In the Northern Tungusic languages, there are different subject agreement paradigms that combine with different TAM forms. In Even, the ‘verbal’ paradigm, which is restricted to occurring with verbs, occurs in the indicative non-future (10a) and future tense, for example, while the ‘possessive I’ paradigm, which also marks the possessor on nouns, occurs in the simple past tense (10b) or the indigenous Even necessitative mood. The ‘possessive II’ paradigm, which occurs in the subjunctive mood (10c), among others, consists of the possessive subject agreement suffixes with the addition of the nominal plural suffixes in the plural (Table 7). A similar distinction between ‘verbal’ and ‘possessive’ subject agreement paradigms is found in Evenki (Nedjalkov 1997: 259-261). Note that in Lamunkhin Even, as in other Even dialects spoken in the vicinity of Sakha (e.g. the Allaikha dialect, Dutkin 1995: 46), the distinction between 1pl inclusive and exclusive has been lost.

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **verbal** | **possessive I** | **possessive II** |
| **1sg** | *-m* | *-W* | *-W* |
| **2sg** | *-nrI* | *-s(I)* | *-s(I)* |
| **3sg** | *-n(I)* | *-n(I)* | *-n(I)* |
| **1pl.incl** | *-p* | *-t(I)* | *-l-t(I)* |
| **1pl.excl** | *-R(U)* | *-WUn* | *-l-bUn* |
| **2pl** | *-s* | *-sAn* | *-l-sAn* |
| **3pl** | *-r* | *-tAn* | *-l* |

**verbal subject agreement marking** = simple person-number morphemes (glossed e.g. -1sg, -3pl):

- non-future (i.e. following –R(E)) 🡪 note that in Sebjan, the non-future suffix often does not appear after the "habitual" aspect –Gr(E), and for some verbs (e.g. goːn- 'say') the non-future 3pl is identical to the stem and therefore the non-future doesn't appear in glosses…

- future (i.e. -DʒI)

**possessive I subject agreement marking** = same markers as those which cross-reference possessors on nominals (glossed e.g. –poss.1sg…):

- past tense –RI

- Even necessitative –nnE (very infrequent)

- different converbs 🡪 subordinate clause predicates

- participles 🡪 at least in part subordinate clause predicates

**possessive II subject agreement marking**:

- with subjunctive (-mčE)

The Admonitive -DʒIk (basically only Kamchatka) takes mixed subject agreement marking (in corpus only 2nd and 3rd person forms):

* + 1SG/PL, 2SG = possessive suffixes
  + 2PL = plural + possessive suffix
  + 3SG = zero
  + 3PL = plural

(10a) Lamunkhin Even, non-future (beseda\_NPZ\_1452)

*hel tụrkị-ńʤa-n bi-h-ni=hni, tara-w ga-****ra-p*** *her-re-p*

iron sled-aug-poss.3sg be-nfut-3sg=affirm dist-acc take-**nfut-1pl** go-nfut-1pl

‘there's this iron sled, right, we took that and we set off’

(10b) Lamunkhin Even, simple past (TVK\_family\_039)

*tarịt tar amar-da-dụkụ-n emie omen ịa-w ga-****rị-t*** …

then dist behind-side-abl-poss.3sg also.Y one what-acc take-**pst-poss.1pl**

‘Then after that we again took one what (a kitten), …’

(10c) Lamunkhin Even, subjunctive (LAT\_family\_history\_083a)

*tarịt tar Hemenep bọlla biː abịga-w “ọrọ-m*

then dist Semenov dp.Y 1sg grandfather-poss.1sg reindeer-acc

*ga-****mča-l-tị****, Bụlụŋ-nụla töhö ọrọn bi-h-ni” goːn-če*

take-**sbjv-pl-poss.1pl** Bulun-loc how.much.Y reindeer be-nfut-3sg say-pf.ptcp

‘As for this Semenov, he said (to) my grandfather, "We would like to take/get (domestic) reindeer, how many (domestic) reindeer are there in the Bulun district?"’