

1-very-love.TA-PASS-1PL.EXCL-PROX.SG

‘We (EXCL) are loved.’

- c. *Anni miistsísi iiht-waawayáki-aa-wa*
imitáá-wa.
that stick with-hit.TA-DIR1-PROX.SG dog-PROX.SG
‘We (INCL) hit the dog with a stick.’ / ‘The dog was hit with a stick.’

Second, the existence of antipassives has been postulated for Algonquian languages only comparatively recently; languages like Blackfoot do not have them, while others, like Ojibwe and West Montagnais (3), do:

(3) West Montagnais antipassive (Drapeau 2014: 238)

- a. *Puñ ashtu-ei-m-^u ishkuteñu.*
P. put.off-TI-DIR.3-3 fire(INAN)
‘Paul put off the fire.’
- b. *Puñ ashtu-ei-tshe-u.*
P. put.off-TI-AI:APASS-3
‘Paul puts off (things).’

Finally, there is a systematic mismatch between some morphologically intransitive verbs that nevertheless occur in transitive clauses; the recent literature tends to treat such verbs as belonging to a fifth, “AI+O”, stem class (c) opposed to the other two classes that characterize verbs taking syntactic objects (TA in (a) and TI in (b)):

(4) Blackfoot pseudo-transitive (Russell et al. 2012)

- a. *Waaikomá't-at-ii-wa n-óta's-yi.*
loan-TA-DIR-PROX.SG 1-horse-OBV
‘S/he (PROX) borrowed my horse (OBV).’
- b. *Waaikomá't-atoom-wa ni-asóka'siM-yi.*
loan-TI-DIR-PROX.SG 1-jacket-INAN.SG
‘S/he (PROX) borrowed my jacket (INAN).’
- c. *Waaikomá't-aa-wa isspikísola'siM-i.*
loan-AI+O-PROX.SG coat-NSPEC
‘S/he (PROX) borrowed a coat (NSPEC).’

References

- Dahlstrom, Amy. 1986. Plains Cree morphosyntax. Ph. D. dissertation, University of Berkeley.
- Drapeau, Lynn. 2014. *Grammaire de la langue innue*. Québec: Presses de l'Université de Québec.
- Frantz, Donald. 1991. *Blackfoot Grammar*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Russell, Lena; Genee, Inge; Van Lier, Eva & Zúñiga, Fernando. 2012. Referential hierarchies in three-participant constructions in Blackfoot: the effects of animacy, person, and specificity. *Linguistic Discovery* 10.3.