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## ABOUT THE SUBCATEGORIZATION OF VERBS OF MOVEMENT (TO GO, TO COME AND TO ARRIVE) IN PORTUGUESE: A PROPOSAL FOR A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF MOZAMBIQUE PORTUGUESE WITH EUROPEAN PORTUGUESE

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**Abstract:** The present work focuses on the use of verbs of movement (TO GO, TO COME and TO ARRIVE) in Portuguese. The main objective is to understand the subcategorization properties of verbs of motion performed in Mozambican Portuguese. This paper presents empirical data based on a corpus written and produced by university students in the initial courses at the Pedagogical University, Tete Delegation. The analyzed data show the following linguistic phenomena: (i) the subcategorization of verbs of movement (TO GO, TO COME and TO ARRIVE) obeys, on the one hand, patterns similar to EP; (ii) use of movement verbs (go, come and arrive) with a tendency to subcategorize the prepositional Sentences introduced by the proposition *em*; (iii) the preposition *a* seems to be less used in constructions that involve the movement verbs TO GO and TO ARRIVE in Portuguese; (iv) in the data related to the grammatical and/or acceptability judgments task, the accentuated acceptance of the preposition *para* is more evident in contexts in which movement verbs are involved, in particular the verb TO GO; (v) the absence or possible elimination of the definite article in some nouns, in contexts where the directional locative prepositions of EP (*to/to* and *from*) require a noun phrase complement. It is concluded, in the study, that these phenomena are due, on the one hand, to the fact that Mozambican Portuguese presents new subcategorization properties of these verbs by speakers. On the other hand, it is believed that there is a strong connection or even “a coexistence” between Portuguese and the Bantu languages and that, in a way, there seems to be some deviation from the EP rule.

**Keywords:** *Subcategorization, Verbs of Movement, Mozambican Portuguese.*

## INTRODUCTION

Studies carried out on the variation of European Portuguese in space, show that

Portuguese from Mozambique and Portuguese from Brazil, in particular, are varieties that, compared to the standard norm, present some differences both in the phonetic and lexical levels as well as in the syntactic-semantic levels (cf. Mateus, 2003:45-51).

In our work, we are interested in making a syntactic approach to the verbs of movement (*TO GO, TO COME and TO ARRIVE*) in Portuguese.

The choice of movement verbs as our object of study is justified by the fact that, first, it is one of the topics that seems to us to be little studied in Mozambican Portuguese. And, second, because it is one of the lexical categories that, in Portuguese, offers many difficulties to learners of this language, especially those who have it as a second or foreign language, in the particular case of Portuguese speakers from Mozambique covered by our research. Not only that, but also the fact that the researcher of this work, during the exercise of his professional activity, frequently noticed a new parameter for subcategorization of the use of verbs of movement in university students of the Pedagogical University, Delegation of Tete, mainly in the students of the propaedeutic years.

With the present work, it is hoped that it will be one more contribution to awaken greater attention in Portuguese speakers from Mozambique with regard to the subcategorization of verbs of movement in Portuguese.

In the present work, we present the main lines of studies that approach verbs of movement, with emphasis on Duarte e Brito (2003), Peres (1984), Peres & Moia (1995), Vilela (1995), Leal e Oliveira (2007), Raposo (2013), among others, for European Portuguese (PE), Gonçalves (2010) and Carvalho (1991) for Mozambican Portuguese (PE).

## THE NOTION OF SUBCATEGORIZATION AND THE LEXICON

It would not be appropriate to talk about subcategorization without first dealing with the notion of lexicon, because we understand that all subcategorization properties are, in some way, deposited in the language lexicon, that is, subcategorization is seen, in our understanding, as a consequence of the more general lexical properties of predicative words.

### THE NOTION OF LEXICON

In the *Modern Dictionary of the Portuguese Language* (2005:943), it is understood that the lexicon is the set of lexemes of a language. This information is also shared in the *Dictionary of Linguistic Terms* (2010:234), in which a dictionary is considered a dictionary composed of terms specific to an art, a science, regional expressions, ancient classical languages (such as Latin or Greek) etc.

Leiria (2006:28) recalls that the lexicon, for a long time, was considered as “a vast and imprecise entity”. But currently, the lexicon is no longer an “appendix of grammar to become one of the preferred components of linguistic description” (*ibidem*:28).

If we consider the concepts raised above about the lexicon, in a simplistic view, we can say that the lexicon is the set of words of a given language, and aware that some authors make a distinction between the lexicon and vocabulary (cf. Galisson & Coste, 1983). The authors state that the lexicon concerns the language and the vocabulary the discourse.

Villalva (2008:47) understands that, although the dictionary is often indicated as the repertoire of the lexicon, it is not exhaustive because it excludes words that are not recognized by the norms, as is the case of archaisms, dialectalisms and neologisms.

Ambar (1992:149), dealing with rule systems, explains that “the lexicon specifies,

among others, a set of information about the morphological and syntactic structures of lexical items, including categorical and contextual features.” Thus, the lexicon is considered as a set of lexical entries, each of which determines the categorical selection properties of the lexical *items*, defining the categorical nature and grammatical function of the constituents that are subcategorized by a given *item* lexical, taking as core a given construction (categorical selection – c-selection).

The lexicon also determines the ‘thematic marking’ properties of these same *items* (semantic selection – s-selection). In Ambar’s work, it is assumed that the lexical categories are based on the possible combinations of the features [+<sub>N</sub>, +<sub>V</sub>], as can be seen in the following table:

Name	-----[+ N, -V]
Verb	-----[-N, +V]
Adjective	-----[+N, +V]
Preposition	-----[-N, -V]

Raposo (1992:96), in his work on the *Theory of Grammar*, considers that lexical entries contain information of a categorical nature and information related to the phenomenon of item subcategorization.

Júnior (2011:41), citing Negrão et al. (2005), states that it is in the lexicon that the semantic selection requirements and the number of arguments selected by a given predicate are established, as well as those of a categorical nature.

### THE NOTION OF SUBCATEGORIZATION

Relying on Ferreira (2011:31), I understand that “subcategorization shows a strictly local relationship between lexical categories and their subcategorized complements.” For Ferreira (2011), among others, any lexical

category can subcategorize complements, and this is not the unique property of verbs.

See the examples below.

- (1) a. João is brother of Mary.  
b. \* João is a brother.
- (2) a. this car is useful in something.  
b. \* This car is useful.
- (3) a. The book is between the table and chairs / or the book is between the tables.  
b. \* The book is between the table.

The examples in (1 a.)), (2 a.)) and (3 a.)) show that Nouns, Adjectives and Prepositions, respectively, can also subcategorize complements. With the omission of complements subcategorized by the lexical categories foreseen in the sentences cited in (1), (2) and (3) resulted in their ungrammaticality in (1 b.)), (2 b.)) and (3 b.)).

Brito, Duarte and Matos (2003:460) explain that subcategorization “specifies the syntagmatic category of complements selected by a lexical unit”. The authors also explain that “the complements selected by a given lexical unit can be specified not only in terms of their syntagmatic category, but also in terms of other properties, usually referred to as selection constraints.”

In the same context, Raposo (2013: 1159) when addressing (verbal) subcategorization, considers that there are at least three types of information that must appear in the argument structure of verbs in relation to each of the arguments that he selects, namely its function, its thematic role (i.e., the semantic value) and its syntagmatic class. The author also explains that each verb is associated with three types of selection:

- (i) **a functional selection** – which indicates, for each verb, the grammatical function of the selected arguments;
- (ii) **semantic selection** – indicates how many arguments the verb selects and the

thematic role of each one of them, crossing this information with the functional selection;

(iii) **the structural selection** (also called **subcategorization chart**, or simply subcategorization) – specifies the structural class of each argument.

Pay attention to the following example:

- (4) Maria bought a briefcase.

In the sentence in (4), one can see the following:

The verb TO BUY in (4) selects two arguments (*Maria and a folder*) realized respectively, one as subject (*Maria*) and the other (*a folder*) as a direct complement. (**Functional selection of the verb TO BUY**).

The verb buy selects two arguments, to which it assigns the thematic role of beneficiary and theme (*a folder*); the beneficiary is the entity that benefits from the action expressed by the predicate and the theme refers to the entity that is affected by the action, moved, perceived or experienced. (**semantic selection**).

Finally, the verb buy selects two noun phrase arguments (*Maria SN-SU and a folder SN-OD*). (**Structural selection**).

Taking into consideration, the focus of this research, we are interested in analyzing the argument structure of verbs of movement. As is known, the argument structure constitutes a fundamental component of the lexical entry of the verb.

Raposo (1992:97), dealing specifically with lexicon format, points out that subcategorization frames contain two types of information: first, information that a lexical item subcategorises a given number of syntactic positions in the verb phrase (SV); second, information on which grammatical categories fill these syntactic positions.

Thus, in this work, we will consider that the phenomenon of verbal subcategorization acts only on the categories that are selected by the verbs and that, typically, are found to the right

of the verb.

## ABOUT THE VERBAL CATEGORY AND ITS TYPOLOGICAL CLASSIFICATION

In this section, we are interested in concentrating on the conceptualization and typological classification of the verbal category, the object of study of our research.

Maciel (2014:209) states that “the grammars of valences and cases consider the verb as the central element of the sentence”. According to the theory of valences, the verb is seen as the grammatical element that presents, in a more evident way, valence structures. In this theory, verbs are classified as a valent if they exclude any type of complement (for example: rain and thunder...), monovalent (ex.: sleep, bivalent (ex.: to go), and trivalent, if they require one, two, or three complements, respectively

(*TO GIVE*).

Nascimento (1987:90) *apud* Maciel (2014:233), argues that the classical theory of valences placing the subject and complements at the same level of dependency of the verb, considered all of them as empty places, (to be filled lexically) of the structure relationship determined by the verb, distinguishes those that are required by the syntactic valence of the verb (designated by terms, arguments or actants) and that together with the verb constitute the nucleus or verbal block, from those that are not required by the valence of the verb (designated by circumstants). and which are located outside the verb block.

## VERB SUBCLASSES AND RELATIONAL SCHEMAS

Classification of verbs in Portuguese is established according to the subcategorization framework, functional schemes and argument structure, i.e., number and nature of arguments. In the present work, we privileged some general information about the types of

verbs in Portuguese.

As it can be seen in the grammar of valences, Duarte (2003:295) shares the idea that relational schemes represent the possible patterns of syntactic organization of the basic sentences of a language, providing information about:

- the number of predicator arguments (zero to three arguments);
- the final grammatical relationship of each of them (subject, direct object, indirect object, oblique);
- the existence of a secondary predicator (subject predicative, direct object predicative);
- the linear order in which arguments and secondary predicators occur in the sentence.

However, the relational scheme of each sentence depends on the properties of the verb present in it. Now, in the class of verbs, three large subclasses can be distinguished, based on the categorial and semantic selection properties of each lexical *item*: the subclass of verbs **main**, the subclass of verbs **copulatives** and the subclass of verbs **auxiliaries**.

### (i) MAIN VERBS

Main verbs, also called full verbs, constitute the semantic core of a sentence. They are full lexical cores, characterized by certain properties of semantic selection (number of arguments and respective thematic role) and syntactic (category of each argument and the grammatical relationship it assumes in the sentence).

#### a) SUBCLASS OF MAIN VERBS

**Ditransitive verbs** (or direct and indirect transitives in the perspective of Cunha and Cintra (2013)): they are three-place verbs that select an external argument, a direct internal argument with the grammatical relation of direct object and a prepositioned internal argument with the grammatical relation of indirect object, obeying the following relational scheme: SU V OD OI

- (5) [Carlos]SU gave [an orange] Direct

Object [to Gabriel] <sub>OI</sub>.

**Transitive three-place verbs** ((or direct and indirect transitives from the perspective of Cunha and Cintra (2013)): these are verbs that select an external argument, a direct internal argument with the grammatical relation of direct object and a prepositional or adverbial argument with a grammatical relation of oblique, obeying the following relational scheme: SU V OD OBL.

(6) [Carlos]<sub>SU</sub> *shared* [the dinner] <sub>Direct</sub>  
Object [with the friends]<sub>OBL</sub>

**Transitive verbs – predicates:** select an outer argument and an inner argument that is categorically a short sentence; the subject of the small clause has the grammatical relationship of the direct object and the head of the small clause the grammatical relationship of the predicative of the direct object, obeying the following relational scheme: <sub>PREDICATIVE</sub> OF DIRECT OBJECT

(7) (7) [Carlos]SU found [that meeting]  
Direct object [interesting]<sub>PREDICATIVE</sub> OF DIRECT OBJECT

**Transitive Verbs** (or direct transitives from the perspective of Cunha and Cintra (2013)): select an outer argument and an inner argument with the direct object grammatical relation. These verbs obey the following relational scheme: SU V OD.

(8) (8) [Carlos]SU opened [the door]  
Direct Object

**Two-place verbs with an indirect object inner argument** (or transitive indirect in the perspective of Cunha and Cintra (2013)): they select an external argument and an internal argument with the grammatical relation of indirect object, obeying the following relational scheme: SU V OI.

(9) (9) [The meeting] S.U. pleased [the participants] <sub>Indirect</sub> object

**Two-place verbs with an oblique internal argument** (also called indirect transitives from the perspective of Cunha and Cintra

(2013)): they select an external argument and an internal prepositional or adverbial argument with an oblique grammatical relationship. These verbs obey the following relational scheme: SU V OBL. (10) [Carlos] SU goes [to the supermarket] OBL

**Unergative Verbs** (or true intransitives according to traditional Luso-Brazilian grammar): they are verbs from a place that select an external argument with the grammatical relation of subject. These ones, they obey the following relational scheme: SU V.

(11) [O bebé]<sub>SU</sub> *sorriu*.

**unaccusative verbs** (or sentences considered intransitive in the Portuguese-Brazilian grammar tradition): they select an internal argument that occurs with the grammatical relation of subject. This subclass of verbs, according to Duarte (2003), determines, like the unergative verbs, the same relational scheme (SU V), its distinction is based on the fact that the argument of unergative verbs has typical properties of the subject while the argument of unaccusative verbs display both direct object and subject properties.

(12) [Accident victim]SU died.

**Verbs of zero places** (or impersonal according to the Portuguese-Brazilian grammar tradition): they do not select any argument, obeying the following relational scheme: V.

(12) It rained this morning.

(ii) COPULATIVE VERBS

Copulative verbs (also called predicative, copula or linking verbs, or indefinite meaning, according to the Luso-Brazilian grammatical tradition), are those that semantically select an internal argument – a small clause, whose core can be adjectival, nominal, prepositional or adverbial. (cf. Duarte, 2003) (14) a) The child is [happy]SADJ

b) Ana is [veterinarian]<sub>SN</sub>

c) The boys are [afraid to leave the house]

PREPOSITION

d) Carlos stays [away from the village]

ADVERB

Copulative verbs obey the following relational scheme: SU V<sub>COP</sub> PRED<sub>S</sub>

(15) a) The child is [happy]<sub>PRED SU</sub>

b) Ana is [veterinarian]<sub>PRED SU</sub>

c) The boys are [afraid to leave the house]  
subject predicative

d) Carlos stays [away from the village]  
subject predicative

### (iii) AUXILIARY VERBS

Auxiliary verbs occur in verbal sequences formed by at least two verbs: one auxiliary and the other aided. Duarte (2003:295-321) also explains that auxiliary verbs, as they do not have lexical meaning, do not have semantic selection properties. Thus, the NP that occurs with the grammatical relation of subject in sentences with aided verbs is part of a predicative complex organized around the aided verb.

Auxiliary verbs are characterized by not having a thematic grid and by subcategorizing a complement of a verbal nature.

(16) João *has* been doing the physical exercises every day.

In the same subchapter on subclasses of verbs and relational schemes, Duarte (2003) distinguishes causative alternation verbs, locative alternation verbs, symmetric verbs, transitive verbs that allow the object to fall, light verbs and semi-auxiliary verbs.

## SOME CONSIDERATIONS ABOUT VERBS OF MOVEMENT IN PORTUGUESE

In this section, some general considerations about verbs of motion and the treatment of prepositions in Portuguese are addressed.

In the present work, it is recognized the existence of some studies that make a syntactic

and semantic approach on verbs of movement in Portuguese, namely the works of Duarte and Brito (2003), Peres (1984), Peres & Moia (1995), Vilela (1995), Leal and Oliveira (2007), Raposo (2013), among others, for European Portuguese (PE), Gonçalves (2010) and Carvalho (1992) for Mozambican Portuguese (PE).

Motion verbs are verbs that project predications that denote motion events. In the same vein, Raposo (2013:373) considers that in a movement event, there is typically an entity semantically performing a movement along a trajectory, or Path.

The starting point (the Origin) or the final point (the Destination) can be explained linguistically, as well as the route itself or even the Background, that is, the entity in the space from which the movement of the Theme takes place (Talmy, 2000). In an event of this type, several entities may be involved. This involvement of the entities in the event is different, so we can speak of distinct semantic functions attributed to these entities.

Relying on Eliseu (2008:57-59), in the description of the semantic functions<sup>1</sup> relevant, the following minimum list is included: Agent, Origin Instrument, Beneficiary, Experiencer, Locative, Target and Theme. The theme is considered, the “entity that is statically located in a certain place”, the “entity that moves directionally – dynamically – from one place to another” or “an entity that is transferred from one person to another, in the most typical with change of ownership” (Ex.: Paulo goes to the house.). The beneficiary is the entity that benefits from the action expressed by the preacher (Maria bought a present for her boyfriend). Target: entity or place towards which the action (concrete or abstract) expressed by the predicator is directed (for example: The toy rolled to the bottom of the pool). The locative “represents the place where the

1 For a proposal of semantic functions see Duarte and Brito (2003) and Raposo (2013:373-381).

theme is (statically) located” (Ex.: João lives in Africa), while the origin “represents the starting place of a dynamic movement” or in a change of ownership (Ex.: Rita arrived from Mozambique) and the destination “represents the final place of a movement dynamic” (Ex.: Pedro goes to the house).

Peres (1980) distinguishes basic predicates from experiential, beneficial, locative and directional predicates. For the author, basic predicates are those that are formed only with the semantic functions of Object or with Agent and Object, while the predicates that include, in addition to these functions, Experiencer or Beneficiary or Locative constitute experiential, beneficial, locative and locative predicates. directional.

Regarding directional predicates, Peres subdivides them into two groups, namely *procedural directional predicates and actional directional predicates*.

Each type and predicate express a location transfer relationship between entities interpreted as *Origin, Destination, Object and Causer*. This relationship can be expressed by verbs with two, three or four places.

Some studies carried out on movement verbs share the idea that the set of this type of verbs does not show a uniform behavior, nor regular semantic characteristics. For English, for example, in a study carried out by Levin (1993:263-270) a division of directed movement verbs (such as “arrive”) and manner of movement verbs is proposed, which can be, in turn, divided into “roll” type verbs and “run” type verbs.

Leal & Oliveira (2008:287), when analyzing some unergative verbs of movement (from EP), come to the conclusion that what characterizes the verbs of movement is “the fact that, lexically, they do not denote an inherent direction, but rather a form or mode of movement, proper to each verb, in which the specification of a direction can only be

done by a directional phrase.”

See the following examples, with the application of tests typically used to identify complements and adjuncts:

(17) a. João *walked* home and Maria did the same to the School. (p. 288)

b. \* João *wandered* off to school. (p. 289)

The example in ((17) a.)) shows that the verbs of the *verb: TO WALK* type admit a prepositional phrase introduced by *para*, but the co-occurrence of the verb *wander* with prepositional Sentences introduced by *para*, in ((17) b.)) is incompatible.

(18) a. John *walked* home. (p. 288)

a. João *wandered* to school. (p. 290)

In ((18) a. and b.)) it is noted that the verbs of the type: *TO WALK* and *TO TRAVEL*, they admit a prepositional phrase introduced by *until*.

(19) João *walked* for half an hour. (p. 292)

(20) João *walked* to school in half an hour. (p. 292)

The example in (19) and in (20) show that the verb: *TO WALK* combines with the durative adverbials (during x time, in (19)) and duration measure (in x time in (20)).

On the other hand, wandering can only be combined with durative adverbs in contexts that co-occur with the clause *until* + SN.

Note the following examples in (21) and (22).

(21) João *wandered* for half an hour to school. (p. 292)

(22) \*??? João *wandered* to school in half an hour. (p. 292)

In short, in the examples presented in (17-22), it can be seen that the verb: *TO WALK* is compatible with the prepositional Sentences introduced by *para* and by *until* (...). However, as observed in some previous examples, verbs such as “walk” can, under certain circumstances, be combined with expressions such as “in x time”, which are indicators of the



telicity of predications, that is, the verb to walk is a verb with a culminating process, in which a durative and telic situation is admitted, while wandering is a predominantly atelic verb.

## VERBS OF MOTION IN MOZAMBIKAN PORTUGUESE PM'S VERBS OF MOTION IN PAST WORK

Carvalho (1991:128) refers that in PM there is a marked tendency to use the preposition *em*, in prepositional Sentences subcategorized by verbs of movement (TO GO, TO COME and TO ARRIVE) are stronger and “in course of fixation” for PM.

In turn, Gonçalves (2010) draws attention to the fact that, in PM, there are the following trends:

(i) the preposition *em* appears associated with NP (noun Sentences) referring to place and performing the grammatical relations of subject and direct object:

PM: [At his house] it's up ahead.

PE: [His house] is up ahead.

(23) PM: I met her [at her house].

PE: I met [her house]. (p. 130)

(ii) the preposition *em* can also occur with arguments of verbs of movement, with the function of “direction / destination” or “direction / origin”, which in EP are governed by the prepositions *a/ para* and *de*:

(25) PM: It's back [*at home*].

PE: Returned [*home*]

(26) (26) PM: It's coming out [*in the studio*].

PE: He's leaving [*the studio*]. (p.131)

(ii) cases where locative and directional arguments are syntactically realized as proper nouns without preposition and without article: locatives → (27) PM: [*Here*] [*Maputo*] there are a lot of people. PE: [*Here*] [*in Maputo*] there are a lot of people. directional keys → (28) PM: We came [*here*] [*Maputo*].

PE: We came [(to) here] [*to Maputo*].

(29) PM: We left [*Matalane*].

PE: We left [*of Matalane*].

Since this is not the main objective of the work, we are interested in analyzing the verbs: TO GO, TO COME and TO COME in a comparative perspective with European Portuguese (EP) and verify in relation to subcategorization whether the trends referred to by Carvalho and Gonçalves are maintained.

## THE NATURE OF THE DATA

The *corpus* under analysis consists of a questionnaire survey divided into three parts. In the first part of the survey, we intended to obtain sociolinguistic data from the subjects surveyed.

For this, the respondents covered by our research were asked to respond in writing to the options that were appropriate for them. For the satisfaction of this part, the inquired subjects had complete freedom of options that could facilitate the completion of the data required in the survey.

The interpretation of the data collected in the first part of the survey allowed characterizing the different subjects involved in the study, in terms of their sociolinguistic data.

In the second part of the survey, divided into two sessions, we applied a provoked production test to the subjects involved in our study. Several worksheets on the verbs of movement under study were distributed, with the aim of evaluating the subcategorization of verbs of movement (TO GO, TO COME and TO ARRIVE) in Portuguese in PM speakers. Thus, in a first session, the inquired subjects were asked to write complete sentences (simple or complex), taking into consideration, the movement verbs identified in the survey (go, come and arrive). In the second session, the inquired subjects had to complete the blank spaces of the sentences taking into

consideration, the list of prepositions found in parentheses.

In the third and last part of the survey, we applied the other test of judgment of ungrammaticality and/or acceptability, with the aim of evaluating the level of acceptability of the sentences produced involving the subcategorization of the verbs of movement (go, come and arrive) in subjects involved in our research, PM speakers.

In this part, the respondents were asked to identify well-formed, unnatural or “doubtful” and unacceptable and/or ungrammatical sentences, using the symbols presented in the survey.

### PRESENTATION OF SOCIO-LINGUISTIC DATA

The inquired subjects have diversified profiles. The following tables present the numbers and percentage of the analyzed variables.

Age	Gender		Total
	Masculine	Feminine	
15-24	6	6	12
25-34	4	4	8
35-44	5	7	2
45-64	1	2	3
	16	19	35

Table – I: Age and Gender

Naturalness	<b>Northern Mozambique</b>		
	Nampula	1	2.85%
	Cabo Delgado	0	0%
	Niassa	2	5.71%
	<b>Center of Mozambique</b>		
	Tete	11	31.4%
	Manica	4	11.4%
	Sofala	5	14.28%
	Zambézia	3	8.57%
	<b>southern Mozambique</b>		
	Maputo	2	5.71%
	Gaza	3	8.57%
	Inhambane	4	11.4%

Table – II: Naturalness

Language(s) of first contact	<b>Bantu languages</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>80%</b>
	Nyúnguè	6	17.14%
	Nyanja	5	14.28%
	Xangana	4	11.42%
	Ndau	4	11.42%
	Tswa	3	8.57%
	Sena	2	5.71%
	Chuabo	1	2.85%
	Yau	1	2.85%
	Makuwa	2	5.71%
	<b>Portuguese language</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>20%</b>
	Sofala	3	8.57%
	Maputo	1	2.85%
	Inhambane	1	2.85%
	Zambézia	2	5.71%
	<b>Other languages</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0%</b>

Table – III: Language(s) of first contact (L1)

Language(s) used to communicate at home with family	<b>Bantu language(s) only</b>	10	28.57%
	<b>Portuguese language only</b>	6	17.14%
	<b>Bantu language(s) and portuguese language</b>	19	54.28%
	<b>Another language(s)</b>	0	0%

Table – IV: Language(s) used to communicate at home with family (L1 and/or L2)

Language(s) used to communicate with friends	<b>Bantu language(s) only</b>	3	8.57%
	<b>Portuguese language only</b>	18	51.42%
	<b>Bantu language(s) and portuguese language</b>	13	37.14%
	<b>Another language(s)</b>	1	2.85%

Table – V: Language(s) used to communicate at home with friends (L1 and/or L2)

Language(s) used frequently, to communicate in the service	<b>Bantu language(s) only</b>	5	14.28%
	<b>Portuguese language only</b>	14	40%
	<b>Bantu language(s) and portuguese language</b>	16	45.71%
	<b>Another language(s)</b>	0	0%

Table – VI: Language(s) used to communicate on the service (L1 and/orL2)

About your parents' literacy	Father(s)		Mother			
	Literate	Not literate	Literate		not literate	
Primary school	1	6.66 %	0		0%	
Basic education	3	20%	1		12.5%	
Professional Technical Education	7	46.66 %	4		50%	
General Secondary Education	2	13.33%	3		37.5 %	
Higher Education	2	13.33%	0		0%	
<b>Total</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>42.85%</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>57.14 %</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>22.85%</b>
					<b>27</b>	<b>77.14 %</b>

Table VII: About your parents' literacy

<b>Mozambican languages spoken</b>	<b>Bantu languages</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>80%</b>
	Nyúnguè	6	17.14%
	Nyanja	5	14.28%
	Xangana	5	14.28%
	Sena	5	14.28%
	Ndau	4	11.42%
	Tswa	3	8.57%
	Chuabo	3	8.57%
	Makuwa	2	5.71%
	Yau	1	2.85%
Guitonga	1	2.85%	

Table VIII: Mozambican languages spoken

<b>Mozambican languages understood</b>	<b>Bantu languages</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>80%</b>
	Nyúnguè	6	17.14%
	Nyanja	5	14.28%
	Xangana	5	14.28%
	Sena	5	14.28%
	Ndau	4	11.42%
	Tswa	3	8.57%
	Chuabo	3	8.57%
	Makuwa	2	5.71%
	Yau	1	2.85%
Guitonga	1	2.85%	

Table IX: Mozambican languages understood

Briefly, the definition of the sample was based on the primary objective of this study, which was to understand the subcategorization of movement verbs carried out in the

Portuguese from Mozambique. In this perspective, we decided to work with 35 university students from the initial courses of the Pedagogical University, because it is a level in which everyone has done and completed the medium level, i.e., the 12th year of schooling and because it is also the beginning of a higher level.

As for the sociolinguistic profile of the PM-speaking subjects surveyed, we found that, with regard to the gender variable, 45.7%

correspond to male respondents, and 54.3% to female respondents.

A general analysis of the age structure of the sample allows us to observe that the distribution of ages presents a positive asymmetric configuration, resulting from a very young population, in its majority.

As for the level of schooling, the PM-speaking subjects surveyed, (35), are students of the initial courses of the Pedagogical University of Mozambique, Tete Delegation (UP-Tete) with the same level of schooling, therefore medium level with 12th grade completed.

The data obtained show that most respondents come from central Mozambique, with 80%. Of this number, 40% are from the province of Tete.

With regard to place of birth, the subjects surveyed are, for the most part, 65.7%, from the central area of Mozambique, with more emphasis on the province of Tete with 31.4%.

Regarding their mother tongue, only 20% of the subjects surveyed have Portuguese as their mother tongue, and the rest (80%) have a Mozambican language as their L1.

Of the 35 subjects surveyed, only 6, corresponding to 17.14%, speak Portuguese at home with their family. 28.57% use one of the Mozambican languages (Bantu language(s)) to communicate at home with the family and 54.28% speak Portuguese and Bantu languages.

With friends, the inquired subjects use the Portuguese language more to communicate. The data show that 51.42% speak more Portuguese than Bantu languages. It is also noted that, among friends, the inquired subjects use other languages to communicate, with 2.85%.

In the workplaces of the surveyed subjects, the data show a tendency towards the use of Portuguese and Bantu languages, with 45.71%. Compared to this trend, the

Portuguese language seems to gain space in communication in the workplaces of the respondents, with 40%.

Regarding the literacy of the inquired subjects' parents, the data show that there are more literate men (42.85%) than women (22.85%). The data show, in relation to parents' education, that 46.66%, for men, and 50%, for women, have professional technical education, which shows that the parents of the inquired subjects are mostly educated.

The data also show that, according to their naturalness, most of the respondents speak and understand more languages from the central area, with more emphasis on Cinyúnguè, one of the languages spoken in the province of Tete.

## **DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA ON THE SUBCATEGORIZATION OF PM MOVEMENT VERBS**

In this section, we present the results of our research on the subcategorization of the Verbs of Movement (TO COME, TO COME and TO BE) of the PM.

The data collected through the questionnaire survey were the object of analysis: one quantitative and one qualitative.

The study we carried out involved correlations between sociolinguistic data, the application of the provoked production task and the grammaticality and/or acceptability judgment task. The collected data, on the one hand, deserved a statistical treatment, with the aid of some computer programs and, on the other hand, a syntactic analysis of the identified phenomena was carried out.

From the sample collection provided by the inquired subjects (35), students of the initial courses of the Pedagogical University of Mozambique, Delegation of Tete (UP-Tete), it is noted that the subcategorization of Verbs of Movement (to go, come and arrive) obeys,

on the one hand, to standards similar to those of the EP, namely:

(i) when subcategorizing a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *a* (cf. (30<sup>2</sup>));

(30<sup>2</sup>);

(30) a. Maria go to the hospital.

b. Carlos arrived in Tete, yesterday.

c. Pedro is coming to Maputo, soon.

(ii) when the verbs TO GO and TO COME subcategory a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *para* (cf. (31<sup>3</sup>));

(31) a. Paula went to Maputo.

b. Rui came to Tete.

(iii) when the verbs TO GO and TO COME subcategory a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *until* (cf. (32<sup>4</sup>));

(32) a. João went to the store.

b. Fátima came to the edge of the beach.

(iv) when the verb TO COME subcategorises a prepositional phrase introduced by the preposition *de* (cf. (33<sup>5</sup>));

(33) My father comes from Tete.

However, in addition to these characteristics, we found subcategorization of movement verbs in PM (go, come and arrive) with other patterns different from those in EP, as can be seen in the next section, as a result of the provoked production task.

### **RESULTS OF PROVOKED PRODUCTION TASK - 1ST SESSION**

Given the provoked production task, which consisted of formulating a complete sentence, at the discretion of each of the inquired subjects, based on the linguistic elements provided by the researcher (cf. Annexes), the overall results obtained were all simple

2 Results of provoked production task - 1st session

3 Results of provoked production task - 1st session

4 Results of the Grammaticality and/or Acceptability Judgments task

5 Results of provoked production task - 2nd session

sentences and are those shown in the tables below.

### **Verb to go**

Types of prepositions used	Number of sentences produced	Verb Subcategorization Contexts	Percentage Number
<i>in</i>	67	F= SV SV=V+SP SP= P+SN	47,85%
<i>to</i>		F= SV SV=V+SP SP= P+SN	37.85%
<i>à (the+the)</i>	10	F= SV SV=V+SP SP= P+SN	28.57%
<i>To the</i>	7	F= SV SV=V+SP SP= P+SN	20%
<i>to</i>	3	F= SV SV=V+SP SP= P+N	8.57%

Table (i): Results of the provoked production task (%)

Source: Author

### **Verb come**

Types of prepositions used	Number of sentences produced	Verb Subcategorization Contexts	Percentage Number
<i>at</i>	74	F= SV SV=V+SP SP= P+SN	52.85%
<i>of</i>	66	F= SV SV=V+SP SP= P+SN	47.14%

Table (ii): Results of the provoked production task (%)

Source: Author

## Verb to arrive

Types of prepositions used	Number of sentences produced	Verb Subcategorization Contexts	Percentage Number
<i>em</i>	81	F= SV SV=V+SP SP= P+SN	57,85%
<i>a</i>	40	F= SV SV=V+SP SP= P+SN	28.57%
<i>de</i>	19	F= SV SV=V+SP SP= P+SN	13.57%

Table (iii): Results of the provoked production task (%)

Source: Author

(5)	To come	<i>in</i>	21	60%
		<i>of</i>	14	40%
(6)	To come	<i>in</i>	20	57.14%
		<i>of</i>	15	42.85%

Table (iv): Results of the provoked production task (%)

Source: Author

## RESULTS OF THE GRAMMATICALITY AND/OR ACCEPTABILITY JUDGMENTS TASK

In this subsection, the results obtained from the grammatical and/or acceptability judgment task are presented.

### Results of provoked production task - 2nd session

In the second session, the inquired subjects had to complete the blank spaces of the sentences taking into consideration, the list of prepositions found in parentheses.

Note the results, presented in the following table.

Sentence order	Verb	Types of p replacements used	Number of occurrences of prepositions (out of a total of 35 subjects surveyed)	Percentage Number
(1)	Go	<i>in</i>	17	48.57%
		<i>for</i>	12	34.28%
		<i>The</i>	6	17.14%
(2)	Go	<i>in</i>	16	47.71%
		<i>for</i>	13	37.14%
		<i>The</i>	6	17.14%
(3)	To arrive	<i>in</i>	15	42.85%
		<i>The</i>	11	31.42%
		<i>in</i>	9	25.71%
(4)	to arrive	<i>in</i>	14	40%
		<i>The</i>	11	31.42%
		<i>of</i>	10	28.57%

Sentences	Options		
	“√”	“?”	“×”
(1) Rui went to school.	35	00	00
(2) Rui went to school.	35	00	00
(3) Rui went to school.	11	24	00
(4) We arrived at the cinema very late.	29	6	00
(5) We got to the cinema very late.	8	18	9
(6) We got to the cinema very late.	5	27	3
(7) I have no plans to go to Maputo.	35	00	00
(8) I have no plans to go to Maputo.	13	22	00
(9) I have no plans to go to Maputo.	35	00	00
(10) The Portuguese linguist arrives in Maputo today.	9	17	8
(11) The Portuguese linguist arrives in Maputo today.	27	8	00
(12) The Portuguese linguist arrives in Maputo today.	4	30	1
(13) Marcos is going home.	35	00	00
(14) Mark goes home.	35	00	00
(15) John went to the store.	13	22	00
(16) I go to the cafe.	14	21	00
(17) I go to the cafe.	33	2	00
(18) Fátima came to the edge of the beach.	15	20	00
(19) The President of the Republic arrived in Portugal.	35	00	00
(20) The President of the Republic arrived in Portugal.	3	30	2
(21) The President of the Republic arrived in Portugal.	9	18	8
(22) The President of the Republic arrived from Portugal.	35	00	00

(23) Maria came early to college.	35	00	00
(24) Maria came early to college.	3	32	00
(25) Maria came early to college.	5	27	3
(26) Maria came early from college.	35	00	00

Table(v): Results of the grammaticality and/or acceptability judgments task (%)

Source: Author

According to the results expressed in tables (i)-(v) we can see the following:

(i) as only subcategorization contexts were analyzed, we found respect for the subcategorization of movement verbs, which always select prepositions;

(ii) the inquired subjects, speakers of PM, use verbs of movement (go, come and arrive) with a tendency to subcategorize the prepositional sentences introduced by the preposition *em* for the expression of target / destination / direction, as already proposed by Carvalho and Gonçalves;

(iii) the preposition *a* seems to be used less than *para* or *em* with the motion verbs: TO GO and TO ARRIVE; *para* seems then to be the preferred preposition of fate, irrespective of whether it be the preposition of fate temporarily or definitively; that is, speakers do not seem to make a difference between temporary or definitive destiny (at least in provoked productions);

(iv) also, in the data related to the grammatical and/or acceptability judgment task, the acceptance of the preposition *para* is more evident in contexts in which verbs of movement are involved, in particular the verb: TO GO;

(v) PM speakers recognize the co-occurrence of the preposition even in constructions involving movement verbs, especially the verb: TO GO;

(vi) *de* is clearly the preposition of origin, as shown by the results presented in tables ((iv) and (v)). That is, the expression of the origin is not a problem for the PM;

(vii) the absence of the article with some nouns such as house or proper names, as already noted by Gonçalves (2010), in contexts in which the directional locative prepositions of EP (*a/para* and *de*) require a noun phrase complement (cf. Table (i)).

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this work, we tried to analyze the subcategorization properties of the verbs of movement (go, come and arrive) in the PM, comparing it with those of the EP.

The analysis of the results, from the tasks of provoked production and judgments of grammaticality and/or acceptability allowed us to identify that, in the PM, in general, the subcategorization of the movement verbs under study obeys, on the one hand, the patterns similar to those of EP and, on the other hand, there is a marked tendency in the use of the preposition *em*, in prepositional Sentences preferentially subcategorized by the verbs: TO GO, TO COME and TO ARRIVE. This behavior had already been highlighted by Carvalho (1991) and Gonçalves (2010). The authors share the idea that motion verbs in PM have some specificities regarding the syntactic behavior of locative and directional arguments (cf. (23)-(29)).

Regarding the preposition *a*, it is observed that it is in loss in PM (Portuguese of Mozambique), being, in general, replaced by the preposition *em*.

The results obtained also point to the absence of the definite article in some nouns (the noun house and even proper nouns such as Maputo, in contexts in which the directional locative prepositions of EP (*a/para* and *de*) require a noun phrase complement (cf. Table (i)).

We concluded that the linguistic phenomena described in this work are not just emerging in PM. Most likely they are typical of speakers who learn the Portuguese

language as L2<sup>6</sup>.

It must be underlined that the phenomena analyzed here can still take on other contours. Thus, the limitation of this work is recognized, since it only worked with a certain group of verbs and informants. It is also recognized that these phenomena are produced by educated informants, and the corpus was formed from written data. There is room, therefore, for other studies to be carried out, based on more diversified corpora, involving speakers from various social strata and covering both written and oral registers.

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<sup>6</sup> In the future, we will propose to analyze data from BP and PA, also from countries with creoles as L1 for this approach.



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