modifier (number marking is obligatory, it triggers agreement, and it is not possible inside compound or derivational morphology). On the other, the fact that many mass nouns can be pluralised might be taken to indicate that number in Ojibwe is not an inflectional category and that a grammaticized mass/count distinction is absent in the language.

### 3. The status of the plural in Ojibwe

In the simplest cases, pluralisation in Ojibwe thus creates a series of discrete individuals. In (35a), ‘nuts’ means ‘more than one nut’ and the same goes for *bagaan* versus *bagaanag* in Ojibwe. (35b) and c are other examples of animate nominals while (36) introduces a list of inanimate nouns (IN).

- (35) a. bagaan                      ‘nut’                      ~                      bagaan-ag                      ‘nuts’                      AN  
 b. miigwan                      ‘feather’                      ~                      miigwan-ag                      ‘feathers’                      AN  
 c. maanadikoshens                      ‘goat’                      ~                      maanadikoshens-ag                      ‘goats’                      AN
- (36) a. akwaandawaagan                      ‘ladder’                      ~                      akwaandawaagan-an                      ‘ladders’                      IN  
 b. ishkwandem                      ‘door’                      ~                      ishkwandem-an                      ‘doors’                      IN  
 c. makizin                      ‘moccasin’ ~                      makizin-an                      ‘moccasins’                      IN

### 3.1 Pluralised mass nouns in Ojibwe

In Ojibwe, mass nouns can easily be pluralised. This is true for animate nouns (37) and for inanimate nominals (38). In English, the pluralisation of these nouns is simply not possible. Some nouns in this list are collective rather than mass nouns. This is the case, for example, of (38i).

- (37) a. maandaamin                      ‘corn’                      ~                      maandaamin-ag                      AN  
 b. waabigan                      ‘clay’                      ~                      waabigan-ag                      AN  
 c. aninaatig                      ‘maple’                      ~                      aninaatig-oog                      AN  
 d. mashkosiw                      ‘grass’                      ~                      mashkosiw-ag                      AN  
 e. semaa                      ‘tobacco’                      ~                      semaa-g                      AN  
 f. zhooniya                      ‘money’                      ~                      zhooniya-g                      AN  
 g. mikom                      ‘ice’                      ~                      mikom-iig                      AN  
 g’. mikwam                      ‘ice’                      ~                      mikwam-iig                      AN
- (38) a. (a)ki                      ‘earth’                      ~                      (a)ki-in                      IN  
 b. manoomin                      ‘rice’                      ~                      manoomin-an                      IN  
 c. azhashki                      ‘mud’                      ~                      azhashki-in                      IN  
 d. bkwezhgan                      ‘bread’                      ~                      bkwezhgan-an                      IN  
 e. aasaakamig                      ‘moss’                      ~                      aasaakamig-oon                      IN  
 f. maagan                      ‘cream’                      ~                      maagan-an                      IN  
 g. ziinzibaakwad                      ‘sugar’                      ~                      ziinzibaakwad-oon                      IN  
 h. bagidanaamowi                      ‘air’                      ~                      bagidanaamowi-an                      IN  
 i. ziigwebinigan                      ‘garbage’                      ~                      ziigwebinigan-an                      IN  
 j. zhiywaaboo                      ‘vinegar’                      ~                      zhiywaaboo-an                      IN  
 k. zaawaa-mide                      ‘butter’                      ~                      zaawaa-mide-yin                      IN  
 l. nenaabгаа                      ‘porridge’                      ~                      nenaabгаа-yin                      IN  
 m. naapaane                      ‘flour’                      ~                      naapaane-yin                      IN  
 n. baashkiminasigan                      ‘jam’                      ~                      baashkiminasigan-an                      IN  
 o. gziibiigahigan                      ‘soap’                      ~                      gziibiigahigan-an                      IN  
 p. wiyaas                      ‘meat’                      ~                      wiyaas-an                      IN  
 q. miishkoonh                      ‘hay’                      ~                      miishkoonh-yin                      IN

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 snows	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).

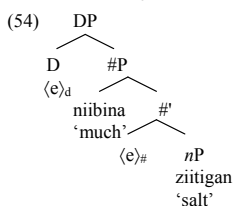
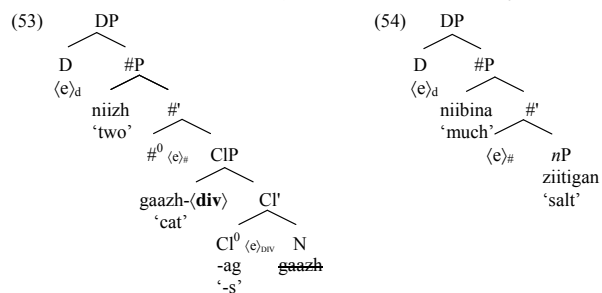
- most obvious case: *scissors* (so-called *pluralia tantum*). Then there are lexically idiosyncratic plural forms, like *pence* from *penny*.
- *she’s got the brains for the job*.
- older Indo-European languages. Sanskrit *māsá* ~ *māsāni* ‘meat bits’. Latin *caro* ‘meat’ ~ *carnes* ‘pieces of meat’.
- 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  $\phi$ -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) |         |      |

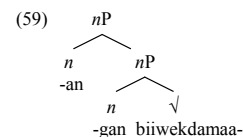
In fact, Ojibwe has numeral classifiers too. They attach to numerals to indicate measure: *-aatig* is used for wooden, pole-like elements, *-eg* for cloth-sheet-like elements, *-aabik* for metal, glass, plastic or stone and *-aabig* for string like elements. Other classifiers include *-naagans* 'cupful', *-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'      |             |                          |          |

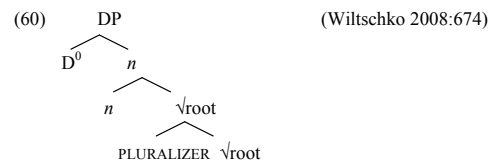
The claim that I am making about Ojibwe is that it has not only Number system #1 (ordinary number) and Number system #2 (classifiers), but a third number system, call it Number system #3. In that system, number is used as a massifier. The use of number in Ojibwe is thus dual: on the one hand, it helps 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)

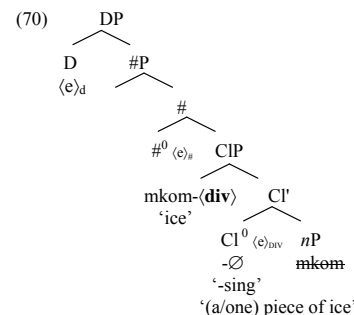
This shift in meaning is also apparent when mass nouns are the target of the singulative operation ((67a,b) are from Stump 2005:62, (67c,d) from Acquaviva 2008:245) while (67e,f) are from Trépos 1980:67). These are the most interesting examples for us, since they show that, like Ojibwe, the function 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. *εαʂʔb* ‘grass, weeds, herbs’ ~ *εαʂb-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’).

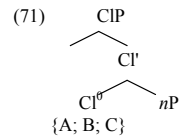
- (69) a. *tūm* ‘garlic’ ~ *rās tūm* ‘a garlic bulb’  
b. *ʂnōbar* ‘pine’ ~ *saʂaret ʂnōbar* ‘a pine tree’ (Cowell 2005:298)

#### 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

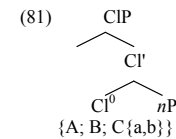
On its most basic use, the diminutive process turns nouns such as *mkisin* 'shoe' into *mkiznens* 'little shoe'. "The highly lexicalized English diminutives frequently used to gloss these forms belie this productivity. Any concrete Ojibwa noun can form a diminutive up to the limits of semantic compatibility. 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' ~ bigiin-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'.



A = plural (Number system 1)  
 B = numeral classifier (Number system 2)  
 C = singulative (Number system 3)  
 a = {i → a, ∅}  
 b = dim

#### References

- Acquaviva, Paolo (2008). *Lexical plurals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.  
 Bale, Alan (2006). Yet more evidence for the emptiness of plurality. In Emily Elfner & Martin Walkow (Eds.), *Proceedings of NELS 36*.  
 Bauer, Laurie (1997). Derivational paradigms. In Geert Booij & Jaap van Marle (eds.), *Yearbook of Morphology 1997*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. 243-256.  
 Black-Rogers, Mary B. (1982). Algonquian gender revisited: animate nouns and Ojibwa 'power' – an impasse? *Papers in linguistics* 15:59-76.  
 Bloomfield, Leonard (1957). *Eastern Ojibwa*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.  
 Booij, Geert (1993). Against split morphology. In: Booij, Geert & Jaap van Marle (eds.), *Yearbook of Morphology 1993*. Kluwer: Dordrecht, 27-50.  
 Booij, Geert (1995). Inherent versus contextual inflection and the split morphology hypothesis. In Booij, Geert & Jaap van Marle (eds.), *Yearbook of Morphology 1995*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. 1-16.

Booij, Geert (1997). Autonomous morphology and paradigmatic relations. In Geert Booij & Jaap van Marle (eds.), *Yearbook of Morphology 1997*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. 35-53.

Borer, Hagit (2005). *In name only*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Bunt, Harry C. (1985). The formal representation of (quasi-)continuous concepts. *Formal theories of the commonsense world*, ed. by Jerry R. Hobbs and Robert C. Moore, 37-70. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Campbell, Kyle (2000). *American Indian languages: the historical linguistics of Native America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cheng, Lisa & Rint Sybesma (1999). Bare and not-so-bare nouns and the structure of NP. *LI* 30:509-542.

Chierchia, Gennaro (1998). Reference to kinds across languages. *Natural Language Semantics* 6:339-405.

Corbett, Greville (1991). *Gender*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corbett, Greville (2000). *Number*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Corbier, M.-A., Dickson, A., & Osawamick, M. (1999). *Foundations of Nishnaabemowin. Stepping stones to conversational fluency in Ojibwe*. User's guide and workbook. Wabnode Institute, Cambrian College & Department of Native Studies, University of Sudbury.

Cowell, Mark W. (2005). *A reference grammar of Syrian Arabic (based on the dialect of Damascus)*. Georgetown: Georgetown U. Press.

Davis, Henry & Lisa Matthewson (1999). On the functional determination of lexical categories. *Revue québécoise de linguistique* 27:30-69.

den Dikken, Marcel (2006). *Relators and linkers: The syntax of predication, predicate inversion, and copulas*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Doetjes, Jenny (1996). Mass and Count: Syntax or Semantics? In Proceedings of Meaning on the HILL, 34-52. (HIL Occasional Papers in Linguistics 1.) HIL/Leiden University.

Doetjes, Jenny (1997). Quantifiers and selection: on the distribution of quantifying expressions in French, Dutch and English. Ph.D. dissertation, Leiden University.

Fassi Fehri, Abdelkader & Marie-Thérèse Vinet (2007). Number and classifier distribution in Arabic and Chinese and their complementarity. In Annie Zeanen, Jane Simpson, Tracy Holloway King, Jane Grimshaw, Joan Mailing and Chris Manning (eds), *Architectures, Rules, and Preferences : Variations on themes of Joan Bresnan*. Stanford University : (CSLI) Center for the Study of Language and Information Publications.

Galloway, Brent (1980). *The structure of upriver Halkomelem, a grammatical sketch and classified word list for upriver Halkomelem*. Sardis: Coqualeetza Education Training Center.

Galloway, Brent (1993). *A grammar of upriver Halkomelem*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gerds, Donna B. (1999). The combinatorial properties of Halkomelem lexical suffixes. Papers for the 35<sup>th</sup> international conference on Salish and neighboring languages. 3, 95-106. UBCWPL.

Gerds, Donna B. (2003). The morphosyntax of Halkomelem lexical suffixes. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 69: 345-356.

Gerds, Donna B., and Mercedes Hinkson (1996). Salish lexical suffixes: a case of decategorialization. In Proceedings of the conference on conceptual structure, discourse and language, ed. Adele E. Goldberg, 163-176. Stanford: Center for the Study of Language and Information.

Ghomeshi, Jila (2003). Plural marking, indefiniteness, and the noun phrase. *Studia Linguistica* 57: 47-74.

Goddard, Ives (2002). Grammatical gender in Algonquian. In H. C. Wolfart ed. *Papers of the thirty-third Algonquian conference*, 195-231.

Greenberg, Joseph H. (1963). *Universals of language*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.

Greenberg, Joseph H. (1972). Numeral classifiers and substantival number: Problems in the genesis of a linguistic type. *Working Papers on Language Universals* 9:2-39.

Greenberg, Joseph H. (1974). Studies in numeral systems, I: Double numeral systems. *Working Papers in Language Universals* 14:75-89.

Hallowell, A. Irving (1960). Ojibwa ontology, behaviour, and world view. In S. Diamond, ed. *Culture in history: Essays in honor of Paul Radin*, 19-52. New-York: Columbia University Press.

Hamedani, Ladan (2008). A mass/count distinction in Persian. Ms. University of Ottawa.

Hemon, Roparz (1975). *A historical morphology and syntax of Breton*. Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies.

Kaye, J. and G. Piggott (1973) On the cyclical nature of Ojibwa t-palatalization. *Linguistic Inquiry* 4: 345-362.

Kihm, Alain (2005). Noun classes, gender, and the lexicon-syntax-morphology interface: A comparative study of Niger-Congo and Romance languages. In *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Syntax*, ed. Guglielmo Cinque & Richard Kayne, 459-512. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lecarme, Jacqueline (2002). Gender "Polarity": Theoretical Aspects of Somali Nominal Morphology. *Many Morphologies*, ed. Paul Boucher and Marc Plenat, 109-141. Somerville, MA: Cascadia Press.

Lecarme, Jacqueline (2008). On nominal number and partial agreement. Talk presented at Séminaire sur les systèmes de traits, April 18. Laboratoire de Linguistique Formelle CNRS-Université Paris 7.

Marantz, Alec (2001). Words. Ms., MIT.

Marantz, Alec (2005). Rederived Generalizations. Ms., MIT.

Mathieu, Eric (2007). The count/mass distinction and the role of number in Ojibwe. Talk presented at the Workshop on Nominal and Verbal Plurality, November 9-10. Paris.

Matthewson, Lisa (1998). Determiner systems and quantificational strategies: evidence from Salish. The Hague: Holland Academic Graphics.

Matthewson, Lisa (1999). On the interpretation of wide-scope indefinites. *Natural Language Semantics* 7:79-134.

Mithun, Marianne (1988). Lexical categories and the evolution of number marking. In *Theoretical morphology: approaches in modern linguistics*, eds. Michael Hammond & Michael Noonan, 211-234. San Diego: Academic Press.

Mithun, Marianne (1999). *The languages of Native North America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Piggott, Glynne (2007). Deriving word minimality by phase. Ms. McGill University.

Pelletier, Francis J. (1979). Non-singular reference: Some preliminaries. Mass terms: Some philosophical problems, ed. by Francis Jeffrey. Dordrecht: Reidel. 1-14.

Rhodes, Richard (1990). Lexical hierarchies and Ojibwa noun derivation. In *Meanings and prototypes: Studies in linguistic categorization*, ed. S. L. Tsohatzidis, 151-158. London: Routledge.

Rice, Keren (1989). *A grammar of Slave*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ritter, Elizabeth (1991). Two functional categories in noun phrases: Evidence from Modern Hebrew. In Susan Rothstein (ed), *Perspectives on Phrase Structure: Heads And Licensing*, Syntax and Semantics 25, 37-62. San Diego: Academic Press.

Sanchez, Mary & Linda Slobin (1973). Numeral classifiers and plural marking: an implicational universal. In *Working papers in language universals* 11, 1-22. Stanford: Stanford University.

Sauerland, Uli (2003). A new semantics for number. In Robert Young and Yuping Zhou (Eds.), *Proceedings of SALT 13*, 258-275. CLC Publications, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY.

Uli Sauerland, Jan Anderssen & Kazuko Yatsushiro (2005). The plural is semantically unmarked. In S. Kepser & M. Reis (Eds.), *Linguistic evidence*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Sharifan, Farzad & Ahmad R. Lofti (2003). "Rices" and "waters". The mass-count distinction in Modern Persian. *Anthropological Linguistics* 45: 226-244.

Stavrou, Melita (2003). Semi-lexical nouns, classifiers and the interpretation(s) of the pseudopartitive construction. In Martine Coene & Yves D'Hulst (Eds.), *From NP to DP*, 329-354. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Straus, Anne T. & Robert Brightman (1982). The implacable raspberry. *Papers in linguistics* 15:97-137.

Stump, Gregory T. (1991). A Paradigm-Based Theory of Morphosemantic Mismatches. *Language*, 67 :675-725.

Stump, Gregory T. (2005). Word-formation and inflectional morphology. In *Handbook of Word Formation*, eds. P. Štekauer & R. Lieber, 48-71. Dordrecht: Springer.

Ternes, Elmar (1992). The Breton language. In Donald MacAulay (Ed.), *The Celtic languages*, 371-472. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tsoulas, George (2007). On the grammar of number and mass terms in Greek. Ms., University of York.

Trépos, Pierre (1956). *Le pluriel Breton*. Rennes: Imprimerie Réunies.

Valentine, Randy J. (2001). *Nishnaabemwin reference grammar*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Van Riemsdijk, Henk (1998). Categorical feature magnetism: the endocentricity and distribution of projections. *Journal of Comparative Germanic Linguistics* 2:1-48.

Weshki-ayaad, Lippert C., & Gambill, G. T. (2003). *Freelang: Ojibwe-English dictionary and English-Ojibwe dictionary*. <http://www.freelang.net/dictionary/ojibwe.html>

Whorf, Benjamin L. (1941). The relation of habitual thought and behavior to language. In I. Spier (Ed.), *Language, culture and personality: essays in memory of Edward Sapir*, 75-93. Menasha, Wis.: Sapir Memorial Publication Fund 1941.

Wiese, Heike & Joan Maling (2005). *Beers, Kaffi, and Schnaps*: Different grammatical options for restaurant talk coercions in three Germanic languages. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 17:1-38.

Williams, Shirley Ida (2002). *Gdi-nweninaa: Our sound, our voice*. Peterborough, ON: Neganigwane Company.

Wiltshcko, Martina (2007). On the absence of a grammaticized count/mass distinction in Halkomelem Salish. Ms. University of British Columbia.

Wiltshcko, Martina (2008). The syntax of non-inflectional plural marking. *NLLT* 26: 639-694.

<sup>1</sup> Many of the data used in this article are taken from fieldwork undertaken with members of The Chippewas of Nawash Unceded First Nation at Cape Croker (Neyaashiingmiing). I wish to thank Philomene Chegahno, Berdina Johnston, Donald Keeshig, Joanne Keeshig, Isabel Millette, Juanita Pheasant, Ernestine Proulx and Ella Waukey for teaching me Ojibwe. Special thanks to: Joanne Helena Keeshig for all her help and for welcoming us in the community; Sheila Keeshig for welcoming Bethany Lochbihler and myself to Cape Croker Elementary School and for letting us speak with the teachers. Thanks also to Shirley Ida Williams from Trent University for sharing her knowledge with me.