

Indirective-secundative alternation in Kazym Khanty

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- Information structure

- Syntax

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- HighAppIP as a source of Dative

- Unlicensed DO and case

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Alignment alternation in Kazym Khanty (Ob-Ugric, Uralic)

Case marking in Khanty ditransitive clauses alternates between two alignments.

- (1) Indirective alignment: IO-DAT DO-ACC

Kašəŋ χujat λəχs-əλ-a lipət mə-s
 Every person-[NOM] friend-POSS.3SG-DAT flower-[ACC] give-PST-[3SG]
 'Everyone gave a flower/flowers to his friend.'

- (2) Secundative alignment: IO-ACC DO-OBL

Kašəŋ χujat λəχs-əλ lipət-ən mə-s-λe
 Every person-[NOM] friend-POSS.3SG-[ACC] flower-LOC give-PST-3SG>SG
 'Everyone gave a flower/flowers to his friend.'

The same alternation is present in e.g.:

- ▶ Eastern and Northern Mansi
- ▶ Tundra Nenets
- ▶ Inuit languages

This talk

Goals:

1. Restrictions for the use of both alignments
2. Syntactic derivations of both alignments

Data for Kazym Khanty are collected in fieldwork during 2022-2023 in the village Kazym and online.

This talk

Claims:

- ▶ Indirective alignment (IndAI) is always available.
Secundative alignment (SecAI) is more restricted:
 - ▶ SecAI is preferred with topical IOs
(e.g. Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011; Bíró & Sipőcz 2017; Sipőcz 2015; Sosa 2017; Virtanen 2012, 2013, 2014)
 - ▶ in SecAI, DO (theme) must be smaller than DP
 - ▶ Alignment alternation is possible only for low applicatives and causatives;
high applicatives are only in IndAI
- ▶ IndAI/SecAI alternation depends on presence/absence of HighAppIP.
It assigns DAT to the IO.

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Overview

Previous studies of Ob-Ugric languages:

Secundative alignment is used, when IO is a secondary topic
(e.g. Nikolaeva 1999; Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011; Bíró & Sipőcz 2017; Sipőcz 2015; Sosa 2017; Virtanen 2012, 2013, 2014)

Fieldwork data from Kazym Khanty:

Topicality of IO favors secundative alignment, but does not trigger it.
Crucially, indirective alignment is (almost) always possible.

Topic

- ▶ Topical IO is compatible with both alignments, though secundative alignment is preferred:

(3) 'Why our dog is barking?'

- a. ^{ok}Pet'a-jen amp-əλ-a λetut änt mǎ-s
 Petja-POSS.2SG dog-POSS.3SG-DAT food-[ACC] NEG give-PST-[SG]
- b. ^{ok}Pet'a-jen amp-əλ λetut-ən änt mǎ-s-λe
 Petja-POSS.2SG dog-POSS.3SG-[ACC] food-LOC NEG give-PST-3SG>SG
 'Patya hasn't given the dog (lit. his dog) any food.'

Wide focus

- ▶ Wide focus is compatible with both alignments:

(4) 'Why did Vasya came (here, to the town) from his encampment?'

- a. ^{ok}λ_{uw} muλχatλ λeχs-əλ-a pasilka kit-s.
 (s)he yesterday friend-POSS.3SG-DAT parcel-[ACC] send-PST-[3SG]
- b. ^{ok}λ_{uw} muλχatλ λeχs-əλ pasilka-ən kit-s-əλλe.
 (s)he yesterday friend-POSS.3SG-[ACC] parcel-LOC send-PST-3SG>SG
 'Yesterday, he sent a parcel to his friend.'

Narrow focus

- ▶ SecAI disfavors narrowly focused IOs

- (5) Who did Vasya bring the paint for?

^{?/??}Vasja-jen up-eλ oləp-ən tə-s-λe.
 Vasja-POSS.2SG sister-POSS.3SG-[ACC] paint-LOC bring-PST-3SG>SG
 'Vasja brought paint to his sister.'
 [3 consultants clearly prefer IndAI, but only 1 – *SecAI]

- ▶ When Theme is a mass-noun, even narrow focus on IO does not ban SecAI
 Moreover, it is preferred

- (6) Where does Masha sew the blue glass beads?

^{ok}λuW ɛtərxǎri sak-ən akań jont-λ-əλλe
 (s)he blue glass_beads-LOC doll-[ACC] sew-NPST-3SG>SG
 'She is sewing them onto a doll.'
 [SecAI – 4 ok, 1 ?; IndAI – 2 ??/*]

Information structure

Conclusion:

Information structure (secondary topic on IO; Dalrymple & Nikolaeva 2011) does play a role in the choice between indirective and secundative alignment.

However, it is not the only factor. Hence, it is insufficient to explain how these alignments are derived.

Novel fieldwork data:

There are robust syntactic factors regulating availability of SecAI

- Size of DO
- Type of IO

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Size of the Theme argument

I. SecAI: ungrammatical modifiers of DO-LOC

○ No possessive markers on DO-LOC

- (7) *Vasja-jen λəχs-əλ χot-**em**-ən wanλta-s-λe.
 Vasya-POSS.2SG friend-POSS.3SG house-POSS.1SG-LOC show-PST-3SG>SG
 Intend.: 'Vasya showed my house to his friend.'

○ No demonstratives on DO-LOC

- (8) a. *Nurum **täm** kińška-(jət)-n tɛλ pun-s-ɛm
 shelf this book-(PL)-LOC entirely put-PST-1SG>SG
 Intend.: 'I've filled the shelf with this book(s)'
 b. *Ma Vasja-jen **śi** kińška-ən mǎ-s-ɛm.
 1SG Vasya-POSS.2SG-[ACC] DEM book-LOC give-PST-1SG>SG
 Intend.: 'I gave that book to Vasya.'

Size of the Theme argument

- No universal quantifier on DO-LOC (*χυλ/χυλιjewə* 'all')

Other quantifiers are possible (e.g. *taλaŋ* 'whole', *kašəŋ* 'every', *itəχ* 'some', *ar* 'many'). As well as adjective and numerals.

- (9) a. *Toxtər-en məšəŋ ut-λ χυλ purtəŋ-ən
 doctor ill something-POSS.3SG all medicine-LOC
 mə-s-λe.
 give-PST-3SG>SG
 intend.: 'Doctor gave the patient all medicine.'
- b. ^{ok}Toxtər-en məšəŋ ut-λ kašəŋ / itəχ purtəŋ-ən
 doctor ill something-POSS.3SG every some medicine-LOC
 mə-s-λe.
 give-PST-3SG>SG
 'Doctor gave the patient every/some medicine.'

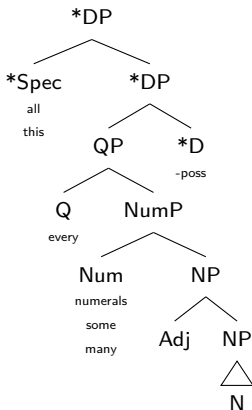
Size of the Theme argument

Structure of the DP (after Dékány 2011, 2021 for Hungarian).

I assume the same structure for Ob-Ugric languages.

Hence, Theme in secundative alignment should be smaller than DP.

(10)



Size of the Theme argument

✗ Note that this restriction is not a semantic definiteness restriction.
Superlative adjectives can modify LOC-marked Themes.

- (11) Maša-jen λəχs-əλ mət χuw kina-jən
 Masha-POSS.2SG friend-POSS.3SG-[ACC] most long film-LOC
 wanλta-s-λe.
 show-PST-3SG>SG
 'Masha showed her friend the longest film.'

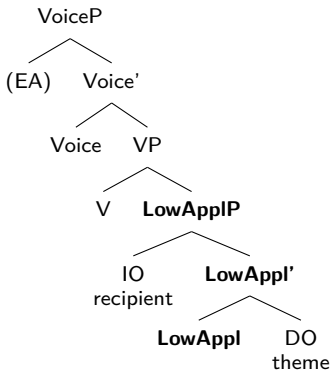
✗ It is not a Case sensitive restriction:
Locative adjuncts can be modified with demonstratives, universal quantifier and possessive marker

- (12) Lexical Case
- a. Ar joχ tām woš-ən wəλ-λ-ət.
 many people this town-LOC be-NPST-3PL
 'There live many people in this village/town.'
- b. χυλ χot-ət-ən tut wə-λ.
 all house-PL-LOC fire be-NPST-[3SG]
 'All houses are electrified.'

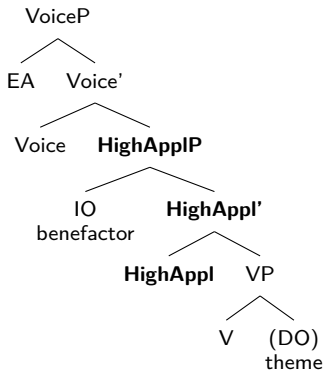
Low vs. High Applicative

II. High vs. Low applicatives

(13) a. low applicative
(in transitives and unaccusatives)



b. high applicative
(in transitives and unergatives)



Low vs. High Applicative

In (Kazym) Khanty:

- ✓ Some unergative verbs allow applied DP-objects ('work', 'sing', 'dance').
High applied arguments are always Dat-marked.

(14) Ar χujat λuweλa rəpat-λ-ət / rəpata wɛr-λ-ət
 many someone-[NOM] (s)he.DAT work-NPST-3PL work do-NPST-3PL
 'Many people work for her.'

- ✗ SecAI is impossible, even if a theme is present

(15) *Ar χujat λuwti rəpat-λ-eλ / rəpata-jən wɛr-λ-eλ
 many someone-[NOM] (s)he.ACC work-NPST-3PL work-LOC do-NPST-3PL
 Intend.: 'Many people work for her.'

Low vs. High applicatives

- ✓ Low applicatives are fully productive (lexically unrestricted)

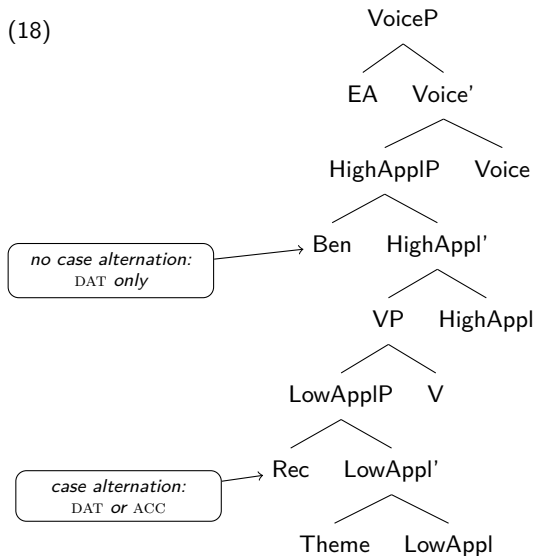
(16) Vasja-jen puχ-əλ-a χot oms-əs.
 Vasja-POSS.2SG-[NOM] son-POSS.3SG-DAT house-[ACC] put-PST-[3SG]
 'Vasya built a house for his son.'

- ✓ SecAI is always possible

(17) Vasja-jen puχ-əλ χot-ən oməs-s-əλλe.
 Vasja-POSS.2SG-[NOM] son-POSS.3SG-[ACC] house-LOC put-PST-3SG>SG
 'Vasya built a house for his son.'

Low vs. High applicatives

(18)



Causatives

- ✗ Causative derivation is unproductive; some transitive verbs have causative counterparts (Kaksin 2010; Moldanova 2018)

(19) lawərt χir mǎnɛm aλm-əλt-s-əλe
 heavy sack-[ACC] I.DAT lift-CAUS-PST-3SG>SG
 '(S)he loaded the heavy sack on me.' [Moldanova 2018]

- ✓ SecAI is possible:

(20) Mǎnti lawərt χir-ən aλm-əλt-s-əλe
 I.ACC heavy sack-LOC lift-CAUS-PST-3SG>SG
 '(S)he loaded me with a heavy sack.' [I.Moldanova p.c.]

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Alignment alternation in Uralic

(21) Alignment alternation in Uralic

	Kazym Khanty (fieldwork)	Eastern/Nothern Mansi (Bíró & Sipőcz 2017; Virtanen 2012)	Tundra Nenets (Nikolaeva 2014)
Topicality of IO	+	+	+?
Alternation in LowAppl	+	+	+
Alternation in HighAppl	- (<i>Dat</i>)	N/A	- (<i>Dat</i>)
Alternation in Causative	+	+	+
*DP-themes in SecAI	+	+? (<i>indefinite</i>)	+? (<i>tend to be mass nouns</i>)

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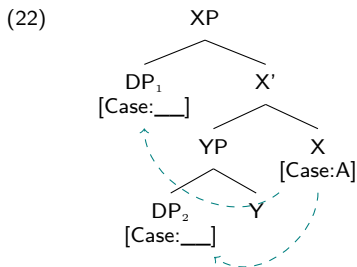
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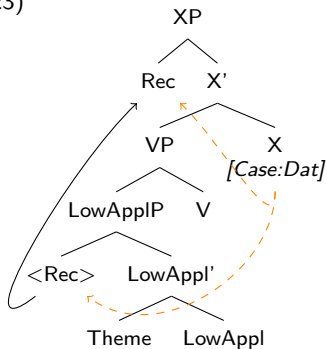
Theoretical assumptions

- ▶ **Case-under-Agree**: case is assigned by a probe on a functional head to a nominal via Agree (e.g. Bány 2017 and refs. there)
 - Any head can assign case only inside its extended projection
 - (a) to a nominal in its c-command domain (is [Case] probes before Spec is merged)
 - (b) to a nominal in Spec,XP (if Spec is merged before [Case] probes)



Theoretical assumptions

(23)



- ▶ In many languages, low applied arguments (recipients) raise to a higher projection, where they are assigned Dative (e.g. Georgala 2012 for German)
- Scrambling in Khanty (and generally in Uralic) => unclear if "raising-to-DAT" is obligatory.
- If no "raising-to-DAT", XP is still merged.
- ▶ At least in Uralic languages (+Inuit): DAT-assigning head = **HighAppl°**.

Theoretical assumptions

Additional assumptions for the analysis below:

- ▶ Nominals require additional licensing in syntax.
- ▶ Case is connected to nominal licensing
(e.g. Sheehan & Van der Wal 2018; van der Wal 2022)
- ▶ Every DP must be licensed by an Agree operation;
NPs can be both licensed and unlicensed
(Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2015; Kalin 2018)
- ▶ If an NP is not case-licensed, it is marked with a repair default case

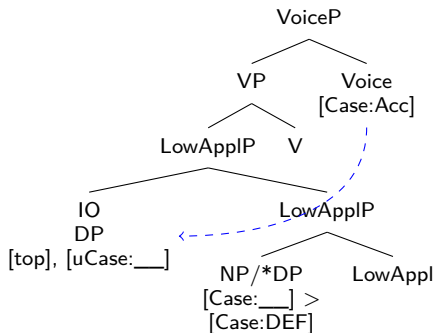
(Arguments are coming later)

Derivation

- ▶ Proposal: HighAppl-projection can be merged optionally.

If HighApplP is not merged, the DAT-assigner is not present => SecAI (24)

(24)



Note: Theme is not Case-licensed and gets a repair case.

Derivation

If HighAppIP is merged, the DAT-assigner is present \Rightarrow IndAI (25)

(25)

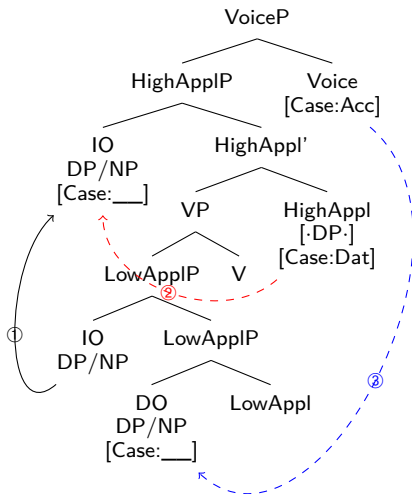


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Why HighAppI^o assigns Dative? (I)

1. Applicatives of unergative verbs are always HighAppIP (Pylkkänen 2008).

High applied arguments are obligatory DAT-marked (unless PPs) both in Khanty (26) and Nenets (S.Tatevosov, p.c.).

- (26) Ar χujat λuweλa / *λuwti rəpat-λ-ət
 many someone-[NOM] (s)he.DAT (s)he.ACC work-NPST-3PL
 'Many people work for her.' [Kazym Khanty]

Presence of HighAppIP correlates with presence of DAT-marking.

⇒ HighAppI^o is likely to be the head that assigns DAT.

Why HighAppl^o assigns Dative? (II)

2. In many languages, possessors can be raised to HighApplP (Deal 2017).

Such raised possessors are predominantly marked with DAT, e.g.:

- (27) Er hat ihm die Hände geküsst?
 He.NOM AUX.NPST.[3SG] he.DAT DEF.ACC hand.PL kiss.PTCPL
 'He kissed his hands?' (German; Th. Mann "Buddenbrooks")

Raised possessors in Tundra Nenets (28):

- Possessor raising = HighApplP
- HighApplP = DAT-marking.

- (28) Maša-m ᵑæwa-n^oh n'u^oc'aə-da
 Masha-ACC head-DAT kiss-[PST]-3SG>SG.OBJ
 'He kissed Masha on the head.' (TN; Nikolaeva 2014, p.235, ex.24b)

(Note that the possessee, and not the possessor is DAT-marked.)

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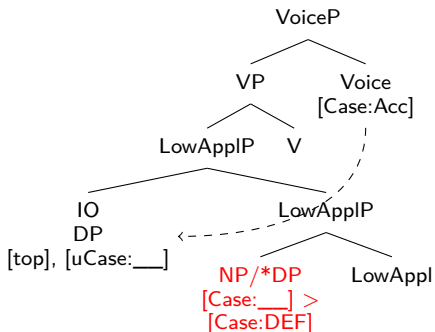
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Unlicensed DO and case (I)

In SecAL (29) (repeated from (24)), there is no functional head that assigns case to the theme.

(29)



Unlicensed DO and case (II)

(30) **Nominal licensing:**

- DP-arguments must be licensed via Case- or ϕ -agreement
- NP-arguments can survive unlicensed
(e.g. Lyutikova & Pereltsvaig 2015; Kalin 2018)

Hence, absence of Case-licensing in (29) automatically derives NP-restriction on themes in SecAI.

! Unlicensed themes in SecAI have unexpected case-morphology: INSTR/LOC

Unlicensed DO and case (III)

Standard assumption: no Case-licensing in syntax = \emptyset -marking in morphology
(Schütze 2001)

E.g. hanging topic:

- (31) (*pon) Maša, [Moskwa-xəna pon^oh mənç^ora-wa-nta mal^oŋkəna]
 long Masha- \emptyset Moscow-LOC long work-IMP.F.AN-GEN.3SG during
 Wera s'ita ŋət'eə-s^o
 Wera he.ACC wait-PST
 'When Masha_i worked in Moscow for a long time, Wera waited for her_i.' [TN;
 Nikolaeva 2014, p. 219, ex. 62]

In SecAI, NP-themes are maximally marked (LOC or INSTR)...

- (32) t'uku^o n'enec'ə-m kniga-xəna m'iqŋa-w^o
 this person-ACC book-LOC give-1SG>SG.OBJ
 'I provided this man with a book.' [Nikolaeva 2014, p. 236, ex. 28b]

Unlicensed DO and case (IV)

Solution:

(33) **Inherent case-specification:**

- Nominals in θ -positions are inherently overspecified for case-features;
- Nominals in non- θ -position lack case-features;
- A probe checks/values a subset of case-features under Agree, which leads to different morphological case-marking.

(34) **Nominal licensing = Case-checking** (*revised*):

- DPs in θ -position must check their case-features towards case-features on a functional head.
- NPs allow case-checking, but do not require it.
- DPs in non- θ -positions have no case-features to check.

Absence of Case-agreement has different effect on arguments and adjuncts:

- arguments are maximally marked and have NP-restriction
- adjuncts are minimally marked and do not have NP-restriction

Unlicensed DO and case (IV)

Additional evidence: case-marking under noun incorporation in Inuit.

ABS-probe licenses the Agent and object is incorporated (not case-marked).
Hence, nothing can assign case to a stranded adjective under NI.

As predicted by (33), stranded adjective under NI (35) and theme in SecAI (36) are overspecified for case (INSTR).

- (35) suluut qisuk-mik timmisartu-liur-p-u-q.
S.ABS wooden-INSTR.SG airplane-make-IND-[-TR]-3SG
'Søren made a wooden airplane.' [Van Geenhoven 2002, p.766, ex.(i)]
- (36) anguti-p aqerluusa-mik meeraqq tuni-paa.
man-ERG pencil-INSTR child-[ABS] give-3SG>SG
'The man gave a pencil to the child.' [Johns 1984, ex. 9]

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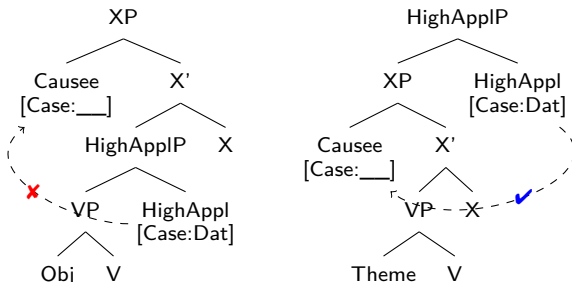
Causatives

Causatives participate in alignment alternation in all languages in question
(Kahnty, Mansi, Nenets, Inuit)

- ▶ Present analysis links DAT-case to HighApplP.

=> causee can be assigned DAT, if merged inside HighApplP.

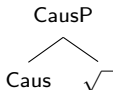
(37)



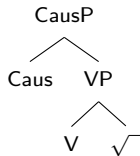
Causatives

Three types of causatives (Pylkkänen 2008, Harley 2013, 2017, Akkuş 2021)

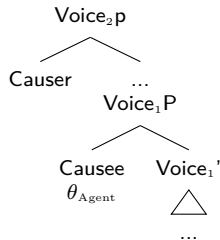
(38) a. root-selecting



b. verb-selecting



c. phase-selecting



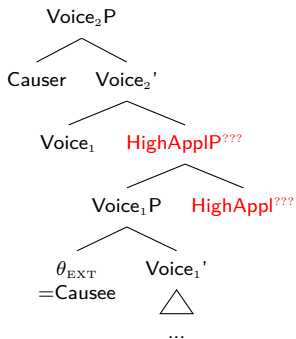
- Root-selecting causatives: only from unaccusative roots => no alternation
- Verb-selecting causatives: HighAppIP can be merged above CausP => IndAI/SecAI alternation.
- Phase-selecting causatives: unclear if alignment alternation is allowed

Causatives

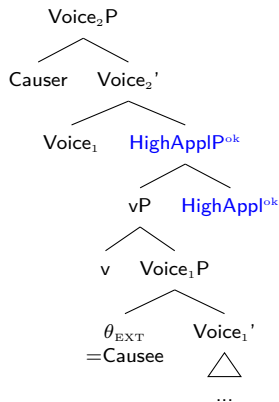
Phase-selecting causatives: causee is an Agent in an embedded VoiceP

(39)

mono-eventive



bi-eventive



Bi-eventive causative: IndAI/SecAI-alternation is ok

Mono-eventive phase-selecting causative: ???

Causatives in Khanty

Verb-selecting causatives are mono-agentive and mono-eventive (a single VoiceP and a single vP).

Causatives in Khanty are verb-selecting:

- *two manner adverbials => mono-eventive

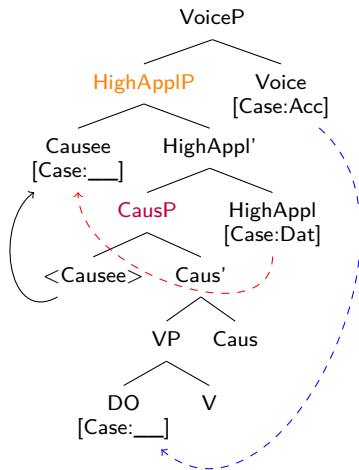
(40) *Sora mǎnɛma jǎma in ar-əλ χəλ-m-əλt-s-əλλe
 fast I.DAT well this song-POSS.3SG hear-MOM-CAUS-PST-3SG>SG
 Intend.: 'She quickly made [me to listen well to this song].'
 [I.Moldanova p.c.]

- agent-oriented adverbials are never causee-oriented => mono-agentive

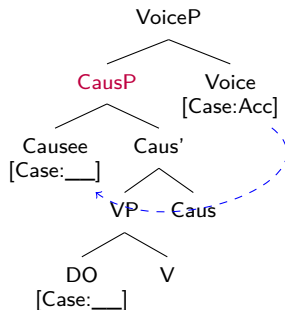
(41) Putər-əλ amət-man mǎnɛma χəλ-m-əλt-s-əλλe
 talk-POSS.3SG be_happy-CVB I.DAT hear-MOM-CAUS-PST-3SG>SG
 'She happily made me to hear this talk.'
 NOT: 'She did so that I happily heard this talk.'
 [I.Moldanova p.c.]

Causatives in Khanty

(42) indirective alignment



secundative alignment



Causatives in other Uralic languages

Are causatives in Mansi also verb-selecting?

- ▶ can be derived from unergative and transitive verbs (Rombandeeva 2017b)
 - => not root-selecting
- ▶ both IndAI (43) and SecAI (44) are allowed

(43) Omam La:wtija-n wa:j wa:r-ilt-əs
 mother-[NOM] Klavdia-DLAT boot-[ACC] make-CAUS-PST-[3SG]
 'Mother asked Claudia to make (sew) fur boots.' (Rombandeeva 2017b, p.105)

(44) mosⁱsⁱa-l mosⁱsⁱa-l ti-tt-uwə-s jalt-əs
 a_little-INST a_little-INST eat-CAUS-PASS-PST recover-PST[3SG]
 'He was fed little by little and he recovered.' (Northern Mansi corpus, 1239: 104)

Causatives in other Uralic languages

- ▶ order of morphemes CAUS-REC/PASS-(TENSE)
=> causee is introduced below Voice?

(45) ti-tt-uwə-s
eat-CAUS-PASS-PST
'(he) was fed'

- ▶ (Nothern) Mansi allows double causatives
=> phase-selecting causatives are possible?
if yes, are simple causatives phase-selecting?

(46) ūntu-ŋkwe > ūnt-tu-ŋkwe > ūnt-tu-ptā-ŋkwe
'to sit down' > 'to seat' > 'to ask someone to sit down'
(Rombandeeva 2017a, p.240)

Causatives in other Uralic languages

Causatives in Tundra Nenets:

- ▶ can be derived from unergative and transitive verbs ((47))
=> not root-selecting
- ▶ both IndAI and SecAI are allowed

- (47) a. Wera-m yad'empə-da s'ay°-xəna s'ay°-labtaə-da
 Wera-ACC hot-IMPF.PART tea-LOC drink.tea-CAUS-3SG>SG.OBJ
 'He made Wera drink the hot tea.'
- b. Wera-n°h yad'empə-da s'ay°-m s'ay°-labta°
 Wera-DAT hot-IMPF.PART tea-ACC drink.tea-CAUS-[3SG]
 'He gave hot tea to Wera to drink.' [Nikolaeva 2014, p. 237, ex. 31]

Causatives in other Uralic languages

Causatives in Tundra Nenets:

- ▶ causative is syncretic with high applicative (48-a) and inchoative (48-b)
 - => causee is introduced below Voice?
- ▶ but: order of morphemes PASS-CAUS-(TENSE) (49)
 - => causative is phase-selecting?

- (48) a. syncretic with high applicative:
xino-pta- – ‘to sing about’ / ‘to cause to sing’
- b. syncretic with inchoatives:
pad^ona-lta- – ‘to cause to do writing’ / ‘to start writing’
- (49) xada- > xada-ra- > xada-ra-bta
‘to kill’ > ‘to die, to be killed’ > ‘to allow/to cause to die’

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Conclusion

- ▶ Alternation between SecAI and IndAI depends on both the indirect object and the theme.
- ▶ SecAI is more restricted:
 - IO in SecAI is (preferably) a secondary topic
 - IO in SecAI can be a low applied argument (recipient) or a causee, but not a high applied argument (benefactor)
 - DO in SecAI must be smaller than DP
- ▶ Proposed analysis: DAT-assignment depends on the HighAppl-projection
 - **In IndAI**, HighApplP is present and assigns DAT to the highest DP in its extended projection (IO)
 - **In SecAI**, HighApplP is absent. Hence, IO is assigned ACC by Voice. DO is unlicensed and gets a repair INSTR/LOC-case.
- ▶ Prediction: only causatives merged below HighApplP should allow IndAI (or if CausP bundles with HighApplP e.g. Akkuş (2022))
- ▶ Borne out in (Kazym) Khanty; causatives in other Uralic languages require further research

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Verbal particles

Verbal particles with aspectual semantics disallow SecAI:

- (50) Aŋk-e ńawrm--a ńǎń-n (*nu)
 mother-POSS.3SG child-PL-POSS.3SG fish bread-LOC PREV
 pa-s-e
 bake-PST-3SG>SG
 'Mother baked a pie for her children.'

I have no explanation for this restriction.

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Word order

Both alignments allow scrambling of DO above IO.
Scrambled order in secundative alignment is much more marked.

(51) indirective alignment

Kašəŋ χujat (ńawrem-əλ) toχtər-əλ-a (ńawrem-əλ)
 every someone child-POSS.3SG doctor-3SG-DAT child-POSS.3SG
 tə-s-λe
 bring-PST-3SG>SG
 'Everyone brought his child to the doctor.'

(52) secundative alignment

Kašəŋ χujat ?(lipət-ən) λəχs-əλ (lipət-ən)
 every someone flower-LOC friend-POSS.3SG-[ACC] flower-LOC
 mə-s-λe
 give-PST-3SG>SG
 'Everyone gave a flower to his friend.'

Object agreement

Object agreement in secundative alignment is obligatory.

However, it can be omitted if high aspect is valued (habitual and perfect “sequence of events”):

- (53) liw aškola-jew rəpatnək-ən tə-s-ət pa juχi
 they school-POSS.1PL-[ACC] worker-LOC bring-PST-1PL ADD home
 Beloyarskij-ja män-s-ət.
 Beloyarsky-DAT go-PST-1PL

‘They were bringing workers to our school and going home to Belojarsky (every day, as a usual route).’

Alternatively: ‘The company <did X, Y, Z,> brought workers to school and went home to Beloyarsky.’

- (53) “sequence of events”
 Maša-jen λant jɨŋk-əλ lopša-jən ɛsλ-əs,
 Masha-POSS.2SG flour water-POSS.3SG-[ACC] noodles-LOC put_down-PST
 omsəmt-əs pa kińška λunət-ti wu-s.
 sit_down-PST ADD book-[ACC] read-NPST.NFIN take-PST

‘Masha put noodles in the soup, then sat down, then take a book to read <then read a bit, then checked the soup, then went out of the kitchen...>’