

# Semi-direct speech in Wobzi Khroskyabs

Yunfan Lai (Max-Planck-Institut für Menschheitsgeschichte)

## 1 Things you should know before we get down to business

Table 1: Intransitive paradigm

	Person endings	Pronouns
1sg	$\Sigma$ - $\eta$	$\eta\hat{o}$
1du	$\Sigma$ - $j$	$\eta g\hat{o}ne$
1pl	$\Sigma$ - $j$	$g\hat{e}\eta\eta\hat{i}, \eta g\hat{i}$
2sg	$\Sigma$ - $n$	$n\hat{u}$
2du	$\Sigma$ - $n$	$n\hat{e}ne$
2pl	$\Sigma$ - $n$	$n\hat{e}\eta\eta\hat{i}$
3sg	$\Sigma$	$\hat{a}t\hat{a}$
3du	$\Sigma$	$\hat{a}t\hat{a}ne$
3pl	$\Sigma$	$\hat{a}t\hat{a}\eta\hat{i}$

Table 2: Transitive paradigm

		A			
		1sg	1pl	2	3
P	1sg			$\Sigma$ - $n$	$\Sigma$ - $\eta$
	1pl			$\Sigma$ - $n$	$\Sigma$ - $j$
	2	$u$ - $\Sigma$ - $\eta$	$u$ - $\Sigma$ - $j$		$\Sigma$ - $n$
	3	$u$ - $\Sigma$ - $\eta$	$u$ - $\Sigma$ - $j$	$u$ - $\Sigma$ - $n$	$(u)$ - $\Sigma$

- **Empathy hierarchy**

- 1 > 2 > 3
- Direct scenarios: A higher than P
- Inverse scenarios: P higher than A

- **Flagging**

- Ergative =  $\gamma\hat{a}$  in all inverse and 3↔3 scenarios

- **Inverse marking**

- All inverse scenarios
- Some 3↔3 scenarios

- (1) a.  $\eta\hat{o} \hat{a}t\hat{a} \nu d$ - $\hat{a}\eta$   
 1SG 3SG see<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 I saw him.
- b.  $\hat{a}t\hat{a} = \gamma\hat{a} \eta\hat{o} u$ - $\nu d$ - $\hat{a}\eta$   
 3SG = ERG 1SG INV-voir<sub>2</sub>-1SG  
 He saw me.

## 2 Semi-direct speech in Wobzi Khroskyabs

### 2.1 Overview

- **Participants in a reported speech**
  - Current Speaker (CS)
  - Original Speaker (OS)
- **Perspectives in semi-direct speech**
  - Pronoun: CS perspective
  - Indexation: two different systems
    - \* Old System: identical to Rgyalrong
    - \* New System: innovative adjustments of perspective

### 2.2 The Old System

- Pronouns: CS perspective
- Indexation: OS perspective

#### 2.2.1 When the reported verb is intransitive

(2) a. 2 [1]

Toi [Moi *a fait*]

*nû* [ɲô *mbærk<sup>h</sup>ém nə-ɕə*] = *pa*      *rə-nts<sup>h</sup>ə-n*  
2SG 1SG 'Barkhams PST-go<sub>2</sub> = NMLS NPST-think-2

You think that I went to 'Barkhams.

Direct: Tu penses, “il *est allé* à 'Barkhams.”

Indirect: Tu penses que je *suis allé* à 'Barkhams.

Semi-direct: Tu penses que je *est allé* à 'Barkhams.

b. 2 [2]

Toi [Toi-même *ai fait*]

*nû* [nəjê *mbærk<sup>h</sup>ém nə-ɕ-ôɲ*] = *pa*      *rə-nts<sup>h</sup>ə-n*  
2SG 2SG.LOGO 'Barkhams PST-go<sub>2</sub>-1SG = NMLS NPST-think-2

You think that you (yourself) went to 'Barkhams.

Direct: Tu penses, “je *suis allé* à 'Barkhams.”

Indirect: Tu penses que tu *es allé* à 'Barkhams.

Semi-direct: Tu penses que tu *suis allé* à 'Barkhams.

c. 3 [1/2]

Lui [Moi/Toi *a fait*]

*câ* [*nû mbærk<sup>h</sup>ém nə-câ*] = *pa* *rə-nts<sup>h</sup>ə*  
3SG 2SG 'Barkhams PST-go<sub>2</sub> = NMLS NPST-think

He thinks that you went to 'Barkhams.

Direct: Il pense, "il *est allé* à 'Barkhams."

Indirect: Il pense que tu *es allé* à 'Barkhams.

Semi-direct: Il pense que tu *est allé* à 'Barkhams.

d. 3 [*3<sub>logo</sub>*]

Lui [Lui-même *ai fait*]

*câ* [*jê mbærk<sup>h</sup>ém nə-ç-ôŋ*] = *pa* *rə-nts<sup>h</sup>ə*  
3SG 2SG.LOGO 'Barkhams PST-go<sub>2</sub>-1SG = NMLS NPST-think

He thinks that he (himself) went to 'Barkhams.

Direct: Il pense, "je *suis allé* à 'Barkhams."

Indirect: Il pense qu'il (lui-même) *est allé* à 'Barkhams.

Semi-direct: Il pense qu'il (lui-même) *suis allé* à 'Barkhams.

## 2.2.2 When the reported verb is transitive

(3) a. 2 [1→2]

Toi [Moi *a tué* Toi-même (Moi)]

*nû* = *γə* [*ŋô* = *γə* *nəjê* *k-u-rd-ôŋ*] = *pa* *rə-nts<sup>h</sup>ə-n*  
2SG = ERG 1SG = ERG 2SG.LOGO PST-INV-meet<sub>2</sub>-1SG = NMLS NPST-think-2

You think that I met you.

Direct: Tu penses, "il m'*a rencontré*."

Indirect: Tu penses que je t'*ai rencontré*.

Semi-direct: Tu penses que je t'*a rencontré*.

b. 2 [2→1]

Toi [Toi-même *ai tué* Moi]

*nû* = *γə* [*nəjê* *ŋô* *kə-rd-ôŋ*] = *pa* *rə-nts<sup>h</sup>ə-n*  
2SG = ERG 2SG.LOGO 1SG PST-meet<sub>2</sub>-1SG = NMLS NPST-think-2

You think that you (yourself) met me.

Direct: Tu penses, "Je l'*ai rencontré*."

Indirect: Tu penses que tu m'*as rencontré*.

Semi-direct: Tu penses que tu m'*ai rencontré*.

c. 2 [2↔3]

Toi [Toi-même *ai tué* Lui]

Toi [Lui *a tué* Toi-même]

*nû* [*nəjê* *ætə* *kə-rd-ôŋ*] = *pa* *rə-nts<sup>h</sup>ə-n*  
2SG 2SG.LOGO 3SG PST-meet<sub>2</sub>-1SG = NMLS NPST-think-2

You think that you (yourself) met him.

Direct: Tu penses, "Je l'*ai rencontré*."

Indirect: Tu penses que tu l'*as rencontré*.

Semi-direct: Tu penses que tu l'ai rencontré.

d. 3 [1→2]

Lui [Moi *a tué* Toi]

$c\hat{\alpha} = \gamma\vartheta$  [ $\eta\hat{\delta} = \gamma\vartheta$   $n\hat{u}$   $k-u-rd\hat{u}$ ] =  $pa$   $r\vartheta-nts^{h\hat{\delta}}$

3SG = ERG 1SG = ERG 2SG PST-meet<sub>2</sub> = NMLS NPST-think

He thinks that I met you.

Direct: Il pense, "Il l'a rencontré."

Indirect: Il pense que je t'ai rencontré.

Semi-direct: Il pense que je t'a rencontré.

e. 3 [2→1]

Lui [Toi *a tué* Moi]

$c\hat{\alpha} = \gamma\vartheta$  [ $\eta\hat{\delta} = \gamma\vartheta$   $n\hat{u}$   $k-u-rd\hat{u}$ ] =  $pa$   $r\vartheta-nts^{h\hat{\delta}}$

3SG = ERG 1SG = ERG 2SG PST-meet<sub>2</sub> = NMLS NPST-think

He thinks that you met me.

Direct: Il pense, "Il l'a rencontré."

Indirect: Il pense que tu m'as rencontré.

Semi-direct: Il pense que tu m'a rencontré.

f. 3 [1↔3<sub>logo</sub>]

Lui [Moi *a tué* Lui-même]

Lui [Lui-même *ai tué* Moi]

$c\hat{\alpha} = \gamma\vartheta$  [ $\eta\hat{\delta} = \gamma\vartheta$   $j\hat{e}$   $k-u-rd-\acute{u}\eta$ ] =  $pa$   $r\vartheta-nts^{h\hat{\delta}}$

3SG = ERG 1SG = ERG 2SG PST-meet<sub>2</sub>-1SG = NMLS NPST-think

He thinks that I met him.

Direct: Il pense, "Il m'a rencontré."

Indirect: Il pense que je l'ai rencontré.

Semi-direct: Il pense que je l'a rencontré.

g. 3 [2↔3<sub>logo</sub>]

Lui [Toi *a tué* Lui-même]

Lui [Lui-même *ai tué* Toi]

$c\hat{\alpha} = \gamma\vartheta$  [ $n\hat{u} = \gamma\vartheta$   $j\hat{e}$   $k-u-rd-\acute{u}\eta$ ] =  $pa$   $r\vartheta-nts^{h\hat{\delta}}$

3SG = ERG 2SG = ERG 3SG.LOGO PST-INV-meet<sub>2</sub>-1SG = NMLS NPST-think

He thinks that you met him.

Direct: Il pense, "Il m'a rencontré."

Indirect: Il pense que tu l'as rencontré.

Semi-direct: Il pense que tu l'a rencontré.

## 2.3 The New System

### 2.3.1 When the reported verb is intransitive

- (4) a. 2 [1] (Different from the Old System)

Toi [Moi *ai fait*]

$n\hat{u}$  [ $n\hat{o}$   $mb\bar{a}rk^h\acute{e}m$   $n\hat{a}-\zeta-\hat{o}\eta$ ] =  $pa$   $r\hat{a}-nts^h\hat{a}-n$   
2SG 1SG 'Barkhams PST-go<sub>2</sub>-1SG = NMLS NPST-think-2

You think that I went to 'Barkhams.

Direct: Tu penses, “il *est allé* à 'Barkhams.”

Indirect: Tu penses que je *suis allé* à 'Barkhams.

(*not a semi-direct speech report*)

- b. 2 [2]

Toi [Toi-même *ai fait*]

$n\hat{u}$  [ $n\hat{a}j\hat{e}$   $mb\bar{a}rk^h\acute{e}m$   $n\hat{a}-\zeta-\hat{o}\eta$ ] =  $pa$   $r\hat{a}-nts^h\hat{a}-n$   
2SG 2SG.LOGO 'Barkhams PST-go<sub>2</sub>-1SG = NMLS NPST-think-2

You think that you (yourself) went to 'Barkhams.

Direct: Tu penses, “je *suis allé* à 'Barkhams.”

Indirect: Tu penses que tu *es allé* à 'Barkhams.

Semi-direct: Tu penses que tu *suis allé* à 'Barkhams.

- c. 3 [1/2] (Different from the Old System)

Lui [Moi/Toi *ai/as fait*]

$c\hat{a}$  [ $n\hat{u}$   $mb\bar{a}rk^h\acute{e}m$   $n\hat{a}-\zeta-\hat{o}\eta$ ] =  $pa$   $r\hat{a}-nts^h\hat{a}$   
3SG 2SG 'Barkhams PST-go<sub>2</sub>-2 = NMLS NPST-think

He thinks that you went to 'Barkhams.

Direct: Il pense, “il *est allé* à 'Barkhams.”

Indirect: Il pense que tu *es allé* à 'Barkhams.

(*not a semi-direct speech report*)

- d. 3 [ $3_{logo}$ ]

Lui [Lui-même *ai fait*]

$c\hat{a}$  [ $j\hat{e}$   $mb\bar{a}rk^h\acute{e}m$   $n\hat{a}-\zeta-\hat{o}\eta$ ] =  $pa$   $r\hat{a}-nts^h\hat{a}$   
3SG 2SG.LOGO 'Barkhams PST-go<sub>2</sub>-1SG = NMLS NPST-think

He thinks that he (himself) went to 'Barkhams.

Direct: Il pense, “je *suis allé* à 'Barkhams.”

Indirect: Il pense qu'il (lui-même) *est allé* à 'Barkhams.

Semi-direct: Il pense qu'il (lui-même) *suis allé* à 'Barkhams.

### 2.3.2 When the reported verb is transitive

- (5) a. 2 [1→2] (Different from the Old System)  
 Toi [Moi *a tué* Toi-même]  
 $n\hat{u} = \gamma\vartheta$  [ $\eta\hat{o} = \gamma\vartheta$   $n\acute{a}j\acute{e}$   $k-u-rd\acute{u}-n$ ] =  $pa$   $r\grave{a}-nts^{h\grave{a}}-n$   
 2SG = ERG 1SG = ERG 2SG.LOGO PST-INV-meet<sub>2</sub>-2 = NMLS NPST-think-2  
 You think that I met you.  
 Direct: Tu penses, “il m’*a rencontré*.”  
 Indirect: Tu penses que je t’*ai rencontré*.  
 Semi-direct: Tu penses que je t’*a rencontré*.
- b. 2 [2→1] (Different from the Old System)  
 Toi [Toi-même *as tué* Moi]  
 $n\hat{u} = \gamma\vartheta$  [ $n\acute{a}j\acute{e} = \gamma\vartheta$   $\eta\hat{o}$   $k-u-rd\acute{u}-\acute{o}\eta$ ] =  $pa$   $r\grave{a}-nts^{h\grave{a}}-n$   
 2SG = ERG 2SG.LOGO = ERG 1SG PST-INV-meet<sub>2</sub>-1SG = NMLS NPST-think-2  
 You think that you (yourself) met me.  
 Direct: Tu penses, “Je l’*ai rencontré*.”  
 Indirect: Tu penses que tu m’*as rencontré*.  
 (not a semi-direct speech report)
- c. 2 [2↔3]  
 Toi [Toi-même *ai tué* Lui]  
 Toi [Lui *a tué* Toi-même]  
 $n\hat{u}$  [ $n\acute{a}j\acute{e}$   $\acute{a}t\acute{a}$   $k\grave{a}-rd\acute{u}-\acute{o}\eta$ ] =  $pa$   $r\grave{a}-nts^{h\grave{a}}-n$   
 2SG 2SG.LOGO 3SG PST-meet<sub>2</sub>-1SG = NMLS NPST-think-2  
 You think that you (yourself) met him.  
 Direct: Tu penses, “Je l’*ai rencontré*.”  
 Indirect: Tu penses que tu l’*as rencontré*.  
 Semi-direct: Tu penses que tu l’*ai rencontré*.
- d. 3 [1→2] (Different from the Old System)  
 Lui [Moi *a tué* Toi]  
 $c\hat{a} = \gamma\vartheta$  [ $\eta\hat{o} = \gamma\vartheta$   $n\hat{u}$   $k-u-rd\acute{u}-n$ ] =  $pa$   $r\grave{a}-nts^{h\grave{a}}$   
 3SG = ERG 1SG = ERG 2SG PST-meet<sub>2</sub>-2 = NMLS NPST-think  
 He thinks that I met you.  
 Direct: Il pense, “Il l’*a rencontré*.”  
 Indirect: Il pense que je t’*ai rencontré*.  
 Semi-direct: Il pense que je t’*a rencontré*.
- e. 3 [2→1] (Different from the Old System)  
 Lui [Toi *a tué* Moi]  
 $c\hat{a} = \gamma\vartheta$  [ $\eta\hat{o} = \gamma\vartheta$   $n\hat{u}$   $k-u-rd\acute{u}-\acute{o}\eta$ ] =  $pa$   $r\grave{a}-nts^{h\grave{a}}$   
 3SG = ERG 1SG = ERG 2SG PST-meet<sub>2</sub>-1SG = NMLS NPST-think  
 He thinks that you met me.  
 Direct: Il pense, “Il l’*a rencontré*.”  
 Indirect: Il pense que tu m’*as rencontré*.  
 Semi-direct: Il pense que tu m’*a rencontré*.

- f. 3 [1↔3<sub>logo</sub>] (Different from the Old System)  
 Lui [Moi **ai tué** Lui-même]  
 Lui [Lui-même **a tué** Moi]  
*câ* = *ɣə* [ɲô jê kə-**rd-úŋ**] = *pa* *rə-nts<sup>hə</sup>*  
 3SG = ERG 1SG 2SG PST-meet<sub>2</sub>-1SG = NMLS NPST-think  
 He thinks that I met him.  
 Direct: Il pense, “Il m’**a rencontré.**”  
 Indirect: Il pense que je l’**ai rencontré.**  
 (*not a semi-direct speech report*)

- g. 3 [2↔3<sub>logo</sub>] (Different from the Old System)  
 Lui [Toi **as tué** Lui-même]  
 Lui [Lui-même **ai tué** Toi]  
*câ* = *ɣə* [jê *nû* kə-**rdú-n**] = *pa* *rə-nts<sup>hə</sup>*  
 3SG = ERG 3SG.LOGO 2SG PST-meet<sub>2</sub>-2 = NMLS NPST-think  
 He thinks that I met you.  
 Direct: Il pense, “Je l’**a rencontré.**”  
 Indirect: Il pense qu’il t’**a rencontré.**  
 Semi-direct: Il pense qu’il t’**ai rencontré.**

### 3 Comparison between the two systems

#### 3.1 Differences and Observations

Table 3: Old system vs New system (indexation of the verb in the RS)

		Old system			New system		
		S	A	P	S	A	P
Intransitive OS = 2nd	2[1]	OS			<b>CS</b>		
	2[2]	OS			OS		
	2[3]	Either			Either		
Intransitive OS = 3rd	3[1]	OS			<b>CS</b>		
	3[2]	OS			<b>CS</b>		
	3[3]	OS			OS		
Transitive OS = 2nd	2[1→2]		OS	OS		OS	<b>CS</b>
	2[2→1]		OS	OS		<b>CS</b>	<b>CS</b>
	2[2→3]		OS	Either		OS	Either
	2[3→2]		Either	OS		Either	OS
	2[1→3]		OS	Either		<b>CS</b>	Either
	2[3→1]		Either	OS		Either	<b>CS</b>
Transitive OS = 3rd	3[1→2]		OS	OS		OS	<b>CS</b>
	3[2→1]		OS	OS		<b>OS</b>	<b>CS</b>
	3[1→3 <sub>logo</sub> ]		OS	OS		<b>CS</b>	<b>CS</b>
	3[3 <sub>logo</sub> →1]		OS	OS		<b>CS</b>	<b>CS</b>
	3[2→3 <sub>logo</sub> ]		OS	OS		<b>CS</b>	OS
	3[3 <sub>logo</sub> →2]		OS	OS		OS	<b>CS</b>
	3[3→3 <sub>logo</sub> ]		OS	Either		OS	Either
	3[3 <sub>logo</sub> →3]		Either	OS		Either	OS

- Yellow background: non-semi-direct speech report
- Blue background: Double interpretation, semi-direct or indirect
- **Observations**
  - Constructions with difference
    - \* Existence of **one or more higher-ranking argument(s)** in the speech report than the A of the main clause
    - \* If there are two SAP arguments in the speech report, the indexation of the **P** will be shifted to the **CS**'s perspective
    - \* Otherwise the indexation of the higher-ranking argument will be presented from the **CS**'s perspective
  - Exceptions

### 3.2 Exceptions

Exceptions occur in 2[2→1] and 3[1↔3] scenarios.

#### (6) 2[2→1]

##### a. Old System: OS OS

Toi [Toi-même **ai tué** Moi]

*nû = yə [nəjê ηô kə-rd-úŋ] = pa rə-nts<sup>h</sup>ə-n*  
 2SG = ERG 2SG.LOGO 1SG PST-meet<sub>2</sub>-1SG = NMLS NPST-think-2

You think that you (yourself) met me.

Direct: Tu penses, “Je l'**ai rencontré.**”

Indirect: Tu penses que tu m'**as rencontré.**

Semi-direct: Tu penses que tu m'**ai rencontré.**

#### • Steps to change from Old to New

- Existence of a higher-ranking argument: first person
- Shift it to CS's perspective
- Therefore: A = **OS**, P = **CS**
- A (OS): Pronoun: **2SG.LOGO**; Indexation: **1SG**
- P (CS): Pronoun: **1SG**; Indexation: **1SG**
- Creates a **1→1** scenario, **impossible** in Khroskyabs
- Shift the other argument to CS's perspective
- Get the right result: A = **CS**, P = **CS**



(7) 2[2→1]

a. New System: CS CS

Toi [Toi-même *as tué* Moi]

$n\hat{u} = \gamma\emptyset$  [  $n\emptyset j\hat{e} = \gamma\emptyset$   $\eta\delta$  *k-u-rd-úŋ* ] =  $pa$   $r\emptyset$ - $nts^{h\hat{s}}-n$   
2SG = ERG 2SG.LOGO = ERG 1SG PST-INV-meet<sub>2</sub>-1SG = NMLS NPST-think-2

You think that you (yourself) met me.

Direct: Tu penses, “Je l’*ai rencontré*.”

Indirect: Tu penses que tu m’*as rencontré*.

(*not a semi-direct speech report*)