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ESTUDIO GRAMATICAL Y SEMÁNTICO DE LA DITRANSITIVIDAD EN EL QUECHUA DE ANCASH

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Esta investigación se desarrolló en el marco de estudios de PhD. en Lingüística en la Universidad de Texas (EEUU), el cual ha sido arbitrado por el PhD. John Beavers de la Universidad de Texas y el PhD. Lev Michael de la Universidad de Berkeley, California.

Resumen

El presente artículo trata sobre la ditransitividad con construcciones de doble objeto desde las perspectivas gramatical y semántica en el Quechua de Ancash. El propósito de nuestra investigación fue describir y analizar las características y distinciones morfosintácticas y semánticas de las construcciones con doble objeto (OBJ_1 y OBJ_2) marcados con el sufijo acusativo *–ta*. Gramaticalmente, no existe distinción entre los dos objetos porque ambos llevan el mismo sufijo acusativo–*ta*, y ellos presentan diferentes estructuras en formas pasivas y cuando ellos permutan el orden de palabras. Semánticamente, los verbos ditransitivos (verbos monomorfémicos o verbos básicos y verbos derivados con el sufijo causativo *-tsi*) involucran a ambos participantes el recipiente (R) y el tema (T), además del agente (A). Estos participantes (R y T) que corresponden a argumentos nucleares de objeto directo (OD) y objeto indirecto (OI) pueden ser distinguidos semánticamente asociando con orden de palabras y focalización. Por lo tanto, en este artículo, se demuestra que el orden de palabras y la focalización permiten hacer la distinción entre paciente/tema y recipiente/beneficiario en las construcciones de doble objeto marcados del mismo modo con el sufijo acusativo *–ta* en el Quechua de Ancash.
Palabras claves: Ditransitividad, doble objeto, pasivización, concordancia, orden de palabras y focalización.

Grammatical and Semantic Study of Ditransitivity in Ancash Quechua

Abstract

This paper treats ditransitivity with double object constructions in Ancash Quechua from grammatical and semantic views. The goal of this research was to present morphosyntactic and semantic properties and distinction of ditransitivity constructions with double object (OBJ_1 and OBJ_2) marked by the same accusative suffix *–ta*. Grammatically, there is no distinction between two objects because both carry the same accusative suffix *–ta*, and they present different structures in passivized forms and when they permute word order. Semantically, ditransitive verbs (monomorphemic or basic verbs and derived verbs with causative suffix *-tsi*) imply both a Recipient (R) and the Theme (T) participant, in addition to Agent (A). These participants (R and T) that correspond to core arguments of direct object (DO) and indirect object (IO) can be distinguished semantically associated with word order and focus. Thus, in this paper, I demonstrate that word order and focus permit to distinguish between patient/theme and recipient/beneficiary in double object constructions marked by the same case suffix *–ta* in Ancash Quechua.
Key words: Ditransitivity, double object, passivization, agreement, word order, focus.

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Introduction

This paper presents an analysis of ditransitivity in Ancash Quechua, which is spoken in the north-central Peruvian Andes, focusing on morpho-syntactic and semantic properties. In Ancash Quechua there are two kinds of ditransitive verbs: basic or monomorphemic ditransitives and derived ditransitives formed by adding the causative suffix *–tsi*. These verbs allow double object constructions (OBJ_1 and OBJ_2), traditionally identify as direct object (DO) and indirect object (IO). However, there is no evidence for that distinction. Thus, morphologically and syntactically, there is no distinction between two objects because both carry the same accusative case suffix *–ta*. Semantically, ditransitive verbs imply both a Recipient (R) and a Theme (T) participant, in addition to an Agent (A). While there is no morphological distinction between two objects (OBJ_1 and OBJ_2), R and T arguments can be distinguished semantically. Thus, the distinction between R and T in Ancash Quechua is semantic and it is associated with word order and focus.

There are only a few studies about ditransitivity in Quechua. Thus, there are not any studies specifically about the grammatical and semantic views of ditransitivity in Ancash Quechua. In general, this topic is only briefly mentioned in Cerrón-Palomino's *Lingüística Quechua* (2003) and Adelaar and Muysken's *The Language of the Andes* (2004). The most detailed description of the ditransitivity in Quechua is presented by Dieter Wunderlich and Renate Lakämper (2001) in their paper "On the interaction of structural and semantic case". In order to address this gap, the present study of Ancash Quechua has two main goals: (1) to present a morpho-syntactic and semantic description and analysis of ditransitivity, and (2) to provide information for contrastive studies with other Quechuan varieties. It is needless to say that much more research is necessary to substantiate our claims about ditrantivity distinction from grammatical and semantic views in Ancash Quechua which like to be a particular modern Quechua language. However, I feel that I have contributed an interesting starting point to those investigations.

Materials and methods

In this paper, I present data that I, as a native speaker of Ancash Quechua, have produced myself. This data has been complemented with data from fieldwork that I carried out on local variation in Ancash Quechua during the summers of 2006 and 2007 in the communities of Coyllur (Huaraz), Ichik Llacta (Huaylas), Santa Cruz de Mosna (Huari), and Dos de Mayo de Timac (Aija). Also, this data has been contrasted with the short and punctual elicitation to Ancash Quechua speakers during process of this work, and this data has been complemented with *Gramática Quechua Ancash-Huaylas* (Parker 1976), the *Lingüística Quechua* (Cerrón-Palomino 1987), *Una Gramática del Quechua de Huallaga-Huánuco (Weber 1996)*, and *The Language in the Andes* (Adelaar and Muysken 2004).

In this research, I have used basically qualitative method which is common in descriptive linguisitcs. The first form of data collection has been a survey of monolingual and bilingual communities in the Huaylas Valley, Conchucos zone, and the Slopes regarding the use of Quechua. Judgments of Quechua use have been obtained from my own experience as a native Quechua speaker and researcher in Ancash Quechua. In each community I have employed direct elicitation, recording of stories and natural speech texts, and sociolinguistic interviews. The direct elicitation mainly involves asking Quechua speakers to translate Spanish words and ditransitive sentences into Quechua and to pronounce words carefully one at a time. All these elicitation sessions were audio-recorded. Telling stories and natural speech texts have provided complementary insight into natural discourse and grammatical constructions. The sociolinguistic interviews involved open questions about people's perceptions of their language, culture, loyalty, identity, language contact, purity of language, monolingualism, and bilingualism. Finally, all these sessions were complemented by observation and for that I have used field notes.

Participants for this project were adult and residents in the rural and semirural Quechua communities of the Huaylas Valley (Coyllur in Huaraz and Ichik Llacta in Huaylas), Conchucos zone (Santa Cruz de Mosna, Huari), and the Slopes (Dos de mayo de Timac, Aija). I anticipated that I will recruit fifteen people in each community, for a total of 60 people. I worked with a mixture of both male and female participants, between 20 and 90 years in age. Participants were monolingual Quechua speakers and bilinguals with predominant use of Quechua in daily communication. The materials collected have been digitized, transcribed and translated into Spanish. Some of them have been selected for more detailed description and analysis in this paper.

Results

Before beginning with the analysis of ditransitive verbs in Ancash Quechua, it is important to briefly review the concept of 'transitivity 'in order to understand the general behavior of Ancash Quechua verbs. According to Hopper and Thompson (1980: 251) transitivity is traditionally understood as a global property of an entire clause, such that an activity is 'carried-over' or 'transferred' from an agent to a patient. Transitivity, on this traditional view, necessarily involves at least two participants (agent and patient), and an action that is typically EFFECTIVE in some way. Næss (2003) defines transitivity as a type of grammatical relationship encoding the distinctness of participants in a situation described by the clause. It applies at the same time to a certain syntactic configuration in a given language ('syntactic transitivity'), and to a cluster of semantic properties ('semantic transitivity') typically found to correlate with this syntactic configuration. The correspondence

between semantic transitivity and syntactic transitivity is not straightforward.

Ditransitive construction is defined semantically as a construction with a recipient (R) and a theme argument, where these semantic role labels are understood broadly. In Ancash Quechua there are two kinds of ditransitive verbs: (1) Monomorphemic or basic ditransitive verbs which are conformed by a small group of verbs, such as: *qu* 'give', *apa* 'carry', *kacha* 'send', *willa* 'tell', *ni* 'say', *tap-* 'ask', *makya* 'pass', *maña* 'ask, order', *rima* 'talk', *piñapa* 'accuse', *pusha* 'guide, drive, ride', *qara* 'feed', and *qaya* call'. (2) Derived ditransitive verbs, which are obtained by adding the causative suffix *–tsi* to the root of a basic transitive verb: *miku* 'A eats B' > *miku-tsi* 'A makes C eat B'.

(1) a. Mally kashki-ta miku-n
Mary.NOM soup-ACC eat-3S
'Mary eats soup.'

b. Mally Luwis-ta kashki-ta miku-**tsi**-n
Mary.NOM Louis-ACC soup-ACC eat-CAU-3S
'Mary makes Louis eat soup.'

In the sentence (1a), *miku* 'eat' is a transitive verb which requires two arguments, a subject and on object (with agent and patient semantic roles). If we add the causative suffix *–tsi* (1b), this verb becomes a derived ditransitive verb, which requires three core arguments, a subject, a direct object, and an indirect object (with agent, patient, and recipient/beneficiary semantic roles). In this case, *Mally* 'Mary' is an agent, *kashkita* 'soup' is a patient, and *Luwista* 'Louis' is a patient causer. The suffix *–tsi* is a universal transitivizer in Ancash Quechua. Thus, intransitive verb (monovalent) can be made transitive verbs (bivalent): *wamra punun* 'A child sleeps.' > *warmi wamrata punu**tsi**n* 'A woman makes the child sleep.'; and transitive verbs (bivalent) can be made ditransitive verbs (trivalent): *Mally papata mikun* 'Mary eats the potato.' > *Mallka Mallita papata miku**tsi**n* 'Margaret makes Mary eat the potato.'.

As we can see, grammatically, ditransitive verbs allow three core arguments: a subject, a direct object and an indirect object. The arguments of ditransitive verbs express semantic concepts that are generally associated with Agent, Beneficiary/Recipient and Theme/Patient. Ditransitive verbs are also called as 'two-object' verbs or 'trivalent' verbs because they affect more than one object. These verbs, in addition to a subject, require two objects, which have different grammatical functions: the direct object (DO) and indirect object (IO). In Ancash Quechua, two distinct objects (OBJ_1 and OBJ_2) can be identified corresponding to the two non-agentive participants.

(2) Luwis Malli-ta$_{OBJ1}$ kashki-ta$_{OBJ2}$ qu-n
Louis.NOM Mary-ACC soup-ACC give-3S
'Louis gives soup to Mary.'
'Louis gives Mary soup.'

In the sentences (2), the theme (OBJ_2) of the verb is *kashkita* 'soup' and this is transferred to a recipient (*Mally*). On the other hand, *Mallita* 'Mary' is the beneficiary of the action (OBJ_1) of the verb *qu-* 'give'. Thus, a ditransitive construction is defined semantically as 'a construction with a recipient (R) and a theme (T) argument', where these semantic role labels are understood broadly. In this sense, Malchukov, Haspelmath, and Comrie (2007) defines "conceptual ditransitive" as a predicate that conceptually implies both a Recipient (R) and a Theme (T) participant, in addition to an Agent (A).

In Ancash Quechua, the two object constructions appear marked with the same accusative case suffix *-ta*. In this language, the suffix *-ta* formally marks OBJ_1 (beneficiary/recipient), and OBJ_2 (patient/theme), and even OBJ_3 (goal). Thus, the semantic non-Agent participants carry the same grammatical marker *–ta* (3a, b). We have neither morphological nor syntactical evidences for distinguishing those object constructions as direct object (DO) and indirect object (IO).

(3) a. Mañu Mally-**ta** asikuy-**ta** willa-n
Manuel.NOM Mary-ACC joke-ACC tell-3S
'Manuel tells the joke to Mary.'

b. Mañu Lima-**ta** Mally-**ta** qipi-**ta** apa-tsi-n
Manuel.NOM Lima-ACC Mary-ACC package-ACC send-CAU-3S
'Manuel sends Mary a package to Lima.

As we can see in (3a, b), the suffix *–ta* marks the arguments of patient/theme (*asikuyta* 'joke', *qipita* 'package'), recipient/beneficiary (*Mallyta* 'Mary / to Mary'), and goal of location (*Limata* 'to Lima'). In summary, in Ancash Quechua the semantic roles of non-agent participants have the same marker *–ta*, and consequently there is no morphosyntactic distinction between them.

Discussion

It is important to mention that the distinction between different grammatical functions of construction of objects with *–ta* is clear for Quechua native speakers due to their semantic competence. That is not the case for non-native speakers. Then, a general question arises: How can we identify which grammatical function has the object construction with *–ta*? In this section, we discuss and try to answer that question.

In Ancash Quechua there is ambiguity in ditransitive sentences. The ambiguity arises when the two objects have different grammatical functions, but they appear marked by the same suffix *–ta*. Thus, in ditransitive constructions (OBJ_1 + OBJ_2), it is not clear which one is direct object and which other is indirect object. Since Ancash Quechua does not morphologically and syntactically distinguish different grammatical functions of object constructions, in the following, we present some criterions for distinguishing between OBJ_1 and OBJ_2.

The first criterion for indentifying the grammatical function of object constructions with the same marker *–ta* is the passivization of active sentences. Passive applies to an underlying transitive/ditransitive clause and forms a derived transitive/ditrantitive. In passivized sentences, in general, the underlying object (O) becomes subject (S) of the passive; the underlying A argument goes into a peripheral function, being marked by a non-core case, adposition, etc.; this argument can be omitted, although there is always the option of including it. However, in passivization forms, there are no distinction of grammatical functions of both objects.

The second criterion for distinguishing grammatical functions of double objects is the agreement. In Ancash Quechua is a double marking language where subject and object appear also marked by inflection on the verb (Julca-Guerrero 2008).

(4) a. Rawul nuqa-ta qu-ma-rqa-n
Raul.NOM me-ACC give-1O-PST-3S
'Raul gives me (something).'

b. Tayta-a awilu-u-ta nuqa-ta qu-ma-rqa-n
father-1Poss grand-father-1Poss-ACC 1-ACC give-1O-PST-3S
'My father gave me to my grand-father.'

In the sentence (4a), both participants agent and recipient appear marked on the verb. The suffix *–n* marks the Agent Rawul 'Raul', and the suffix *–ma* marks the object *nuqata* 'me' which is the recipient. In the same way in the sentence (4b), the suffix *–ma* marks the object *nuqata* 'me', but in this sentence, this suffix *–ma* is the theme which is transferred from the Agent *taytaa* 'my father' to the recipient/beneficiary *awiluuta* 'my grand-father'. Consequently, the agreement does not clarify in strict sense the grammatical functions of the two objects. As we have seen both theme and recipient participants appear marked by the same suffix *–ma* on the verb. Therefore, agreement does not present morphosyntactic consequences for determining grammatical functions of multiple objects marked by *–ta* in the NPs outside of the predicate.

The third, and the most important criterion, is word order and focus. Quechua grammarians, such as Torero (1974), Parker (1976), and Cerrón-Palomino (1987) assume that the basic order of objects is IO + DO, and consequently the order of ditransitive sentences is S (IO + DO) V. This means that in ditransitive constructions OBJ_1 which is indirect object precedes OBJ_2 which is direct object. I consider that in Ancash Quechua, ditransitive sentence has two structures where objects are formed by nominal phrases (NP) or nouns (N). For this reason in the following OBJ_1 will be represented as NP_1 and OBJ_2 as NP_2.

(1) No focus : S NP_1 NP_2 V
(2) Focus of theme: S NP_2 NP_1 V

The ambiguity of ditransitive sentences occurs when in the superficial representation the first object (NP) is focused; this object can be either recipient or theme participant. The context of communication is very important for determining if the order is OBJ1 + OB2 or OBJ2 + OBJ1. Then, the focus position takes for an object determines the cases of double interpretation. In this sense, we can identify that there are three positions for objects.

First, when there is no focused object, the order is S NP_1 NP_2 V, where the NP_1 is the recipient and the NP_2 is the theme as in (5).

(5) a. Mally **mama-n-ta** wawa-n-ta qu-n
Mary.NOM mother-3Poss-ACC daughter-3Poss ACC give-3S
'Mary gives her daughter to her mother.'

b. Mally **allqu-ta** kashki-ta upu-tsi-n
Mary.NOM dog-ACC soup-ACC eat-CAU-3S
'Mary makes the dog eat soup.'

In (5a, b) the objects (NPs) *mamanta* 'her mother' and *allquta* 'dog' appear in the first position and they are not focused. These objects have the order NP1, and consequently they have recipient semantic role. The objects (NPs) *wawanta* 'her daughter' and *kashkita* 'soup' appear in the second position NP2, and then they have the theme/patient semantic role. We summarize the no focus order in the following formula:

$$\underset{A}{NPo}\ \underset{Ofoc}{___}\ \underset{R}{NP1}\ \underset{T}{NP2}\ V = NPo(A)\ NP1(R)\ NP2(T)\ V$$

Second, when the focused object is a theme, the order is S $NP2_{(T)}$ $NP1_{(R)}$ V, obviously, in this case the theme takes position of focus (NP1) which precedes to the recipient (NP2). Consider the examples (5a, b), but different order of objects in order to focus the theme.

(6) a. Mally **wawa-n-ta** mama-n-ta qu-n
Mary.NOM daughter-3Poss-ACC mother-3Poss-ACC give-3S
'Mary gives her mother to her daughter.'

b. Mally **kashki-ta** allqu-ta upu-tsi-n
Mary.NOM soup-ACC dog-ACC eat-CAU-3S
'Mary makes soup eat the dog.'

In (6a) the theme *wawanta* 'her daughter is focused, for that reason it has been moved from NP2 position to focus position. Consequently, the syntactic structure of resultant ditransitive sentence (6a) is different than (5a). Of course, the meaning of the sentence is also completely different. In the case of (6b) the theme *kashkita* 'soup' appears focused for that reason it has been moved from NP2 position to focus position. In this case, although the resulting sentence is grammatical, this has an unexpected an illogical reading because the dog usually eat soup, but soup never eats the dog or something. We summarize the focus order in the following formula:

$$\underset{A}{NPo}\ \underset{Ofoc}{\overset{\downarrow}{Np2}}\ \underset{R}{NP1}\ \underset{T}{___}\ V = NPo(A)\ NP2(T_{foc})\ NP1(R)\ V$$

Third, in the first and second cases the syntactic structures are different, but the surface structures both like similar because both objects carry the same mark *–ta*, and does not possible identify what syntactic function has each object. Then, the third position of objects is NP_x NP-ta $_B$ NP-ta $_C$ V. Thus, in the surface representation we do not know which syntactic function has NPB and NPC because both carry the same suffix *–ta*. This is the basic reason why distransitive sentences in Ancash Quechua are ambiguous and have more than one interpretation. In contrast, in other Quechuan languages (Ecuadorian and Ayacucho Quechua) that ambiguity does not exist because they use two kind of double object constructions, one marked by *–ta* (DO) and other marked by *–man* (IO).

Conclusions

Morphosyntactically, in Ancash Quechua, the grammatical function of subject and object is indicated by case marking. Subjects are not marked by any postpositional suffix because the nominative is ø case marking. The objects are marked by the accusative suffix *–ta*. There is no formal distinction between direct object and indirect object because both are marked by the same suffix *–ta*. In all cases the ambiguity is present because the ditransitive sentences have two interpretations, and it is not clear which object is recipient/beneficiary and which other is patient/theme, because both appear marked by *–ta* and they can be permutated in the order.

Semantically, word order and focus criterion define which NP has a recipient/beneficiary semantic role and patient/theme semantic role. There are two structures of ditransitive sentences. First, the NP1 which is a recipient/beneficiary takes the first position in no focus cases. The NP2 which is the patient/theme takes the second position preceded by NP1. Second, when speakers for some communicative reason want to focus the theme, this is moved from NP2 position to focus position, which is followed by NP1 (recipient/beneficiary). Therefore, word order and focus permit to distinguish between patient/theme and recipient/beneficiary in double object constructions marked by the same case suffix *–ta*.

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