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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*
Dasha see-PST-3SG fish-ACC bring-PTC.PST-POSS.REFL.SG
'Dasha_i saw a fish that she_i brought.'

(2) *daša it-tə-n ollə-w anton emu-če-n*
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-occur with reflexive agreement morphology. Similarly, nominal person possessive suffixes are complementary distributed with reflexive possessive suffixes (see examples 3 and 4).

(3) *etiken it-tə-n anton d'u-n*
old.man see-PST-3SG Anton house-POSS.3SG
'The old man saw Anton's house.'

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

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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.

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