

# A crosslinguistic analysis of framing distribution through Nanosyntax: on the status of prepositional features

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# Introduction: double Path constructions in Brazilian Portuguese

The so called *double path constructions* or *syntactic redoubling* occurs when the "same" information appears on the verb and on the satellite.

### Brazilian Portuguese:

- (1) Pedro **entrou**            **pra dentro** da            sala  
Pedro enter.3G.PST to    inside    of.the.FEM room  
Pedro entered the room

### Bolivean Spanish

- (2) Una    retroexcavadora se ha                            **entrado**  
A.FEM backhoe                            ref have.3SG.PST enter.PART  
**adentro** del                            patio  
inside    of-the.MASC yard  
One backhoe entered the yard

## Peninsular Spanish

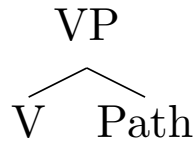
- (3) Juan **subió**                      **arriba**  
Juan go-up.3SG.PST up  
Juan went up

## French

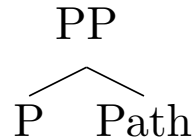
- (4) Monter                      en haut  
go-up.3SG.PST in up  
Go up

According to [Croft et al. \(2010\)](#), this kind of construction marks a *doubling framing*. In syntactic terms, both the verb and the satellite would lexicalize Path.

**Verbal structure:**



**Satellite structure:**



# Issues related to double Path constructions: Linguistic change

- The fact that Romance languages are verb-framed suggests that Path would be lexicalized by the verb ([TALMY, 2000](#));
- In some oriented motion events (the double Path constructions), Path is also being lexicalized by the satellite.

This leads some authors to claim that some Romance languages, specially Portuguese varieties, are turning into satellite-framed typology through reanalysis:

- [Batoréo and Ferrari \(2016\)](#), [Meirelles \(2019\)](#), [Queriquelli and Moura \(2021\)](#) and [Castro Nilsson \(2022\)](#).

In this line, double Path constructions are not really doubled, because the verb is losing its Path features.

## Issues related to double Path constructions: Pleonasm

- (5) Ana entrou pra dentro da casa  
Ana go.3SG.PST to inside of-the.FEM house  
Ana entered the house

**entrar** already lexicalizes some orientation towards a closed space, such that by the end of the movement the FIGURE will be inside the GROUND.

**para dentro** indicates the very same notion.



- Since Wunderlich (1991), Jackendoff (1996), Talmy (2000), Koopman (2000), Pantcheva (2011) and Svenonius (2012) it's naive to assume that the elements presented in a motion construction lexicalize the same Path notion.

MOTION

ORIENTATION/DIRECTION

LIMIT

ROUTE

SOURCE

GOAL

CONTACT

REGION

# Presentation goal

- ▷ We intend to discuss the so called *double path* constructions in Brazilian Portuguese, in order to figure out which features are being lexicalized by the verb and which features are being lexicalized by the preposition/PP, following Nanosyntactic principles.
- ▷ With this discussion we will also show some implications for Talmy's (2000) typology between verb-framed and satellite framed languages.

# Claims

- ① Structures such as **subir para cima** and **descer para baixo** are not really pleonastic;
- ② The contribution of the verbal and the prepositional structure is not the same;
- ③ Path notions can be distributed between VP and PP ([TALMY, 2000](#))
- ④ Oriented motion events in Brazilian Portuguese being combined with a Path PP does not make it a satellite-framed language (against [Batoréo and Ferrari \(2016\)](#), [Meirelles \(2019\)](#), [Queriquelli and Moura \(2021\)](#) and [Castro Nilsson \(2022\)](#)).

- (6) Entrou dentro de casa  
enter.3SG-PST inside of house  
She entered the house
- (7) Entrou pra dentro de casa  
enter.3SG-PST to inside of house  
She entered the house
- (8) \*Foi dentro/fora de casa  
go.3SG-PST inside/outside of house  
She went inside/outside the house
- (9) Foi pra dentro/fora de casa  
go.3SG-PST to inside/outside of house  
She went inside/outside the house

- (10) Correu dentro de casa  
run.3SG-PST inside of house  
She went inside the house quickly
- (11) Correu pra dentro de casa  
run.3SG-PST to inside of house  
She went inside the house quickly
- (12) \*Correu fora de casa  
run.3SG-PST outside of house  
She went outside the house quickly
- (13) Correu pra fora de casa  
run.3SG-PST to outside of house  
She went outside the house quickly

(14) Saiu                    pra fora      de casa  
go-out.3SG-PST to    outside of house  
She went outside the house

(15) ??Saiu                fora      de casa  
go-out.3SG-PST outside of house  
She went outside the house

(16) \*Subiu cima do telhado  
go-out.3SG-PST up of-the.MASC roof  
She went up the roof

(17) Subiu pra cima do telhado  
go-out.3SG-PST to up of-the.MASC roof  
She went up the roof

(18) \*Desceu                   baixo da                   cama  
go-down.3SG-PST down of-the.FEM bed  
She went down the bed

(19) \*Desceu                   pra baixo da                   cama  
go-down.3SG-PST to down of-the.FEM bed  
She went down the bed



# Resultados da procura

7 de fevereiro de 2024

Procura: "**descer**" "**para**" "**baixo**" "**de**"  
Pedido de uma concordância em contexto  
Corpo: Corpus Brasileiro v. 7.0

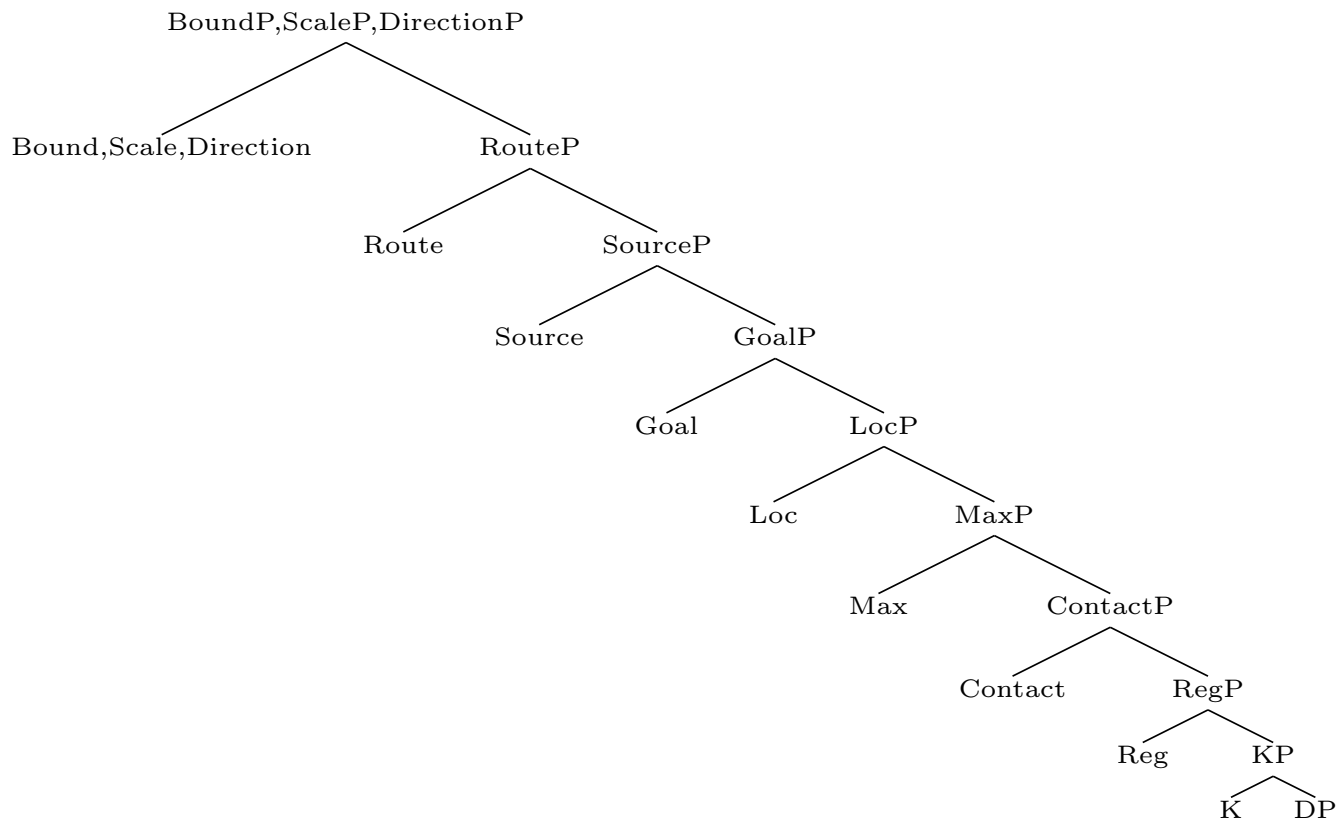
Nenhum caso foi encontrado!

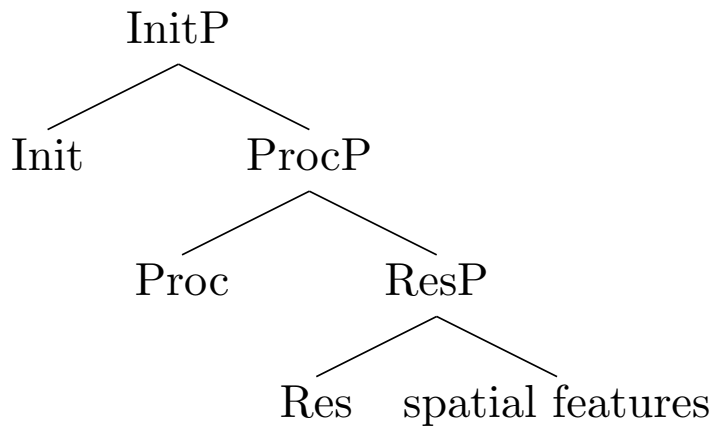
[Perguntas, comentários e sugestões](#)

| <b>Verb</b> | <b>Preposition</b> | <b>Spatial noun</b> |
|-------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| entrar      | ✓                  | ✓                   |
| sair        | ✓                  | ✓                   |
| subir       | ✓                  | *                   |
| descer      | *                  | *                   |

Table 1: Possible combinations for oriented motion verbs and Path PPs

# How can we explain these asymmetries?



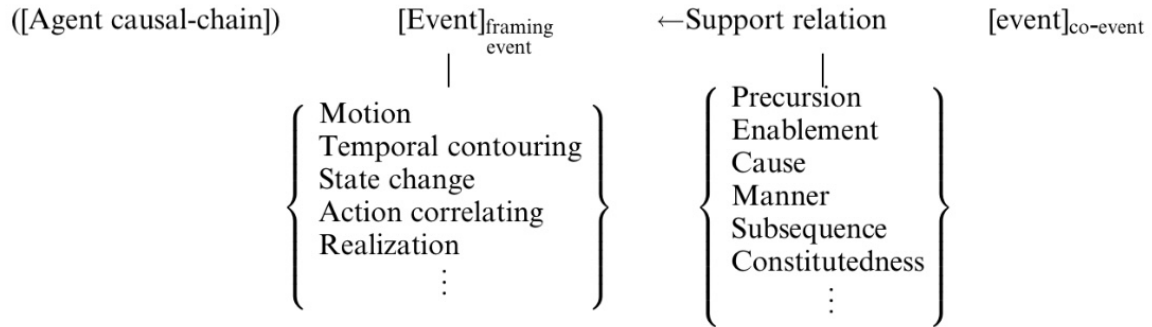


| LI     | Reg | Ctt | Max | Loc | Goal | Src | Rte | Dir | Scl | Bnd | Res | Proc | Init |
|--------|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|------|------|
| correr |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |      |
| ir     |     |     |     |     | *    |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |      |
| entrar |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |      |
| sair   |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |      |
| descer |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |      |
| subir  |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |      |
| para   |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |      |
| dentro |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |      |
| fora   |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |      |
| cima   |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |      |
| baixo  |     |     |     |     |      |     |     |     |     |     |     |      |      |

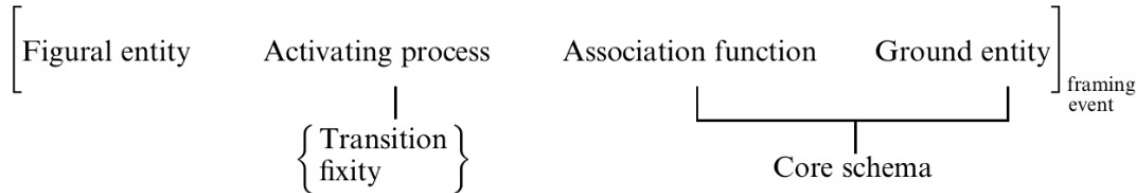
# Some thoughts on Talmy's (1985, 2000) typology

- If our analysis on Path is correct, there is a strong case against defining framing events from this feature's distribution - its properties are scattered around the f-seq;
- However, event framing typology remains empirically relevant;
- Hypothesis: Manner is the relevant feature for the distinction. Why?

# Some thoughts on Talmy's (1985, 2000) typology



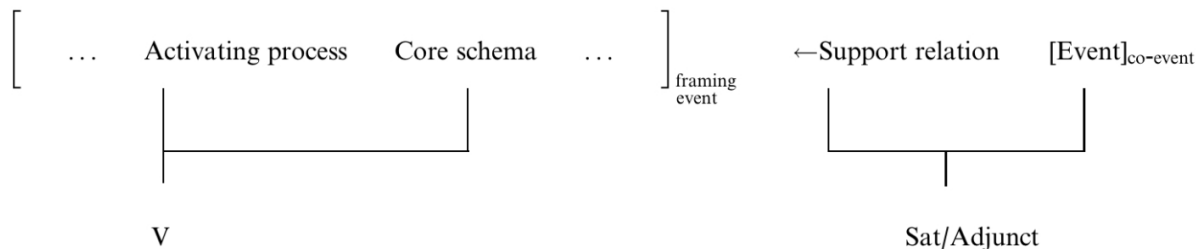
**Conceptual structure of the macro-event**



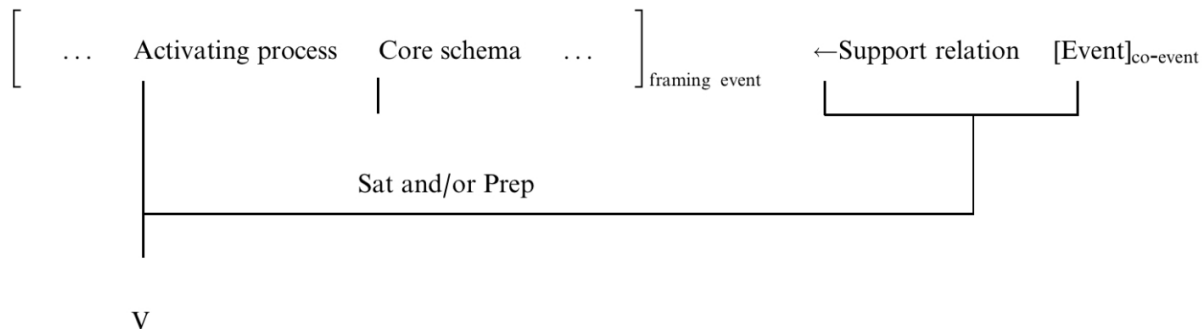
**Conceptual structure of the framing event**

Figure 2: General event framing structure (TALMY, 2000, p. 221)

# Some thoughts on Talmy's (1985, 2000) typology



**Syntactic mapping of macro-event in verb-framed languages**



**Syntactic mapping of macro-event in satellite-framed languages**

Figure 3: Framing typology realization contrast (TALMY, 2000, p. 223)



# Why manner?

Barbosa (2012) - constructions related to the Compounding Parameter (Snyder, 1995, 2001) that do not occur in Romance are Manner-oriented:

- |                                  |  |
|----------------------------------|--|
| a. <i>Resultative</i> :          | John painted the house red.                      |
| b. <i>Verb-Particle</i> :        | Mary picked the book up /<br>picked up the book. |
| c. <i>Make-causative</i> :       | Fred made Jeff leave.                            |
| d. <i>Perceptual report</i> :    | Fred saw Jeff leave.                             |
| e. <i>Put-locative</i> :         | Bob put the book on the table.                   |
| f. <i>To-Dative</i> :            | Alice sent the letter to Sue.                    |
| g. <i>Double Object Dative</i> : | Alice sent Sue the letter.                       |

Figure 4: Constructions related to the Compounding Parameter, according to Sugisaki, Snyder, 2002)

# Concluding Remarks

- ① Structures such as **subir para cima** and **descer para baixo** are not really pleonastic;
- ② The contribution of the verbal and the prepositional structure is not the same;
- ③ Path notions can be distributed between VP and PP;

(20) Ana entrou para dentro da casa  
Ana enter.3SG.PST to inside of-the house  
Ana entered the house

dentro  $\leftrightarrow$  [Reg [Contact [Max [Loc ]]]]

para  $\leftrightarrow$  [Loc [Scale [Goal ]]]

entrar  $\leftrightarrow$  [Dir [Bound [Proc [Res ]]]]

enter  $\leftrightarrow$  [Reg [Contact [Max [Loc [Goal [Dir [Proc [Init ]]]]]]]]]

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# Open questions

- ① If the distinction between verb and satellite-framed languages is not actually related to Path, what is the role of MANNER (i.e., What are the constructions involved with this feature)?
- ② Being Manner a higher feature, could the framing distinction derive verb framing as a subset of satellite framing?
- ③ How is the shape of spatial features in the prepositions?

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Thank you!

Obrigado!