

INNOVATIVE PARTICIPLES IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE¹

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we analyze a new kind of participle formation in Brazilian Portuguese, which we have called *innovative participles*. This type of participle, which is getting more and more common for speakers of this language, takes place in contexts where only the canonical regular forms were expected, freely alternating with such forms. Our main aims are to determine the structure associated with innovative participles and to understand what mechanism of Brazilian Portuguese grammar makes the variation between regular and innovative participles possible. Assuming a Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993) approach to grammar, we propose that the same syntactic structure underlies the formation of both types of participles and the difference between them is the result of different morphological processes that occur at the level of Morphological Structure.

KEY WORDS: Distributed Morphology; Innovative Participles; Morphosyntax; Variation.

1. INTRODUCTION

The morphosyntax of participles in natural languages brings to the fore questions related to both theories of participles and theories of word formation (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Embick, 2004; Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou, 2008; Duarte & Oliveira, 2010). In what concerns to theories of participles, questions referring to typology and to how specific languages reflect this typology have been central to the discussion. As far as word formation is concerned, it is the structure of the participles that calls researchers' attention.

In the context of discussion about the grammar of participles, Brazilian Portuguese (hereafter, BP) participles appear as an object of study which deserves special attention given the fact that nowadays speakers of this language are employing a new pattern to form participles, which leads us to ask about the mechanisms used by natural languages to create participles.

For concreteness' sake, verbs in BP can usually be divided into three groups considering the regular or irregular nature of the participles they form: i) group I comprises verbs that only form regular participles; ii) group II comprises verbs which only form irregular participles; and, iii) group III comprises verbs which can form double participles, a regular and an irregular one. In addition to these patterns, colloquial BP has recently been exhibiting the formation of a new kind of participial form

1. We thank our reviewers for carefully reading our paper and for their insightful comments and suggestions. Unfortunately, due to time and space constraints, we could not take all of their suggestions and remarks in this paper. This task will be done in detail in future works.

for verbs that are, mainly, expected to have only the regular participle. This new participial form will be referred to as *innovative participle* and can be seen in (1) and (2):

- (1) Em setembro de 2009, o ICV tinha *subo* 0,27%.²
'In September 2009, the ICV had risen 0,27%'
(2) Sobre o que eu tinha *falo*.³
'On what I had said'

Sentences (1) and (2) are interpreted exactly in the same way as their counterparts in (3) and (4), which exhibit the regular form of the participle:

- (3) Em setembro de 2009, o ICV tinha *subido* 0,27%.
(4) Sobre o que eu tinha *falado*.

The new participle occurs mainly in the perfect context (auxiliary *ter* + uninflected participle) and freely alternates with the regular form, as can be seen in the preceding examples and also in (5):

- (5) A Maria tinha *comprado* / *compro* as frutas.
'Maria had bought the fruits'.

The passive version of sentence (5) can only be well-formed with the regular participial form, as can be seen in (6):

- (6) As frutas foram *compradas* / **compras* pela Maria.
'The fruits were bought by Maria'.

Having said that, we raise the following questions:

- a) What are the similarities and differences between regular and innovative participles?
- b) How are the innovative participial forms generated in the grammar of the speakers of BP?
- c) What mechanism of BP grammar makes the variation between regular and innovative participles possible?

In order to answer these questions, we assume Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993 and related work) as the theoretical framework and, adopting previous analyses for participle morphology (Ippolito, 1999; Medeiros, 2008), we argue that innovative participles share with regular participles the same syntactic derivation and the differences between these two forms are the result of different morphological processes that occur at the level of Morphological Structure. We also claim that the variation observed in (1) to (5) is the result of the coexistence of two grammars of participles (à la Kroch, 1994): one of them does not generate innovative participles, whereas the other generates them.

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we describe the patterns of participle formation in BP (focusing on the innovative participles). In section 3, we present the basic aspects of Distributed Morphology and discuss previous analyses on (regular and innovative) participles. In section 4, we present our analysis for the innovative participial forms of BP. In section 5, we highlight the main findings of the paper and present directions for future research.

2. Source: <http://nominaldtvm.com.br/internaNoticia.asp?id=379359>

3. Source: <http://ladesabafo.blogspot.co.uk/2011/08/sobre-oque-eu-tinha-falo.html>

2. PATTERNS OF PARTICIPLE FORMATION IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE: THE INNOVATIVE PARTICIPLES

Verbs in BP are traditionally divided into three groups taking the possibilities of participle formation into account. In group I, we find those verbs that only form regular participles, the general pattern for participle formation in the language:

- (7) a. *amar* ('to love') – *amado*
 b. *temer* ('to fear') – *temido*
 c. *partir* ('to leave') – *partido*

The denomination "regular participle" is due to the fact that this type of participle maintains intact its infinitival stem. Looking at these forms superficially, we can identify the following morphological elements: the verbal stem, the verbal theme vowel (VTV), the participle morpheme and the nominal theme vowel (NTV)⁴. This organization is presented in (8):

(8) Regular participles: morphological organization

Stem	VTV	Participle morpheme	NTV
<i>am</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>tem</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>part</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>o</i>

In regular participial forms, the stress is on their VTVs and this is the main reason why this kind of participle is also known as non-rhizotonic participle (that is, a participle whose stress is not placed on the stem/root).

Group II comprises verbs which only form irregular participles:

- (9) a. *dizer* ('to say') – *dito*
 b. *escrever* ('to write') – *escrito*
 c. *fazer* ('to do') – *feito*
 d. *pôr* ('to put') – *posto*
 e. *ver* ('to see') – *visto*
 f. *vir* ('to come') – *vindo*

Differently from regular participles, the formation of irregular participles generally involves significant changes in the infinitival stem. These verbal forms exhibit the (modified) verbal stem, the participle morpheme and the NTV:

(10) Irregular participles: morphological organization

Stem	VTV	Participle morpheme	NTV
<i>di</i>	-	<i>T</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>escri</i>	-	<i>T</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>fei</i>	-	<i>T</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>pos</i>	-	<i>T</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>vis</i>	-	<i>T</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>vin</i>	-	<i>D</i>	<i>o</i>

4. Just like the infinitival and gerundive forms, participial forms are treated as a nominal form of the verbs, since it is not inflected for tense.

In this type of participle, the stress falls on the stem and, because of this fact, the irregular participles are also known as rhizotonic participles.

Group III differs substantially from groups I and II, since it is composed of verbs which can form double participial forms: a regular one, as in (i), below, and an irregular one, as in (ii):

(11) a. <i>aceitar</i> ('to accept')	i) <i>aceitado</i>	ii) <i>aceito</i>
b. <i>entregar</i> ('to deliver')	i) <i>entregado</i>	ii) <i>entregue</i>
c. <i>imprimir</i> ('to print')	i) <i>imprimido</i>	ii) <i>impresso</i>
d. <i>limpar</i> ('to clean')	i) <i>limpado</i>	ii) <i>limpo</i>
e. <i>pegar</i> ('to take')	i) <i>pegado</i>	ii) <i>pego</i>
f. <i>salvar</i> ('to save')	i) <i>salvado</i>	ii) <i>salvo</i>

Verbs in group III are often termed “abundant verbs” in Portuguese grammars by their possibility of forming two participles. As we have already seen, the regular participles are non-rhizotonic forms, whereas the irregular ones are rhizotonic forms.

The organization of the morphemes present in the structure of each type of participial form in (11) can be seen in (12):

(12) Double participial forms: morphological organization⁵

Stem	VTV	Participle morpheme	NTV
<i>aceit</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>aceit</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>
<i>entreg</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>entreg</i>	-	-	<i>e</i>
<i>imprim</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>impress</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>
<i>limp</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	o
<i>limp</i>	-	-	o
peg	a	d	o
peg	-	-	o
salv	a	d	o
salv	-	-	o

This is the traditional grouping of verbs which can be found in the grammars of Portuguese. Nevertheless, we will propose that there is actually another group of verbs in the grammar of BP, the group IV, which puts together a recent creation observed in colloquial BP: the innovative participles.

5. The first line of each cell presents the morphological organization of regular participles and in the second line it is shown the morphological organization of irregular participles.

This group comprises verbs which, until very recently, formed mainly regular participles (group I), but, nowadays, can also be associated with another participial form: the innovative participles. A list of these verbs is shown in (13), where (i) and (ii) exhibit, respectively, the forms of the regular and the innovative participles associated with each verb:

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------|
| (13) a. <i>comprar</i> ('to buy') | i) <i>comprado</i> | ii) <i>compro</i> |
| b. <i>cortar</i> ('to cut') | i) <i>cortado</i> | ii) <i>corto</i> |
| c. <i>falar</i> ('to talk') | i) <i>falado</i> | ii) <i>falo</i> |
| d. <i>mandar</i> ('to order') | i) <i>mandado</i> | ii) <i>mando</i> |
| e. <i>pedir</i> ('to ask') | i) <i>pedido</i> | ii) <i>peço</i> |
| f. <i>perder</i> ('to lose') | i) <i>perdido</i> | ii) <i>perco</i> |
| g. <i>subir</i> ('to rise') | i) <i>subido</i> | ii) <i>subo</i> |
| h. <i>trazer</i> ('to bring') | i) <i>trazido</i> | ii) <i>trago</i> |

The morphological organization of participles of the verbs in group IV is suggested in (14), which shows a combination of stem, VTV, participle morpheme and NTV, for the regular form, as well as a combination of stem and NTV, for the innovative form:

(14) Regular and innovative: morphological organization⁶

Stem	VTV	Participle morpheme	NTV
<i>compr</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>compr</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>
<i>cort</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>cort</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>
<i>fal</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>fal</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>
mand	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>
mand	-	-	<i>o</i>
ped	<i>i</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>
peç	-	-	<i>o</i>
perd	<i>i</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>
perc	-	-	<i>o</i>
sub	<i>i</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>
sub	-	-	<i>o</i>
traz	<i>i</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>
trag	-	-	<i>o</i>

These innovative forms call for investigation. In particular, it is necessary to identify the derivation which generates innovative participles and to compare it with the derivation responsible for the generation of regular participles to show their similarities and differences. In the next section, we explore some analyses for participial forms and for innovative participles available in the literature. Based on that and assuming the Distributed Morphology approach, in the sequence we are going to explore different morphological processes that shall explain these formations.

6. The first line of each cell presents the morphological organization of regular participles and in the second line it is shown the morphological organization of innovative participles.

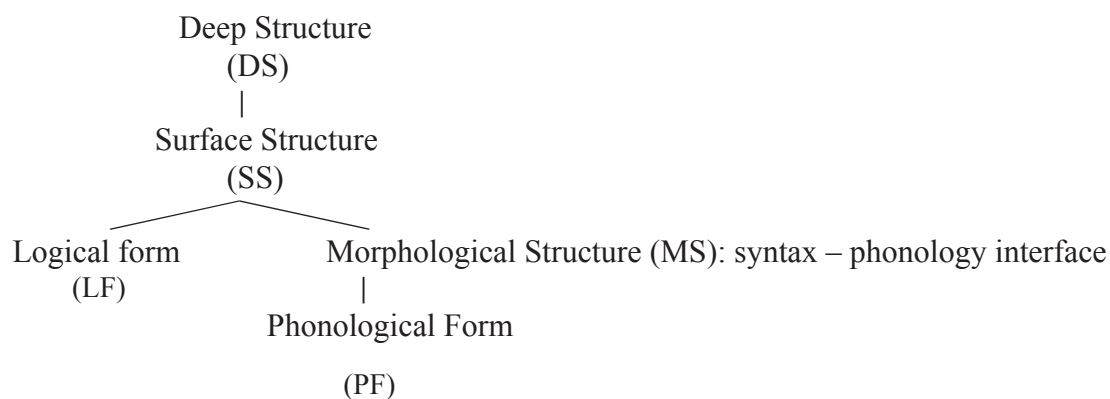
3. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND PREVIOUS ANALYSES: REGULAR AND INNOVATIVE PARTICIPLES

In this section, we present the basic assumptions of Distributed Morphology, the theoretical framework we will adopt in our analysis of innovative participles in Brazilian Portuguese. We also discuss previous analyses of participles, namely, Ippolito (1999) and Medeiros (2008), which focus on regular participle forms, and the proposals by Lobato (1999a,b) and Souza (2011), focusing on innovative participles in BP.

3.1. Distributed Morphology

In Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993, and subsequent work), henceforth DM, there is no lexical generative component in the grammar: both words and sentences are formed under the rules of a single generative component of the grammar, namely, the syntactic component. The architecture of grammar in DM perspective is as (15):

(15) The Distributed Morphology architecture of grammar (Halle and Marantz 1993: 114)



Since it was first proposed, researchers who assume this model in their work have been trying to offer new analyses, in terms of formal, semantic and phonological properties which are distributed all over the distinct components of the grammar, to phenomena which had already been analyzed in terms of a lexicon under previous approaches.

According to DM, roots are category-less elements. It is the syntactic association between these roots and verbal, nominal or adjectival categorizing morphemes that gives rise to lexical categories. Functional categories, a bundle of abstract features, as well as non-categorical roots, constitute List 1, which provide syntax with the material it will deal with to generate syntactic derivations.

The result of what syntax does is sent to MS for the insertion of Vocabulary Items (VIs), the phonological expressions which occupy the abstract morphemes syntax has generated. VIs, rules guiding the insertion of phonological material in the syntactic derivation, constitute List 2, the Vocabulary. List 3, also called Encyclopedia, is responsible for the special meanings to be attributed to the linguistic expressions.

Harley & Noyer (1999) describe three key properties for the DM approach:

(i) *Late insertion*: syntactic categories are purely abstract, with no phonological content. The phonological expression of syntactic terminal nodes is inserted only in the mapping to Phonological Form;

(ii) *Underspecification of VIs*: the phonological expressions do not need to be completely specified for the syntactic positions where they will be inserted. VIs can be *default* forms inserted when a more specified item is not available; and,

(iii) *Hierarchical syntactic structure all the way down*: elements in syntax and morphology enter in the same types of structures of constituents.

The mismatches between the organization of the syntactic terminal nodes and the grammatical elements, such as VIs at the MS and at the Phonological Form, are solved by certain morphological operations applying to the syntactic representations, before they are filled with phonological expressions. Thus, terminal nodes may be added to the structure, they may be *moved* from one point to another, *merged*, *fissioned* or *fused*. They may even have some of the features they bring from the syntax *deleted* in certain contexts.

Our analysis for the past participle forms will make explicit and explore some of these operations, in particular, the addition of terminal nodes at MS, which will host verbal and nominal thematic suffixes.

3.2. Previous analysis on participles

3.2.1. Regular participle structure: Ippolito (1999) and Medeiros (2008)

Analyzing past participles in Italian, Ippolito (1999) claims that the morpheme *-t-* occurs in both nominal and verbal environments with specific syntactic properties. She also argues that it is a default piece of morphology. In verbal environments, *-t-* occurs in complex tenses in both active and passive. The main assumptions of Ippolito's (1999) are the following:

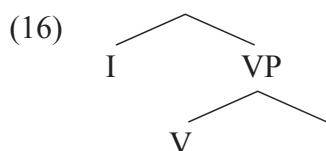
(i) *-t-* in *-ata* nominalizations is the past participle morphology;

(ii) *-t-* occurs by virtue of the verbal and inflectional component present in the structure of these nominalizations;

(iii) the past participle morphology can be inserted in a node X only if certain syntactic conditions are met; and,

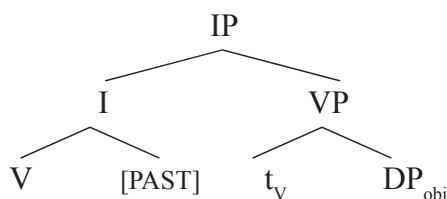
(iv) the insertion of *-t-* in verbal and nominal environments in the morphological component of the grammar is due to the presence of the same syntactic representation and to the default status of this formative.

In Ippolito's (1999) analysis, the structure in (16) is minimally required by the syntactic and semantic computation: if a verb is present in the numeration of a sentence, so is an I(nflection) head. In the presence of more than one inflectional head, V-to-I movement (Pollock, 1989) concerns the first I c-commanding the verb.

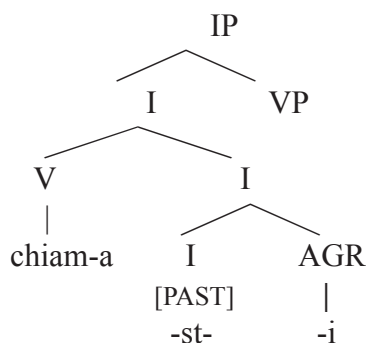


The author shows how the proposal accounts for Italian tenses by presenting the syntactic and morphological representations for the simple past *chiamasti* ('you called'), in (17a,b). For the compound tenses in Italian, the author suggests the representations in (18a,b), which illustrate the form *avesti chiamato* ('you had called'):

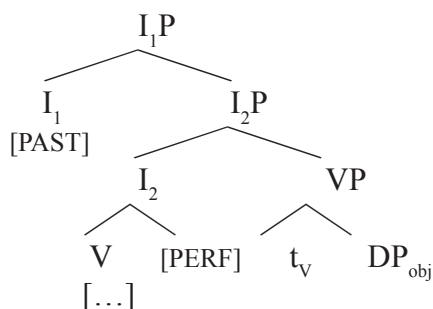
(17) a. Syntactic representation



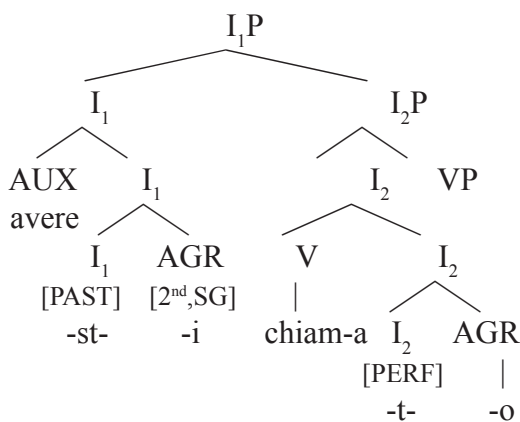
b. Morphological representation



(18) a. Syntactic representation



b. Morphological representation



In Ippolito's (1999) proposal, the highest I head immediately c-commanded by C (CP-dominated) in the full structure hosts the tense features: I, in (17) and I₁, in (18). In the representations in (18), I₂ – the lowest I head – hosts the aspectual and the voice features. All I-type heads, except for I₁, are default. As a language-specific well-formedness condition, each I head requires a V and, to satisfy this condition, auxiliary verbs (AUX) are inserted at the level of Morphological Structure⁷. At this level, AGR nodes will also be inserted for I, in (17b) and for both I₁ and I₂ in (18b).

Ippolito (1999) suggests that the Vocabulary Items (VIs) competing for dominated I heads differ from those competing for default Is, which appear in (19):

7. In section 4, we will properly define this level.

(19) Vocabulary insertion in default I heads in Italian

- /-nd-/ ↔ [CONTIN]
 /-s-/ ↔ [] / ___ LIST
 /-t-/ ↔ []

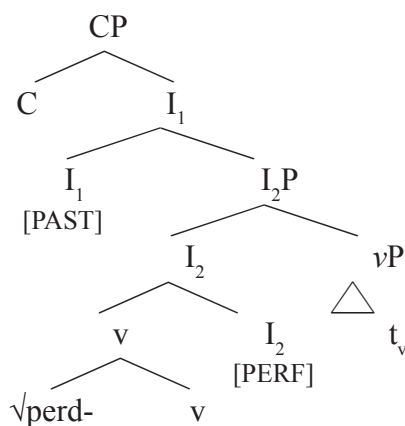
The list in (19) accounts for the fact that the participle in passives shows the same morphology as that in active forms, since the lowest I in a passive structure instantiates the Voice [PASS] head and, not being immediately dominated by CP, it counts as a default I.

Medeiros (2008: 81) adapts the proposal in Ippolito (1999) for BP and claims that the (syntactic and morphological) representations for a sentence such as (20) are in (21):

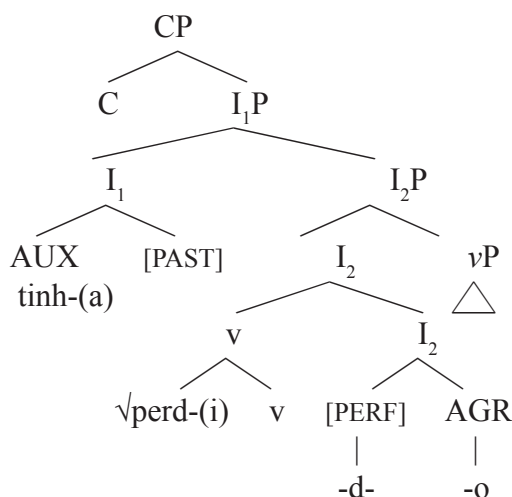
(20) O João tinha perdido as chaves.

‘João had lost the keys’.

(21) a. Syntactic representation



b. Morphological representation and VIs insertion



In the last structure, the underspecified VI /-d-/ is a default item just like the Italian VI /-t-/. An agreement head realized by /-o/ closes the word and prevents the raising of I₂ to I₁. Besides, to satisfy the morphological requirement that the I-type heads must be the inflection for a \bar{V} , the head AUX is inserted under I₁ and sentence (20) results.

3.2.2. Innovative participles

3.2.2.1. Lobato (1999a,b)

Lobato (1999b) claims that the past participle forms in Portuguese may be formed in three different ways, all of them exhibiting the sequence $[V_{\text{STRESS}} + C + V]^8$, but differing in the position of the stress inside the word:

- (22) a. $[[\dots]_{\text{STEM}} + [V_{\text{STRESS}} + C + V]]$
 b. $[[\dots V_{\text{STRESS}} \dots + C]_{\text{STEM}} + V]$
 c. $[[\dots V_{\text{STRESS}} \dots]_{\text{STEM}} + C + V]$

8. In Lobato's (1999a) representations, V stands for vowel and C for consonant.

The structure (22a) appears in regular non-rhizotonic past participle forms in all conjugations: *aceitado* (*aceitar* ‘to accept’), *resolvido* (*resolver* ‘to solve’) and *partido* (*partir* ‘to leave’). The representation (22b) appears in irregular rhizotonic past participle forms for verbs of the 1st conjugation (verbs whose theme vowel is *-a*): *aceito* (*aceitar* ‘to accept’), *cego* (*cegar* ‘to blind’). The structure (22c) appears in irregular rhizotonic participle forms for verbs of the 2nd and 3rd conjugations (verbs whose theme vowel is *-e* and *-i*, respectively): *aceso* (*acender* ‘to lighten’), *emerso* (*emergir* ‘to emerge’) and *vinda* (*vir* ‘to come’).

Dealing with affixless deverbal nominals such as *atraso* (from *atrasar* ‘to delay’) and *busca* (from *buscar* ‘to search’), as well as with first conjugation rhizotonic past participles, and based on Said Ali (1966), who argues that irregular forms are not reductions of the regular ones, Lobato (1999 a,b) suggests that the two forms share what she calls the same morphological template, namely [stem + NTV]. She claims that affixless deverbal nominals do not result from back formation and that first conjugation rhizotonic past participles do not derive from the non-rhizotonic past participle form simply by not realizing the VTV or the past participle morpheme (cf. *pagado* > *pag(ad)o* > *pago*). One of the reasons she gives to reject this hypothesis is that, in some cases, the short form has appeared in the language before the verb itself: *entregue* (from *entregar* ‘to hand’).

More specifically, Lobato claims that:

- i) if there is no derivational relation between the two participial forms of a single verbal stem, there must be a more abstract process going on which results in the two forms (Lobato 1999a: 2);
- ii) the different morphological types of participles the language generates share the same abstract configuration of formal features, corresponding to the semantic interpretation of past participle; and, therefore;
- iii) a theory of formal features which accounts for the subjacent information taken into consideration by the language in the morphological component is necessary for the analysis of participles.

3.2.2.2 Souza (2011)

Participles in group IV and the irregular version of the doublets in group III are treated by Souza as “non-thematic participles”. Dealing especially with the participles in group IV, the author argues in favor of an analysis in terms of syncretism which is neither the result of phonological causes, nor motivated by the existence of common morphosyntactic features. He proposes that there is a directional syncretism in which the past participle systematically copies the first person singular form of verbs in the indicative present (1SPI, in his terms). According to his analysis, the morphosyntactic features involved in the forms are so distant that an analysis based on underspecification and on default elements would be impossible.

Claiming it to be a definite argument in favor of the directional syncretism, Souza (2011) mentions the innovative participle forms *trago* and *perco*, for *trazer* (‘to bring’) and *perder* (‘to lose’), respectively, which would have to be *trazo* and *perdo*, if the process of deriving those forms involved the elimination of the theme vowel and the participle morpheme. Since that is not what happens, the author considers this fact to be an irrefutable argument that the 1SPI is the attractor for the alleged syncretism.

One of the questions to be asked here is why this directional syncretism does not apply to all verbs in BP? Why are there participial forms which do still not derive by copying the first person singular form of verbs in the indicative present? The examples below exhibit some innovative participial forms which do not correspond to the first person singular form of verbs in the indicative present.

(23) Ele tinha *preso* um dos meus pulsos com uma corrente de metal e outra corrente prendia minha outra perna⁹.

‘He had fasten my fits with a metal chain and another chain fastened my other leg’.

(24) Ficou super fofo, esperei secar um pouco e passei um brilho em cima, para conservar melhor a cor e tirar o fosco do esmalte cinza (tubinho), só que nessa hora, não tinha *seco* direito e umas unhas ficaram com as pintinhas manchadas¹⁰.

‘It was really cute, I waited for it to dry a little and covered it with gloss for conservation and to make the grey lacquer (little tube) shine, the problem was that at that time, the lacquer had not dried properly and I got some small spots on some nails’.

The participial forms *preso* (*prender* ‘to fasten’) and *seco* (*secar* ‘to dry’) differ from *prendo* and *seco*, the 1SPI of the relevant verbs, spoiling the paradigmatic treatment proposed in Souza (2011). There is also the case of *seco* (and others like *fecho*, *pego*), which is really subtle, since the innovative participial form differs from the 1SPI on the quality of the stressed vowel: it is a close-mid front vowel in the former and an open-mid front vowel in the latter.

These facts mean the first person singular form of verbs in the indicative present might not really be the attractor for the directional syncretism as argued for by Souza (2011), and the facts themselves call for an explanation.

4. TOWARDS AN ANALYSIS FOR INNOVATIVE PARTICIPLES IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

4.1. Innovative participles as independent derivations

Just like Lobato (1999a,b, 2000) and also Souza (2011), we reject the idea that innovative participial form derive through the suppression of the VTV and the participial morphology (expressed by the affix *-d*) from the regular form of the participle. However, differently from the authors mentioned above, our proposal is that innovative participles as well as regular ones result from ordinary syntactic word formation processes, which means they derive from the stem, by the application of the relevant syntactic operations: thus, on a first step, a verbal category *v* categorizes a root and defines it as a verb; then, inflectional heads of the I type (Ippolito, 1999; Medeiros, 2008), holding features such as [PAST] and [PERF], are added to the syntactic representation and the abstract representation of a participle, regular or innovative, is derived.

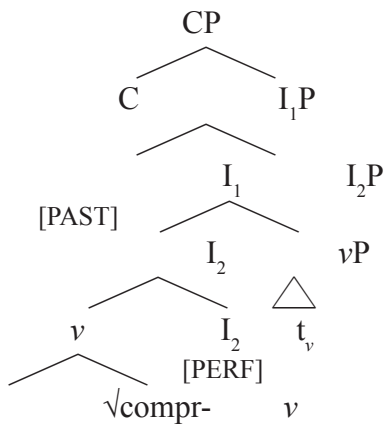
What we see in (26) is the abstract syntactic representation for the two possible sentences in (5), repeated here as (25), in which both the regular and the innovative participial forms, namely, *comprado* and *compro*, occur in the perfect context:

9. Source: https://www.fanfiction.com.br/historia/56541/Sangue_De_Semi-Ninfa/capitulo/2

10. Source: <http://horadamake.blogspot.co.uk/2011/08/esmalte-animal-print-eu-fiz.html>

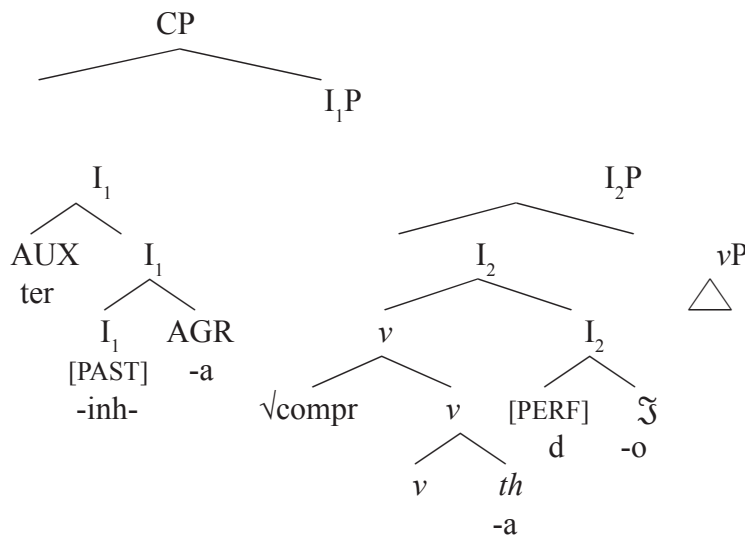
(25) A Maria tinha *comprado* / *compro* as frutas.
 ‘Maria had bought the fruits’.

(26) Syntactic representation



In (27), we can see the morphological representation we suggest for the regular participle (*comprado*, ‘bought’), which is slightly different from the ones proposed by Ippolito (1999) and Medeiros (2008). In the representation we propose, at MS, nodes such as *th*¹¹ and \mathfrak{S} ¹² will be inserted, specifically so that they can host VTVs and NTVs, respectively, as can be observed below.

(27) Morphological representation of regular participles: perfective sentences



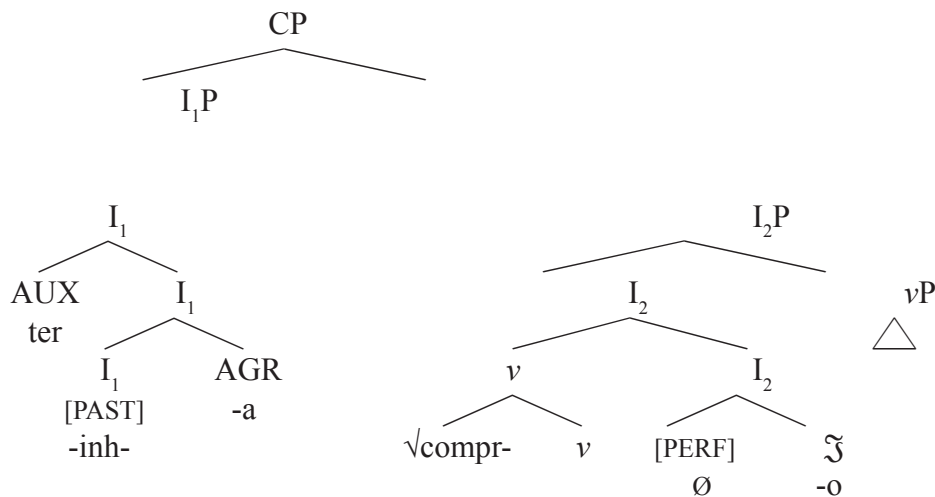
Innovative participles, on the other hand, do not realize any VTV. They don’t exhibit agreement marks either. For that reason, we claim that no *th* node will be added at MS to host the VTV. Likewise, no AGR node will have to be associated to I₂. Due to the fact that participles do not show inflection for tense in the manner finite verbs do, we will treat them as nominal forms, in accordance with what is proposed by traditional grammars of Portuguese. The conclusion of this proposal is that, at MS,

11. Notation for the head which hosts the verbal thematic suffix proposed in Oltra-Massuet (1999).

12. Notation for the head which hosts the nominal thematic suffix proposed in Harris (1999) and adopted by Alcântara (2003, 2010) and Scher (2012a,b).

a nominal form class, represented by a ζ node will be inserted so as to host the NTV, which will delimit the word and, at the same time, will prevent it from incorporating to the next I in the structure. Once no morphological *th* node is inserted for a VTV, we argue that, in this context, only the VI corresponding to \emptyset ($\emptyset \leftrightarrow$ [PERF] / $__$ -*th*) can be inserted under the I_2 head, which hosts [PERF]. The morphological representation associated with innovative participles can be seen in (28):

(28) Morphological representation of innovative participles: perfective sentences



The analysis we suggest here, inspired in previous work on innovative participles (Lobato, 1999a,b, 2000), reinforces the idea that there is no back derivation when it comes to this kind of participles. In other words, no innovative participle has to be derived from a regular participle whose VTV and participial morphology are suppressed. Our analysis is based on canonical processes of word formation whose starting point is the root and the verbalizer, just as it happens with the formation of any kind of participle.

4.2. The analysis and the distinction between regular and innovative participles

An immediate question raised by this analysis is how can the grammar distinguish between an innovative participle and a regular form of the participle?

Let us turn back to the contrasts illustrated by the sentences (1) to (6), so we can understand the distribution of each of these forms in perfective and passive environments. These earlier examples will be repeated and renumbered for ease of reference.

Let us start with the context of perfect, where either the regular or the innovative participle is possible, as shown in (29):

- (29) a. A Maria tinha *comprado* / *compro* frutas de manhã.
 ‘Maria had bought fruits in the morning’.
 b. A Maria tinha *perdido* / *perco* as chaves.
 ‘Maria had lost the keys’.
 c. A universidade tinha *mandado* / *mando* a carta de aceite para o João.
 ‘The university had sent the acceptance letter to João’.

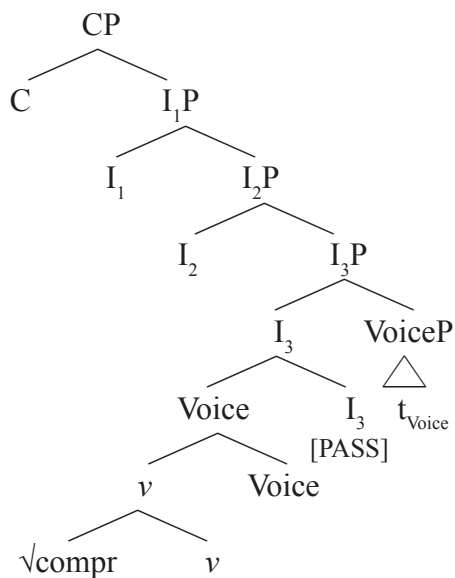
According to our analysis, both forms of participles have the same derivation which bears an I₂ marked with the [PERF] feature, as shown in (27) and (28) above. The presence of this feature is what allows for regular and innovative participles to appear in perfect sentences.

In the passive context, as we have seen, only the regular form of the participle is grammatical, being the innovative participle ungrammatical (or, at least, awkward):

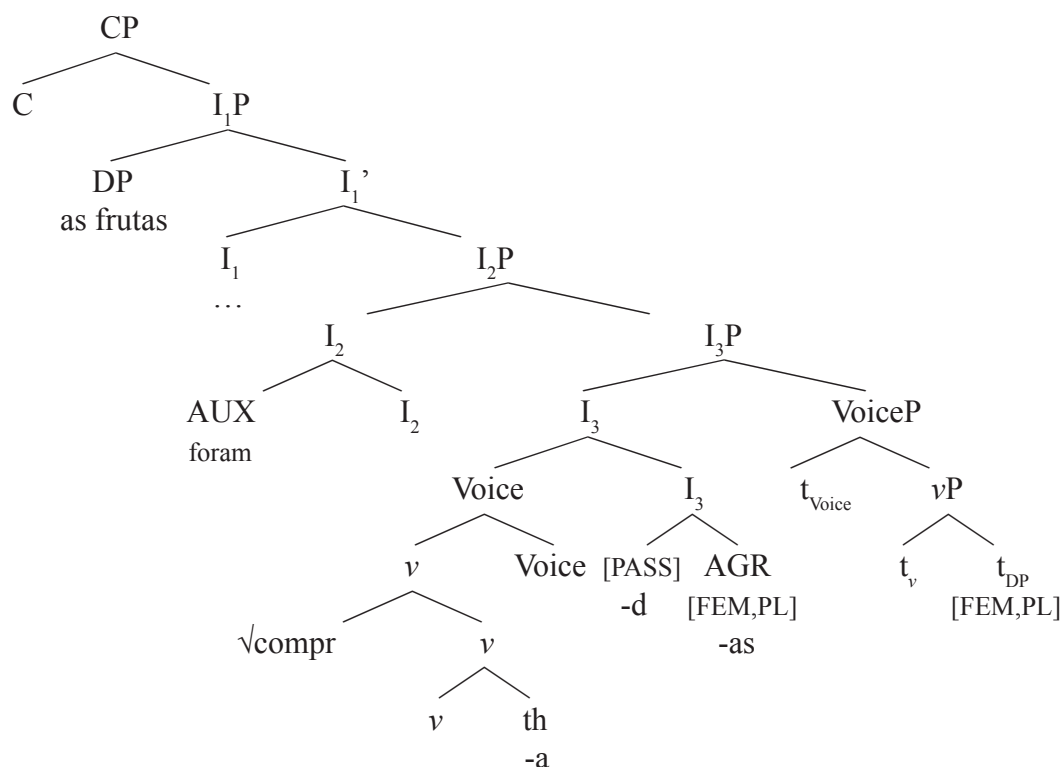
- (30) a. As frutas foram *compradas* / **compras* pela Maria.
 ‘The fruits were bought by Maria’.
 b. As chaves foram *perdidas* / **percas* pela Maria.
 ‘The keys were lost by Maria’.
 c. A carta de aceite foi *mandada* / **manda* para o João pela universidade.
 ‘The acceptance letter was sent to João by the university’.

In order to approach these sentences, it is necessary to describe the make-up of a passive sentence. To do that, we will adopt Medeiros’s (2008) syntax:

(31) Syntactic representation of regular participles: passive sentences



(32) Morphological representation of regular participles: passive sentences



Looking at (31) and (32), it is easy to see that the syntactic representation must contain an I_3 marked with a [PASS] feature. We will assume that it is the presence of this feature that forbids the innovative participle to appear in passive sentences. The conclusion we arrive at is the following: innovative participles are forms specified with the feature [PERF] and regular participles are underspecified forms compatible with both perfect and passive sentences.

4.3. The coexistence of regular and innovative participial forms in BP grammar

Having offered an explanation for the difference between the mechanisms responsible for the generation of innovative and regular participles in the grammar of BP, let us turn our attention to the coexistence of these two forms in this grammar.

Apparently alternating doublets such as those above can be heard more and more frequently among BP speakers. It is important to notice, however, that, each of these participial forms might belong to different grammars, since it is not very common to have the same speaker making use of both forms. That means we may have to suggest that the occurrence of these two different participial forms in the same grammatical context, namely the perfect, may be an indication that there are two different grammars at work in BP: one which does not generate innovative participles (call it ‘Grammar 1’) and another one which generates them (call it ‘Grammar 2’). The organization of Grammar 1 is as follows:

(33) Grammar 1: vocabulary insertion in default I

/-d-/ ↔ []

As one can see, Grammar 1 is organized in such a way that it cannot produce innovative participles, being the regular participles the only option in both active and passive contexts when the *th* node is inserted at MS (Group I).

On the other hand, Grammar 2 has the following configuration:

(34) Grammar 2: vocabulary insertion in default I

/-d-/ ↔ []
 Ø ↔ [PERF] / ___-*th*

This grammar can form innovative participles which will only occur in a well-defined context, namely, after the auxiliary *ter* (perfective sentences). This is captured by the fact that the innovative participle realizes the feature [PERF] in a specific circumstance: when there is no *th* node to host VTV.

This grammar also generates regular participles. These participles are underspecified and can appear in passives and perfective sentences. The condition they must meet to appear in perfective sentences is that there must be an element to realize the *th* head.

Thus, the proposal presented here makes it possible to account for some kind of variation or grammar competition (Kroch, 1994; Embick, 2008) that might be at work when it comes to the occurrence, or not, of innovative participles in BP. This variation or grammar competition has to do with the I heads projected in the syntactic component (whether they bear the [PERF] or the [PASS] feature) and with the insertion (or not) of a *th* node at MS to host the VTV of the verbs in general. When the *th* node is projected, the result is the BP Grammar 1. On the other hand, if *th* node is not projected, a new grammar results, BP Grammar 2.

If this analysis is on the right track, two things should be said about the two grammars and their groups of verbs identified according to their participles. Grammar 1 has a *th* node and inserts it at MS, in the contexts of [PASS] and [PERF] feature. Its group I may be characterized as follows:

(35) Group I [PASS], +*th* regular
 [PERF], +*th* regular

Grammar 2, on the other hand, has a *th* node and it always inserts it at MS, in the context of a [PASS] feature, so that it can host the VTV. However, it may insert it or not in the context of a [PERF] feature. Its group I may be characterized as follows:

(36) a. Group IV [PERF], +*th* regular
 [PERF], -*th* innovative
 [PASS], +*th* regular
 [PASS], -*th* *

The idea that the insertion of the *th* node is optional, in Grammar 2, in the context of a [PERF] feature, may be the clue for the explanation of the fact that speakers of this grammar, in spite of producing more and more innovative participles, can still produce regular participial forms in the perfective context.

5. FINAL REMARKS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

In this paper we presented an analysis for the innovative participles, a new form of participle which is more and more common in colloquial BP, entering in variation with the regular form of participles for some verbs. The proposed analysis rejects the view of innovative participle formations that would take into account arbitrary phonological processes or back derivation as a word formation process.

We argued for an analysis according to which there is an abstract syntactic structure common to both regular and innovative participles (see (26)). This explains the similarity in interpretation between these two forms – they are both participles. The difference between them has to do with the morphological operations this structure undergoes at MS. The generation of a regular participle or an innovative one is the result of manipulations of this structure at MS. The regular form will always be generated in the [PASS] context: a *th* node is added at MS, which activates the insertion of the VI -d- in the I head marked with [PASS]. As far as the [PERF] context is concerned, if a *th* node is added at MS, it will activate the insertion of the VI -d- in the I head marked with [PERF] and the result is the creation of a regular participle; otherwise, if no *th* node is inserted in the structure, there is no environment to the insertion of -d- in the I head marked with [PERF] and the result is the derivation of an innovative participle. In other words, [PASS] contexts lead to the formation of regular participles, while [PERF] contexts may derive regular or innovative participles, depending on the insertion or not of a *th* node at MS.

To explain the distributional contrast between these two forms of participles our analysis made use of the concept of specification and underspecification of DM. As a first hypothesis, we suggested that the presence or absence of features as [PERF] or [PASS] in the relevant structure determines the resultant form:

- a) The regular participles, formed with the morpheme -d-, occur in both perfective and passive contexts because this morpheme is underspecified to [PERF] or [PASS]; and,
- b) The innovative participles, formed without the morpheme -d-, only occur in perfective contexts because this morpheme is marked to [PERF].

The fact that innovative participles are forms that appear only when there is an I₂ [PERF] head in the derivation accounts for the fact that this type of participle is confined to perfect contexts (namely, contexts where there is the auxiliary verb *ter* plus a non-agreeing participle). The regular participle, by its turn, is an underspecified element that can appear in both perfect and passive contexts. The analysis in terms of (under)specification helps us to understand the distribution of these two forms of participles.

To treat the variation between these two participles, we discussed the possibility, to be confirmed in ongoing research, that BP instantiates two grammars with different specifications for the VIs which realize the abstract morphemes in participial forms. One of these grammars generates only regular participles and other generates regular and innovative participles. This is in conformity with the fact that not all BP speakers produce the same forms of participles.

We still need to call attention to the fact that we surprisingly found some sparse cases of innovative participles in passives in European Portuguese (EP) and in BP:

- (37) EP:
 (...) as MINHAS queixas foram só apresentadas dado serem as que referem as regras que mais foram *falas* e discutidas (...).
 ‘My complaints were only presented for having to do with the most said (innovative participle) and discussed rules...’.
 (<http://www.simracingportugal.net/forum/archive/index.php?thread-5679.html>)
- (38) BP
- a. Na foto não da pra ver que as bolas são com gliter...Todos os enfeites foram *compros* na Cristal Doces e Festas (...).
 ‘The picture doesn’t show the balls have gliter in them. All ornaments were bought (innovative participle) at Cristal Doces e Festas (...).’
 (linehdamas.blogspot.com)
- b. Na falta do cair de uma lágrima a dor a bem maior do que aquele que chora por tudo, porque quando choramos colocamos para fora tudo aquilo que sentimos e quando não choramos guardamos para nós mesmo todo o sentimento que foi ganho ou que foi *perco*.
 ‘(...) and when we don’t cry, we keep to ourselves all the feeling that was got or lost (innovative participle)’.
 (http://pensador.uol.com.br/autor/kleber_chambarelli/2/)
- c. Mas por medida de segurança, os sete leitos foram *fechos* até que a vigilância termine sua inspeção e libere o local.
 ‘But, for security reasons, the seven beds were closed (innovative participle) until the finish its inspection and free the place’.
 (<http://www.unidas.org.br/noticias/noticias.php?&data=19/07/2012&id=24277&mo=mostra&categoria=na&indice=2008-04-14>)

On view of these facts, we can say that if the data becomes a robust pattern in BP, a possible analysis for this fact will be to say that innovative participles, just like regular ones, are becoming compatible with both aspectual feature [PERF] and voice feature [PASS]. It seems that a third grammar may be at play here. This is one of the hypotheses we are pursuing to explain the occurrence of passive sentences with innovative forms: the use of innovative forms in passive sentences is in expansion, but it still appears more restrictively than it appears in perfective forms.

PARTICÍPIOS INOVADORES EM PORTUGUÊS BRASILEIRO

RESUMO

Neste artigo analisamos um novo tipo de formação de particípio em Português do Brasil, formação essa que denominamos *particípios inovadores*. Esse tipo de particípio, que está ficando cada vez mais comum entre os falantes da língua, surge em contextos nos quais apenas as formas canônicas regulares eram esperadas, chegando a alternar livremente com tais formas. Nossos principais objetivos são determinar a estrutura associada aos particípios inovadores e entender qual é o mecanismo da gramática Português do Brasil que torna possível a variação entre os particípios regulares e os inovadores. Assumindo a Morfologia Distribuída (Halle & Marantz, 1993) como o modelo de gramática, propomos que a mesma estrutura subjaz à formação de ambos os tipos de particípios, sendo a diferença entre eles o resultado de diferentes processos morfológicos que ocorrem no nível da estrutura morfológica.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Morfologia Distribuída; Particípios inovadores; Morfossintaxe; Variação.

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