Syntactic ergativity without morphological ergativity: An argument for abstract Case

Emily Drummond (UC Berkeley)

emily_drummond@berkeley.edu

LSA 95 ▪ January 9, 2021

- A central question for theories of case concerns the relationship between morphological and syntactic ergativity.

- Morphological ergativity refers to the overt expression of this alignment in a language's case or agreement system.

(1) West Greenlandic (Bittner and Hale 1996)

a. Arna-**t** mirsur-p-u-t.
woman-PL.ABS set-IND-INTR-3PL
'The women are sewing.'

b. Juuna-**p** miiqqa-**t** paar(i-v)-a-i.
Juuna-ERG child-PL.ABS look.after-IND-TR-3SG.3PL
'Juuna is looking after the children.'

- Morphological ergativity refers to the overt expression of this alignment in a language's case or agreement system.

(2) Q'anjob'al (Coon et al. 2014:10)

a. Max-**ach** way-i.
ASP-2ABS sleep-INTR
'You slept.'

b. Max-**ach** **y**-il-a'.
ASP-2ABS 3ERG-see-TR
'She saw you.'

- Syntactic ergativity describes the differential treatment of transitive subjects in syntactic operations, such as Ā-movement.

(3) West Greenlandic (Bittner 1994:55–58)

a. miiqqa-t [t_{ABS} sila-mi pinnguar-tu-t]
child-PL.ABS outdoors-LOC play-REL.INTR-PL
'the children who are playing outdoors'

b. miiqqa-t [Juuna-p t_{ABS} paari-sa-i]
child-PL.ABS Juuna-ERG look.after-REL.TR-3SG.PL
'the children that Juuna is looking after'

c. * angut [t_{ERG} aallaat tigu-sima-sa-a]
man.ABS gun.ABS take-PRF-REL.TR-3SG.SG
Intended: 'the man who took the gun'

- Dixon (1979, 1994) states that all languages with syntactic ergativity are morphologically ergative.

	A can extract	A cannot extract
Morphologically ergative	✓	✓
Morphologically non-ergative	✓	—

Table 1: Morphological vs. syntactic ergativity (Deal 2016:168)

- From this typology, it seems like morphological ergativity is a *necessary precondition* for syntactic ergativity.

- According to generative theories of case and syntactic ergativity, it's not clear why Dixon's generalization should hold.
  1. Analyses of syntactic ergativity rely on abstract Case
  2. Abstract Case need not be realized morphologically
- The theoretical prediction: we should find a language with syntactic ergativity and a *neutral alignment* (i.e., no morphological case or agreement).

The upshot

- I show that this prediction is upheld in Nukuoro (Polynesian), which has syntactic ergativity without morphological ergativity.
- We can revise Dixon's (1979, 1994) generalization: *abstract* ergativity is the necessary precondition for syntactic ergativity.
    - This aligns with generative theories of case and ergativity.
- The Nukuoro pattern provides an additional argument for abstract Case (e.g., Legate 2008), and has implications for the learnability of abstract categories.

Outline

Background: A detour to Mayan

- Modern generative syntax generally assumes a distinction between abstract Case and morphological case. (Chomsky 1981; Legate 2008)
  - Abstract Case: syntactic, obligatory for nominal licensing
  - Morphological case: surface level, built on abstract Case

- Insertion of case morphemes is subject to general morphological principles, like the Elsewhere Condition. (Kiparsky 1973; Halle and Marantz 1993)
  - A single morpheme may realize multiple abstract Cases.
  - Abstract Cases may have no suitable vocabulary item.
- If *all* Cases are covert in a language, the language can be said to have abstract Case without morphological case.

Background

- Nearly all theories of syntactic ergativity rely on abstract Case.
  - Abstract Case discrimination (e.g., Otsuka 2006, 2010a; Deal 2017)
  - By-product of Case assignment mechanisms (e.g., Campana 1992; Ordóñez 1995; Bittner and Hale 1996; Coon et al. 2014; Assmann et al. 2015; Polinsky 2016)

- Syntactic ergativity is a property of syntactic operations, so it should be attributed to the operation itself (e.g., the features it can reference) or the structure that it operates on.
- The morphological realization of Case occurs too late to cause a syntactic problem.

- There is a fundamental mismatch between the predictions made by Dixon's generalization and theories of syntactic ergativity.
- The theory predicts that any language with abstract Case can show syntactic ergativity, even if that Case isn't realized morphologically.

- To demonstrate this prediction, we can look to syntactically ergative Mayan languages like Q'anjob'al.
  - Mayan languages are purely head-marking and show no case marking on nominals.

(4) Q'anjob'al

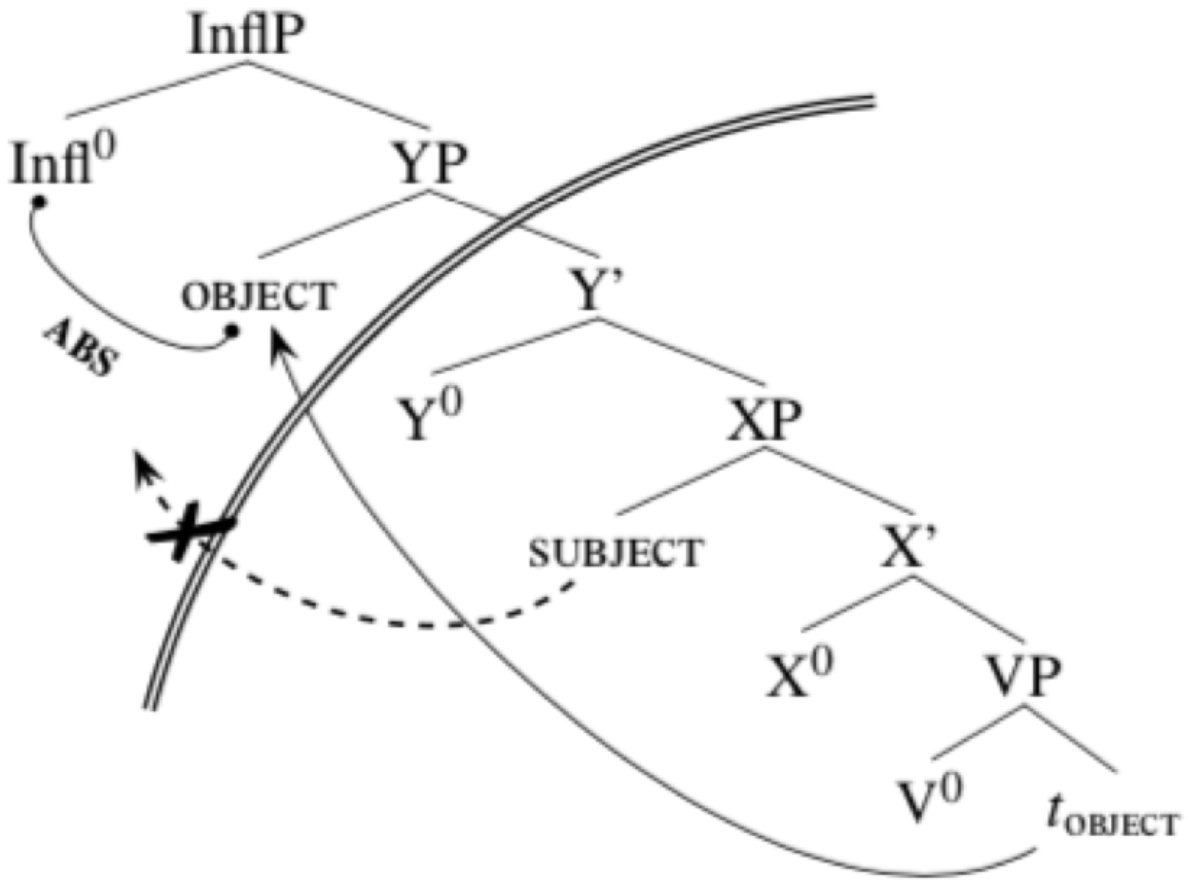
a. Max-ø way[-i] **naq winaq**.
ASP-3ABS sleep-ITV CLF man
'The man slept.'

b. Max-ø y-il[-a'] **naq winaq ix ix**.
ASP-3ABS 3ERG-see-TV CLF man CLF woman
'The man saw the woman.' (Coon et al. 2014:15)

Background: A detour to Mayan

- Accounts of syntactic ergativity in Mayan argue that the object systematically shifts over the subject, preventing Ā-movement of the subject (Campana 1992; Ordóñez 1995; Coon et al. 2014; Assmann et al. 2015)

(5) Absolutive object traps the subject (Coon et al. 2014:36)



- Core claim: Syntactic ergativity is directly tied to absolutive Case assignment from T.

- Object shift is driven by a need for Case licensing.
  - Absolutive is assigned by finite T, but Case assignment cannot cross the vP phase.
  - The object must move to Spec,vP to escape the phase and receive Case from T.
- Object movement to Spec,vP prevents the subject from escaping the vP phase, so it is inaccessible for $\bar{A}$ movement.

- The implication is that Mayan languages assign abstract ergative and absolutive Case without realizing it on nominals.
- Mayan languages only satisfy Dixon's generalization by having overt verbal agreement that follows an ergative alignment.
  - Nothing in the theory requires this agreement to be overt!
  - We only need to go one step further to get a language with syntactic ergativity and no morphological ergativity.

- If such a language were unattested, we need to change the theory in one of two ways. Either:
  1. Abstract Case must be realized on heads or dependents.
  2. Syntactic operations directly reference morphological marking.

- I argue that neither of these revisions is necessary.
  - This gap in the typology is filled by Nukuoro, as predicted by standard theories of case and syntactic ergativity.

The Nukuoro data

The Nukuoro data

- Nukuoro fills the typological gap in Dixon's generalization.
  1. Nukuoro has no ergative case or agreement.
  2. Nukuoro shows an extraction restriction on transitive subjects.

- Relevant background:
  - Polynesian-Outlier of Micronesia, spoken by ∼1000 people
  - Basic SVO word order, though historically VSO
  - No morphological case except genitive
- All data comes from primary fieldwork in Pohnpei, Micronesia with 3 native speakers (2015-present).

The Nukuoro data: No morphological ergativity

Claim 1: Though historically ergative, modern Nukuoro does not show ergativity in case or agreement.

- Many Polynesian Outliers mark ergative case only on post-verbal pronominal subjects.

(6) Ku kopoina **e ia** a Hina.
PERF praise ERG 3SG PERS Hina
'He praised Hina.' (Kapingamarangi; Elbert 1948:33)

(7) Ttoeaina koo see matea **nee ia** se mea e tasi.
DET.old.man INC NEG see ERG 3SG a thing NPST one
'The old man can no longer see anything.' (Tuvaluan; Besnier 2000:281)

The Nukuoro data: No morphological ergativity

- This was also the case in an earlier stage of Nukuoro.
- Narratives from the early 1960s (Carroll 1980) show ergative marking only on postverbal pronouns.

(8) Ga gidee ai **e** **ia** tagodo o de gau
PRSP see OBL.PRO ERG 3SG DET.state of DET people
'...he saw (there) the state of the people...' (Carroll 1980:10-1.243)

(9) Gai a Vave gu gidee ange **e** **ia** hegau a
DM PERS Vave INC see DIR ERG 3SG work GEN
Tubuanage ne hai...
Tubuanage PFV do
'And Vave saw the work that Tubuanage did...' (Carroll 1980:10-1.255)

The Nukuoro data: No morphological ergativity

- Modern speakers only offer ergative marking in post-verbal contexts as the "older" or "more proper" way of speaking.
  - No living Nukuoro speakers would use *e* marking.
  - The last generation that would use *e* was at least one generation above the oldest living speakers.

(10) Ne llanga **e** **goe** denga gede?
PFV weave ERG 2SG DET.PL basket
'Did you weave the baskets?'
JR (∼70 y.o.): "Yes, the older people, that would be their way of speaking... My grandparents."
JR: "My grandmother and people before her (would say this). My mother and people younger would say *goe*."

The Nukuoro data: No morphological ergativity

- Where modern Nukuoro allows post-verbal transitive subjects (like in polar questions), they appear unmarked.

(11) Ne llanga **goe** denga gede?
PFV weave 2SG DET.PL basket
'Did you weave the baskets?'

The Nukuoro data: No morphological ergativity

- Modern Nukuoro doesn't allow postverbal subjects in declarative transitive clauses, with or without ergative marking.

(12) * Ne tilo (e) ia Johnny.
PFV watch ERG 3SG Johnny
'S/he watched Johnny.'

(13) * Ia ne tilo (e) ia Johnny.
3SG PFV watch ERG 3SG Johnny
'S/he watched Johnny.'

The Nukuoro data: No morphological ergativity

- In SVO declarative clauses, there is no case marking on pronominal arguments...

(14) a. **Au** ne seni.
1SG PFV sleep
'I slept.'

b. Soni ne tilo **au**.
Johnny PFV watch 1SG
'Johnny watched me.'

c. (*E) **au** ne tilo Soni.
ERG 1SG PFV watch Johnny
'I watched Johnny.'

- ...or on full DPs.

(15) a. **De gauligi** ne seni.
DET child PFV sleep
'The child slept.'

b. Soni ne tilo **de gauligi**.
Johnny PFV watch DET child
'Johnny watched the child.'

c. (*E) **de gauligi** ne tilo Soni.
ERG DET child PFV watch Johnny
'The child watched Johnny.'

The Nukuoro data: No morphological ergativity

- Nukuoro doesn't have canonical verbal agreement.
- A subset of intransitive verbs show participant number marking using reduplication or suppletion (Durie 1986; Mithun 1988).

(16) a. Ia gu **seni**.
3SG INC sleep
'S/he fell asleep.'

b. Gilaadeu gu **sseni**.
3PL INC sleep.PL
'They fell asleep.'

- However, this only applies to intransitives and is thus not ergatively-aligned.

The Nukuoro data

Descriptive generalizations:

- ✓ Nukuoro has no ergative case or agreement.

  Nukuoro shows an extraction restriction on transitive subjects.

The Nukuoro data: Syntactic ergativity

Claim 2: Nukuoro shows syntactic ergativity in relativization.

- Transitive subjects cannot be relativized using an unmarked gap.
- Instead, passive voice morphology must appear on the verb.

- Nukuoro passives use the Polynesian -(C)ia suffix and the post-verbal particle *ina* (historically derived from -(C)ia).

(17) a. Soni gu hagaduu dogu hale.
Johnny INC build my house
'Johnny built my house.'

b. Dogu hale ne **hagaduulia ina** (i Soni).
my house PFV build.PASS PASS OBL Johnny
'My house was built (by Johnny).'

The Nukuoro data: Syntactic ergativity

- Relativization is the primary Ā-movement strategy in Nukuoro.
  - Nukuoro uses a genitive relative clause (GRC), which marks the subject of the relative clause with genitive case.
- Intransitive subjects and transitive objects are relativized using an unmarked gap in base position (18).

(18) a. Go ai [t_{ABS} e anu naa]?
FOC who NPST dance MED
'Who is dancing?' (S)

b. Go ai [a Ruth ne tugi t_{ABS} laa]?
FOC who GEN Ruth PFV hit DIST
'Who did Ruth hit?' (O)

The Nukuoro data: Syntactic ergativity

- Transitive subjects cannot use the unmarked strategy (19a).
- Relativizing a transitive subject requires passive morphology on the verb (19b).

(19) a. * Go ai [t_{ERG} ne tugi Soni]?
FOC who PFV hit Johnny
'Who hit Johnny?' (A)

b. Go ai ne **duugia ina** Soni?
FOC who PFV hit.PASS PASS Johnny
'Who hit Johnny?'

- Voice morphology is a common cross-linguistic strategy to obviate an ergative extraction restriction. (Polinsky 2017)

- The restriction targets ergative subjects, not just agents: only syntactically transitive verbs relativize with *ina*.
  - *ina* is ungrammatical for subject extraction in syntactically intransitive constructions.

(20) a. Go ai [t_{ABS} e gadagada (***ina**) naa]?
FOC who NPST laugh PASS MED
'Who is laughing?' (intransitive)

b. Go ai [t_{ABS} e dele (***ina**) i de moni]?
FOC who NPST sail PASS OBL DET canoe
'Who sailed the canoe?' (middle)

The Nukuoro data

Descriptive generalizations:

- ✓ Nukuoro has no ergative case or agreement.
- ✓ Nukuoro shows an extraction restriction on transitive subjects.

Obscuring abstract alignment

Obscuring abstract alignment

- Nukuoro shows a surface nominative-accusative pattern in relative clauses, where subjects are marked with genitive case.

(21) a. de masovaa [**oogu** ne seesee ai]
DET time 1SG.GEN PFV walk OBL.PRO
'the time that I walked'

b. de masovaa [**aagu** ne saabai ai Soni]
DET time 1SG.GEN PFV carry OBL.PRO Johnny
'the time that I carried Johnny'

- The same pattern is found across Polynesian, including in morphologically ergative languages like Niuean (Seiter 1980) and Tongan (Otsuka 2010b).

Obscuring abstract alignment

- I argue that this is an instance of split ergativity: a part of the grammar which shows a nominative alignment in an otherwise ergative language.
- Following Coon (2013), I attribute splits to general constraints on locality, rather than different Case assignment mechanisms.
    - This allows us to posit a single abstract alignment for a language despite construction-specific morphology.

Obscuring abstract alignment

- The genitive pattern is reminiscent of "extended ergative" in Mayan, where subjects of non-finite clauses take Set A agreement, typically used for ergatives and possessors.

(22) Akatek

a. x-y-il ix [**aw**-el-toj]
COM-3SG.A-see she 2SG.A-leave-DIR
'She saw you leaving.'

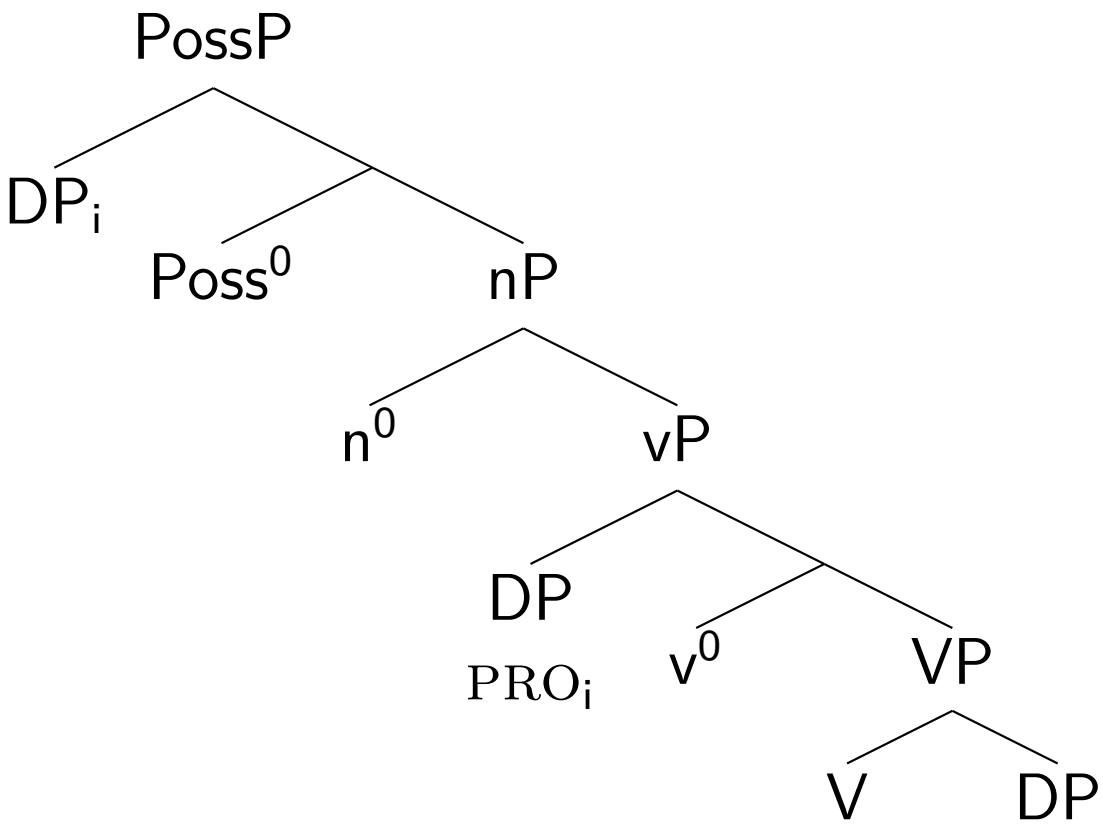
b. x-y-il ix [in-**aw**-ante-on an]
COM-3SG.A-see she 1SG.B-2SG.A-cure-NML CL.1SG
'She saw that you cured me.' (Zavala 1997:446)

- Many analyses propose that these clauses are nominalizations, where the overt subject is actually a possessor (e.g., Coon 2013).

Obscuring abstract alignment

- Analyses of Polynesian GRCs propose nearly the same structure, where the genitive subject is external to the RC and controls an embedded PRO subject (Bauer 1997, 2007; Hawkins 2000; Otsuka 2010b; Herd et al. 2011)

(23)



Obscuring abstract alignment

- This clause-external position is obscured by Nukuoro SVO order, but supported by two pieces of evidence.
- First, when postverbal subjects are permitted in intransitives, the clearly clause-internal subject appears in unmarked case, rather than genitive case.

(24) a. de masovaa **olaadeu** ne kada ai
DET time 3PL.GEN PFV laugh OBL.PRO
'the time that they laughed'

b. de masovaa ne kada ai **gilaadeu**
DET time PFV laugh OBL.PRO 3PL
'the time that they laughed'

- Second, Nukuoro allows preposed genitives in RCs, which are clearly displaced from subject position (25).

(25) a. **d-ono**$_{\text{i}}$ masovaa [PRO$_{\text{i}}$ e seesee ai]
DET-3SG.GEN time NPST walk OBL.PRO
'the time that he walked'

b. **d-agu**$_{\text{i}}$ daane [PRO$_{\text{i}}$ ne gidee laa]
DET-1SG.GEN man PFV see DIST
'the man that I saw'

Obscuring abstract alignment

- I argue that the nominative alignment is only apparent.
  - Genitive case is assigned clause-externally by a functional head in the nominal domain (e.g., D^0, $Poss^0$).
  - Inside the relative clause, abstract ergative and absolutive Case are assigned, just like in matrix clauses.
- The nominative-like appearance stems from locality conditions on control (Relativized Minimality; Rizzi 1990): control must target the most local DP.

Obscuring abstract alignment

- Split ergativity in Nukuoro shows how delicate it is to identify a single alignment for an entire language.
  - Different aspects of Nukuoro syntax show neutral, ergative, and accusative alignments.
- Identifying abstract alignment requires thorough investigation of not just morphological marking, but also clause structure, licensing, and movement.

Implications

Implications: The typology

- Dixon's generalization doesn't hold entirely: syntactic ergativity is possible without morphological ergativity.
- All four cells of the typology are attested.

	A can extract	A cannot extract
Morphologically ergative	✓	✓
Morphologically non-ergative	✓	Nukuoro

Table 2: Morphological vs. syntactic ergativity, revised

- Crucially, Nukuoro has neutral case marking (rather than nominative-accusative case).

Implications: The theory

- A language like Nukuoro is predicted by theories of syntactic ergativity, assuming that Nukuoro has abstract ergative Case.
  - We don't need to revise the Y-model to allow syntax to reference morphological marking.
  - We don't need to enforce the realization of abstract Case.
- Nukuoro provides a new type of evidence for abstract Case as a distinct phenomenon from morphological case (e.g., Legate 2008), particularly in a language with no overt Case marking. (Sheehan and van der Wal 2016)

Implications: Learnability

- Why might the Nukuoro pattern be rare? Learnability.
  - Acquisition of categories requires some level of input.
  - In most languages, morphological case or agreement provides enough input to posit abstract Case.
- Nukuoro shows that abstract Case can be acquired without phonological case distinctions in the nominal or verbal domain.
- However, given the limited input, this pattern may become opaque or unlearnable, leading to loss or reanalysis.

References I

Assmann, Anke, Doreen Georgi, Fabian Heck, Gereon Müller, and Philipp Weisser. 2015. Ergatives move too early: On an instance of opacity in syntax. *Syntax* 18:343–387.

Besnier, Niko. 2000. *Tuvaluan: A Polynesian language of the Central Pacific*. London: Routledge.

Bittner, Maria. 1994. Cross-linguistic semantics. *Linguistics and Philosophy* 17:53–108.

Bittner, Maria, and Ken Hale. 1996. Ergativity: Toward a theory of a heterogeneous class. *Linguistic Inquiry* 27:531–604.

Campana, Mark. 1992. A movement theory of ergativity. Doctoral dissertation, McGill University.

Carroll, Raymonde. 1980. *Nukuoro Stories*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Chomsky, Noam. 1981. *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Foris Publications.

Coon, Jessica. 2013. *Aspects of split ergativity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Coon, Jessica, Petro Mateo Pedro, and Omer Preminger. 2014. The Role of Case in A-Bar Extraction Asymmetries: Evidence from Mayan. *Linguistic Variation* 14:179–242.

Deal, Amy Rose. 2017. Syntactic ergativity as case discrimination. In *Proceedings of WCCFL 34*, ed. Aaron Kaplan et al., 141–150. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Dixon, R. M. W. 1979. Ergativity. *Language* 55:59–138.

Dixon, R. M. W. 1994. *Ergativity*. Cambridge University Press.

References II

Durie, Mark. 1986. The grammaticalization of number as a verbal category. In *Proceedings of Berkeley Linguistics Society 12*, ed. Vassiliki Nikiforidou, Mary VanClay, Mary Niepokuj, and Deborah Feder, 355–370. Berkeley Linguistics Society Publications.

Elbert, Samuel. 1948. Grammar and comparative study of the language of kapingamarangi: Texts and word lists. Pacific Science Board, National Research Council (CIMA Project).

Halle, Morris, and Alec Marantz. 1993. Distributed morphology and the pieces of inflection. In *The view from building 20*, ed. Kenneth Hale and Samuel Jay Keyser, 111–176. Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Kiparsky, Paul. 1973. "elsewhere" in phonology. In *A Festschrift for Morris Halle*, ed. Stephen R. Anderson and Paul Kiparsky, 93–106. Holt, Reinhart and Winston.

Legate, Julie Anne. 2008. Morphological and abstract case. *Linguistic Inquiry* 39:55–101.

Mithun, Marianne. 1988. Lexical categories and the evolution of number marking. In *Theoretical morphology*, ed. Michael Hammond and Michael Noonan, 211–234. San Diego, California: Academic Press, Inc.

Ordóñez, Francisco. 1995. The antipassive in Jacaltec: a last resort strategy. *CatWPL* 4:329–343.

Otsuka, Yuko. 2006. Syntactic ergativity in Tongan: Resumptive pronouns revisited. In *Ergativity*, ed. Alana Johns, Diane Massam, and Juvenal Ndayiragije, 79–107. Springer.

Otsuka, Yuko. 2010a. DP ellipsis in Tongan: Is syntactic ergativity real? *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 28:315–342.

References III

Otsuka, Yuko. 2010b. Genitive relative constructions and agent incorporation in tongan. In *Austronesian and theoretical linguistics*, ed. Raphael Mercado, Eric Potsdam, and Lisa deMena Travis, 117–140. John Benjamins.

Polinsky, Maria. 2016. *Deconstructing ergativity: Two types of ergative languages and their features*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Seiter, William J. 1980. *Studies in Niuean Syntax*. New York: Garland Publishing Company.

Sheehan, Michelle, and Jenneke van der Wal. 2016. Do we need abstract Case? In *Proceedings of WCCFL 33*, ed. Kyeong min Kim et. al. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Zavala, Roberto. 1997. Functional analysis of akatek voice constructions. *International Journal of American Linguistics* 63:439–474.

Nukuoro historical ergative

- The *e* marking found in the historical record and even remembered by speakers doesn't have an ergative distribution.

(26) Au ne hano gi Kolonia [gi hedae ange ai **e**
1SG PFV go to Kolonia INF meet DIR OBL.PRO ERG
au gi dogu dinana].
1SG to my mother
'I went to Kolonia to visit my mother.'
JR (∼70 y.o.): "Just *au*. Okay, that is almost like this generation level of speaking. The last generation will be almost like what you're saying, *e au*.'

Nukuoro historical ergative

- In the historical narrative corpus, *e* often appears on post-verbal *intransitive* subjects.

(27) Gai ga humai huu **e** **ia**...
DM PRSP come when ERG 3SG
'So when he came...' (Carroll 1980:11-2.14)

(28) Dee iloo **e** **ia** be ahee.
NEG know ERG 3SG C which
'He didn't know which.' (Carroll 1980:10-2.185)

Nukuoro participant number

- Participant number marking in Nukuoro is almost exclusively found with intransitives, particularly verbs of motion.

(29) a. Ia gu **lele**.
3SG INC jump
'S/he jumped.'

b. Gilaadeu gu **llele**.
3PL INC jump.PL
'They jumped.'

Nukuoro participant number

- I have one instance of a transitive verb that shows participant number, but it was controlled by the subject (and might not be replicable).

(30) a. Ia gu **hua** taahili.
3SG INC bloom DET.song
'S/he sang a song.'

b. Gilaadeu gu **hhua** taahili.
3PL INC bloom.PL DET.song
'They sang a song.'

c. * Ia gu hhua denga daahili.
3SG INC bloom DET.PL song
'S/he sang songs.'

O- and a-marking in GRCs

- Genitives mark alienability in possessed nominals through o- or a-marking of the genitive.

(31) a. **d-ogu** vae
DET-1SG.GEN leg
'my leg'

b. de vae **o** **Soni**
DET leg GEN Johnny
'Johnny's leg' (inalienable)

(32) a. **d-agu** biini
DET-1SG.GEN pen
'my pen'

b. de biini **a** **Soni**
DET pen GEN Johnny
'Johnny's pen' (alienable)

A- and o-marking in GRCs

- In relative clauses, a- and o-marking of the genitive subject tracks ergativity: transitive subjects are a-marked. (Drummond 2017)
  - The distinction does not track alienability here, since the same relative head can have o-marked or a-marked possession.

(33) a. de boose **oogu** e noho ai
DET boat 1SG.GEN NPST live OBL.PRO
'the boat that I live on'

b. de boose **aagu** ne hagao
DET boat 1SG.GEN NPST buy
'the boat that I bought'

A- and o-marking in GRCs

- The distinction cannot be tied to theta role: experiencers can be o-marked (34a) or a-marked (34b) depending on the transitivity of the verb.

(34) a. de masovaa **oogu** ne kino ai ide goe
DET time 1SG.GEN PFV hate OBL.PRO LOC 2SG
'the time that I hated you'

b. de gaagoo **aagu** ne gidee
DET chicken 1SG.GEN PFV see
'the chicken that I saw'