

Possessor datives in contact: a case-study of African varieties of Portuguese

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Possession relations surface in two major types of structures: either possessor and *possessum* occur within the same DP constituent (internal possession) or the possessor, although semantically dependent of the *possessum*, surfaces as an object of the verb (possessor datives), as illustrated in European Portuguese (EP) examples (1-2).

Possessor datives are discussed for many languages of different typologies and families (Keenan 1976, Guéron 1985, Landau 1999, Nikolaeva 2002, Deal 2013). These structures have not been discussed for urban African varieties of Portuguese (AVP) (historically) in contact with Creole and Bantu languages. We therefore aim to compare and discuss possessor dative structures in EP (Duarte & Oliveira 2018) with three nativizing AVP: Santomean Portuguese (STP), in contact with São Tomé Creole (STC); Angolan Portuguese (AngP), in contact with western Bantu, particularly Kimbundu; Mozambican Portuguese (MozP), in contact with eastern Bantu, such as Changana. For the data we used spoken *corpora* and elicitation tasks.

In STC, with transitive causative verbs, the possessor occurs in a double object construction (DOC), (3); with unaccusative verbs STC only allows the internal possessor structure (4). Using the same verb classes, Kimbundu and Changana display different structures. With transitive verbs, the possessor in Kimbundu is introduced by *ku(-a)*, the locative marker used for Recipients in ditransitive clauses (5), whereas Changana exhibits DOCs (6). Kimbundu uses an impersonal structure to express external possession with unaccusative verbs (7); Changana resorts to transitive verbs with Maleficiary subjects (8) or to possessor passives (9).

Taken into account the contrasts between the strategies in EP and in these African languages, and building on previous work showing that dative (Recipient) constructions in AVP display substantial differences (Chavagne 2005; Gonçalves 2004; Gonçalves 2016), we will discuss whether and to what extent contact-induced change also plays a role in the expression of possessor dative structures in the emerging postcolonial varieties.

Examples

- (1) *eu parti o braço do Pedro*
I broke the arm of.the Peter
- (2) *caiu um dente ao Pedro*
fell a tooth DAT.Peter
- (3) ... *sama lôgôzô kota mosu kabêsa*
call executioner cut boy head
- (4) *ũa dêntxi di Pedru kyê*
a tooth of Peter fell
- (5) *nga-bukula lukwaku ku-a a-thu*
1SG.PST-break 11.arm LOC-ASC 2-person
- (6) *Juwawa a-tsov-ile Pedru voko*
John 1SM-break-PST Peter arm

- (7) *ku-a-dibale diziw dimoxi ku-a Phetele*
 LOC-PST-fall 5.tooth 5.one LOC-ASC Peter
- (8) *Pedru a-suk-ile tinyu*
 Peter 1SM-loose-PST tooth
- (9) *Pedru a-w-el-iw-ile hi yindlu*
 Peter 1-fall-APL-PASS-PST PREP house
 ‘Peter’s house fell’

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