[*DAR UMA* N-*ADA* PP]: A CONSTRUCTIONAL ANALYSIS

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▪ ABSTRACT: Based on the assumptions of the Usage-Based Models, in particular, the Cognitive Construction Grammar, in this paper we examine the constructional pattern [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] and discuss its relationship with the ditransitive construction. From the analysis of diachronic and synchronic data, collected from the database of *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES; FERREIRA, 2006), we sought evidence for the constructionalization process of the nominal pattern and its expansion into modern/contemporary Portuguese. We assume that the denominal construction [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] licenses two different subschemas according to the characteristics of its nominal base, and that this construction is sanctioned by a more abstract schema, namely [*dar uma* X-(*a*)*da* (PP)], which also sanctions the verbal base construction V-*da*. The diachronic evidence as well as the analysis of the morphosyntactic, semantic and discursive properties of instances collected on websites and blogs provided arguments in favor of the postulation of two subschemas linked to a more general pattern [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP]: one subschema with nominalizations resulting from names of instruments and another subschema resulting from names of body parts. In addition, we found a partial inheritance relationship between the denominal construction and the transfer ditransitive construction, mainly those formed by nominalizations that are based on names of instruments.[1]

▪ KEYWORDS: construction; [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP]; expansion; change.

Introduction

The verb DAR ('give') is recruited for different constructions (schemas, subschemas, and micro-constructions) with different degrees of compositionality, as shown by several studies (SALOMÃO, 1990, 2008; NEVES, 1999, 2006; BASÍLIO, 1999, 2001; SCHER, 2004; ESTEVES, 2008, 2012; VIEIRA, 2010, 2014; DAVEL, 2014, 2019; among many

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others). It is particularly productive in combination with nominalizations resulting from either nominal bases or verbal bases, as illustrated in (1) and (2).

(1) *Retirada de lá, por meio de adoção, foi castrada, medicada e cuidada com muito amor e carinho. Pior de tudo suspeitamos que era usada para ter filhotes e quando descobriram a doença dela tentaram enforcá-la e ainda deram uma martelada em sua cabeça [...] (Séc. XXI, Corpus do Português: Pitbull: vítima ou vilão?[1]).*

'Removed from there, through adoption, [the dog] was castrated, medicated and treated with a lot of love and affection. Worst of all, we suspected she was used to have puppies, and when they discovered her illness they tried to hang her and even hammered her in the head [...]'

(2) *Oi **Josy**! Bem vinda de volta às terras geladas flor! E sim, ficou bem gostoso, só vale a pena dar uma variada no tempo de forno, acho que os fornos elétricos não geram o mesmo tipo de calor de um forno a gás. (Séc. XXI, Corpus do Português: Vida dura, corpo mole e pudim | Uma Caipira na Suécia[2]).*

'Hi Josy! Welcome back to the frozen lands, dear! And yes, it was very tasty, it's just worth varying the oven time. I think electric ovens don't generate the same kind of heat as a gas oven.'

In this paper, we focus on the denominal construction, corresponding to the schema [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP], in which the head of the NP is filled by a nominalization formed from names that characterize instruments (example 3) or body parts (example 4).

(3) *Assustado, o bandido tenta ajudar o garoto. Jaime dá uma paulada nas costas de Dedinho, que cai desmaiado. Terça, 23 de outubro. Os garotos saem de seus esconderijos e 63 escondem Dedinho atrás do sofá. Depois voltam para as mesmas posições para esperar Lobinho aparecer (Séc. XXI, Corpus do Português: Semana "Carrossel": Maria Joaquina pensa em dizer que foi seu pai[3]).*

'Scared, the bandit tries to help the boy. Jaime slaps Dedinho on the back, who faints. Tuesday, October 23. The boys come out of their hiding places and 63 hide Dedinho behind the sofa. Then they return to the same positions to wait for Lobinho to show up.'

(4) *[...] Pânico na Band: 2-Demi Lovato - Heart Attack Alguém duvida que **essa gateenha** tem um dom pra criar músicas totalmente perfeitas? Sério**, olha** o toque, a melodia, tanta explosão, que **você** só falta dar uma cabeçada na parede,*

*enquanto canta... bom isso **se você** é como a Candy aqui. (Séc. XXI, Corpus do Português - Top 5 clipes com músicas incríveis | TRECHY TEEN // OFFICIAL⁴).*

'Does anyone doubt that this pretty girl has a gift for creating totally perfect songs? Seriously, take a look at the ringtone, the melody, it's such an explosion that you just have to headbutt the wall while she sings... well, that's if you're like Candy here.'

In examples (3) and (4), the schema [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] associates two participants, a Subject NP with thematic role of Agent and a PP that encodes the affected element. It should also be noted that the construction evokes a scene of violence, of physical aggression. In (3), the action/aggression is directed towards an animate referent. In (4), the blow/aggression targets an inanimate Recipient, and the action is even reflexive, turning to the Subject itself.

Depending on the characteristics of the nominal base, the denominal construction is invested, however, with a more abstract meaning, which can be understood as a psychological aggression, as in the case of *DAR UMA CARTEIRADA*, in (5).

(5) *Sei que a **Reese Whiterspoon** não é o anjo que aparenta nas telas e que na vida real foi presa por* tentar dar uma carteirada num policial *(aquela história do "«sabe com que você está falando?"), mas gosto do jeito dela e acho que ela tem cara de gente boa. Também gosto da maneira que a Reese Whiterspoon se veste no dia a dia e fui buscar looks fáceis e muito inspirREadores para você copiar já! (Séc. XXI, Corpus do Português: Copie o look -Reese Whiterspoon – Gosto Disto!⁵).*

'I know that Reese Whiterspoon is not the angel she seems to be on screen and that in real life she was arrested for trying to snub a cop (that thing "*do you know who you're talking to?*"), but I like the way she looks and I think she seems to be a good person. I also like the way Reese Whiterspoon dresses in her day-to-day, and I went looking for easy and very inspiring looks for you to copy right now!'

In (5), the sequence *dar uma carteirada* can hardly be understood in compositional terms, as the meaning of the whole does not result from the sum of the meaning of the parts. [*dar uma carteirada*] does not refer to physical aggression, but to psychological aggression, that is, to Reese Whiterspoon's attempt to impose her supposed authority as a successful actress on an animated Goal, in this case, the policeman.

Based on the assumptions of the Usage-Based Models and the Cognitive Construction Grammar, according to proposals defended by Croft (2001), Croft e Cruse (2004), Goldberg (1995, 2006), Langacker (1987, 1991), Bybee (2006, 2010), Traugott and Trousdale (2013), Rosário and Oliveira (2016), and many others, the main objective

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⁴   Available at: http://www.flogao.com.br/ponchoecandy/blog/1544241/. Access on: 9 mar. 2022.

⁵   Available at: http://www.nomeucamarim.com/2013/09/look-preto-esfumado-com-dourado.html/. Access on: 9 mar. 2022.

of this paper is to describe the morphosyntactic, semantic and discursive properties of the denominal constructional pattern [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] and to discuss its inheritance link to the transfer construction, a more prototypical use of the verb DAR. Thus, we seek to bring evidence for the hypothesis that the denominal construction licenses two different subschemas according to the characteristics of nominal base and that it is sanctioned by a more abstract schema [*dar uma* X-(*a*)*da* (PP)], which also licenses the deverbal construction V-*da* (*dar uma olhada, dar uma pesquisada*). In addition, we seek to identify clues of the constructionalization process of the denominational pattern, based on some diachronic evidence.

To verify the central hypothesis of this study, we analyzed occurrences of the construction [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] in Portuguese written in the 20th and 21st centuries on blogs and websites available in *Corpus do Português* (DAVIES; FERREIRA, 2006). The blogs and websites can be viewed as supports associated with more informal linguistic records. The attested data are analyzed according to various semantic and formal properties, in order to identify the most recurrent characteristics of the different components of the construction [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP]. As for the verbal form DAR, we considered the properties of tense, mood, person and number; as for the NP, we focused on the realization of the determiner, the pluralization/quantification and the presence of modifiers. As for the PP, we analyze the presence or absence of the preposition and the trace of animacy of the embedded noun phrase. In addition, we analyzed the animacy and the agency of the Subject.

This paper is organized as follows: in the second section, some central assumptions of the Usage-Based Models and of the Cognitive Construction Grammar are discussed, in particular, the fact that the more general patterns of grammar are abstracted from instances of use and that the constructions are related to each other by formal and/or semantic similarities. In the third section, we try to trace the path of the construction [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP], based on data attested over the 16th to the 21st centuries, focusing mainly in the expansion of the slot N. In the fourth section, we discuss the relationship between the pattern [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] and the transfer construction. The final considerations follow.

Usage-Based Models and Construction Grammar

As pointed out in the introduction, in this work we adopt the perspective of the Usage-Based Models, in particular that of Cognitive Construction Grammar. Thus, we assume a conception of grammar as a structured network of grammatical and lexical constructions (form-meaning pairings) (LANGACKER, 2000; GOLDBERG, 1995, 2006), This network that is organized from the speakers' countless communicative experiences. According to the Usage-Based Models, grammar is structured by regularities, irregularities and gradience at all levels. This understanding leads to the rejection of the traditional distinction between lexicon and syntax, since, as highlighted

by Kemmer and Barlow (2000), a delimitation of the boundaries between lexical and grammatical level does not allow us to understand the dynamism inherent to human languages that leads to the fluidity of linguistic categories, variation and change. From this perspective, the speaker's grammar is flexible, emergent, as it constantly adapts to different communicative situations (HOPPER, 1987; BYBEE, 2010).

In the Usage-Based Models theoretical framework, language characteristics and the way more general patterns are abstracted by speakers are the outcome of more general cognitive processes, such as categorization, chunking, rich memory, analogy and transmodal association, which interact between themselves (BYBEE, 2010). Such mechanisms can explain both the regular and irregular linguistic patterns, which constitute the speaker's linguistic knowledge. The linguistic system is essentially dynamic, as it is based on the adaptation of these cognitive skills to specific communicative situations. In this perspective, both the token frequency and the type frequency of constructions play a crucial role, not only in production but also in linguistic processing (DIESSEL; HILPERT, 2016). Frequency can reinforce more abstract linguistic representations, resulting in cognitive routines that become more easily accessible (BYBEE, 2003, 2006, 2010).

Within the perspective briefly outlined up to this point, the concept of construction, conceived as a form-meaning/function pairing, is a relevant construct, as it allows for a more integrated account of the lexical-grammatical gradient and the different uses of a linguistic form, as is the case of the verb DAR (GOLDBERG, 1995, 2006). In Traugott and Trousdale's (2013) view, constructions are gradient in different dimensions: size, specificity and concept, as detailed in Table 1, taken from the authors and adapted to Portuguese.

Chart 1 – Dimensions of constructions

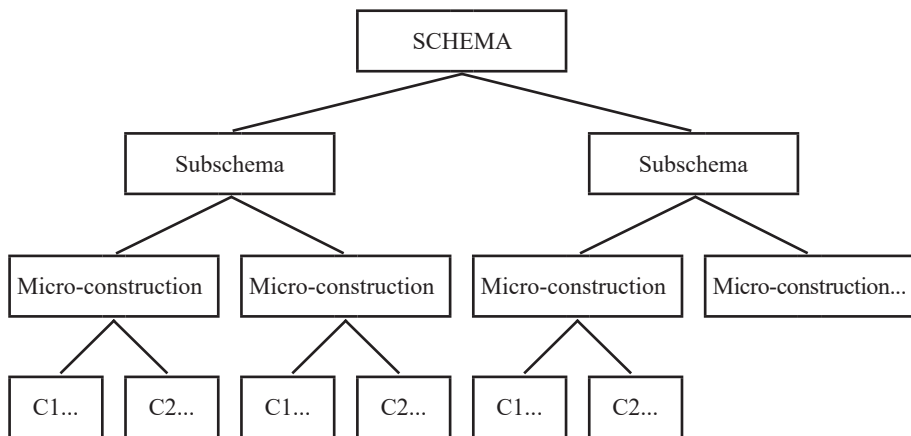|			
Size	**Atomic** *Cana,-s* (PL)	**Complex** *Vá lá, no entanto*	**Intermediate** *Pré-solução*
Specificity	**Substantive** *Cana,-vial*	**Schematic** VP, PP	**Intermediate** ADJ, *mente*
Concept	**Contentful** *Cana,* VP	**Procedural** *-s* (PL)*, no entanto*	**Intermediate** *Dar uma bofetada*

Source: Adapted from Traugott and Trousdale (2013, p.13).

The greater or lesser degree of specificity, that is, the schematicity of a construction, constitutes a central point of the constructionist approach to grammar. While certain constructions are completely schematic, as is the case of SVO, many of them have previously lexically specified positions and slots that can be filled in different ways, as is the case of the denominal construction focused in this study. In [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP], while the verb DAR and the article UMA constitute specified positions, slots N and PP admit different forms of filling, as we will see in the next section. From the perspective

of the size parameter, the denominal construction can be considered complex, as it has different constituents; from the point of view of the concept, it is intermediate, as it is located between the poles of lexical and grammatical content, since it is invested with aspectual values.

Constructions are organized in a structured inventory, that is, in a hierarchical network, so that each construction represents a node linked to a higher level of abstraction (GOLDBERG, 1995, 2006). From a bottom-up perspective, Traugott and Trousdale (2013) propose an organization of three levels of abstraction: instances of use (constructs) are licensed by semi-schematic patterns (micro-constructions) which, in turn, are linked to subschemas sanctioned by a higher-level schema, as shown in Figure 1, taken from the authors.[6]

Figure 1 – Taxonomic relationships between constructions

Source: Traugott and Trousdale (2013, p. 17).

According to this perspective, the syntactic and semantic specifications of a construction are, at least partially, inherited from a higher-level construction (GOLDBERG, 1995, 2006; CROFT, 2001; TRAUGOTT; TROUSDALE, 2013). The notion of inheritance, associated with the principle of motivation, proposed by Haiman (1983), is relevant, as the emergence of new constructions in the language is not random, but motivated by pre-existing structural arrangements (LAKOFF, 1987). It is based on this motivation that one can infer the relationship between different constructions and explain the regularities in the grammar of a language (LAKOFF, 1987; GOLDBERG, 1995, 2006; CROFT, 2001).

Goldberg (1995, 2006) argues that inheritance links are symmetric so that if construction A motivates construction B, B inherits properties from A. The author

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6   It should be noted that Traugott (2018, p. 19) reviews this proposal, admitting that "there may be several levels of schemas, depending on the degree of abstraction proposed by the linguist".

emphasizes, however, that sharing properties requires that they do not conflict. She also admits that the relationship between constructions can be partially motivated, which, in Langacker's (1987) terms, means that, although construction B inherits some properties from construction A, it may develop certain specific characteristics.

In addition to taxonomic relation, linguistic constructions are related through several other links: (i) *polysemy links*, (ii) *metaphorical extension links*, (iii) *subpart links* and (iv) *instantiation links*. Polysemic links capture the relations between a specific meaning of a construction and the extensions of meaning that radiate from it by metaphorical extension, that is, through the projection of semantic features from more concrete domains to more abstract domains. This is the case of the relation between the caused-motion construction and the resultative construction (GOLDBERG, 1995, p. 93) which, according to the author, results from a more general metaphor in which "change of state" is conceived as "change of location", as in the diagram below.

motion → change
location → state

This relation can explain several uses, more or less distant from the frame of transfer. Prototypically, the transfer-of-ownership construction requires an animate Agent that transfers an object to a Recipient, usually animate, that is, one that is appropriate to receive that object. However, there are numerous cases in which Agent and Recipient are not prototypical, as the Subject SN may encode non-human and unintentional referents and the Recipient may not have the necessary conditions to receive the transferred entity. In this way, the semantic properties of arguments linked to the verb have a direct relationship with the metaphorical extensions of a construction. For transference to occur, an adjustment between the semantics of the construction and the semantic features of the verb is necessary. Many of the instances of the denominal construction with N-*ada* can be interpreted as metaphorical extensions of the transfer-of-ownership construction, as is the case of example (6).

(6) *Eu detesto cobra, mas mesmo assim me aproximei um pouco para ver esses malucos que ficam tocando flauta em frente a quatro ou cinco najas. "Não é possível que de vez em quando um bicho desses não acorde do feitiço pra* dar uma dentada nesses caras", *pensei, calculando a melhor medida entre chegar um pouco mais perto e conservar uma distância segura. Nisso, senti alguém me cutucar por trás (Séc. XXI, Corpus do Português: Chéri à Paris: Pra lá de Marrakech - Outras Palavras).*

'I hate snakes, but even so I got a little closer to see these freaks who play the flute in front of four or five najas. "It's not possible that, every once in a while, an animal like this doesn't wake up from the spell to take a bite out of these guys", I thought, calculating the best measure between getting a little closer and keeping a safe distance. Then I felt someone poke me from behind.'

In (6), there is a non-human animate Subject (an animal), which can be assumed, without intentionality, and a human Recipient capable of receiving concrete objects or actions. However, the encoded scene does not refer to a transference of objects, but to an aggression event. Although the syntactic structure of the construction apparently conforms to the structural pattern of the ditransitive construction, it distances itself from the prototypical construal of transfer of ownership, as it is not possible to assign the role of Theme to the NP with the nominalization *dentada*, which is normally associated with it. It is a case in which causal events can be interpreted as transference, since movement is conceived as a change of state (LAKOFF; JOHNSON, 1980; GOLDBERG, 1995).

Through the subpart link, an independent construction is related to another one, a construction called 'mother', which would have the 'daughter' as its subpart, as in *Ana quebrou o copo* ('Ana broke the glass') and *O copo quebrou* ('The glass broke'). While the first is transitive, the second is ergative. The subpart link is established as a result of the suppression of the Agent NP (*Ana*) of the transitive in the Ergative construction. Through the instantiation link, in turn, a construction constitutes a more specific version of the other. It concerns cases where specific lexical items are restricted to certain constructions, in specific contexts.[7]

In Diessel's (2015) proposal, the relationships between the constructions of a network are not restricted to vertical links. The author highlights the importance of horizontal links, that is, those that capture the associative relations between constructions that are at the same level of abstraction. The horizontal links resemble the links between lexical expressions in the mental lexicon, in which the form and meaning of similar structures are associated with each other, in terms of their phonetic and/ or semantic properties. The author also highlights the need to consider the syntactic links that account for the relationships between constructions and syntactic categories and the relationships between parts of constructions. It is the recurrence of parts of the constructions that allows the emergence of grammatical relations, as well as word classes. Finally, the constructions establish lexical links between themselves, that is, they involve the association between (schematic) constructions and lexical expressions.

In the next section, we present the results of our analysis of [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] data on blogs and websites, highlighting their most relevant properties.

Expansion and properties of the construction [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP]

As highlighted in the introduction, we focus on the construction [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] in contemporary Portuguese (20th and 21st centuries), from data collected in the

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7   An example discussed by Goldberg is the verb '*to drive*', that only occurs in resultative constructions when the role of Goal is related to madness (*He drove Pat mad/bonkers/crazy*). A similar example is the nominalization of TOPADA, which has been consolidated in micro-constructions such as '*Maria deu uma topada na cadeira*' [Maria stubbed her toe on the chair].

Corpus do Português (DAVIES; FERREIRA, 2006). An initial survey of the entire Brazilian Portuguese database allowed us to identify the high occurrence of this construction in texts published on websites and blogs and its scarce occurrence in other types of text.[8] Thus, our data collection was restricted to websites and blogs. We then proceeded to a random search, that is, regardless of the specific characteristics of each text or the characteristics of its authors. In total, 309 tokens of [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] were attested, which correspond to the same number of texts, since each data occurred in a different text.

Another objective of this study is to identify clues of the emergence of the denominal schema [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP]. Therefore, we sought to identify records of this construction in periods up to the 19th century, through a search in the entire base of *Corpus do Português*. This survey resulted in only 27 occurrences of [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP], exclusively in literary and theater texts written between the 16th and 19th centuries. Despite this low token frequency, these occurrences provide some interesting clues about the possible contexts of emergence and expansion of the denominational construction.

The first instances of [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP], as in example (7), were attested in the 16th century.

(7) *Aqui* <u>*deram uma espingardada a Francisco de Abreu*</u>*, de que o derribaram; o irmão, vendo-o cair, voltou pera o recolher, dando com grande fúria nos inimigos, fazendo-os deter com morte de alguns; e querendo alevantar o irmão, lhe deram a ele outra espingardada, de que caiu morto sobre ele, fazendo ambos neste dia cousas dignas de grandes louvores (Séc. XVI, Corpus do Português: Quinta década (livros 8-10), vol. 1, Décadas, de Diogo do Couto).*

'Here they knocked Francisco de Abreu with a shotgun, knocking him down; the brother, seeing him fall, returned to pick him up, hitting his enemies with great fury, causing them to stop with the death of some; and because he wanted to uplift the brother, they gave him another shotgun, which caused him to drop dead on him, both brothers doing things worthy of great praise on this day.'

In addition to its low token frequency, the schema [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] is found with a reduced number of distinct nominalizations (a total of 8), listed in Table 1.

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[8] Similarly, a survey in the sociolinguistic databases *Censo 80*, relating to Portuguese spoken in Rio de Janeiro, and *PortVix*, relating to the Espírito Santo variety, resulted in few occurrences of the denominal construction [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP].

Table 1 – Frequency of the denominal construction from the 16th to the 19th century

[*dar uma* N-*ada* PP]	16th century	17th century	18th century	19th century	TOTAL
deram uma cutilada	1				1
deram uma espingardada	1	1			2
désse uma espingardada	1	1	1		3
dar uma bofetada			1	2	3
deu-me uma bofetada				2	2
deu uma bofetada		1			1
dá-lhe uma bofetada				5	5
dá outra bofetada				1	1
dando uma pancada[9]			1	1	2
dá-lhe uma bengalada				1	1
dando uma cotovelada				1	1
dando uma palmada				4	4
dar uma cabeçada				1	1
Tokens	3	3	3	18	27
Types	2	2	3	6	8

Source: Davel (2019, p. 84).

The results in Table 1 provide indications that, until the 18th century, the frequency of the denominal construction is low, and only gains a more significant boost in the 19th century, increasing from 3 to 18 tokens and doubling the number of distinct nominalizations (6) in slot N. Another noteworthy aspect is that, in its initial occurrences, the denominal construction seems to be restricted to nominalizations resulting from names of concrete objects that can be used as instruments of attack (shotgun, knife). Although the online dictionary *Caldas Aulete* defines a shotgun as "a shot fired by a shotgun", in fact, the interpretation that seems to impose itself in "*DAR uma espingardada*" is that of performing a blow with a shotgun.

As highlighted by Davel (2019), the combination of -*ada* with the verb DAR acquires a value of aggression to Y. However, in the 17th century, the item *bofetada* is attested which signals that the denominal schema could already recruit bases with other semantic properties. This possibility becomes more evident in the 19th century, with the nominalizations *palmada*, *cotovelada* and *cabeçada*, whose bases refer to body parts.

Although the scarcity of data requires caution, there are signs of an expansion of the denominal construction to names that indicate body parts, which raises a reflection, since these two possibilities have particularities. If, on the one hand, items that refer

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[9]   *Pancada* comes from the form **"panca"**, a lever made of wood, according to *Dicionário Priberam da Língua Portuguesa*, 2008-2013. Available in: https://dicionario.priberam.org/panca. Access on: 9 Mar. 2022.

to concrete objects of attack, therefore of alienable possession, share several semantic similarities, on the other hand, the relationship between these with bases that refer to body parts, of inalienable possession, is less transparent. The two types of nominalization are also distinguished in the way the aggression event takes place. An aggression with external objects is more commonly agentive, that is, it is practiced with the intention of hitting another person, as in the case of example (8):

(8) [...] *e que o seu Capitão andava diante pelejando como um leão, tendo já um monte de Abexins mortos diante dele, e enrestando a lança, quiz sua boa ventura que o tomou pelos peitos, dando com ele no chão muito mal ferido; e passando com aquela furia do encontro, porque lhe não parou o cavalo bem, se foi meter no meio dos Turcos, onde* <u>lhe deram uma cutilada por uma perna,</u> *de que depois ficou aleijado. (Séc. XVI, Corpus do Português: Crónica do imperador Clarimundo, de João de Barros).*

'and that his Captain walked ahead fighting like a lion, having already a heap of slain Abexim before him, and laying the spear, he wanted his good fortune which took him by the breast, finding him on the ground badly wounded; and passing with that fury of the encounter, because his horse did not stop well for him, he went to get among the Turks, where they gave him a slash in the leg, from which he was later crippled.'

The denominal construction resulting from part of the body, on the other hand, exhibits some ambiguity, as it can be agentive, aiming at an affected element, or reflexive (X reaches itself) in which the result is more often unintentional, as illustrated in (9).

(9) *Eu dou de cara com a porta da varanda que estava fechada e eu não tinha visto.* <u>*Dei uma cabeçada tão patética e espetacular que achei que o vidro fosse quebrar.*</u> *Que, se alguém tivesse filmando, seria um vídeo digno de estar nas videocassetadas. Que eu quis rir, mas o negócio foi tão forte que eu... chorei. Foi incontrolável, as lágrimas escorriam pelo meu rosto sem parar. (Séc. XXI, Corpus do Português: Do dia em que eu me senti o meu filho | Carol e suas baby-bobeiras).*

'I slammed my face into the porch door that was closed and I hadn't seen it. I gave such a pathetic and spectacular headbutt that I thought the glass would break. If someone had been filming it, it would be a video worthy of being on *Videocassetadas*. And I wanted to laugh, but the thing was so strong that I... cried. It was uncontrollable, tears running down my face without stopping.'

Unlike (8), in which the intention to hurt is part of the context itself, in example (9), the action of hitting the head on the glass is accidental, involuntary and affects the subject himself. Although the evidence cannot be taken as decisive, the expansion of the construction [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] seems to contradict what is most often

expected regarding semantic changes, that is, an evolution towards person > object (HEINE; ULRIKE; HÜNNEMEYER, 1991). Therefore, it is possible to consider that an analogization process, as understood by Traugott and Trousdale (2013), has triggered the recruitment of names related to body parts for slot N.

It is noteworthy that the fact that they were already attested between the 16th and 19th centuries does not allow us to safely say that these formations were already constructionalized, that is, conventionalized, because they are very scarce. From a constructionalization perspective (TRAUGOTT; TROUSDALE, 2013), they might be an innovation. The safest empirical evidence of the increased schematicity of the constructional pattern [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] is provided by contemporary Portuguese data. We observe an exponential increase in its token frequency in the blogs and websites of *Corpus do Português*, in a total of 309 occurrences, as highlighted at the beginning of this section. This important increase in the number of tokens is accompanied by a significant expansion of the denominal schema, a *sine qua non* condition for the abstraction of a more general schema, as proposed by Bybee (2010). 36 different nominalizations were attested, many of them farther from the frame of aggression, as is the case of *golada* (example 10) and *ovada* (example 11).

(10) *Audrey meu muito obrigado, independente do resultado da empreitada. Um comentário: Mila disse... Eita, eu não bebo não, mas, com o calor que está fazendo aqui, deu uma vontade danada de* <u>*dar uma golada nessa caipirinha*</u>*... Ah se deu!!! Sem contar que o trocadilho foi deveras "espirituoso". (Séc. XXI, Corpus do Português: Spíndola Blog - Brasil / Recife: Fazendo do limão).*

'Audrey, thank you very much, regardless of the result of the undertaking. A comment: Mila said... Jeez, I don't drink, but with the heat it's been here, I really wanted to take a sip of this caipirinha... Oh, I did!!! Not to mention that the pun was truly "witty".'

(11) *Sempre tem pautas femininas e de informação, mas esse vai ser um programa de diversão e de entretenimento. O Danilo Gentili é seu convidado especial e participa da Rede da Fama. Ele* <u>*te deu uma ovada*</u> *na sua ida à atração dele. Vai ter revanche? Sim. (Séc. XXI, Corpus do Português: #NOTÍCIA: "Quero passar a minha vida no SBT", diz - Eliana Mais).*

'There are always agendas about women and information, but this is going to be a fun and entertaining program. Danilo Gentili is his special guest and participates in *Rede da Fama*. He gave him a hard time on his way to his attraction. Will there be a rematch? Yes.'

The expressive increase in the denominal construction in contemporary Portuguese can be seen as an indication that the pattern [*dar uma* N-*ada*] was fixed over time by the frequency of use, becoming a chunk, in Bybee's (2010) terms.

Despite the great diversity of nominalizations attested on blogs and websites, we chose to focus the analysis on forms with more than two occurrences, which makes a total of 309 data, with 25 different nominalizations, as shown in Table 2.

Table 2 – Distribution of the most frequent nominalizations in the denominal construction in the 20th and 21st centuries
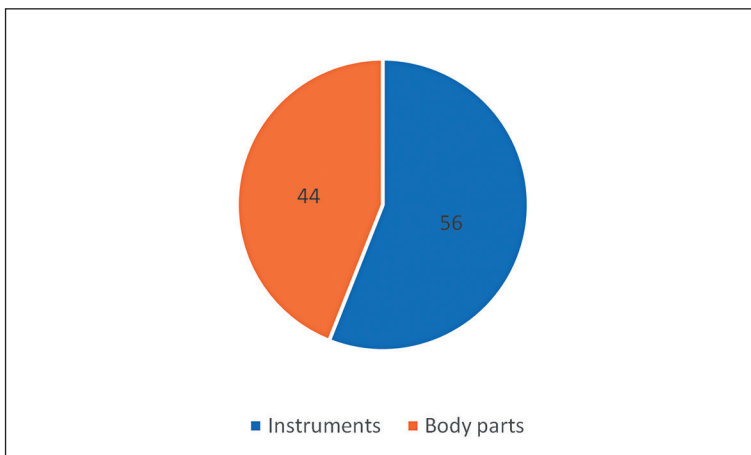
NOMINALIZATIONS N-*ADA*	Tokens	%
1. BOFETADA[10]	44	14.2
2. FACADA	33	10.6
3. PALMADA	25	8.0
4. CORONHADA	20	6.4
5. CARTEIRADA	17	5.5
6. PAULADA	17	5.5
7. PORRADA	17	5.5
8. COTOVELADA	16	5.1
9. PANCADA	15	4.8
10. JOELHADA	14	4.5
11. CABEÇADA	12	3.8
12. TACADA	10	3.2
13. PATADA	9	2.9
14. CACETADA	8	2.5
15. PEDRADA	7	2.2
16. MARTELADA	7	2.2
17. SAPATADA	6	1.9
18. CARTADA	6	1.9
19. PUNHALADA	6	1.9
20. PONTADA	5	1.6
21. FLECHADA	4	1.2
22. MARRETADA	4	1.2
23. BENGALADA	4	1.2
24. DENTADA	3	0.9
25. MACHADADA	2	0.6
Total	309	–

Source: Davel (2019, p. 89).

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[10] As remembered by one of the reviewers, the item *bofetada* is inherited from the Latin base "bofetus", a slang used to express a closed-hand slap in someone's face.

Table 2 reiterates the indications provided by the data attested between the 16th and the 19th centuries. The denominal construction is more frequent with nominalizations based on lexical items that refer to instruments than with items that refer to body parts. This distribution may be a consequence of the fact that the nouns that refer to non-alienable referent are necessarily limited. The differentiated distribution of the two types of nominal base is evident in Chart 1.

Chart 1 – Distribution of the nominal bases in
[*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] in contemporary Portuguese

Source: Author's elaboration.

According to Chart 1, there is a difference of 12 percentage points between the nominalization means resulting from nominal bases that refer to external instruments and nominal bases that refer to body parts.

Table 2 also makes clear the marked difference in the frequency of the different nominalizations. The predominance of *bofetada* stands out with 44 tokens (14.3%), followed closely by *facada* (10.7%). However, the rates for *palmada* (8.06%) and *coronhada* (6.05%) are not negligible. Due to its high frequency, we can assume that the word *bofetada* constituted a central exemplar, from which other items were attracted to slot N.

Regardless of the lexical base of the nominalization, the denominal construction presents a set of specific semantic and morphosyntactic properties, as shown in Table 3, in which we consider the characteristics of the base form, SN_1 (Subject) and SN_2, headed by nominalization as well as the PP. The properties of tense and mood of the verb DAR are also considered.

Table 3 – *Properties of the denominal construction [dar uma N-ada PP]*

PROPERTY	FREQUENCY

Properties of NP$_2$	Determiner: indefinite (*uma*) = 100%
	Number: singular = 100%
	
	Presence of modifiers: no modifier = 90.06%
	                              with modifier = 9.94%
	
	Adjective position: adjective placed after N = 7.04%
	                              adjective placed before N = 1.06%

Properties of the verb DAR	Tense/Mood: infinitive = 40.01% Person/Number: 3rd person singular = 70.07%
Properties of Subject NP	Animacy: + animate = 99% Intentionality: + intentional = 90.04%
Properties of PP	Grammatical case: dative case = 66.09% Animacy: + animate = 60.28%

Source: Author's elaboration.

The first point that stands out in Table 3 is the crystallization of many of the morphosyntactic properties of the schema [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP], signaling a high degree of chunking of this construction: categorical occurrence of the feminine indefinite article *uma*, restrictions on pluralization and, almost categorically, the absence of modifiers of the nominal core.[11]

It is noteworthy that the possibility of quantification/pluralization of nominalization, whether with the presence of determiners (*dar duas bolsadas*, *dar algumas pauladas*, *dar várias bofetadas* etc.) or without determiners (*dar bolsadas*, *dar pauladas*, *dar bofetadas* etc.), is not excluded. In this case, the construction acquires a distinct aspectual value, that is, the iterative aspect.
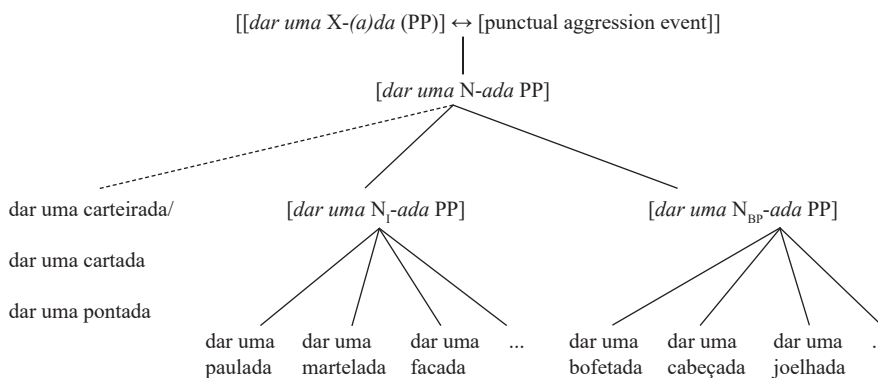
With regard to the Subject NP, there is also little variation. The Subject of the denominal construction is categorically animate (99%) and almost always agentive/ intentional (90.04%). Greater variation can be seen with regard to the properties of tense and mood of the verb DAR, highlighting the third person singular inflection with (70.07%) and the highest frequency of the infinitive form (40.01%). The PP also tends to show greater variation, although it is more frequently associated with the grammatical role of dative (66.09%) and noun phrases headed by animate referents (60.28%).

As already highlighted, the denominal construction [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] encodes a scene of aggression, whether in the physical or psychological sense. Furthermore, it has a resultant aspect value, as it encodes a punctual state of affairs, carried out by

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[11]   As Davel (2019) shows, many of these properties of the denominal construction with DAR are shared with the deverbal construction.

an animate/intentional agent, which affects an animate referent. The realization of this state of affairs requires the use of a concrete instrument which can be an external object or a body part. Adopting the proposal by Traugott and Trousdale (2013), which has already been briefly presented, we can understand, in principle, that the denominal construction [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] constitutes a more general schema that licenses two micro-constructions (N$_{I=}$ instrument e N$_{BP=}$ body part), as illustrated in Figure 2, which also includes some substantive constructions.

Figure 2 – Network of the denominal construction

[[*dar uma* X-*(a)da* (PP)] ↔ [punctual aggression event]]

[*dar uma* N-*ada* PP]

dar uma carteirada/

dar uma cartada

dar uma pontada

[*dar uma* N$_I$-*ada* PP]

dar uma paulada   dar uma martelada   dar uma facada   ...

[*dar uma* N$_{BP}$-*ada* PP]

dar uma bofetada   dar uma cabeçada   dar uma joelhada   ...

Source: Adapted from Davel (2019).

The constructions [*dar uma carteirada*], [*dar uma cartada*], [*dar uma pontada*] are linked by dotted lines to the higher scheme, because, due to their loss of compositionality, they constitute, in our view, substantive constructions, that is, new form-meaning pairings, forming independent "nodes" in the hierarchical network of constructions. As the form-meaning relation in these constructions becomes more opaque, they tend to routinize a more abstract meaning, as illustrated by examples (12) of *dar uma carteirada*, and (13), of *dar uma cartada*.

(12) *Me parece que além de ter a "«procuração"» para defender os motoristas e a indústria automobilística, **este dr** acaba de <u>dar uma carteirada no seu interlocutor,</u> afirmando que trabalha a "... área jurídica ...", como se isto, por si só, désse o embasamento necessário para respaldar o que defende e por isso devêssemos engolir as suas ideias. Bastante reacionário o indivíduo, mas como estamos em uma democracia ele tem o direito de manifestação, só acredito que não precisa continuar a ser alimentado em sua cruzada contra o ciclista (Séc. XXI, Corpus do Português: site - Impostos, emplacamento e obrigatoriedades para ciclistas).*

'It seems to me that, in addition to having the "power of attorney" to defend the drivers and the automobile industry, this Dr. has just showed off to his interlocutor,

stating that he works in the "... legal area ...", as if this, for itself, would give the necessary foundation to support what he defends and therefore we should accept his ideas without contesting. The individual is quite reactionary, but as we are in a democracy, he has the right to demonstrate, I just believe he doesn't need to continue to be fed in his crusade against the cyclist'

(13) *Não sabia? É que ele levou uma surra no MMA! Para substituir os dois Simon, deu uma cartada arriscada e contratou duas mulheres para integrar a bancada dos jurados. Ao contrário do tradicional, dois homens, duas mulheres, esse ano serão três mulheres e um homem. Será que vai dar certo? Será um desastre? Quem são as duas gatas que aceitaram o trabalho por duas coxinhas e um copo de caldo de cana? (Séc. XXI, Corpus do Português: site - O que esperar do X Factor USA e UK | Cartas para Pi).*

'Did not know? It's just that he took a beating in MMA! To replace the two, Simon made a risky move and hired two women to join the panel of judges. Unlike the traditional two men, two women, this year there will be three women and one man. Will it work? Will it be a disaster? Who are the two pussycats who accepted the job for two Brazilian chicken croquettes and a glass of sugarcane juice?'
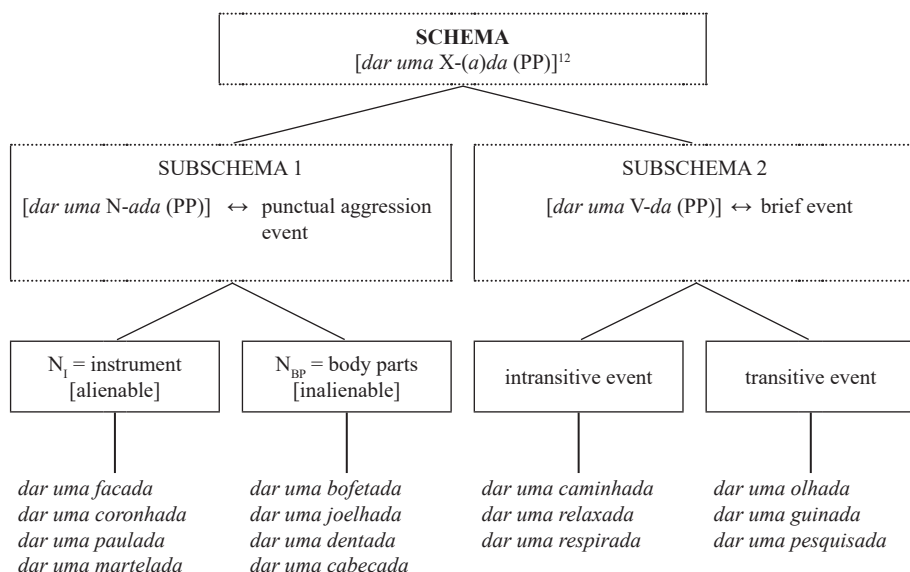
In some ways, the meaning of blow/attack still holds in examples (12) and (13). It becomes, however, opaque, since this meaning results from metaphorical projections. Thus, the meaning of *dar uma carteirada* and *dar uma cartada* moves away from the meaning of physical blow (hitting someone with a wallet or a letter), clearly distinguishing it from *dar uma dentada nesses caras*. In (12), the animate Subject/ Agent (*the doctor*) tries to impose his opinion on that of his interlocutor, an animate and human Patient/Recipient, with a meaning close to that of contesting someone with knowledge he does not seem to have. In statement (13), in turn, the animate Subject acts in favor of himself, that is, he takes a bold attitude so that something, which is under his control, works out. The absence of the PP, in this case, contributes to making the transfer of ownership less transparent than the notion of transfer.

According to Hilpert (2014), the loss of compositionality, in instances, such as (12) and (13), is associated with coercion, that is, the imposition of constructional meaning in contexts in which a lexical item is semantically incompatible with the meaning of the construction as a whole. In the examples considered, *dar uma carteirada* and *dar uma cartada* are distinguished from (6) *dar uma dentada* nesses caras, because *carteira* ('wallet') and *carta* ('letter'), although they are concrete objects, are not appropriate instruments for physical aggression, or at least, a violent assault. In Bybee's (2010) view, the use of these constructions in specific contexts makes them routinized, more easily accessible, since repetition cognitively reinforces them and allows their autonomy.

Considering, as highlighted in the introduction, the possibility of formation in X-*ada* from intransitive and transitive verbal bases (SALOMÃO, 1990, 2008; NEVES, 1999,

2006; BASÍLIO, 1999, 2001; SCHER, 2004; ESTEVES, 2008, 2012; VIEIRA, 2010, 2014; DAVEL, 2019, among others), there are favorable arguments for the hypothesis that, in fact, the denominal construction constitutes a subschema licensed by a more abstract construction [*dar uma* X-(*a*)*da* (PP)], as proposed by Davel (2019).

Figure 3 – Network of the construction [*dar uma* X-(*a*)*da* (PP)]

Source: Adapted from Davel (2019).

According to the hierarchical organization proposed in Figure 3, the most abstract schema [*dar uma* X-(*a*)*da* (PP)] sanctions both the denominal subschema and the deverbal subschema with X-ADA.[13] Two constructional patterns (micro-constructions) are linked to the denominal subschema: with names of instruments and with names of body parts. Likewise, subschema 2 licenses two patterns (with intransitive and transitive verbs), according to the properties of the verbal base. Each of these subschemas also authorizes substantive constructions such as *dar uma carteirada*, *dar uma pontada*, *dar uma topada*.

In the next section, we discuss the inheritance relation between the denominal construction and the bitransitive construction with the verb DAR.

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[12] The parentheses in PP indicate that this slot is optional, depending on the argument structure of the verb from which the nominalization with -(*a*)*da* is formed.

[13] Of course, this proposal can be discussed if we take into account that, according to other studies (BASÍLIO, 1999, 2001; SCHER, 2004; LISBOA DE LIZ, 2005), the denominal and deverbal constructions with DAR come from combinations with distinct suffixes: **-ada** for the denominal and **-da** for the deverbal, despite being homophones.

Inheritance relation between [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] and the bitransitive construction

We assume as a starting point the hypothesis that the nominal base schema [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] is motivated, since it inherits some properties of the transfer-of-ownership construction, more prototypically performed by the ditransitive schematic construction. In this section, we show some evidence that supports this hypothesis, based on the bitransitive construction, exemplified in (14).

(14) *Ana deu um livro de história para/ao seu filho.*
'Ana gave a history book to her son.'

Example (14) illustrates the most prototypical use of the verb DAR, that is, the encoding of the possession transfer frame 'X CAUSES Y TO RECEIVE Z'. An animate and human Subject (Agent) (*Ana*) is responsible for transferring an inanimate and concrete object (*a story book*), with the semantic role of Theme, to a Beneficiary (*her son*), encoded in PP. In this case, the concrete object "a book" is effectively transferred from one person to another.

As already pointed out, from the central meaning of the transfer-of-ownership construction, others can be instantiated through metaphorical extensions. It was also highlighted that in the denominal construction there is no transfer of a concrete object, but rather an aggressive action, in a way, of violence directed at a Recipient/Goal, as exemplified in (15).

(15) *Disse que a floresta foi o homem quem fez; os rios foi o homem quem abriu. E ele começou a falar do homem, do homem, do homem, e de repente, por dentro da floresta sai **um urso** grande atrás dele, <u>dá-lhe uma patada</u> e ele cai. (Séc. XXI, Corpus do Português: site - Como apagar os dardos do inimigo? – Igreja Evangélica Cristo Vive).*

'[He] said that the forest was made by man; the rivers, it was man who opened them up. And he started talking about the man, the man, the man, and all of a sudden, out of the woods, a big bear comes out after him, kicked him and he falls down.'

Example (15) is particular with regard to the alignment between the syntactic and semantic roles of its constituents. According to Bybee's (2010) proposal, *dar uma patada* would constitute a case of chunking with a lower degree of compositionality, especially if we consider the greater integration between V and NP. While in the ditransitive construction, the responsibility for thematic relations is attributed to the verb DAR, in the denominal construction, this responsibility is shared by the sequence [*dar uma* N-*ada*]. The greater integration between V and nominalization is clear in the impossibility or restriction of the denominal construction to certain syntactic operations. While passivation is allowed by the bitransitive, this operation is only possible with denominal
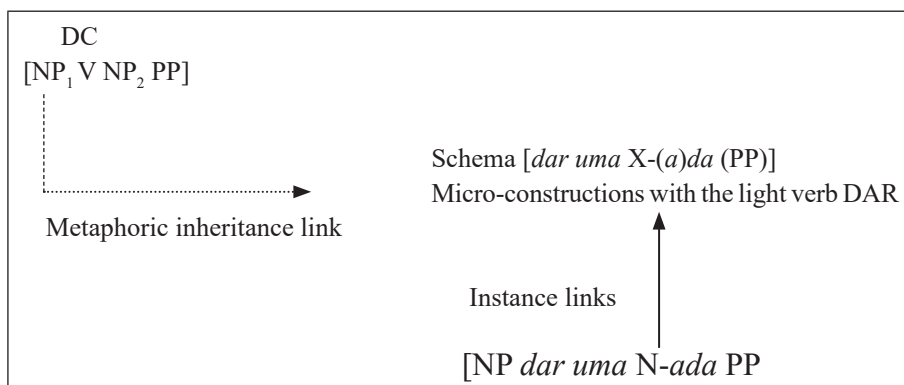
construction in very specific contexts, and even so, it is doubtful in some cases. (*Um livro de histórias foi dado por Ana ao filho; (?) Uma patada foi dada no Kleber pelo Gaúcho/ (?) Uma patada foi dada nele por um urso)*. Similarly, the topicalization of NP with the role of Theme, well accepted by the ditransitive construction, is restricted or doubtful in the denominal construction X-*ada*. (?*Uma bofetada João deu em Pedro*).

This integration between V and nominalization favors the emergence of more abstract semantic values. Thus, transferentiality can only be explained based on the Conduit Metaphor, according to which events would be conceived as concrete objects (REDDY, 1979; LAKOFF; JOHNSON, 1980). As the denominal construction with instrument-derived nominalizations encodes a construct that involves a normally human Subject and a PP with a dative case, presenting a syntactic-semantic mapping closer to that of the bitransitive construction, transference can still be conceived as more concrete in relation to the case of names referring to body parts. Therefore, we can assume a continuum of transferentiality between the ditransitive construction and the denominal micro-constructions.

-transference	+/- transference	+ transference
dar uma N_1 PP	*dar uma* N_{BP} PP	ditransitive

Considering the evidence provided by the analysis, it would be possible to advance a proposal on the relationship between the bitransitive construction and the denominal construction [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] and between this and the more schematic construction [*dar uma* X-(*a*)*da* (PP)], according to Figure 4.

Figure 4 – Relation between [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] and the bitransitive construction

DC
[NP$_1$ V NP$_2$ PP]

Schema [*dar uma* X-(*a*)*da* (PP)]
Micro-constructions with the light verb DAR

Metaphoric inheritance link

Instance links

[NP *dar uma* N-*ada* PP

According to Figure 4, we understand that the denominal construction [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] maintains a connection, by instantiation link, with the more abstract schema [*dar uma* X-(*a*)*da* (PP)], which, in turn, is related to the bitransitive construction [NP$_1$

V NP$_2$ PP], by metaphorical inheritance. In other words, denominal micro-constructions are indirectly related to the ditransitive construction. If our interpretation is correct, we can speak of a case of partial sanction, that is, the denominal construction inherits some properties of the bitransitive construction but acquires new specific syntactic and semantic properties.

Conclusion

Starting from the theoretical assumptions of the Usage-Based Models, particularly those of the Cognitive Construction Grammar, we focused on denominal micro-constructions with the verb DAR [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP] from both a diachronic and a synchronic point of view. Data analysis from previous periods of Portuguese provided indications about the possible expansion of this schema over several centuries as well as the increase in its productivity in the modern/contemporary period of Portuguese.

The diachronic evidence and the analysis of occurrences attested in the 20th and 21st centuries authorized the postulation of two subschemas sanctioned by a more general schema [*dar uma* N-*ada* PP]: one subschema with nominalizations resulting from names of instruments and another subschema resulting from names of body parts. As might be expected, given the lower availability of bases that refer to body parts, the subschema with names that refer to instruments is clearly more productive, allowing for a significant diversity of lexical items in slot N. Semantically, the two micro-constructions are similar in that they evoke a frame of aggression, whether physical or psychological, generally involving a Subject/Agent and an affected Patient/Recipient, and incorporate an aspectual nuance of resultativity.

From the analysis of formal and semantic properties, it was also possible to identify that some instances of these micro-constructions have different degrees of semantic transparency in such a way that some of them gain independence. They are chunks of a lower degree of compositionality, normally used in specific discursive-pragmatic contexts. In other words, they become substantive constructions with meanings resulting from metaphorical extensions.

The analysis provided evidence in favor of our initial hypothesis that denominal micro-constructions are sanctioned by a more abstract schema [*dar uma* X-(*a*)*da* (PP)], to which verbal base micro-constructions are also linked. The denominal micro-constructions are linked to this more general schema by an instantiation link.

With regard to the inheritance relations of the denominal construction, we found greater proximity of denominal micro-construction resulting from instrument names with the transfer frame: they are triargumental, performed with an animate and human Subject/Agent and have a PP or oblique pronoun with a dative case. Therefore, they entail greater degree of transferentiality than constructions with nominalizations based on body part names. Thus, there are indications that this is a partial sanction, if we consider the particularities of the denominal micro-construction with regard to the

building of the transference scene and some of the more specific properties of the nominal based sche.

DAVEL, A.; PAIVA, M. [Dar uma n-ada pp]: a construtional analysis. **Alfa**, São Paulo, v.66, 2022.

- *RESUMO: Com base nos pressupostos dos Modelos Baseados no Uso (MBU), em especial, da Gramática de Construções Cognitiva, examinamos, neste artigo, o padrão construcional [DAR UMA N-ADA SPrep] e discutimos sua relação com a construção bitransitiva. A partir de dados diacrônicos e sincrônicos, coletados na base digital do Corpus do Português (DAVIES; FERREIRA, 2006), buscamos evidências para o processo de construcionalização do padrão denominal e sua expansão no português moderno/contemporâneo. Partimos da hipóThesis de que a construção denominal [DAR UMA N-ADA SPrep] licencia dois subesquemas distintos de acordo com as características do nome base e de que é sancionada por um esquema mais elaboração deste artigo.abstrato [DAR UMA X-(A)DA (SPrep)] que sanciona também a construção deverbal V-DA. As evidências diacrônicas e a análise das propriedades morfossintáticas, semânticas e discursivas de instâncias coletadas em sites e blogs forneceram argumentos favoráveis à postulação de dois subesquemas ligados a um padrão mais geral [DAR UMA N-ADA SPrep]: um subesquema com nominalizações resultantes de nomes de instrumentos e outro resultante de nomes de partes do corpo. Além disso, constatamos uma relação de herança parcial entre a construção denominal e a construção bitransitiva de transferência de posse, principalmente daquelas formadas por nominalizações que tomam como base nomes de instrumentos.*

- *PALAVRAS-CHAVE: construção; [DAR UMA N-ADA SPrep]; expansão; mudança.*

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