

***Preposition
reanalyzes and
ditransitive sentences
in Brazilian
Portuguese***

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Introduction

- Diachronic and synchronic studies show **Brazilian Portuguese** (BP) presents different strategies of encoding *Indirect Objects* (IO) in ditransitive sentences (cf. Torres Morais & Salles 2020, Torres Morais & Berlinck 2018).
- In fact, a cross-linguistic perspective allows us to recognize that, in the realm of the Romance languages, BP datives lost their central role in a variety of structures, and in the cliticization of the Indirect Object.
- ❖ In this presentation our *main goal* is to present an analysis of the innovative BP prepositional system through the generalization of the preposition 'para' (to/for) by dispensing with applicative heads in the structural representation of ditransitives.
- ➔ Instead, based on Svenonius (2004, 2007) ideas and Wood (2012), we argue that making use of a p head in the prepositional phrases (pP) can account for the relation between direct objects (DO) and indirect objects (IO) in the context of BP ditransitives (cf. Calindro 2015, 2016, 2020).

PRESENTATION LAYOUT

1. European Portuguese (EP) data \implies modern BP and modern EP share a common historical background.
2. Brazilian Portuguese (BP) data.
3. Preposition Reanalyzes in BP.
4. Theoretical background.
5. Proposal.
6. Recent Developments.
7. Final Remarks.

Modern European Portuguese

- There is strong syntactic and semantic evidence to corroborate the hypothesis that the **Indirect Object** of ditransitive sentences in EP is morphologically expressed with **dative case**.
- As a DP, it is introduced by the **preposition *a***, a **dative Case marker**. As a pronominal form, it is expressed by the **3rd person dative clitic *lhe/lhes***, as in examples (1) to (3) (Torres Morais & Salles 2010, 2016, 2019).
- Observe that the dative argument is never pronominalized by strong pronouns introduced by prepositions. The only possibility is the use of dative clitics.

(1) A Maria enviou uma carta **ao João** / enviou-**lhe** uma carta. ► Verbs of Material Transfer

The Maria sent a letter P_a the João.DAT / sent-3SG.DAT letter.
'Maria sent João/him a letter.'

(2) A Maria atirou a bola **ao João** / atirou-**lhe** a bola. ► Verbs of Movement

The Maria threw the ball P_a the João.DAT / threw-CL.3rd.DAT the ball
'Maria threw João/him the ball'

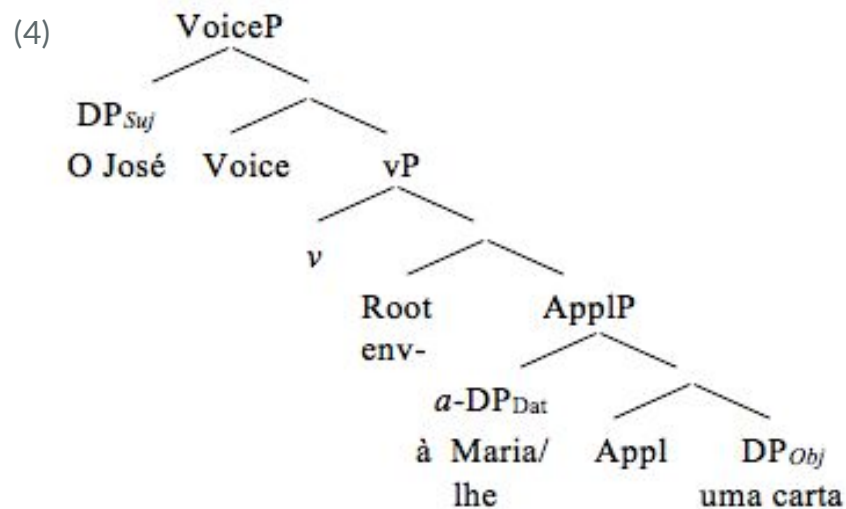
(3) A Maria bateu o bolo **ao João** / bateu-**lhe** o bolo. ► Creation Verbs

The Maria baked the cake P_a the João.DAT / baked-CL.3rd.DAT
'Maria baked João / him a cake'

Modern European Portuguese

→ *Our proposal for EP datives is based on a theory of applicative arguments. So we assume that:*

- Ditransitive constructions with verbs of transference and movement instantiate the so called Double Object Construction (DOC);
- Following Pykkänen (2002, 2008) and Cuervo (2003), the DOC in EP is a low applicative construction (cf. Torres Morais 2007; Torres Morais & Salles 2010, 2016, 2019), as represented in (4).



Torres Morais (2007: 175)

Modern European Portuguese

- By hypothesis, the dative DP is introduced in the specifier of an Appl head and marked with inherent dative case.
- Semantically the construction expresses a dynamic possessive relation between the two arguments, the DO and the IO.
- It is important to consider a well known fact about EP: differently from Spanish, EP is not a canonical clitic doubling language. So, the dative clitic is not the spell-out of the applicative head, as assumed in Cuervo's (2003) analysis for Spanish.
- Instead it is introduced as a proper argument in the specifier position of the applicative head. This analysis accounts for the complementary distribution between the clitic and the lexical DP.

Modern European Portuguese

- it is important to remember that **datives** as applied arguments are very productive in EP, being configurationally expressed in many verbal contexts with several interpretations (e.g. possessor, experiencer, affected) (cf. Cuervo 2003, 2020 for similar facts in Spanish):

(5) A Maria lavou o carro **ao João/ lavou-lhe** o carro.

The Maria washed the car P_a the João.DAT/washed-CL.3rd.DAT the car

➤ Non-Directional Dynamic Verbs (possessor)

(6) A Maria admira o talento **ao João/ admira-lhe** o talento.

The Maria admires the talent P_a the João.DAT/admires-CL.3rd.DAT the talent

➤ Stative Verbs (possessor)

(7) O vinho agradou **aos convidados/ agradou-lhes**.

The wine pleased P_a the guests/ pleased-CL.3rd.DAT

➤ Psychological Verbs (experiencer)

(8) A Maria abriu a porta **aos convidados/ abriu-lhes** a porta.

The Maria opened the door P_a the guests.DAT / opened-CL.3rd.DAT

➤ Causative Verbs (affected)

(9) A porta abriu-se **aos convidados / abriu - se - lhes**.

The door opened - CL.3rd the door P_a the guests.DAT /opened-CL.3rd - CL.3rd.DAT

➤ Inchoative Predicates (affected)

Modern Brazilian Portuguese

- Several historical and quantitative studies have documented that BP displays a number of properties that distinguishes it from EP (Calindro 2015, 2020, Torres Morais & Berlinck 2018):
- ◆ **Preposition a** in BP was reanalyzed as a **lexical element** that co-occurs with **para** (10 and 11), or it was completely substituted by **para**, as in (12).
 - ◆ Additionally, the IO does not alternate with 3rd person datives *lhe/lhes*, which was replaced by **strong pronouns introduced by prepositions**:

(10) Maria enviou uma carta **para/a** **o João / para/a ele.**

Maria sent a letter P_{para(to)/a(to)} the João.OBL / to him.3SG

‘Maria sent a letter to João/to him.’

(11) Maria atirou a bola **para / a** **o João / para/a ele.**

Maria threw the ball P_{para(to)/a(to)} the João.OBL/him.3SG

‘Maria threw the ball to João/to him.’

(12) Maria bateu um bolo **para / *a o João / para / *a ele.**

Maria baked a cake P_{para(to)} the João.OBL / for him.3SG

‘Maria baked a cake for João/for him.’

Modern Brazilian Portuguese

→ Both innovative facts have spread from ditransitives to other verbal contexts:

- (13) a. Maria lavou o carro **para o João / ele.** ▶ Non-Directional Dynamic Verbs
Maria washed the car P_{a(for)} the João / him
- b. Maria lavou o carro **do João / dele.**
Maria washed the car P_{de(of)} the João / his
- (14) Maria admira o talento **do João / dele.** ▶ Stative Verbs
Maria admires the talent P_{de(of)} João / his
- (15) O vinho agradou **os convidados / os / eles.** ▶ Psychological Verbs
The wine pleased the guests.ACC / 3rd.ACC
- (16) Maria abriu a porta **aos/ para os convidados / para / a eles.** ▶ Causative Verbs
Maria opened the door P_{a/para(for)} the guests / them
- (17) A porta (se) abriu **aos/para os convidados / para/ a eles.** ▶ Inchoative Verbs
The door (CL.3rd) opened P_{a/para(for)} the guests / him.

Preposition Reanalyzes

- BP has lost the *functional dative Case marker - preposition a*.
- *Preposition a* was reanalyzed in several contexts:
 - With verbs of transfer/movement, **preposition a** co-occurs with **para**;
 - It was completely replaced by **para** with creation verbs in BP;
 - It was replaced by **de** with stative verbs and non-directional dynamic verb;
 - Experiencer arguments are not dative marked by preposition *a*, they have inherent accusative Case.
- Additionally, BP has lost the dative morphology in these contexts, as the clitic *lhe(s)* has disappeared since the 19th century (Calindro 2015, 2016, Torres Morais & Berlinck 2018).
- Thus, the prepositions that introduce arguments in BP are *lexical items* which assign oblique Case.
- Therefore, the argument structure of ditransitive sentences in BP does not entail applicative heads.

Theoretical Background

- In Hale & Keyser (2002) and Svenonius' (2004) terms - **prepositions are relational elements**.
- This relation can be captured through Figure and Ground associations (cf. Talmy 1978).
 - The Figure is the moving or conceptually movable object and the Ground the reference;
 - In the sentence 'John threw the keys on the table': 'the keys' is the Figure, 'the table' is the Ground and the element responsible to relate them is the preposition *on*;
 - The Ground is the complement of the preposition.
 - The interpretation of the Ground depends on the preposition;
 - The interpretation of the Figure does not.
- ❖ **Transitive prepositions** determine selection restrictions to its complement – the **Ground (IO)** – but not to the **Figure (DO)**.

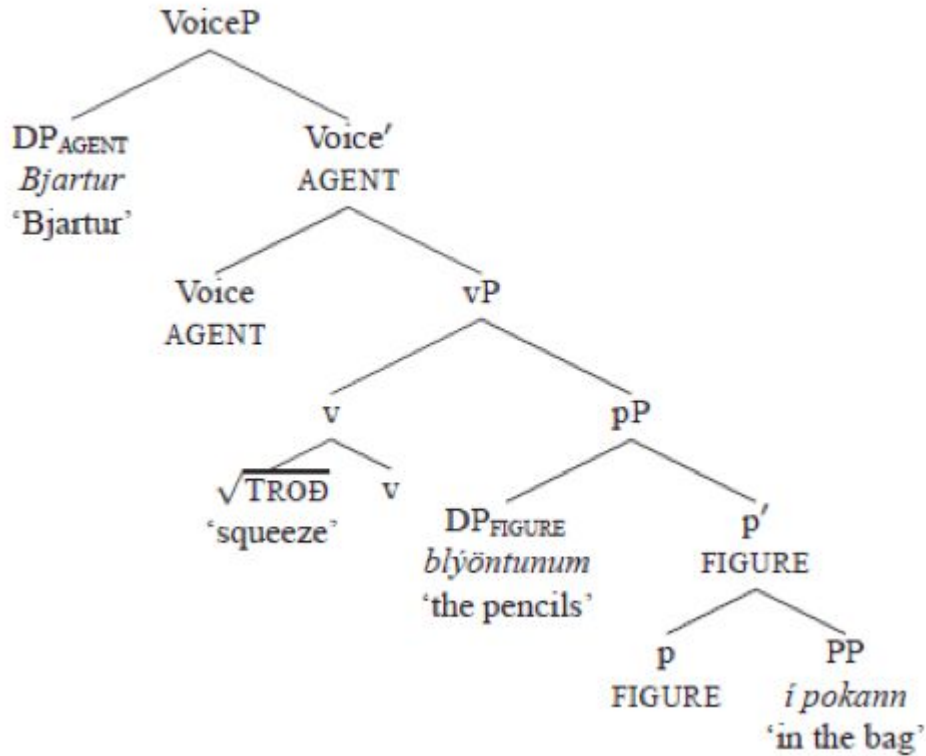
Theoretical Background

- The presence of the preposition *para* in the inventory of possibilities to introduce IOs in historical BP, in "pure" locatives and beneficiaries, for instance, coupled with the loss of dative *lhe* was the trigger for Brazilian children to generalize the use of *para* to all Locatives, Goals and Beneficiaries.
- As prepositions in ditransitive sentences in BP have *semantic content* they are *transitive elements* (Svenonius 2004, 2007, Cuervo 2010).
- *Transitive elements* can project *complement* and *specifier*.
- It is possible to draw a parallel between the pP domain and the vP domain, insofar as the prepositional structure involves a light preposition *p* and a P as categories *v* and *V* in the verbal domain (Wood 2012: 180).

(18) [vP Agent [v' [v [VP [V[Theme]]]]]]

[p P Figure [p' [p [PP [P [Ground]]]]]]

(19)



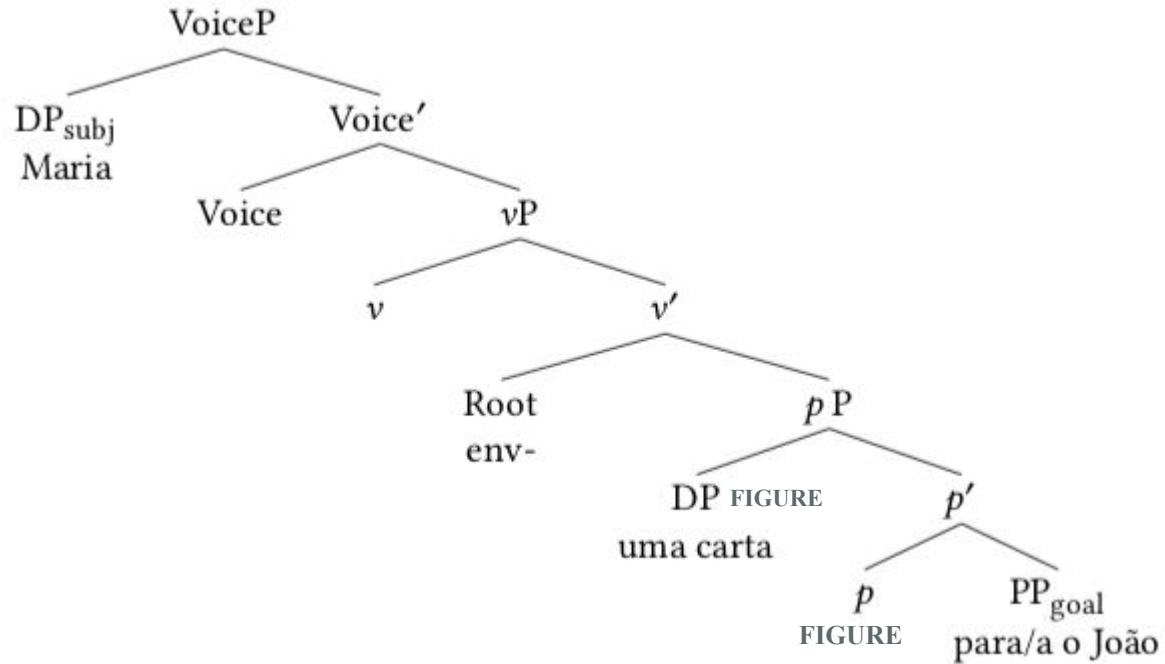
Wood (2012:18)

Proposal

- The transitive preposition as a relational element can be responsible for holding a thematic relation between the DO and the IO.
- This confirms Cuervo's (2010) proposal according to which ditransitive verbs do not require two separate arguments, but actually, they select a relation between DO and the IO.
- For Cuervo (2010), this relation can be introduced in the argument structure by an applicative head, a small clause or a prepositional phrase.
- As BP does not have applicative heads, considering the IOs in the relevant structures we are analysing are introduced by transitive prepositions, the DO/IO relation introduced via a *pP* in the argument structure.
- The DO is the Figure introduced in *SpecpP*.
- The complement of the *p* head is a Ground argument (the IO) accompanied by a transitive preposition introduced by a *PP* head.

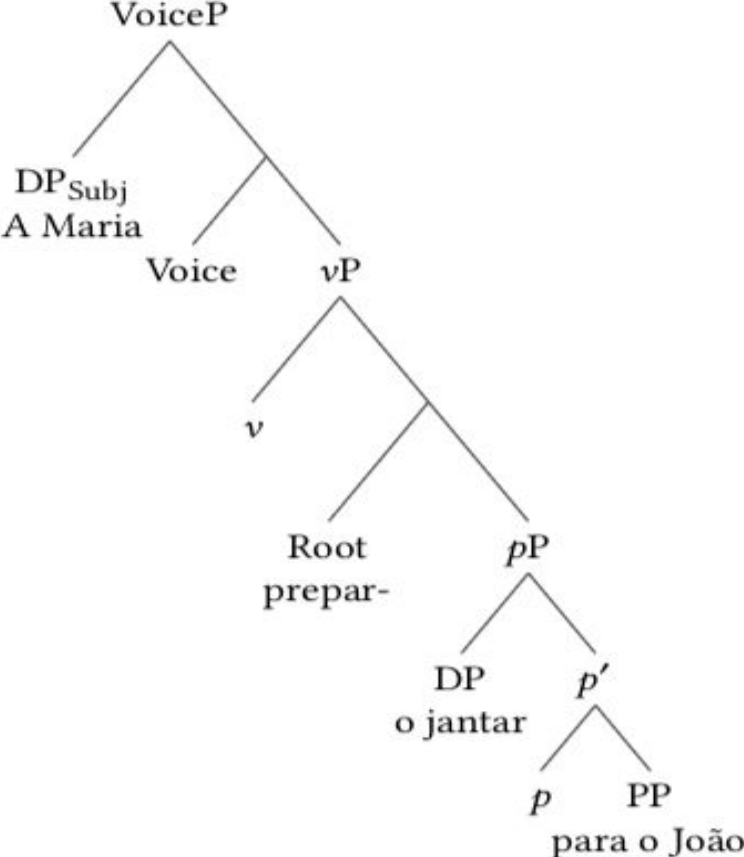
Proposal

(20)



Proposal

(21)

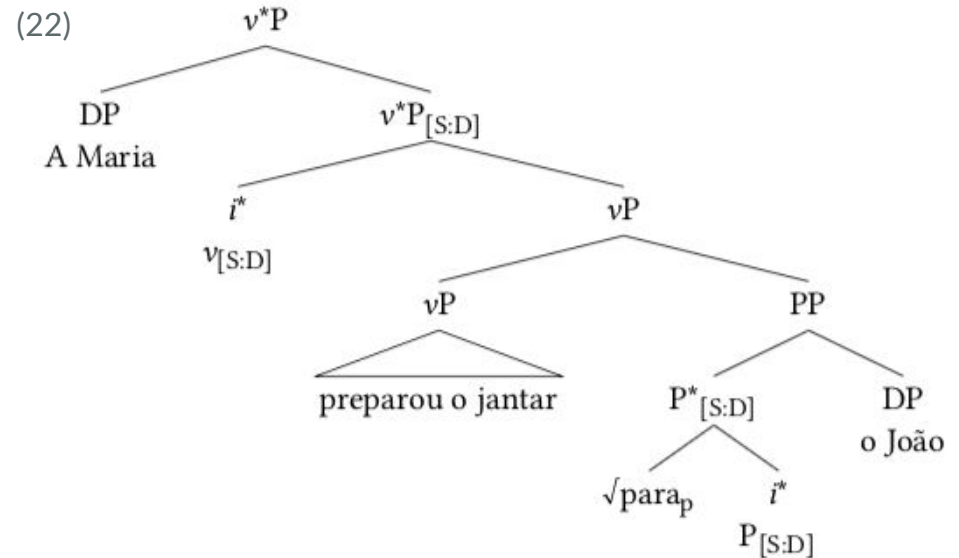


Recent Developments

- A proposal for ditransitive structures in BP using i^* single argument introducer to account for the main heads which add participants to the event (Calindro 2020, 2021 in press).
- According to this proposal *Voice, low applicative, little p, prepositions (P)* and *high applicative* can be reduced by i^* (Wood & Marantz 2017).

➤ Creation Verbs

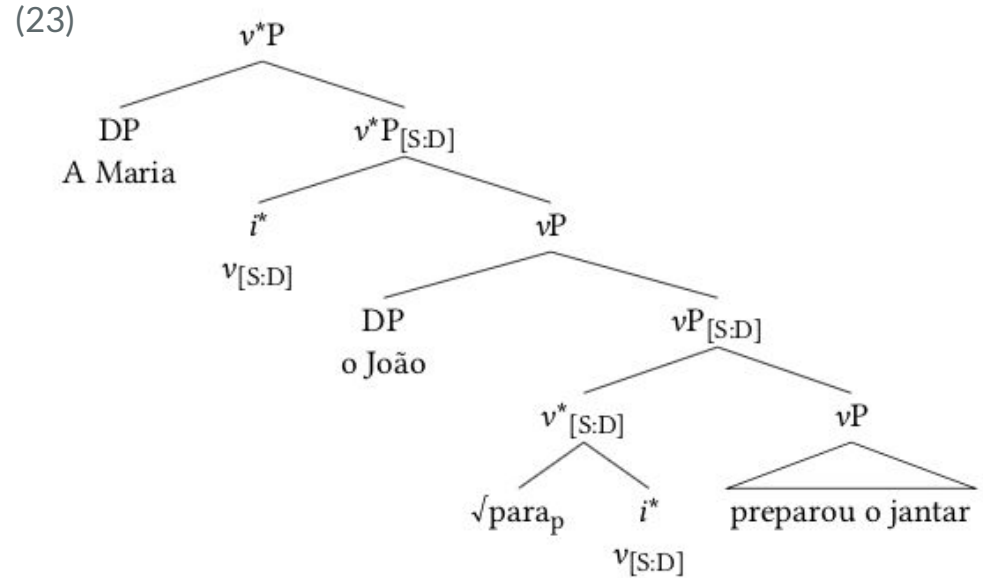
Low Appl interpretation
Beneficiary of the theme



Recent Developments

➤ *Creation Verbs*

High Applicative interpretation
Beneficiary of the event



Final Remarks

- In ditransitive sentences in BP, **preposition a** was substituted by transitive prepositions **para/a/de**;
- Dative arguments introduced by **preposition a** in EP have undergone several reanalyses;
- This change coupled with the loss of the 3rd person dative clitics **lhe(s)** accounts for a change in the representation of ditransitive sentences in BP;
- The argument structure of ditransitive sentences in BP does not entail applicative heads;
- The relation between the DO and the IO selected by the verb is introduced in the argument structure by a pP.

Obrigada!

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