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SWITCH-REFERENCE IN EVEN¹

The term switch reference (SR) usually refers to special markers that track whether the subjects of two related clauses are coreferent (Jacobsen 1967; Arregi, Hannink 2021). Switch reference systems are found in and thoroughly described for New Guinea (Roberts 1988), South America (Jacobsen 1967; Comrie 1983), North America (Baker, Souza 2020), and Australia (Austin 1981) (for more detailed information see Roberts 2017). It is yet to be discussed whether SR is a syntactic (Baker, Souza 2020) or a discourse process (Roberts 1988).

Languages can have separate morphemes either for both cases (same subject and different subject) or only for one of them. There tends to be a special marker for DS while SS is left unmarked, and not vice versa (Roberts 2017).

Even² shows the reverse pattern. Same-subjectness (as in 1) is marked by the reflexive possessive suffixes on the dependent verb. Subject switch (as in 2) is indicated by the set of person-number agreement suffixes which are also used on finite verbs.

- (1) daša it-tə-n ollə-w emu-če-ji see-PST-3SG fish-ACC bring-PTC.PST-POSS.REFL.SG 'Dashai saw a fish that shei brought.'
- emu-če-n (2) daša it-tə-n ollə-w anton Dasha see-PST-3SG fish-ACC Anton bring-PTC.PST-3SG 'Dasha saw a fish that Anton brought.'

Verbal person-number agreement markers never co-occure with reflexive agreement morphology. Similarly, nominal person possessive suffixes are complementary distributed with reflexive possessives suffixes (see examples 3 and 4).

- (3) etiken it-tə-n anton d'u-nold.man see-PST-3SG Anton house-POSS.3SG 'The old man saw Anton's house.'
- (4) etiken d'u-ji it-tə-n old.man see-PST-3SG house-POSS.REFL.SG 'The old man saw his own house.'

¹ The work was supported by RFBR grant 20-512-26004

² Even is a Tungusic language spoken by Even people in the Russian Far East and Siberia. For the current paper, the Bystraja sub-dialect has been studied. Bystraja Evens live in villages Esso and Anawgaj of Bystrinskij region, Kamchatskij kraj.

The grammatical number of coreferential subjects is obligatorily marked as in (5), which is redundant since the number is expressed on the first subject.

(5) bei-l əpkə-ni-tən ollə-w d'ab-da-wər man-PL catch-PST-3PL fish-ACC eat-PURP-POSS.REFL.PL 'Men fished to eat.'

Even data contradict the idea proposed in (Roberts 2017) that reflexives are an intra-clausal mechanism (i.e. they are often restricted by a clausal domain), while switch reference is an inter-clausal device (i.e. it functions as a linker between two different clauses).

Same-subjectness is always marked on participles and several types of converbs such as purposive (5) and negative terminative (6). We will describe the Even converb system and propose a theory that explains how some converbs became strictly SS (7) while others can be both SS and DS.

- (6) *e-dle-ji d'ip-tə girka-wa-či-d-na-ri-n*PRED.NEG-NEG.TERM-POSS.REFL.SG eat-CVB.NEG walk-FREQ-RES-PROG-MCP-PST-3SG
 'Without eating, he went for a walk.'
- (7) *p'et'a əm-nid'i vas'a ulgimi-d'i-l-li-n
 Peter come-ANT Vasya ask-PROG-INCH-PST-3SG
 'When Peter came, Vasya started asking.'

In our paper, we will discuss Even data in terms of switch-reference. This field was hitherto unstudied (although, special 'same-subjective' use of reflexive possessive markers was briefly mentioned in (Malchukov 2008) and (Nedjalkov 2020) for Even and Evenki, respectively).

List of abbreviations

3—3rd person; ACC—accusative; ANT—anterior converb; CVB—converb; FREQ—frequentative; INCH—inchoative; MCP—motion cum purpose; NEG—negative; PL—plural; POSS—possessive; PRED—predicative; PROG—progressive; PST—past; PTC—participle; PURP—purposive converb; REFL—reflexive; RES—resultative; SG—singular; TERM—terminative.

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