ANGOLAN AND MOZAMBICAN PORTUGUESE DITRANSITIVE CONSTRUCTIONS REVISITED

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The text analyzes some syntactic aspects of ditransitive constructions in two African varieties of Portuguese, Angolan Portuguese (AP) and Mozambican Portuguese (MP), in comparison with European Portuguese (EP), starting from data recently collected in the framework of the PALMA project (Possession and location: microvariation in African varieties of Portuguese), a project of CLUL (Center of Linguistics of the University of Lisbon). In a way to limit the research, only occurrences with dar 'to give' were collected.

European Portuguese (EP) exhibits several ditransitive constructions, among which the use of the preposition *a* to express the Indirect Object (IO) and the use of dative clitics. The preposition *a* as a dative expression is distinct from *para*; this preposition can even co-occur with *a*, with the meaning of (last) destination, as in (1):

(1) O José entregou uma carta à Maria para o pai (que está no hospital).

'José delivered a letter to Maria for his father (who is in the hospital)'

In some of the bibliography on AP, several authors referred the tendency to use the preposition *em* 'in' to mark the IO, as in (2):

(2) Deu na mãe a outra metade.

'(Someone) gave the other half to (lit. in) his mother'

The fact that the same preposition, *em* 'in', expresses the recipient / goal with possession transfer ditransitive verbs like *dar* 'to give' and the arrival point of an inherent direction movement expressed by *ir* 'go', as in (3):

(3) Ela foi no mercado.

'She went to (lit. in) the market'

justified, by Brito (2008, 2010), the formulation of a unified semantic hypothesis: the preposition *em* 'in', among other values, means the final limit of a concrete or abstract path, whether combined with verbs of movement (*ir,* 'go', *chegar,* 'arrive'), whether combined with transfer of possession verbs (*dar,* 'give', *entregar* 'deliver'). This hypothesis is different from other explanations, in particular the one based on language contact. According to some authors, Kimbundu and Umbundu, among other Angola Bantu languages, have both locative and recipient / goal transfer arguments marked by the prefix *ku / ko* and such marking would be influencing Portuguese grammar, L2 of the vast majority of Angolan people.

According to data of the project PALMA, the ditransitive constructions with *em* 'in' marking the IO are not dominant. There is some animacity factor: in this variant, *a* is used with [+/-Animate], as in (4) and (5):

(4) dar um telefone novo ao filho

'to give a new phone to the child'

(5) dar um acréscimo às nossas notinhas

'to add something to our notes'

The preposition *em* 'in' is used tendentially with [+ Animate], as in (6):

(6) importância é o valor (…) que vai se dar na mulher

'importance is the value (…) that will be given to the woman'

but there are also occurrences with [– Animate], as in (7):

(7) dar o gosto na comida

'to give a taste to the food'

These results go in the same direction as those obtained by Hagemeijer, Gonçalves, Miguel e Duarte (2019).

Note that in Angolan speakers of PALMA project who were studied in this work (58), 15 have from the 10th to the 12th grade in school and 19 have studied in higher education, which indicates that this is a population with some educational background. For 59% of respondents, Portuguese is L1, 24% have Kimbundu as

L1 and have Portuguese as L2; 10% have other Angolan languages as L1, which indicates that the population now studied may differ from the one analyzed by the authors who studied AP in the 80s, 90s and in the beginning of the 21st century.

Regarding MP: the research on ditransitive constructions always starts from the works by Perpétua Gonçalves, who analyzed L2 Portuguese speakers from the surroundings of Maputo, low-educated, in a project known as PPOM (*Panorama do Português Oral do Maputo*).

In our investigation, within the framework of PALMA project, the speakers have some level of education, because in 70, 23 have from the 10th to 12th grade and 22 have higher education. As for L1, 40% have Portuguese as L1 and 26% several other languages; 19% have Changana as L1, being 8% bilingual Portuguese / Changana.

The most frequent dative preposition was *a*, as in (8):

(8) dar uma melhor educação à sua filha

'to give a better education to your daughter'

We found only two examples with *para,* as in (9):

(9) … se não puder dar uma festa para os amigos…

… 'if you can't give a party for your friends…'

And the presence of dative pronouns is very frequent. DOC, considered by Gonçalves as the most frequent construction in the 1990s, does not appear in our *corpus*. This difference in the results is certainly related to the type of speakers surveyed and to the growing nativization of Portuguese, which happens both in Mozambique and in Angola.

On the other hand, both in AP and in MP, language contact seems to be less important than it is proposed by some linguists as an explanation for some changes in AP and MP. Anyway, in both countries Portuguese is L2 of a large percentage of speakers and therefore such speakers have in fact "multiple grammars", a concept of David Lightfoot that Perpétua Gonçalves often emphasizes for Mozambican Portuguese speakers.

From the point of view of syntax, it seems to be justified that Romance languages and European Portuguese, in particular, do not have dative alternation and do not have DOC, since they do not allow dative passives. As for the structure of prepositional ditransitive constructions, two structures are under discussion: one in which the PP IO is the lowest constituent and the other one in which the NP DO is the lowest.

I argued in favor of a possible structure in which the DO is the constituent projected as complement of the lowest verbal projection and the IO is projected as specifier of this verbal projection (using the notion of KaseP by Hagemeijer, Duarte and Gonçalves 2018).

The alternative in which the IO is just NP / DP and not KaseP seems to be useful to explain the DOC, although in this text I have not analyzed in detail all the problems associated with this construction.

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