

How empathy hierarchy is reflected in Khroskyabs morphosyntax

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5 September 2018

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

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Thanks, let me come straight to point. My talk is about the empathy hierarchy of Khroskyabs. How it is reflected in the language, and what is its role in the morphosyntax?

Empathy hierarchy

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Empathy hierarchy

That a language has some sort of hierarchy ranking grammatical persons is first interested by Silverstein, in which he divides participant from non-participant. Basically, participant, or speech act participant, SAP, means the people involved in a conversation. Usually you and I. So inside the participants, there is you and there is me, more technically, Ego and non-Ego. It is generally believed that participants are more important than non-participants. There have been of a lot of names of this hierarchy, shown here. Personally I don't care which name to use, I just chose one of them without special preference.

Empathy hierarchy

- ▶ Silverstein (1976)

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 - ▶ Participant: Ego vs Non-ego

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- ▶ Nominal hierarchy (Dixon 1994)
- ▶ Indexability hierarchy (Bickel and Nichols 2007)

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Most accounts are descriptions of individual languages, and some discuss the motivation, and also talk about the genesis of hierarchical alignment. But I always wondered, is empathy hierarchy just a relic of old morphology, or does it still play a role in language evolution? Are languages still aware of the existence of such a hierarchy, instead of finding it only in highly grammaticalised constructions? Maybe Khroskyabs can give us an answer.

Empathy hierarchy

- ▶ Most accounts

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Empathy hierarchy

- ▶ Most accounts
 - ▶ Description
 - ▶ Motivation of empathy hierarchy

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- ▶ Are languages *still* “aware” of the existence of such a hierarchy?
- ▶ Can empathy hierarchy participate in language evolution?

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The Khroskyabs language

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└─ The Khroskyabs language

Now let's get to know something about the Khroskyabs language. It is a Sino-Tibetan language, in the Rgyalrongic branch, spoken in Western Sichuan, China.

The Khroskyabs language

- ▶ Rgyalrongic, Sino-Tibetan

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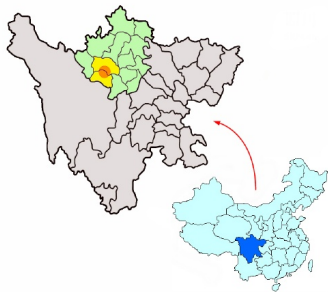
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└ The Khroskyabs language

I will focus on one of the dialects, the $\nu\alpha g\hat{u}$ variant of the Wobzi dialect, native to 350 people. This language has a strict SOV word order, presenting a templatic morphology mainly prefixing, a lot of prefixes, and of course, hierarchical alignment and inverse marking.

The Khroskyabs language

- ▶ Dialect under examination

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Empathy hierarchy through pronouns

(1) Wobzi

a. 1 + 2 → 1

âêçə rə-vâ-n n-â-ŋæ = tə ŋgəŋjî
 CONJ IMP-come₃-2 PFV-IRR-be₁ = DEF 1PL
əŋó rə-vî-j u-rê = si
 together IMP-come₃-1PL PST.INV-say₂ = IFR
 Then he said, "Come join me and let us go together!"

b. 2 + 3 → 2

êvay êmji mk^hê rây = tə nêŋji
 INTERJ that.way be.expert₁ one = DEF 2PL
næ-nq^harŋâ-n = si u-rê = pa
 PST-expel₂-2 = IFR PST.INV-say₂ = NMLZ
 He said to him, "Oh! You guys expelled such a knowledgeable person!"

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 PST-expel₂-2 = IFR PST.INV-say₂ = NMLZ
 He said to him, "Oh! You guys expelled such a knowledgeable person!"

The empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs, in the very first place, can be observed by the choice of non-singular pronouns. If first person and second person coexists, the combination will be first person non-singular. As in 1(a). *âêçə rə-vâ-n n-â-ŋæ = tə ŋgəŋjî əŋó rə-vî-j u-rê = si*, come join me and let us go together. not let you go together. We use first person plural because first person outplays second person. Similarly, in 1(b), He said to his interlocuter, you guys expelled such a knowledgeable person. *êvay êmji mk^hê rây = tə nêŋji næ-nq^harŋâ-n = si u-rê = pa* Using second person plural, but not third person plural, it shows that second person should outrank third person.

Empathy hierarchy through pronouns

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

Empathy hierarchy through pronouns

(2) Wobzi
 a. 1 + 3 → 1
 vuc^hâ k^hó=gə nə-jé rə-ŋá
 lower.side room = LOC IPFV.PST-exist₂ NPST-be₁
 ætâçə ŋgí â=t^ha lelé
 CONJ 1PL DEM = LOC upper.place
 læ-cə-j-cá-j
 PST-move₂-1PL-move₂-1PL
 She lived in the room in the lower-side house.
 Then we moved to an upper place.

(2) Wobzi

a. 1 + 3 → 1

vuc^hâ k^hó=gə nə-jé rə-ŋá

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PST-move₂-1PL-move₂-1PL

She lived in the room in the lower-side house.

Then we moved to an upper place.

Logically, first person outranks third person. As shown in 2a. vuc^hâ k^hó=gə nə-jé rə-ŋá ætâçə ŋgí â=t^ha lelé læ-cə-j-cá-j She lived in the room in the lower-side house. Then we moved to an upper place, not they moved to an upper place.

Empathy hierarchy through pronouns

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Empathy hierarchy through pronouns

So Khroskyabs exhibits a $1 > 2 > 3$ hierarchy. And unlike other Rgyalrong languages, which further distinguish different third persons according to animacy or focus, Khroskyabs does not seem to have such things.

Empathy hierarchy through pronouns

- ▶ Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

- ▶ **1 > 2 > 3**

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Intransitive indexation

Table: Intransitive indexation in Wobzi Khroskyabs

Person	Suffix	Pronoun
1SG	Σ - η	$\eta\hat{o}$
1DU	Σ - j	$\eta g\hat{a}ne$
1PL	Σ - j	$gə\eta j\hat{i}, \eta g\hat{i}$
2SG	Σ - n	$n\hat{u}$
2DU	Σ - n	$n\hat{e}ne$
2PL	Σ - n	$n\hat{e}\eta j\hat{i}$
3SG	Σ	$\hat{a}t\hat{a}$
3DU	Σ	$\hat{a}t\hat{a}ne$
3PL	Σ	$\hat{a}t\hat{a}j\hat{i}$

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2sg	Σ - n	$n\hat{u}$
2du	Σ - n	$n\hat{e}ne$
2pl	Σ - n	$n\hat{e}\eta j\hat{i}$
3sg	Σ	$\hat{a}t\hat{a}$
3du	Σ	$\hat{a}t\hat{a}ne$
3pl	Σ	$\hat{a}t\hat{a}j\hat{i}$

Now let's tackle real morphosyntax. Empathy hierarchy is first of all related to hierarchical alignment of argument indexation. So let me show you the basic argument indexation in Khroskyabs. What you see now it the intransitive paradigm in this language. Indexation of intransitive verbs. We have only three suffixes, first person singular, first person non-singular, or plural, and second person. Third person is unmarked. In an intransitive construction, the verb automatically indexes the S, the subject argument.

Transitive indexation

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Transitive indexation

Table: Transitive indexation in Wobzi Khroskyabs

		P		
		1SG	1PL	2 3
A	1SG		Σ -a	Σ -g
	1PL		Σ -a	Σ -j
	2	u- Σ -g	u- Σ -j	Σ -a
	3	u- Σ -g	u- Σ -j	u- Σ -a (u- Σ)

Table: Transitive indexation in Wobzi Khroskyabs

		P			
		1SG	1PL	2	3
A	1SG			Σ -n	Σ - η
	1PL			Σ -n	Σ -j
	2	u- Σ - η	u- Σ -j		Σ -n
	3	u- Σ - η	u- Σ -j	u- Σ -n	(u-) Σ

However, when it comes to transitive verbs, you will see a whole new world. The verb sometimes indexes the A, agentive argument, and sometimes the P, patientive argument, and in some places you have an additional prefix u-.

└ Scenarios

To explain this phenomenon, we need to know one more thing. Scenarios. We have three distinct scenarios, Local scenario, between two SAPs, SAP means speech act participant, roughly, first and second person. Non-local, between two non-SAPs, that is, two third persons. And a mixed scenario, between an SAP and a third person. Now, let's focus on the person endings, and keep an eye on the ergative marker = $\gamma\text{ə}$.

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 - ▶ Local: SAP (first/second person) ↔ SAP

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- Zúñiga (2006)
 - Local: SAP (first/second person) ↔ SAP
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(3) *vdê* 'to see'

a. *ηô nû vdé-n*
1SG 2SG see₂-2
I saw you.

b. *nû = γə ηô u-*vd-áη**
2SG = ERG 1SG INV-see₂-1SG
You saw me.

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Local scenarios

We look at local scenarios first. First person acting on second person, 3a, *ηô nû vdé-n*, I saw you. We use the second person suffix, the verb indexes the P. And 3b, *nû = γə ηô u-*vd-áη**, you saw me. The verb indexes the first person, which is also the P, but here, the A, second person, receives an ergative marker.

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I saw you.
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You saw me.

Non-local scenarios

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Non-local scenarios

(4) *vdé* 'to see'

a. *tʂaʕî = yə kətá = tə vdé*
 1SG dog = DEF see₂
 Bkrashis saw the dog.

b. *kətá = tə = yə tʂaʕî vdé*
 dog = DEF = ERG Bkrashis see₂
 The dog saw Bkrashis.

(4) *vdé* 'to see'

a. *tʂaʕî = yə kətá = tə vdé*
 1SG dog = DEF see₂
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b. *kətá = tə = yə tʂaʕî vdé*
 dog = DEF = ERG Bkrashis see₂
 The dog saw Bkrashis.

And here are some non-local scenarios, between third persons, Bkrashis and the dog. The ergative marker is always used, no matter which one is the A, and there is no person ending. *tʂaʕî = yə kətá = tə vdé*, *kətá = tə = yə tʂaʕî vdé*

Hierarchical alignment

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Hierarchical alignment

Actually, the standard hierarchical alignment predicts that the verb indexes the higher person. For Khroskyabs, it is the case of mixed scenarios, since it's always the SAP argument that is indexed. But in local scenarios, the verb just indexes the P, regardless of the empathy hierarchy. Therefore, in terms of suffixation, the hierarchical alignment in Khroskyabs is not canonical, only works with non-local scenarios and one of the local scenarios. The 1 on 2 scenario indexes the second person, not the first person. There is an attempt explaining this, by Delancey, it's always about you, this is from a social-pragmatical point of view, rather than pure morphosyntax. I'm not going to comment further on this.

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- ▶ Hierarchical alignment
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► Hierarchical alignment

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└ Inverse marking

But the hierarchy between first and second persons can still be seen through inverse marking. Remember the u- prefix that appears sometimes? It appears in transitive scenarios when the P is higher than the A, and in almost all of the non-local scenarios.

Inverse marking

- ▶ P > A

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Inverse marking

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Inverse marking

- ▶ $P > A$
- ▶ $3 \leftrightarrow 3$ scenarios

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Inverse marking

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Inverse marking: Local

(6) *sâ* 'to kill'

a. *ŋô nû næ-sá-n*
1SG 2SG PST-kill₂-2
I killed you.

b. *nû = yə ŋô n-u-sá-ŋ*
2SG = ERG 1SG PST-INV-kill₂-1SG
You killed me.

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Inverse marking: Local

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For example, in local scenarios, first person acting on second person, you don't have inverse marking. *ŋô nû næ-sá-n*. But in 6b, it's second person acting on first person, you have that inverse marking u-, *nû = yə ŋô n-u-sá-ŋ*, additionally, you have ergative marking on the A.

(7) *sâ* 'to kill'

- a. *tʂaɕî = yə kətá = tə n-u-sá*
Bkrashis = ERG dog = DEF PST-INV-kill₂
Bkrashis killed the dog.
- b. *kətá = tə = yə tʂaɕî n-u-sá*
dogDEF = ERG Bkrashis PST-INV-kill₂
The dog killed Bkrashis

└ Inverse marking: Non-local

(7) *sâ* 'to kill'
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Bkrashis killed the dog.
b. *kətá = tə = yə tʂaɕî n-u-sá*
dogDEF = ERG Bkrashis PST-INV-kill₂
The dog killed Bkrashis

In a non-local scenario, you always have that ergative and inverse marking. *tʂaɕî = yə kətá = tə n-u-sá*, zhaxi killed the dog.
kətá = tə = yə tʂaɕî n-u-sá, the dog killed zhaxi.

(8) *sâ* 'to kill'

a. *ŋô ætê næ-sá-ŋ*
1SG 3SG PST-kill₂-1SG
I killed him.

b. *ætê = yə nû n-u-sá-n*
3SG = ERG 2SG PST-INV-kill₂-2
He killed you.

└ Inverse marking: Mixed

In mixed scenarios, inverse marking and ergative appear when 3rd person acting on SAP arguments, as in 8b. *ætê = yə nû n-u-sá-n*. He killed me. So inverse marking is a good piece of evidence for the empathy hierarchy.

(8) *sâ* 'to kill'
a. *ŋô ætê næ-sá-ŋ*
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He killed you.

└ Interim summary

An interim summary, In terms of person endings, the empathy hierarchy works well with mixed scenarios, and inverse marking accounts for the SAP hierarchy. And, ergative marking appears in all inverse scenarios and all third person As. This is the basic reflection of the empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs, which is nothing but normal for languages in the region. Now, I wonder what further can empathy hierarchy do in this language.

- ▶ Person endings

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

Interim summary

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- ▶ Person endings
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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

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- ▶ Person endings
 - ▶ Empathy hierarchy works well with SAP ↔ 3 scenarios
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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

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- ▶ Person endings
 - ▶ Empathy hierarchy works well with SAP \leftrightarrow 3 scenarios
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 - ▶ SAP hierarchy: 1 > 2

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Causativisation of trivalent verbs

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Causativisation of trivalent verbs

Now I would like to invite you to another phenomenon. Causativisation. So there is a causative prefix in this language, the s prefix. It is simple to apply, just put it before the verb stem, and you have the causative verb. As in these two examples. cause to be big, sq^hrá, and cause to write, sráé.

Causativisation of trivalent verbs

- ▶ Lai (2016): Causativisation in Wobzi Khroskyabs
 - ▶ Causative prefix *s-* (Lai 2016: 157)

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Causativisation of trivalent verbs

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

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Now the question is the argument indexation of causativised verbs. There is a rule behind it. If a transitive verb is causativised, it gains one more argument, so there are three arguments in total. In this case, usually the causee is treated as P. For example, in 9a, the normal verb to chop, he chopped the meat, $c\hat{\sigma} = \gamma\theta \text{ sr}\acute{u} = t\theta \text{ n-u-rv}\acute{\alpha}j\acute{i}$, the A is third person singular, and the P is the meat. But once it's causativised, with the s prefix, as in 9b, Brkashis made me chop the meat, $t\check{s}a\check{c}\acute{i} = \gamma\theta \text{ } \eta\hat{a} = k^h e \text{ sr}\acute{u} = t\theta \text{ n-u-s-v}\acute{\alpha}j\text{-}\acute{a}\eta$, the causee is me, and it's marked with a dative marker, despite all this, the causee is treated as the P of the causativised verb, therefore, the verb takes first person singular ending.

Causativisation of trivalent verbs

- ▶ Argument indexation of causativised verbs

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

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Causativisation of trivalent verbs

- ▶ Argument indexation of causativised verbs
- ▶ Indexation of the causee (Causee = P) (Lai 2016: 155)

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

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Causativisation of trivalent verbs

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- ▶ Indexation of the causee (Causee = P) (Lai 2016: 155)
- ▶ (9) *rvæjæ* 'chop' → *s-væjæ* 'cause to chop'
 - a. *cê = yə srú = tə n-u-rvæjí*
 3SG = ERG meat = DEF PST-INV-chop₂
 He chopped the meat.
 - b. *tʂaçî = yə ŋâ = k^he srú = tə*
 Bkrashis = ERG 1SG = DAT meat = DEF
n-u-s-væj-áŋ
 PST-INV-CAUS-chop₂-1SG
 Bkrashis made me chop the meat

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Causativisation of trivalent verbs

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Causativisation of trivalent verbs

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Causativisation of trivalent verbs

But, have you ever think of causativising a trivalent verb? There will be four arguments. The causer, the causee, the theme and the recipient. The sentence would be like, the causer causes the causee to pass the theme to the recipient. There are so many choices, which one should we index?

Causativisation of trivalent verbs

- ▶ Causativisation of trivalent verbs?

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

Causativisation of trivalent verbs

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Causativisation of trivalent verbs

- ▶ Causativisation of trivalent verbs?
- ▶ Four arguments

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

Causativisation of trivalent verbs

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Causativisation of trivalent verbs

- ▶ Causativisation of trivalent verbs?
- ▶ Four arguments
 - ▶ Causer

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Causativisation of trivalent verbs

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Causativisation of trivalent verbs

- ▶ Causativisation of trivalent verbs?
- ▶ Four arguments
 - ▶ Causer
 - ▶ Causee

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Causativisation of trivalent verbs

Causativisation of trivalent verbs

- Causativisation of trivalent verbs?
- Four arguments
 - Causer
 - Causee

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Causativisation of trivalent verbs

- ▶ Causativisation of trivalent verbs?
- ▶ Four arguments
 - ▶ Causer
 - ▶ Causee
 - ▶ Theme

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

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- ▶ Causativisation of trivalent verbs?
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 - ▶ Causer
 - ▶ Causee
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Causativisation of trivalent verbs

- ▶ Causativisation of trivalent verbs?
- ▶ Four arguments
 - ▶ Causer
 - ▶ Causee
 - ▶ Theme
 - ▶ Recipient

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Causativisation of trivalent verbs

- ▶ Causativisation of trivalent verbs?
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 - ▶ Causer
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Causativisation of trivalent verbs

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Causativisation of trivalent verbs

Actually, there are only two candidates, the causee and the recipient. We have to make a choice between these two. The rule is, if both the causee and the recipient are SAP arguments, the causee is treated as the P, so the verb would index the causee if the scenario is right and has nothing to do with the recipient. But when one is SAP, the other is non-SAP, then the SAP argument must be treated as the P, no matter what it is, causee or recipient. This is the power of the empathy hierarchy, it is the first to consider in this case, and makes the semantic role irrelevant.

- ▶ Choice between the **CAUSEE** and the **RECIPIENT**

└ Causativisation of trivalent verbs

Actually, there are only two candidates, the causee and the recipient. We have to make a choice between these two. The rule is, if both the causee and the recipient are SAP arguments, the causee is treated as the P, so the verb would index the causee if the scenario is right and has nothing to do with the recipient. But when one is SAP, the other is non-SAP, then the SAP argument must be treated as the P, no matter what it is, causee or recipient. This is the power of the empathy hierarchy, it is the first to consider in this case, and makes the semantic role irrelevant.

- Choice between the CAUSEE and the RECIPIENT
- When both are SAP arguments

Causativisation of trivalent verbs

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Causativisation of trivalent verbs

- ▶ Choice between the CAUSEE and the RECIPIENT
- ▶ When both are SAP arguments

Actually, there are only two candidates, the causee and the recipient. We have to make a choice between these two. The rule is, if both the causee and the recipient are SAP arguments, the causee is treated as the P, so the verb would index the causee if the scenario is right and has nothing to do with the recipient. But when one is SAP, the other is non-SAP, then the SAP argument must be treated as the P, no matter what it is, causee or recipient. This is the power of the empathy hierarchy, it is the first to consider in this case, and makes the semantic role irrelevant.

- Choice between the CAUSEE and the RECIPIENT
- When both are SAP arguments
 - Indexation of CAUSEE (Causee = P)

└ Causativisation of trivalent verbs

Causativisation of trivalent verbs

- ▶ Choice between the CAUSEE and the RECIPIENT
- ▶ When both are SAP arguments
 - ▶ Indexation of CAUSEE (Causee = P)

Actually, there are only two candidates, the causee and the recipient. We have to make a choice between these two. The rule is, if both the causee and the recipient are SAP arguments, the causee is treated as the P, so the verb would index the causee if the scenario is right and has nothing to do with the recipient. But when one is SAP, the other is non-SAP, then the SAP argument must be treated as the P, no matter what it is, causee or recipient. This is the power of the empathy hierarchy, it is the first to consider in this case, and makes the semantic role irrelevant.

Causativisation of trivalent verbs

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Causativisation of trivalent verbs

- Choice between the CAUSEE and the RECIPIENT
- When both are SAP arguments
 - Indexation of CAUSEE (Causee = P)
- When one is SAP, the other is non-SAP
 - Indexation of the SAP argument (SAP = P)

- ▶ Choice between the CAUSEE and the RECIPIENT
- ▶ When both are SAP arguments
 - ▶ Indexation of CAUSEE (Causee = P)
- ▶ When one is SAP, the other is non-SAP
 - ▶ Indexation of the SAP argument (SAP = P)

Actually, there are only two candidates, the causee and the recipient. We have to make a choice between these two. The rule is, if both the causee and the recipient are SAP arguments, the causee is treated as the P, so the verb would index the causee if the scenario is right and has nothing to do with the recipient. But when one is SAP, the other is non-SAP, then the SAP argument must be treated as the P, no matter what it is, causee or recipient. This is the power of the empathy hierarchy, it is the first to consider in this case, and makes the semantic role irrelevant.

Causativisation of trivalent verbs

(10) $k^h\hat{a}$ 'give' → $s-k^h\hat{a}$ 'cause to give'

a. $t\check{s}a\check{c}\hat{i} = \gamma\emptyset$ $n\hat{u}$ $\eta\hat{a} = k^he$ $kap\hat{\delta}$ $r\hat{a}\gamma$

Bkrashis = ERG 2SG 1SG = DAT book one

$n-u-s-k^h\acute{a}-n$

PST-INV-CAUS-give₂-2

Bkrashis made you give me a book.

b. $t\check{s}a\check{c}\hat{i} = \gamma\emptyset$ $dzom\hat{a}$ $\eta\hat{a} = k^he$ $kap\hat{\delta}$ $r\hat{a}\gamma$

Bkrashis = ERG Sgrolma 1SG = DAT book one

$n-u-s-k^h\acute{a}-\eta$

PST-INV-CAUS-give₂-1SG

Bkrashis made Sgrolma give me a book.

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Causativisation of trivalent verbs

(10) $k^h\hat{a}$ 'give' → $s-k^h\hat{a}$ 'cause to give'

a. $t\check{s}a\check{c}\hat{i} = \gamma\emptyset$ $n\hat{u}$ $\eta\hat{a} = k^he$ $kap\hat{\delta}$ $r\hat{a}\gamma$
 Bkrashis = ERG 2SG 1SG = DAT book one
 $n-u-s-k^h\acute{a}-n$
 PST-INV-CAUS-give₂-2
 Bkrashis made you give me a book.

b. $t\check{s}a\check{c}\hat{i} = \gamma\emptyset$ $dzom\hat{a}$ $\eta\hat{a} = k^he$ $kap\hat{\delta}$ $r\hat{a}\gamma$
 Bkrashis = ERG Sgrolma 1SG = DAT book one
 $n-u-s-k^h\acute{a}-\eta$
 PST-INV-CAUS-give₂-1SG
 Bkrashis made Sgrolma give me a book.

This can be illustrated with the verb to give, $k^h\hat{a}$. The causative version is $sk^h\hat{a}$, cause to give. In 10a, $t\check{s}a\check{c}\hat{i} = \gamma\emptyset$ $n\hat{u}$ $\eta\hat{a} = k^he$ $kap\hat{\delta}$ $r\hat{a}\gamma$ $n-u-s-k^h\acute{a}-n$, Bkrashis made you give me a book, the causee and the recipient, both in red, are SAP arguments, so the verb will index the causee, it takes the second person ending. While in 10b, $t\check{s}a\check{c}\hat{i} = \gamma\emptyset$ $dzom\hat{a}$ $\eta\hat{a} = k^he$ $kap\hat{\delta}$ $r\hat{a}\gamma$ $n-u-s-k^h\acute{a}-\eta$, zhaxi made zhuoma give me a book. the causee is $dzom\hat{a}$, which is non-SAP, and the recipient is first person singular, which is SAP, the verb has no choice but to index the first person.

└ Semi-direct speech

Now the last part of the talk. Semi-direct speech. This is a kind of reported speech exhibiting unusual indexation patterns, according to the perspective, whether it is the perspective of the current speaker, CS, or the original speaker, OS. Very briefly, it is as if you said in French, *tu penses que je est allé à Paris*. The sentence is ungrammatical in French, but totally fine in Khroskyabs. The pronoun used is first person singular, which is from the current speaker's perspective, but the verb, *is est allé*, third person singular, with the original speaker's perspective. Because, when you are thinking about this, it is a third person who went to Paris. Therefore, in a semi-direct speech, we have two perspective combined together.

- ▶ Reported speech exhibiting unusual indexation patterns

└ Semi-direct speech

Now the last part of the talk. Semi-direct speech. This is a kind of reported speech exhibiting unusual indexation patterns, according to the perspective, whether it is the perspective of the current speaker, CS, or the original speaker, OS. Very briefly, it is as if you said in French, *tu penses que je est allé à Paris*. The sentence is ungrammatical in French, but totally fine in Khroskyabs. The pronoun used is first person singular, which is from the current speaker's perspective, but the verb, *is est allé*, third person singular, with the original speaker's perspective. Because, when you are thinking about this, it is a third person who went to Paris. Therefore, in a semi-direct speech, we have two perspective combined together.

Semi-direct speech

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech

- Reported speech exhibiting unusual indexation patterns
 - According to the perspective (current speaker, CS, or original speaker, OS)
 - Simulation in French: *Tu penses que [je est allé à Paris].*
 - The pronoun used: *je* '1SG' (Current speaker perspective)
 - Indexation: *est allé* (Original speaker perspective)

- ▶ Reported speech exhibiting unusual indexation patterns
 - ▶ According to the perspective (current speaker, CS, or original speaker, OS)
 - ▶ Simulation in French: *Tu penses que [je est allé à Paris].*
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Now the last part of the talk. Semi-direct speech. This is a kind of reported speech exhibiting unusual indexation patterns, according to the perspective, whether it is the perspective of the current speaker, CS, or the original speaker, OS. Very briefly, it is as if you said in French, *tu penses que je est allé à Paris*. The sentence is ungrammatical in French, but totally fine in Khroskyabs. The pronoun used is first person singular, which is from the current speaker's perspective, but the verb, *est allé*, third person singular, with the original speaker's perspective. Because, when you are thinking about this, it is a third person who went to Paris. Therefore, in a semi-direct speech, we have two perspective combined together.

└ Semi-direct speech

We need to pay attention to two things in this part. First thing is the unexpected use of the ergative marker = $\gamma\text{ə}$. And, there are two separate systems of semi-direct speech in Khroskyabs, one of them is older, one of the is a new system that occurred recently. We will look at the innovative evolution of argument indexation from the old one to the new one.

Semi-direct speech: unexpected = $\gamma\theta$ 'ERG'

- (12) a. Transitive verb in reported speech (without ergative)

$n\hat{u}$ [nəjê ætê kə-rd-úŋ] = pa rə-nts^hâ-n
 2SG 2SG.LOGO 3SG PST-meet₂-1SG = NMLS NPST-think-2

You think that you (yourself) met him.

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

- b. Transitive verb in reported speech (with ergative)

$n\hat{u} = \gamma\theta$ [ŋô = $\gamma\theta$ nəjê
 2SG = ERG 1SG = ERG 2SG.LOGO
 k-u-rd-úŋ] = pa rə-nts^hâ-n
 PST-INV-meet₂-1SG = NMLS NPST-think-2

You think that I met you.

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

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: unexpected = $\gamma\theta$ 'ERG'

And here, 12a, it is normal as well, but with a transitive verb in the reported speech. $n\hat{u}$ [nəjê ætê kə-rd-úŋ] = pa rə-nts^hâ-n, You think that you yourself met him. Direct, without ergative. But, in 12b, $n\hat{u} = \gamma\theta$ [ŋô = $\gamma\theta$ nəjê k-u-rd-úŋ] = pa rə-nts^hâ-n, you think that I met you. Here, we have a direct scenario, because the verb at the end, to think, has no inverse marking. But unexpectedly, the A of the main clause, 2nd person singular, is marked with ergative. This is because there is a higher person inside the reported speech, first person singular here, therefore the A of the main clause must take ergative marking. If there is no higher person in the reported speech, we don't need the ergative. So this is the first thing related to the empathy hierarchy.

(12) a. Transitive verb in reported speech (without ergative)
 nô [nəjê ætê kə-rd-úŋ] = pa rə-nts^hâ-n
 2SG 2SG.LOGO 3SG PST-meet₂-1SG = NMLS NPST-think-2
 You think that you (yourself) met him.
 Semi-direct: Tu penses que tu l'**ai rencontré**.
 b. Transitive verb in reported speech (with ergative)
 nô = $\gamma\theta$ [ŋô = $\gamma\theta$ nəjê
 2SG = ERG 1SG = ERG 2SG.LOGO
 k-u-rd-úŋ] = pa rə-nts^hâ-n
 PST-INV-meet₂-1SG = NMLS NPST-think-2
 You think that I met you.
 Semi-direct: Tu penses que je t'**a rencontré**.

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

The second phenomenon. Passage from the old system to the new system. The youngest speaker recorded is 34 years old for the old system, and the oldest speaker found for the new system is 29 years old. And they are sisters, and they will never use the other system.

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

- ▶ Two systems

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

- └ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

- Two systems

The second phenomenon. Passage from the old system to the new system. The youngest speaker recorded is 34 years old for the old system, and the oldest speaker found for the new system is 29 years old. And they are sisters, and they will never use the other system.

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

- ▶ Two systems
 - ▶ The Old System (youngest speaker found: 34 years old)
 - ▶ The New System (oldest speaker found: 29 years old)

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

The second phenomenon. Passage from the old system to the new system. The youngest speaker recorded is 34 years old for the old system, and the oldest speaker found for the new system is 29 years old. And they are sisters, and they will never use the other system.

- ▶ Two systems
 - The Old System (youngest speaker found: 34 years old)
 - The New System (oldest speaker found: 29 years old)

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

In the old system, the pronoun used is always from the current speakers perspective, but the indexation is always from the original speaker's perspective. While in the new system, the pronoun used is the same, always from the current speakers perspective, but the indexation of the verb is sometimes from the current speaker's perspective, sometimes from the original speaker's perspective.

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

► The Old System

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

• The Old System

In the old system, the pronoun used is always from the current speakers perspective, but the indexation is always from the original speaker's perspective. While in the new system, the pronoun used is the same, always from the current speakers perspective, but the indexation of the verb is sometimes from the current speaker's perspective, sometimes from the original speaker's perspective.

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

- ▶ The Old System
 - ▶ The pronoun used: Current speaker's perspective

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

- The Old System
 - The pronoun used: Current speaker's perspective

In the old system, the pronoun used is always from the current speakers perspective, but the indexation is always from the original speaker's perspective. While in the new system, the pronoun used is the same, always from the current speakers perspective, but the indexation of the verb is sometimes from the current speaker's perspective, sometimes from the original speaker's perspective.

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

▶ The Old System

- ▶ The pronoun used: Current speaker's perspective
- ▶ Indexation: Original speaker's perspective

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

- The Old System
 - The pronoun used: Current speaker's perspective
 - Indexation: Original speaker's perspective

In the old system, the pronoun used is always from the current speaker's perspective, but the indexation is always from the original speaker's perspective. While in the new system, the pronoun used is the same, always from the current speaker's perspective, but the indexation of the verb is sometimes from the current speaker's perspective, sometimes from the original speaker's perspective.

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

- ▶ The Old System
 - ▶ The pronoun used: Current speaker's perspective
 - ▶ Indexation: Original speaker's perspective
- ▶ The New System

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

In the old system, the pronoun used is always from the current speakers perspective, but the indexation is always from the original speaker's perspective. While in the new system, the pronoun used is the same, always from the current speakers perspective, but the indexation of the verb is sometimes from the current speaker's perspective, sometimes from the original speaker's perspective.

- The Old System
 - The pronoun used: Current speaker's perspective
 - Indexation: Original speaker's perspective
- The New System

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

- ▶ The Old System
 - ▶ The pronoun used: Current speaker's perspective
 - ▶ Indexation: Original speaker's perspective
- ▶ The New System
 - ▶ The pronoun used: Current speaker's perspective

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

In the old system, the pronoun used is always from the current speakers perspective, but the indexation is always from the original speaker's perspective. While in the new system, the pronoun used is the same, always from the current speakers perspective, but the indexation of the verb is sometimes from the current speaker's perspective, sometimes from the original speaker's perspective.

- The Old System
 - The pronoun used: Current speaker's perspective
 - Indexation: Original speaker's perspective
- The New System
 - The pronoun used: Current speaker's perspective

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

- ▶ The Old System
 - ▶ The pronoun used: Current speaker's perspective
 - ▶ Indexation: Original speaker's perspective
- ▶ The New System
 - ▶ The pronoun used: Current speaker's perspective
 - ▶ Indexation: Sometimes current speaker, sometimes original speaker

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

In the old system, the pronoun used is always from the current speakers perspective, but the indexation is always from the original speaker's perspective. While in the new system, the pronoun used is the same, always from the current speakers perspective, but the indexation of the verb is sometimes from the current speaker's perspective, sometimes from the original speaker's perspective.

- The Old System
 - The pronoun used: Current speaker's perspective
 - Indexation: Original speaker's perspective
- The New System
 - The pronoun used: Current speaker's perspective
 - Indexation: Sometimes current speaker, sometimes original speaker

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

(13) Both Old and New Systems

nû [nəjê ætê kə-**rd-úŋ**] = *pa*
 2SG 2SG.LOGO 3SG PST-meet₂-1SG = NMLS
rə-nts^hê-n
 NPST-think-2

You think that you (yourself) met him.
 Semi-direct: Tu penses que tu l'**ai rencontré**.

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

↳ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

Let's first look at some examples. *nû* [nəjê ætê kə-**rd-úŋ**] = *pa* *rə-nts^hê-n*. You think that yourself met him. This sentence is valid for both systems, with the pronoun in the reported speech, from the current speaker's perspective, second person singular, and the verb, to meet, indexes first person, which is from the original speaker's perspective. So it's like in French, you say, tu penses que tu l'ai rencontré.

(13) Both Old and New Systems

nû [nəjê ætê kə-**rd-úŋ**] = *pa*
 2SG 2SG.LOGO 3SG PST-meet₂-1SG = NMLS
rə-nts^hê-n
 NPST-think-2

You think that you (yourself) met him.
 Semi-direct: Tu penses que tu l'**ai rencontré**.

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

(14) a. Old System

$c\hat{\alpha} = \gamma\alpha$ [$\eta\hat{o} = \gamma\alpha$ $n\hat{u}$ $k-u-rd\hat{u}$] = pa
 3SG = ERG 1SG = ERG 2SG PST-meet₂ = NMLS

$r\alpha-nts^{h\hat{\alpha}}$

NPST-think

He thinks that I met you.

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

b. New System

$c\hat{\alpha} = \gamma\alpha$ [$\eta\hat{o} = \gamma\alpha$ $n\hat{u}$ $k-u-rd\hat{u}-n$] = pa
 3SG = ERG 1SG = ERG 2SG PST-meet₂₋₂ = NMLS

$r\alpha-nts^{h\hat{\alpha}}$

NPST-think

He thinks that I met you.

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

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

Now let's enjoy the differences between the two systems. 14a is the old system, the verb does not have any person ending, and the pronoun, first person singular, takes ergative marking, because it's interpreted as third person, regardless of its first person face, the second person here, is also a third person de facto. $c\hat{\alpha} = \gamma\alpha$ [$\eta\hat{o} = \gamma\alpha$ $n\hat{u}$ $k-u-rd\hat{u}$] = pa $r\alpha-nts^{h\hat{\alpha}}$, He thinks that I met you. 14b is from the new system. The verb now indexes the second person, that is, the P of the reported speech. So the second person is an actual second person, while the A, appearing as first person, is still a third person from the point of view of indexation. $c\hat{\alpha} = \gamma\alpha$ [$\eta\hat{o} = \gamma\alpha$ $n\hat{u}$ $k-u-rd\hat{u}-n$] = pa $r\alpha-nts^{h\hat{\alpha}}$, the meaning is still he thinks that I met you, but the one in the new system is different from the one in the old system.

(14) a. Old System
 $c\hat{\alpha} = \gamma\alpha$ [$\eta\hat{o} = \gamma\alpha$ $n\hat{u}$ $k-u-rd\hat{u}$] = pa
 3SG = ERG 1SG = ERG 2SG PST-meet₂ = NMLS
 $r\alpha-nts^{h\hat{\alpha}}$
 NPST-think
 He thinks that I met you.
 Semi-direct: Il pense que je t'**a rencontré**.

b. New System
 $c\hat{\alpha} = \gamma\alpha$ [$\eta\hat{o} = \gamma\alpha$ $n\hat{u}$ $k-u-rd\hat{u}-n$] = pa
 3SG = ERG 1SG = ERG 2SG PST-meet₂₋₂ = NMLS
 $r\alpha-nts^{h\hat{\alpha}}$
 NPST-think
 He thinks that I met you.
 Semi-direct: Il pense que je t'**a rencontré**.

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

		Old system			New system		
		S	A	P	S	A	P
Intransitive OS = 2nd	2[1]	OS			CS		
	2[2]	OS			OS		
	2[3]	Either			Either		
Intransitive OS = 3rd	3[1]	OS			CS		
	3[2]	OS			CS		
	3[3]	OS			OS		
Transitive OS = 2nd	2[1→2]		OS	OS		OS	CS
	2[2→1]		OS	OS		CS	CS
	2[2→3]		OS	Either		OS	Either
	2[3→2]		Either	OS		Either	OS
	2[1→3]		OS	Either		CS	Either
	2[3→1]		Either	OS		Either	CS
Transitive OS = 3rd	3[1→2]		OS	OS		OS	CS
	3[2→1]		OS	OS		OS	CS
	3[1→3 _{logo}]		OS	OS		CS	CS
	3[3 _{logo} →1]		OS	OS		CS	CS
	3[2→3 _{logo}]		OS	OS		CS	OS
	3[3 _{logo} →2]		OS	OS		OS	CS
	3[3→3 _{logo}]		OS	Either		OS	Either
	3[3 _{logo} →3]		Either	OS		Either	OS

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

		Old system			New system		
		S	A	P	S	A	P
Intransitive OS = 2nd	2[1]	OS			CS		
	2[2]	OS			OS		
	2[3]	Either			Either		
Intransitive OS = 3rd	3[1]	OS			CS		
	3[2]	OS			CS		
	3[3]	OS			OS		
Transitive OS = 2nd	2[1→2]		OS	OS		OS	CS
	2[2→1]		OS	OS		CS	CS
	2[2→3]		OS	Either		OS	Either
	2[3→2]		Either	OS		Either	OS
	2[1→3]		OS	Either		CS	Either
	2[3→1]		Either	OS		Either	CS
Transitive OS = 3rd	3[1→2]		OS	OS		OS	CS
	3[2→1]		OS	OS		OS	CS
	3[1→3 _{logo}]		OS	OS		CS	CS
	3[3 _{logo} →1]		OS	OS		CS	CS
	3[2→3 _{logo}]		OS	OS		CS	OS
	3[3 _{logo} →2]		OS	OS		OS	CS
	3[3→3 _{logo}]		OS	Either		OS	Either
	3[3 _{logo} →3]		Either	OS		Either	OS

This table summarises all the different constructions between the two systems. The old system has almost always OS, but in a lot of cases, in the new system, OS changed into CS, in red. The yellow backgrounded cells means these constructions are not a semidirect speech, and the blue one allows double interpretation. The table is too complicated, we are not going to go into the detail.

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

What I want to show you is how you pass from the old system to the new system. First, when there is one or more higher ranking arguments in the speech report than the original speaker, it means that this sentence is different in the new system. If there are two SAP arguments in the speech report, the indexation of the P will be shifted to the current speaker's perspective. Otherwise, if there is one SAP, and one non-SAP, the indexation of the higher-ranking argument will be presented from the current speaker's perspective.

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

- ▶ How to pass from the Old System to the New System?

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

• How to pass from the Old System to the New System?

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

What I want to show you is how you pass from the old system to the new system. First, when there is one or more higher ranking arguments in the speech report than the original speaker, it means that this sentence is different in the new system. If there are two SAP arguments in the speech report, the indexation of the P will be shifted to the current speaker's perspective. Otherwise, if there is one SAP, and one non-SAP, the indexation of the higher-ranking argument will be presented from the current speaker's perspective.

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

- ▶ How to pass from the Old System to the New System?
 - ▶ Existence of **one or more higher-ranking argument(s)** in the speech report than the OS

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

- How to pass from the Old System to the New System?
 - Existence of **one or more higher-ranking argument(s)** in the speech report than the OS

What I want to show you is how you pass from the old system to the new system. First, when there is one or more higher ranking arguments in the speech report than the original speaker, it means that this sentence is different in the new system. If there are two SAP arguments in the speech report, the indexation of the P will be shifted to the current speaker's perspective. Otherwise, if there is one SAP, and one non-SAP, the indexation of the higher-ranking argument will be presented from the current speaker's perspective.

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

- ▶ How to pass from the Old System to the New System?
 - ▶ Existence of **one or more higher-ranking argument(s)** in the speech report than the OS
 - ▶ If there are two SAP arguments in the speech report, the indexation of the **P** will be shifted to the **CS**'s perspective

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

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 - Existence of **one or more higher-ranking argument(s)** in the speech report than the OS
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What I want to show you is how you pass from the old system to the new system. First, when there is one or more higher ranking arguments in the speech report than the original speaker, it means that this sentence is different in the new system. If there are two SAP arguments in the speech report, the indexation of the P will be shifted to the current speaker's perspective. Otherwise, if there is one SAP, and one non-SAP, the indexation of the higher-ranking argument will be presented from the current speaker's perspective.

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

2018-09-03

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

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 - Existence of **one or more higher-ranking argument(s)** in the speech report than the OS
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Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

(15) Old System

$n\hat{u} = y\hat{\vartheta}$ [$\eta\hat{\vartheta} = y\hat{\vartheta}$ $\text{\textit{æt}\hat{\vartheta} k-u-rd\hat{u}}$] = pa
2SG = ERG 1SG = ERG 3SG PST-INV-meet₂ = NMLS
 $r\hat{\vartheta}$ -nts^h $\hat{\vartheta}$ -n
NPST-think-2

You think that I met him.

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

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

For example, here is a sentence from the old system. $n\hat{u} = y\hat{\vartheta}$ [$\eta\hat{\vartheta} = y\hat{\vartheta}$ $\text{\textit{æt}\hat{\vartheta} k-u-rd\hat{u}}$] = pa $r\hat{\vartheta}$ -nts^h $\hat{\vartheta}$ -n, You think that I met him. There is a higher ranking argument than the OS in the speech report, first person, higher than the OS, which is second person. So, it is subject to change. And in the speech report, there is one SAP, one non-SAP, in this case, that higher argument is to be indexed from the current speaker's perspective, that is, the first person's perspective.

(15) Old System
 $n\hat{u} = y\hat{\vartheta}$ [$\eta\hat{\vartheta} = y\hat{\vartheta}$ $\text{\textit{æt}\hat{\vartheta} k-u-rd\hat{u}}$] = pa
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Semi-direct: Il pense que je l'a **rencontré**.

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

(15) Old System

$n\hat{u} = y\hat{\theta}$ [$\eta\hat{\theta} = y\hat{\theta}$ $\text{\textit{\ae t\hat{\theta} k-u-rd\hat{u}}}] = pa$
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r\text{\textit{\ae}}-nts^{h\hat{\theta}}}-n
 NPST-think-2

You think that I met him.

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

- ▶ Existence of a higher ranking argument than the OS in the speech report ($\eta\hat{\theta}$ '1SG' > $n\hat{u}$ '2SG')
- ▶ Therefore, this is subject to change in the New System.
- ▶ The higher argument is to be indexed from the CS' ($\eta\hat{\theta}$ '1SG') perspective.

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

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For example, here is a sentence from the old system. $n\hat{u} = y\hat{\theta}$ [$\eta\hat{\theta} = y\hat{\theta}$ $\text{\textit{\ae t\hat{\theta} k-u-rd\hat{u}}}] = pa$ *r\text{\textit{\ae}}-nts^{h\hat{\theta}}}-n*, You think that I met him. There is a higher ranking argument than the OS in the speech report, first person, higher than the OS, which is second person. So, it is subject to change. And in the speech report, there is one SAP, one non-SAP, in this case, that higher argument is to be indexed from the current speaker's perspective, that is, the first person's perspective.

Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

(16) New System

$nû = \gamma\partial$ [ɲô ætê kə-*rd-úŋ*] = pa
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rə-nts^{hê}-n
 NPST-think-2

You think that I met him.

Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

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└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

Now we can transform it to the new system. $nû = \gamma\partial$ [ɲô ætê kə-*rd-úŋ*] = pa *rə-nts^{hê}-n*. The higher argument in the speech report is indexed, so the verb takes first person ending. But, this is no longer a semi-direct speech. It's an indirect speech now. You simply can't say this sentence with a semi direct speech in the new system. While the old system presents a whole set of semi-direct speech, the new system is unable to produce certain ones in semi-direct speech, because of the change triggered by the empathy hierarchy.

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rə-nts^{hê}-n
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Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

(16) New System

$nû = \gamma\text{ə}$ [ŋô ætê kə-*rd-úŋ*] = pa
 2SG = ERG 1SG 3SG PST-meet₂-1SG = NMLS
rə-nts^hê-n
 NPST-think-2

You think that I met him.

- ▶ In the New System, it is no longer a semi-direct speech!

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

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Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

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Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

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$nû = \gamma\text{ə} \quad [\eta\hat{o} \text{æt}\hat{\text{ə}} \text{kə-}rd\text{-}\acute{o}\eta] = pa$
 2SG = ERG 1SG 3SG PST-meet₂-1SG = NMLS
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You think that I met him.

- ▶ In the New System, it is no longer a semi-direct speech!
- ▶ While the Old System presents a whole set of semi-direct speech, the New System is unable to produce certain ones in semi-direct speech..
- ▶ Because of the change triggered by the empathy hierarchy.

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Semi-direct speech: from Old to New System

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You think that I met him.

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- While the Old System presents a whole set of semi-direct speech, the New System is unable to produce certain ones in semi-direct speech..
- Because of the change triggered by the empathy hierarchy.

└ Conclusion

Empathy hierarchy is reflected in Khroskyabs in at least five ways. The choice of non-singular pronouns, obviously, basic argument indexation, argument indexation of tetra-valent verbs, unexpected ergative marking in semi-direct speech, and the evolution of semi-direct speech. In conclusion, empathy hierarchy is not just a relic of the proto-language. It helps the speaker to decide argument indexation in rarer constructions, such as constructions with tetravalent verbs. And it even participates in recent language change, giving birth to a new reported speech system and also to indirect speech. I was so surprised to see how active the empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs is, so I was eager to share this much to all of you.

Conclusion

- ▶ Empathy hierarchy is reflected in Khroskyabs in at least five ways

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

Conclusion

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Conclusion

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 - ▶ The choice of non-singular pronouns
 - ▶ Basic argument indexation

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Conclusion

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Conclusion

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 - ▶ The choice of non-singular pronouns
 - ▶ Basic argument indexation
 - ▶ Argument indexation of tetra-valent verbs

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

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Conclusion

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Conclusion

- ▶ Empathy hierarchy is reflected in Khroskyabs in at least five ways
 - ▶ The choice of non-singular pronouns
 - ▶ Basic argument indexation
 - ▶ Argument indexation of tetra-valent verbs
 - ▶ Unexpected ergative marking in semi-direct speech

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Empathy hierarchy in Khroskyabs

└ Conclusion

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