

**PATH
MARKING
ON THE
SATELLITE
IN LATIN,
OLD PORTUGUESE,
AND VERNACULAR
BRAZILIAN
PORTUGUESE**

**A MARCAÇÃO DE DIREÇÃO NO SATÉLITE EM LATIM, PORTUGUÊS ANTIGO E
PORTUGUÊS BRASILEIRO VERNACULAR**

**LA MARCACIÓN DE DIRECCIÓN EN EL SATÉLITE EN LATÍN, PORTUGUÉS VIEJO Y
PORTUGUÉS BRASILEÑO VERNACULAR**

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ABSTRACT: This work analyzes the marking of both path and manner categories in verbal expressions of movement in Latin, Old Portuguese, and vernacular Brazilian Portuguese, based on Talmy's (2000) typology, which divides languages between two patterns:

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verb-framed and satellite-framed. The aim is to explore in an essayistic way, in order to surprise new research problems, such as marking in these languages and formulate alternative hypotheses to explain an apparent change in Brazilian Portuguese. Based on data extracted from different corpora, the results indicate that Latin behaved like a typical s-framed language (similar to modern Germanic languages); in the transition to modern romance languages, there was variation between the two patterns (v-framed and s-framed); later, the neo-Latin languages were consolidated as typical v-framed languages; today, however, the Brazilian vernacular presents consistent data that enable us to classify it as a language prone to the s-framed pattern, similar to Latin.

KEYWORDS: Movement verbs. Verb-framed languages. Satellite-framed languages. Romance languages. Brazilian Portuguese.

RESUMO: Este trabalho analisa a marcação das categorias de direção e modo em expressões verbais de movimento em latim, português arcaico e português brasileiro vernáculo, com base na tipologia de Talmy (2000), que divide as línguas em dois padrões: verb-framed e satellite-framed. O objetivo é explorar de forma ensaística, a fim de surpreender novos problemas de pesquisa, a marcação dessas categorias nessas línguas, e formular hipóteses alternativas para explicar uma aparente mudança do português brasileiro. Com base em dados extraídos de diferentes corpora, os resultados indicam que o latim se comportou como uma típica língua s-framed (semelhante às línguas germânicas modernas); na transição para as línguas românicas modernas, houve variação entre os dois padrões (s-framed e v-framed); mais tarde, as línguas neolatinas se consolidaram como típicas línguas v-framed; hoje, porém, o vernáculo brasileiro apresenta dados consistentes que nos permitem classificá-lo como uma língua propensa ao padrão s-framed, semelhante ao latim.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Verbos de movimento. Línguas verb-framed. Línguas satellite-framed. Línguas românicas; português do Brasil.

RESUMEN: Este trabajo analiza la marcación de las categorías de dirección y modo en expresiones verbales de movimiento en latín, portugués arcaico y portugués vernáculo brasileño, basado en la tipología de Talmy (2000), que divide las lenguas en dos patrones: verb-framed y satellite-framed. El objetivo es explorar de manera ensayística, con el fin de sorprender a nuevos problemas de investigación, la marcación de estas categorías en estos idiomas y formular hipótesis alternativas para explicar un aparente cambio en el portugués brasileño. Con base en datos extraídos de diferentes corpora, los resultados indican que el latín se comportó como un típico idioma s-framed (similar a los idiomas germánicos modernos); en la transición a las lenguas romances modernas, hubo variación entre los dos patrones (s-framed y v-framed); más tarde, las lenguas neolatinas se consolidaron como típicas lenguas v-framed; hoy, sin embargo, la lengua vernácula brasileña presenta datos consistentes que nos permiten clasificarla como una lengua propensa al patrón en s-framed, similar al latín.

PALABRAS-CLAVE: Verbos de movimiento. Lenguas verb-framed. Lenguas satellite-framed. Lenguas romance. Portugués de Brasil.

1 INTRODUCTION

Human beings seem to perceive certain events that involve movement in terms of how it happens, its behavior in time, and whether or not there is a spatial displacement. Since language is a socio-cognitive phenomenon, it is natural that these mental categories and their organization are reflected in their form and structure.

Aware of this, L. Talmy, in “Toward a cognitive semantics” (2000), types languages according to where each one tends to map the categories of motion, aspect, path, and manner in the syntactic structure. According to Talmy, if a language tends to mark manner and movement in the verb, it will consequently tend to mark path and aspect in what he calls “satellite structures”, and vice versa. He called these two basic types of satellite-centered languages (satellite-framed or s-framed) and verb-centered languages (verb-framed or v-framed):

Languages fall into two main typological categories on the basis of the way they map a macro-event onto syntactic structure. We can look here at one such category, that of the “satellite-framed” languages, of which English is an example. In the single-clause form in these languages, the predicate of the co-event is represented by the verb, and other co-event components by adjuncts, while the framing-event components are represented by the remainder of the clause. (TALMY, 2000, p. 491)

Among those who assume the Talmy typology (2000) there is a consensus that Germanic languages are prototypical examples of the s-framed pattern, whereas Romance languages are prototypes of the v-framed pattern. In addition, there is also an agreed understanding that Latin was a s-framed language like Germanic languages. Researchers like Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2008), Dufresne et. al. (2001), and Troberg (2011) share this understanding. Parallel to this, Santos Filho (2017) and Moura (2020a, 2020b) show that Brazilian Portuguese (BP) has been behaving, mainly in its vernacular varieties, as an s-framed language, which leads us to question why BP seems to be changing and, if this is true, whether it is going back to the Old Latin standard or taking on a new s-framed language standard.

In view of this situation, this study intends to explore in an essayistic way, in order to surprise new research problems, the following points: (1) the marking of the categories of manner and path of movement expressions in the listed languages; and (2) alternatives to explain this apparent pattern change in Brazilian Portuguese. For the first objective, we will resort, at times, to a literature review of other studies that have already explored such object, or to unpublished data from different corpora, among them: the Perseus Digital Library; the Bibliotheca Latinitatis Mediaevalis; and CIPM - Corpus Informatizado do Português Medieval. For the second goal, we will try to discuss heuristic alternatives from different theoretical currents. In particular, this study fits into a larger project initiated in Queriquelli (2018) that seeks to identify Latin permanences and recurrences in Brazilian Portuguese.

2 STARTING FROM CONSENSUS

There is a consensus that Germanic languages are prototypically s-framed, whereas Romance languages are perfect examples of v-framed languages (Troberg, 2011). The following sentences, respectively from English and Portuguese, would be examples of this difference:

(1) But the window *slid down*, and I was trapped outside. (Corpus of Contemporary American English, 2007)

(2) Mas a janela *abaixou deslizando* e eu fiquei preso para fora.

As the examples show, in English (typical s-framed language), the manner of movement is marked at the verb root (*slid*), while its direction is marked on the satellite (*down*). In Portuguese (typical v-framed language), the direction is marked at the verb root (*abaixou*), while the manner is marked on the satellite (*deslizando*).

Latin was also a satellite-framed language; the satellite in it was prefixed to the verb, constituting a morpheme distinct from the radical (Acedo-Matellán; Mateu, 2008). The following excerpts from the Portuguese translations of Julius Ceaser and Cicero are exemplary:

(3) Ipse omnes copias castris *e-duxit*. (Caes. Gall. 4, 13, 6)

(4) Ele mesmo *retirou* todas as tropas do campo de batalha. ("He himself *removed [or moved away]* all troops from the battlefield.")

(5) *E-iecit* ex urbe C. Marium. (Cic. Cat. 3, 24)

(6) Ele *expulsou* C. Mário da cidade. ("He *expelled [or sent away]* C. Mário from the city.")

The contemporary Brazilian vernacular (PB) is in the process of becoming a satellite-framed language just as Latin was. Occurrences like *abaixou deslizando*, *retirou* and *expulsou*, in (2), (4), and (6), respectively, increasingly vary from the constructions *escorregou para baixo*, *levou para fora*, and *mandou embora*.

In addition, the famous constructions *descer pra baixo* and *subir pra cima* ('descend down' and 'ascend up'), which prescriptive grammars claim to be a redundancy addition, are also indicative of this type of emergent behavior, as we see in the following examples by Santos Filho (2017, p. 112-113):

(7) O fogo *subiu pra cima* da panela. (The fire 'ascend up' to the pan)

(8) Deixou a marcha no ponto morto e o carro *desceu pra baixo*. ("[...] the car 'descend down'")

(9) Meu pai pegou meu notebook e *entrou pra dentro* do quarto e trançou. ("My father [...] 'entered in' the room")

(10) Ele pegou minha mochila e *saiu pra fora* da sala. ("He [...] 'exited out' of the room")

(11) Tá ligado que eu fui dar ré e o carro *avançou pra frente*! Não sei como isso aconteceu. ("[...] the car 'advanced forward'")

(12) Na festa um cara perguntou meu signo e quando eu disse que era áries ele *recuou pra trás* e disse "tu é brabona né?!" ([...] he 'receded back'")

These indications suggest that Brazilian Portuguese has been behaving, mainly in its vernacular varieties, as an s-framed language. Given this, at least two questions arise: why does BP seem to be changing, and if this change is really taking place, is it going back to the Old Latin standard or taking on a new s-framed language standard?

To try to answer these questions, we propose, at first, to describe in some details the expressions of movement in Latin, romance languages, and Old Portuguese. This is what will be done next.

3 LATIN AS AN S-FRAMED LANGUAGE

One of the facts that characterize an s-framed language is the combination of path marking on the satellite together with typically manner verbs. As a classic s-framed language, Latin fused manner and movement at the root of the verb (manner conflation) and left the marking of path for satellite structures.

For example, a Portuguese movement verb like *tremor* (tremble) is manner and non-telic, while verbs like *ir* (go) or *chegar* (arrive) presuppose a destination (telos) of the movement. V-framed languages are supposed to not tend to mark the path in this type of verb (for example, constructions like **tremeu para dentro* [trembled in]; **tremeu para fora* [trembled out] sound strange). S-framed languages, on the other hand, allow this type of predication, as in the following Latin sentence.

(13)	Gorgon	<i>e-tremuit</i>	colubros
	Gorgon.NOM.SG	out-tremble.PRF.3SG	snake.ACC.PL

Gorgon tremble the snakes out (Sebastiani Rolliardi Melodunensis, Agrocharis)

In terms of morphosyntactic analysis, it is important to note here that, different from what other interpretations have already suggested, the path particle *e-* (*ex* allomorph), although it is preponderant to the verb, is a constituent of the object's phrase (*colubros*). The same is true in the following examples:

- (14) **E-dormi** **crapulam,** **inquam.**
 out-sleep.IPV.2SG hangover-feeling.ACC.SG say.PRS.1SG

'Sleep off that hangover-feeling, I said.' (Cic. Phil. 2, 30)

- (15) **Qui** **ubi** **ad-equitavit** **portis [...]** **vallum** **intravit.**
 who.NOM.M.SG when at-ride.PRF.3SG door.DAT.PL wall.ACC enter.PRF.3SG

'As soon as he rode up to the doors, he entered the camp.' (Liv. 22, 42, 5)

- (16) **In** **foro** **cum** **filio** **clientibus-que**
 into forum.ABL.SG with son.ABL.SG client.ABL.SG-and
paucis **otiose** **in-ambulavit**
 few.ABL.SG idly.ADV into-walk.PRF.3SG

He walked into the forum with the son and a few clients (Liv. 23, ?)

- (17) **Angelus** **ex-cussit** **flamma** **ignis**
 angel.NOM.SG out-shake.PRF.3SG flame.ABL.SG fire.GEN.SG

The angel shook himself off the fire flame (Prophetia Danielis 3, 49)

- (18) **Illo** **anima** **eius** **ex-cucurrit**
 PRN.M.ABL.3SG soul.NOM.SG PRN.M.GEN.3SG out-run.PRF.3SG

His soul ran out from him (Bernhardus, Cant., 75)

- (19) **Quamdiu David exercitavit se in militia,**
As-long-as.CONJ David.NOM.SG work-out.PRF.3SG PRN.M.ACC.3SG in military-service.NOM.ABL
non in-saltavit sibi luxuria
not into-dance.PRF.3SG PRN.M.DAT.3SG luxury.NOM.SG

As long as David worked out in military service, luxury did not dance into himself (S. Aug., serm. 1, ad frat. in erem.)

- (20) **Ecclesiam ad-reptavit, ibi-que totis artubus**
church.ACC.SG at-crawl.PRF.3SG there-and all.ABL.PL member.ABL.PL
contremiscens ante portae limina
tremble.PART.PRS.NOM.SG before door.GEN.SG limit.ABL.SG
se se in genua projecit
PRN.M.NOM.3SG PRN.M.ACC.3SG in knee.ACC.PL project.PRF.3SG

He crawled to the church, and there, legs shaking, he kneels before the front door (Vita Venerabilis Servi Dei Bartholomaei Holtzhauser, Joannis Andreae de la Haye, 8, 1704)

- (21) **Catharinus autem aliquid e-volvit**
Catharinus.NOM.SG although.CONJ something.ACC.SG out-roll.PRF.3SG
ex multiplici charta
out twisted.ABL.SG paper.ABL.SG

Catharinus, although, rolled something out of a twisted paper (Euphormionis Lusinini sive Ioannis Barclaii Satyricon, pars II)

The same analysis which was done for example (13) applies to these other listed examples. However, it should be added that, in examples (16) and (21), the path mark is redoubled (*in foro ... in-ambulavit; e(x)-volvit ... ex charta*). This phenomenon, although not so rare in Latin from the archaic and classical periods, intensifies in medieval Latin, and may suggest a turn towards the confluence of path at the root, which would be consolidated in the Romance languages. It should be noted that both examples date from the medieval period. There are also other relevant examples:

- (22) “*abit a foro in scaenam* Euclio” (Plauto, Aul. II.ii)
 “Euclião *vai do fórum para dentro da cena*” (“Euclio *goes from the forum to the scene*”)
- (23) Arcadis hinc sedes et inhospita tecta tyranni ingredior, traherent cum sera crepuscula noctem. (Ovídio, Metamorfoses, Livro I, 218-219)
 Então, *vou para dentro dos domínios e dos aposentos* inóspitos do tirano árcade, à medida que o crepúsculo tardio traz a noite. (“So I *go into the harsh tyrant domains and inhospitable quarters*, as the late twilight brings on the night.”)
- (24) Nec mora, Tisiphone madefactam sanguine sumit importuna facem [...] *egrediturque domo*. (Ovídio, Metamorfoses, Livro IV, 481-484)
 Sem demora, a importuna Tisífone pega uma tocha embebida em sangue e *vai para fora de casa*. (“Without delay, the annoying Tisiphone takes a torch soaked in blood and *goes outside*.”)
- (25) Victor Abantiades patrios cum coniuge *muros intrat* et inmeriti vindex ultorque parentis *adgreditur Proetum* (Ovídio, Metamorfoses, Livro V, 236-238)
 Vencedor, o [*bisneto de*] *Abante entra nos muros* da pátria com sua esposa e - defensor e vingador do avô desonrado - *ele vai para cima de Preto*. (“Winner, the [great-grandson of] Abante *gets into the walls* of the homeland with his wife and - defender and avenger of the dishonored grandfather - he *goes over to Preto*.”)

Although we offered a translation in example (22) that tried to reproduce Latin morphosyntax, a translation that obeyed the normal BP standards would probably choose two verbs (*sai do fórum e entra em cena*; ‘leave the forum and enter the scene’) instead of using a single verb with two satellites (*vai do fórum para dentro da cena*; ‘goes from the forum to the scene’). The same can be said for the other examples: in (23), a canonical translation would opt for “*entro nos domínios*” (I enter the domains) instead of “*vou para dentro dos domínios*” (I go into the domains); in (24), “*sai de casa*” (leave home) instead of “*vai para fora de casa*” (go out of home); in (25), “*agride Preto*” (he strikes Preto) instead of “*vai para cima de Preto*” (He goes over Preto).

The non-canonical translations we chose emphasize the fact that the type of construction in which path is located on the satellite verb no longer feels as ungrammatical in BP (perhaps it has never been) as the one where path is not placed at the root of the verb. When we suggest that this alternative may have never been ungrammatical, we are indirectly referring to a fact that will be exposed in the next section: the coexistence of v-framed and s-framed patterns in the transition to Romance languages.

4 THE COEXISTENCE OF V-FRAMED AND S-FRAMED PREDICATIONS IN THE OLD ROMANCE LANGUAGES

Iacobini (2009) argues that the predication of the s-framed type (typical of Latin) has remained possible until today in substandard Romance dialects, suggesting that in the phase of the national neo-Latin languages establishment (between the 12th and 15th centuries), the standard dialects favored the v-framed model, although the s-framed system has never ceased to exist.

Matellán and Mateu (2013), without discussing Iacobini's (2009) thesis, show that residues of the s-framed system involving the manner conflation mechanism (and not the path one) are traceable in Old Romance languages. They emphasize, on one hand, the role of verbal prefixes as aspectual marks in Old French and, on the other hand, the status of verbal prefixes as decoders of path in movement predicates in Old Catalan. This behavior was also demonstrated by Dufresne et al. (2000, 2001, 2003) and Troberg (2010).

In Old Portuguese, we also find similar examples to those of French and Catalan. In (26), the verb *emderençar* clearly bears a prefixed directing satellite (*em-*), with the root bringing only the meaning of movement. Proof of this is that the verb *derençar* was often used without the prefix, but with satellites postponed in the form of an adverb, as in (27):

- (26) **hũu rrato, [...] pera em-derençar² sseus negócios,**
a.M.SG rat for into-head.INF his.M.SG business
ueo arriba de hũa augua
come up.PRF.3SG to the margin of a water

A rat, heading to his business, came up to the margin of a water.

(Fabulário Esópico Anônimo, III, C14th)

- (27) **convém [...] teer olho onde ha de ferir, e ally derençar sua lança**
[someone] should keep [the] eye where [he] wil hurt, and there cast his spear

(Livro da Ensinança de Bem Cavalgar Toda Sela, D. Duarte I, XI, C15th)

Similar to examples from Old French found in Dufresne et al. (2000, 2001, 2003) and Troberg (2010), we also find cases in Old Portuguese such as (21), in which *ficar* (<*finicar* ‘stick’) presents a mark of frequent appearance *a-*, in *a-fficado*:

- (28) **fuy d’amor afficado**
I was.AUX with love stuck.PART.PRF

I was repeatedly stuck with love

(Cantiga d’Amor, Afonso X, XXVII, C13th)

Parallel to these examples, in the same period, there are already occurrences of path conflation in the verb and manner marking on the satellite. Note the following example from Old Portuguese:

- (29) **E por tãto entrou logo ã Portugal**
and therefore enter.3SG.PRF soon in Portugal

And therefore he entered soon in Portugal.

(Crónica de Afonso X, XIII, C14th)

Latin, as an s-framed language, in this sort of example, would probably produce a sentence like:

- (30) **Igitur, festinauit in Portugalliam**
therefore, rush.3SG.PRF into Portugal

Therefore, he rushed into Portugal.

Authentic examples analogous to this hypothetical example are *festinauit in domu* 'he rushed into the house' (Plaut., Aul.) and *festinauit in Aegyptum* 'he rushed into Egypt'. Similar occurrences in Old Portuguese are abundant, for example:

- (31) **Quando Galvam esto ouviu, desceu correndo do cavalo**
when Galvam it.OBJ listen.3SG.PRF get-off.3SG.PRF rush.GER from the horse

When Galvam listened it, ran down from the horse.

(Demanda do Santo Graal, C15th)

- (32) **logo se achegou à orelha do Ifante**
soon approach.3SG.PRF at the ear of the infantryman

He rushed to the infantryman's ear

5 ESSAYING HYPOTHESES TO EXPLAIN THE APPARENT CHANGE IN PATTERN IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

Although Iacobini (2009) suggests that the s-framed Romance has never ceased to exist, the pattern of satellites that present themselves today in BP (prepositions and adverbs) is clearly different from that of the s-framed Old Portuguese, whose satellites were very similar to Latin (MOURA, 2020a; 2020b).

In this sense, we are more favorable to the hypothesis of Matellán and Mateu (2008; 2013). While for them, it is plausible to admit that there were both types of predication (s-framed and v-framed) in the period of transition to the Romance languages, there was a clear trend towards a categorical v-framed. In seeking to understand what happened for the Romance languages to categorically change into v-framed languages, the authors argue that satellites capable of indicating the path in Latin, as elements prefixed to the verb, have lost the phonological element that distinguished them structurally from the radical. As a result, they were incorporated into the radical and started to express the path in the verb itself:

[...] a relevant question is what has changed from Latin to Romance [...]. our proposal is that these constructions involve a complex lexical-syntactic structure [...] where the phonological matrix of the relevant null verb has been saturated by an independent root, the P(ath) being able to remain as a satellite [...]. By contrast, in Romance the Path element [...] is typically conflated into the main verb, saturating its null phonological matrix [...]. As a result, no independent root can be used in order to saturate the phonological matrix of the main verb since it has already been saturated by that of P. We can then explain the fact, conforming to Talmy's observations, that the 'manner component' is typically expressed as an adjunct in v-framed Romance [...] but as the main verb in s-framed Latin. (ACEDO-MATELLÁN; MATEU, 2008, p. 1)

In view of this, another crucial question arises: what made BP return, or is it returning to the s-framed standard? In light of the recent studies on the formation of BP and the processes of change that have occurred or are underway, we envision at least three possibilities of formulating an answer to this question, not necessarily independent of each other, but, on the contrary, probably interrelated as we will propose.

The first one refers to a supposed change of BP to the typology of “discourse-oriented language,” which triggers several phenomena, such as topic prominence, a profusion of new discursive markers, redoubling phenomena, and, presumably, the emergence of s-framed predication associated with path mark bleaching in movement verbs. This change was defended by Negrão (1999)¹, Negrão and Viotti (2008), and Modesto (2000), although it was relativized by Kennedy (2014) and Quarezemin and Cardinaletti (2017). For example, a “discourse-oriented language” (HUANG, 1982; 1984 apud NEGRÃO, 2000), as opposed to a “sentence-oriented language,” is more responsive to pragmatic motivations when structuring a sentence than to rules of argument structure of a verb. Thus, applying the concept to our problem, it makes sense to assume that the path information of verbs such as *descer*, *entrar*, *sair*, *avançar* or *recuar* (descending, entering, exiting, advancing or retreating) – previously merged at the root, but eventually lost or weakened – is marked in complementary structures, due to typically discursive motivation. So, taking up the examples (7-12), it is not enough to say that “*o carro desceu*” (the car descended), “*meu pai entrou*” (my father entered), “*ele saiu da sala*” (he exited the room), “*o carro avançou*” (the car advanced) ou “*ele recuou*” (he receded); the bleaching of this category, coupled with the orientation of BP for the discourse, makes the speaker tend to mark the path in satellite structures: “*o carro desceu pra baixo*” (the car ‘descended down’), “*meu pai entrou pra dentro*” (my father ‘entered in’), “*ele saiu pra fora da sala*” (he ‘exited out’ of the room), “*o carro avançou pra frente*” (the car ‘advanced forward’) ou “*ele recuou pra trás*” (he ‘receded back’). Although this hypothesis makes sense, there are still no studies that directly associate the emergence of s-framed predication with the change to a discourse-oriented language.

A second hypothesis capable of offering a heuristic principle to explain the emergence of a new s-framed pattern in BP is the activation of the compositionality parameter in the Brazilian language, alleged by Barbosa (2012), Marcelino (2000), and Marques and Pinto (2016). In the case of complex predicates, roughly speaking, the activation of this parameter allows periphrases such as *ir pra cima* (‘go up’ meaning ‘strike’), *cair pra dentro* (‘fall in’ meaning ‘engage’), or *dar em cima* (‘give up’ meaning ‘flirting with someone’) to have an autonomous meaning as a cohesive compound, regardless of the meaning of the parts. Additionally, the activation of this parameter allows phrasal verbs (including those of path movement) to proliferate in the language, as seems to be the case of BP.

A third hypothesis is that certain movement verbs that contained a path mark in the root (such as *entrar*, *sair*, *subir*, *descer*, *avançar*, *voltar* etc.) suffered an impoverishment of their semantic content – a process called *bleaching* (GIVÓN, 1991), *semantic depletion* (LEHMAN, 1991) or *desemanticization* (HEINE; REH, 1984) – which led to the loss of path, leading to the mark of this category in a complementary structure, which we assume here as “satellite”.

As we previously stated, we understand these three hypotheses not separately and independently, but in a complementary way. Thus, it seems reasonable to assume, for example, that: initially there was a loss of path marking at the root of certain movement verbs due to this desemanticization; the emptying of this category forced the speakers, through discursive-pragmatic conditioning, to mark the path in satellite structures; and, additionally, that the activation of the compositionality parameter facilitated this process, including fixing certain peripheral verbs such as *ir pra cima*, *cair pra dentro*, among others.

One way we envision to test the plausibility of these three hypotheses combination involves: (1) tracking in diachrony the appearance of these supposedly redundant constructions (como *entrar pra dentro*, *sair pra fora*, *subir pra cima*, *descer pra baixo*, *avançar pra frente*, *recuar pra trás*, etc.); (2) verify if the appearance of these constructions coincides with the occurrence of other typical phenomena of “discourse-oriented language” (such as filling subject position with topic, among others); and (3) verify if, at that same moment, BP begins to meet the criteria that confirm the principle of compositionality activation proposed by Sugisaki

¹ Negrão assumes the hypothesis of Pontes (1987), the first to discuss the issue of Brazilian Portuguese as a prominent topic language.

and Snyder (2002 *apud* BARBOSA, 2012). Such a study, however, exceeds the intentions of this article, and therefore, it will be forwarded to future works.

6 CONCLUSIONS

The objectives of this study, as announced at the beginning, were to explore in an essayistic way, in order to surprise new research problems, the following points: (1) the marking of the categories of manner and path of movement expressions in the listed languages; and (2) alternatives to explain this apparent pattern change in Brazilian Portuguese.

Regarding the first objective, we saw that Latin behaved like a typical s-framed language and that the satellite marker of path generally prefixed to the verb root, including manner and non-telic verbs, such as *tremere* (tremble), receive a path satellite, as in “*e-tremuit colubros*” (the snakes trembled out). However, it was also possible for motion verbs to accumulate more than one satellite, as in “*ab-it a[b] foro in scaenam Euclio*” (‘Euclio goes from the forum to the scene’), in which one of the satellites is prefixed (but it is redoubled in the adverb that indicates the origin of the movement) and the other one appears only in the adverb that indicates the destination.

Still, for the first objective, we saw that, in ancient Portuguese, the two types of predication coexisted: s-framed and v-framed. In the first case, the so-called s-framed Romance language was very similar to the Latin one. In the example “*em-dereçar seus negócios*”, with the sense of “going to/towards your business”, we see the same pattern as in Latin. At the same time, we also noticed the typical v-framed Romance pattern, illustrated by examples such as “*entrou logo ê Portugal*” (‘he soon entered in Portugal’) or “*desceu correndo do cavalo*” (‘he descended running from the horse’), with the path marked at the root and the manner on the satellite.

Finally, in relation to the second objective, considering that the current BP s-framed pattern differs greatly from the Latin or Romance s-framed, we raised three hypotheses which are complementary to each other and can offer us a heuristic principle to explain the apparent change to this new form of predication. These hypotheses correspond, respectively: to the change of BP to a discourse-oriented language; the activation of the compositionality parameter in BP; and the possible demantization of verbs that marked the path at the root. Combining the three hypotheses, we assumed that: initially there was a loss of path marking at the root of certain movement verbs due to this demantization; the emptying of this category forced the speakers, through discursive-pragmatic conditioning, to mark the path in satellite structures; and, additionally, the activation of the compositionality parameter facilitated this process, including fixing certain peripheral verbs such as “*ir pra cima*”, “*cair pra dentro*”, among others.

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