

**VOICE (A)SYMMETRIES AND INNOVATIVE
PARTICIPLES IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE***

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RESUMO: Neste trabalho, descrevemos o uso de participios inovadores em sentenças passivas do Português do Brasil e procuramos responder a seguinte questão: o que está acontecendo na gramática dos participios inovadores que torna sua ocorrência possível no contexto de sentenças passivas? Com base em Scher, Lunguinho e Rodero-Takahira (2013), que trata da distribuição de participios regulares e inovadores em contextos ativos e passivos em termos dos traços [PERF] e [PASS], mostramos que tal análise também explica a ocorrência de formas inovadoras em sentenças passivas. Reexaminamos a ideia de que participios inovadores não ocorrem no contexto do traço [PASS] e apresentamos novos dados que confirmam a propagação do uso da forma inovadora nesse ambiente, propondo, ainda, um refinamento para os itens de vocabulário /d/ e Ø, que dá conta desses novos dados.

Palavras-chave: participios inovadores, sentenças passivas, Morfologia Distribuída.

ABSTRACT: In this paper, we describe the use of innovative participles in passive sentences in Brazilian Portuguese and try to find the answer for the following question: what is going on in the grammar of the innovative participles which makes them possible in the context of a passive sentence? Based on Scher, Lunguinho and Rodero-Takahira (2013), which deals with the distribution of regular and innovative participles in active and passive contexts in terms of the features [PERF] and [PASS], we show that this analysis also explains the occurrence of innovative participles in passive sentences. We reexamine their claim that innovative participles do not occur in the context of the feature [PASS] and present new data confirming the spreading up of the use of the innovative form in this environment, offering a refinement to the vocabulary items /d/ and Ø, which will account for this new data.

Keywords: innovative participles, passive sentences, Distributed Morphology.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Brazilian Portuguese (hereafter, BP), in some of its dialects¹, has been exhibiting a new pattern of participle formation in which an innovative form appears, as in examples (1), in contexts where a regular form used to be expected, as in examples (1).

- (1) a. Em setembro de 2009, o ICV *tinha subo* 0,27%.
 b. Em setembro de 2009, o ICV *tinha subido* 0,27%.
 ‘In September 2009, the ICV *had risen* 0,27%.
 c. Sobre o que eu *tinha falo*.
 d. Sobre o que eu *tinha falado*.
 ‘On what I *had said*.’ (Scher, Lunguinho and Rodero-Takahira 2013: 93)

In these sentences, *subo* (innovative) and *subido* (regular) are interpreted in the same way as well as *falo* (innovative) and *falado* (regular). The fact is that these verbs only used to form regular participles. In Scher, Lunguinho and Rodero-Takahira (2013; henceforth SLRT), we called formations such as *subo* and *falo* in (1) *innovative participles*. SLRT present an analysis for the structure associated with those participles, assuming that they have the same syntactic structure as their corresponding regular participles and that distinct morphological processes differentiate the two participial forms.

While SLRT have already shown that innovative participles occur mainly in active perfect sentences/compound tenses (structurally, auxiliary *ter* + uninflected participle), as in (1), and that passives, on the other hand, seem to prefer the regular forms, as in (2), they have also pointed out that some occurrences of innovative participles in passive have begun to show up, as in (3):

- (2) As frutas *foram compradas* / **compras* pela Maria.
 ‘The fruits *were bought* by Maria.’
 (3) Na foto não dá para 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 glitter in them... All ornaments *were bought* at Cristal Doces e Festas (...).’

In this paper, we will show that not only are the innovative participles, in fact, found in passive contexts, but they are also turning more and more common in the dialects which, initially, used them only in the perfect context, as can be seen in the examples below:

¹ The question about the frequency with which these forms occur in BP and also the one about the sociolinguistic profile of the speakers who use them is out of the scope of this paper, but it is a topic which is part of the agenda for the continuation of this research.

- (4) O que os artistas não tinham em mente é que engenheiros e estudantes de vários locais do Brasil fariam vídeos parecidos “nocauteando” o que *tinha sido falo* por eles.
'What the artists didn't see coming was that engineers and students from many parts of Brazil would produce similar videos denying what *had been said* by them.'
- (5) (...) achei um desrespeito da companhia, lembrando que meu bilhete *tinha sido compro* em uma tarifa normal.
'(...) I thought it was very disrespectful of the company, since my ticket *had been bought* at a normal rate.'

Sentences such as (3), (4) and (5) are part of the language and call for an explanation. Our main question, then, is the following: what is going on in the grammar of the innovative participles which makes them possible in the context of a passive sentence? In order to provide an adequate explanation for this question, we will present the analysis put forward in SLRT and show how it can also account for the occurrence of the innovative forms in passive sentences.

This paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we show the methodology we used to collect the data we investigate in this paper and discuss very briefly some issues regarding it. We then, go on, in section 3, to describe the patterns of participle formation in BP, including the innovative participles. In section 4, we present the proposal for the derivation of innovative participles in SLRT in which we deal with the apparent different distribution of regular and innovative participles in active and passive contexts in terms of the features [PERF] and [PASS]. In section 5, we reexamine the claim made in SLRT, according to which innovative participles do not occur in the context of the feature [PASS] and present new data confirming the spreading up of the use of the innovative form in this environment. We also present, in the same section, a refinement to the vocabulary items² -/d/ and Ø, which will account for this new data. Finally, in section 6, we provide a summary of the main points of the paper.

2. A BRIEF NOTE ON DATA AND METHODOLOGY

A clarification about the nature of the examples used in this paper is on order. We are using both examples heard by us in colloquial circumstances and examples drawn from the internet (most of them). Using such data was a methodological decision since we are not speakers of the dialects considered in this paper and there are no researches mapping the possible uses of innovative participles in BP. We are aware of the possible objections to the use of this kind of examples in a paper which is intended to present an analysis of BP speakers' linguistic competence. Some people might say that these examples cannot help to understand the real grammar

² Vocabulary Items (VIs), in Distributed Morphology terms, are rules which associate a phonological exponent to abstract morphemes in the syntactic derivation.

behind the use of (innovative) participles. In other words, the innovative participles present in these examples could be seen not as a real object of study generated by BP speakers' linguistic competence, but as a by-product of performance errors or even as an effect of hypercorrection, which could be associated with the register of the language used, namely the written language.

Against this objection, we can use the fact that if the innovative participles were to be understood as resulting from errors or hypercorrection, they should not be expected to occur so frequently. As a matter of fact, they should be isolated examples, which is not the case. It is easy to find data with innovative participles on the internet. The regularity of these data and the fact that they keep recurring allow us to think that innovative participles are in fact a real object of study which is generated by the grammar of BP speakers.

Some words must also be said in relation to grammaticality judgments. Since we are not native speakers of the dialects which use innovative participles, the fact that we had never heard them occurring with some verbs, or the fact they were not found in our search on the internet were the factors used by us to judge a sentence as ungrammatical. This was another methodological choice we made in view of the complete inexistence of studies on this topic.

Finally, as for the presentation of data, some of the internet examples have been altered/edited to adequate them to the standard written Portuguese (basically orthography and punctuation). At the end of the paper, in the Appendix, it is possible to see the examples as they were, their sources, as well as other examples of innovative participles that are part of our initial corpus. Examples presented in the text which are not part of the Appendix must be understood as data which were collected by us by observing oral speech.

3. ORGANIZATION OF PARTICIPIAL FORMS IN BP: THE INNOVATIVE PARTICIPLES

Traditionally, the verbs in Portuguese can be placed into three different classes, according to the way they form their participles.

Group I, for example, complies with the general pattern for participle formation in the language: they form regular participles, which preserve the verb's infinitival stem and associates it with the verbal theme vowel (VTV), the participle morpheme and the nominal theme vowel (NTV)³, as in (6). Their stems/roots are not stressed, but their VTV is. For that reason, they are also known as non-rhizotonic participles.

³ Just like the infinitival and gerundive forms, participial forms are treated as a nominal form of the verbs, since they are not inflected for tense.

(6) Regular participles: morphological organization

Infinitival form	Stem	VTV	Participle morpheme	NTV	Participial form
<i>amar</i> ('to love')	<i>am</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>amado</i> ('loved')
<i>temer</i> ('to fear')	<i>tem</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>temido</i> ('feared')
<i>partir</i> ('to leave')	<i>part</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>partido</i> ('left')

Group II comprises verbs forming only irregular participles, whose derivation, generally, involves significant changes in the stem of the infinitival form. These participles exhibit the (modified) verbal stem, the participle morpheme and the NTV, and they are also known as rhizotonic participles since their stress falls on their stem:

(7) Irregular participles: morphological organization

Infinitival form	Stem	VTV	Participle morpheme	NTV	Participial form
<i>escrever</i> ('to write')	<i>escri</i>	-	<i>t</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>escrito</i> ('written')
<i>ver</i> ('to see')	<i>vis</i>	-	<i>t</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>visto</i> ('seen')
<i>dizer</i> ('to say')	<i>di</i>	-	<i>t</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ditto</i> ('said')
<i>fazer</i> ('to do')	<i>fei</i>	-	<i>t</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>feito</i> ('done')
<i>abrir</i> ('to open')	<i>aber</i>	-	<i>t</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>aberto</i> ('opened')
<i>cobrir</i> ('to cover')	<i>cober</i>	-	<i>t</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>coberto</i> ('covered')
<i>por</i> ('to put')	<i>pos</i>	-	<i>t</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>posto</i> ('put')
<i>vir</i> ('to come')	<i>vin</i>	-	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>vindo</i> ('come')

Finally, group III is composed of verbs which can form a regular non-rhizotonic participial form, as well as an irregular rhizotonic one, being, for that reason, often termed "abundant verbs" or double participles. The organization of the morphemes present in the structure of this type of participial form can be seen in (8):

(8) Double participial forms: morphological organization⁴

Infinitival form	Stem	VTV	Participle morpheme	NTV	Participial form
<i>aceitar</i> ('to accept')	<i>aceit</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>aceitado</i> ('accepted')
	<i>aceit</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>	<i>aceito</i> ('accepted')
<i>entregar</i> ('to deliver')	<i>entreg</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>entregado</i> ('delivered')
	<i>entreg</i>	-	-	<i>e</i>	<i>entregue</i> ('delivered')
<i>imprimir</i> ('to print')	<i>imprim</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>imprimido</i> ('pressed')
	<i>impress</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>	<i>impresso</i> ('pressed')

⁴The 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.

<i>limpar</i> ('to clean')	<i>limp</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>limpado</i> ('cleaned')
	<i>limp</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>	<i>limpo</i> ('clean')
<i>pegar</i> ('to take')	<i>peg</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>pegado</i> ('taken')
	<i>peg</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>	<i>pego</i> ('taken')
<i>salvar</i> ('to save')	<i>salv</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>salvado</i> ('saved')
	<i>salv</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>	<i>salvo</i> ('save')

In SLRT, we argued in favor of the existence of another group of verbs in the grammar of BP, call it group IV, which puts together some new participial forms being observed in colloquial BP: the innovative participle. This group comprises verbs which, until very recently, formed mainly regular participles (group I), but, nowadays, can also be associated with these innovative forms. The morphological organization of both types of participles is suggested in (9), 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:

(9) Regular and innovative: morphological organization⁵

Infinitival form	Stem	VTV	Participle morpheme	NTV	Participial form
<i>comprar</i> ('to buy')	<i>compr</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>comprado</i> ('bought')
	<i>compr</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>	<i>compro</i> ('bought')
<i>cortar</i> ('to cut')	<i>cort</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>cortado</i> ('cut')
	<i>cort</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>	<i>corto</i> ('cut')
<i>falar</i> ('to talk')	<i>fal</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>falado</i> ('spoken')
	<i>fal</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>	<i>falo</i> ('spoken')
<i>mandar</i> ('to send')	<i>mand</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>mandado</i> ('sent')
	<i>mand</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>	<i>mando</i> ('sent')
<i>pedir</i> ('to ask')	<i>ped</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>pedido</i> ('asked')
	<i>peç</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>	<i>peço</i> ('asked')
<i>perder</i> ('to lose')	<i>perd</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>perdido</i> ('lost')
	<i>perc/perd</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>	<i>perco/perdo</i> ('lost')
<i>subir</i> ('to rise')	<i>sub</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>subido</i> ('risen')
	<i>sub</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>	<i>subo</i> ('risen')
<i>trazer</i> ('to bring')	<i>traz</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>trazido</i> ('brought')
	<i>trag</i>	-	-	<i>o</i>	<i>trago</i> ('brought')

Having presented the way participles are organized in BP, we pass on to describe the syntax of these innovative participial forms as we put forward in SLRT.

⁵ Differently from (8), the second line in (9) shows the morphological organization of innovative participles.

4. THE SYNTAX OF INNOVATIVE PARTICIPLES IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE: A FIRST LOOK

In this section we bring some examples of the distribution of innovative participles in BP and present the analysis we proposed in SLRT to account for this distribution. The following examples will guide our presentation.

- (10) a. O menino *tinha falado* a verdade.
'The boy *had said* the truth.'
- b. Eles *tinham peço* todos os materiais necessários.
'They *had asked* for all the materials needed.'
- (11) a. O menino *tinha falado* a verdade.
'The boy *had said* the truth.'
- b. Eles *tinham pedido* todos os materiais necessários.
'They *had asked* for all the materials needed.'
- (12) a. *A verdade *foi fala* (pelo menino).
'The truth *was said* (by the boy).'
- b. *Todos os materiais necessários *foram peços* (por eles).
'All the material needed *were asked* for (by them).'
- (13) a. A verdade *foi falada* (pelo menino).
'The truth *was said* (by the boy).'
- b. Todos os materiais necessários *foram pedidos* (por eles).
'All the material needed *were asked* for (by them).'

Concentrating on examples such as those illustrated above, SLRT present two characteristics of innovative participles in Brazilian Portuguese:

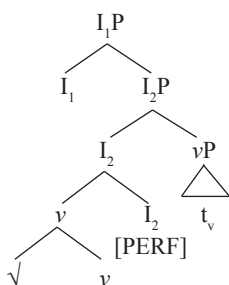
- a) the innovative form of participles show variation with their regular counterpart in active sentences, and
- b) the syntax of innovative participles in Brazilian Portuguese is constrained by voice: innovative participles are possible only in active (compound tense) sentences.

In order to explain these two properties, SLRT developed an analysis for innovative participles in terms of the features [PERF] and [PASS], which are introduced in the syntactic derivation, and of morphological processes occurring in the Morphological Structure.

4.1. The variation

To capture the parallelism between innovative and regular forms of participles in active perfect sentences/compound tenses, SLRT build their proposal on the framework of Distributed Morphology (Hale and Marantz 1993). Using as the starting point for their analysis Ippolito's (1999) proposal for Italian participles, and Medeiros's (2008) approach for Brazilian Portuguese participles, the authors assume that innovative and regular participles share the same syntax:

(14) Syntactic representation of active sentences with regular and innovative participles⁶

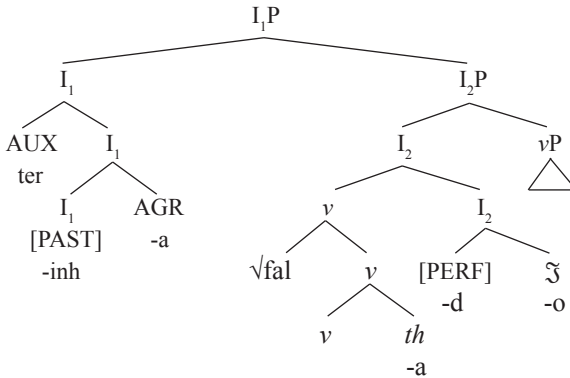
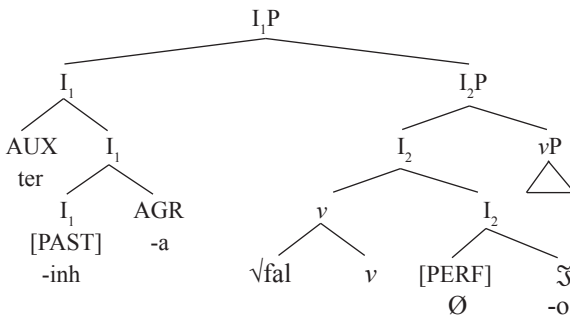


According to the representation above, a verbal category *v* categorizes a root and defines it as a verb; then, inflectional heads of the I type (Ippolito 1999, Medeiros 2008), bringing the aspectual feature [PERF], and temporal features are introduced in the derivation and the result is the (abstract) representation of a (regular or innovative) participle.

The difference in form between the two participles is a consequence of different morphological processes that occur at the level of Morphological Structure, as can be seen bellow, where the Morphological Structures associated with the verbs *falado*, in (1c), and *falo*, in (1d), are shown in (15a) and (15b), respectively:

⁶ In the representations, we will omit the CP level for easy of presentation.

(15) Morphological Structures

a) regular participle: *tinha falado*⁷b) innovative participle: *tinha falo*

Because both participles in this context do not show agreement (neither with the subject nor with the object), an AGR node is not necessary to be associated with the I_2 head. As pointed out in footnote 3, given the fact that participles do not inflect for tense as finite verbs do, we will treat them as nominal forms (following traditional grammars of Portuguese). The conclusion to be taken is that their Morphological Structures are associated with a nominal class head \mathfrak{S} , which hosts the nominal thematic suffix, delimits the word and prevents it from incorporating to the next I higher up in the structure (Harris 1999, Alcântara 2003, 2010, Scher 2012a,b).

The differences between these two forms have to do with the insertion of the *th* head, which hosts the verbal thematic suffix (Oltra-Massuet 1999) in regular participles, (15), versus its absence in the innovative ones, (15). The absence of *th* in innovative participles has as its immediate consequence the fact that they do not realize any VTV. In this context, where there is no morphological *th* node inserted, it is assumed that only one Vocabulary Item can be inserted under the I_2 head, according to the specification below:

⁷ The morphological representation proposed by SLRT for regular participles is slightly different from what is presented by Ippolito (1999) and Medeiros (2008).

(16) $\emptyset \leftrightarrow [\text{PERF}] / _ -th$

A solution in terms of a rule which associates a null exponent to the [PERF] feature in the absence on the node *th* was an interesting one and could account for the data we could come across at the time, which revealed a quite systematic asymmetric behavior for the innovative participles: they were restricted to active sentences. This apparent asymmetry is the subject of the next section.

4.2. Voice asymmetry

As the examples from (17) and (18), taken from SLRT (p. 105), show, there seems to be some voice asymmetry constraining the distribution of innovative participles in BP, according to which these participial forms can only be grammatical in active perfect sentences/compound tenses. The authors points out that “only the regular form of the participle is grammatical in passive contexts, where the innovative participle is ungrammatical (or, at least, awkward)” (SLRT:105).

(17) Passive sentences: innovative participles

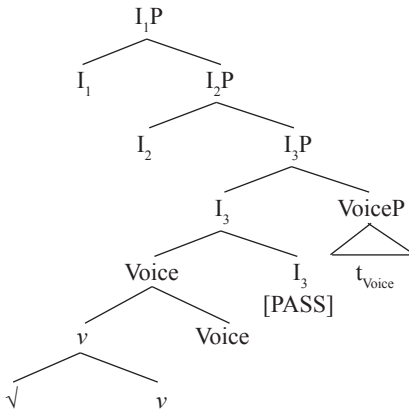
- a. *As frutas **foram compras** pela Maria.
'The fruits *were bought* by Maria.'
- b. *As chaves **foram percas** pela Maria.
'The keys *were lost* by Maria.'
- c. *A carta de aceite **foi manda** para o João pela universidade.
'The acceptance letter *was sent* to João by the university.'

(18) Passive sentences: regular participles

- a. As frutas **foram compradas** pela Maria.
'The fruits *were bought* by Maria.'
- b. As chaves **foram perdidas** pela Maria.
'The keys *were lost* by Maria.'
- c. A carta de aceite **foi mandada** para o João pela universidade.
'The acceptance letter *was sent* to João by the university.'

To understand the reason why regular participles are possible in passives whereas innovative participles are not, the authors adopt Medeiros's (2008) syntax for passives:

(19) Passive syntax



The difference between this structure and that of active sentences is that passives involve another syntactic head I_3 which is responsible for the voice feature [PASS]. In the analysis proposed by SLRT, this feature is the source of the voice asymmetries: innovative participles are forms fully specified as [PERF] and, for that reason, incompatible with passives; regular participles, by their turn, are compatible with both features.

The next section will bring some new data which, together with those presented in (4) and (5), have made us revisit the claim made in SLRT, since innovative participles have proved not to be restricted to active contexts. That means the incompatibility we suggested before, between those forms and the feature [PASS] might not play any crucial role in the derivation of sentences with participial forms in PB.

5. INNOVATIVE PARTICIPLES AND PASSIVES IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE: NEW DATA

SLRT have pointed out that the use of innovative forms is much more frequent in active contexts than it is in passive contexts. That worked for us as an indication that passive contexts require regular participles, while the context of active perfect sentences/compound tenses may accept regular or innovative participles.

However, cases of innovative participles in passive contexts do occur in BP, as can be seen from the examples in (20), below⁸. In fact, the number of sentences like this seems to be enlarging:

⁸ Some occurrences of innovative participles with passives in European Portuguese (EP) can be found in the Appendix. In spite of the fact the EP can also exhibit innovative participles, we will not work comparatively here.

(20) a. *comprar* ('to buy')

Na foto não dá para ver que as bolas são com gliter... Todos os enfeites **foram comprados** na Cristal Doces e Festas (...).

'The picture doesn't show the balls have glitter in them... All ornaments **were bought** at Cristal Doces e Festas (...).'

b. *perder* ('to lose')

(...) quando não choramos, guardamos para nós mesmos todo o sentimento que foi ganho ou que **foi perco**.

'(...) when we don't cry, we keep to ourselves all the feeling that **was** got or **lost**.'

Minha noite já **tinha sido perca** no momento em que tinha avistado Julia.

'My night **had been lost** in the moment I had spotted Julia.'

c. *fechar* ('to close')

Mas por medida de segurança, os sete leitos **foram fechados** até que a vigilância termine sua inspeção e libere o local.

'But, for security reasons, the seven beds **were closed** until the Security finishes its inspection and frees the place.'

d. *trazer* ('to bring')

As placas continuarão a ser instaladas na próxima semana, por causa da pouca quantidade que **tinha sido trago** para a cidade.

'The plates will continue to be installed next week because of the small amount that **had been brought** to the city.'

e. *pedir* ('to ask')

Enviei ao endereço dado um anexo que continha os seguintes dados: cópia do meu CPF, indenidade frente e verso e o comprovante de residência. Tudo o que me tinha sido peço (para enviar) na última ligação.

'I sent to the relevant address an attachment containing the following data: a copy of my CPF, duplex ID and the proof of residence. Everything that I **had been asked** (to send) in the last call.'

f. *mandar* ('to send')

Comprei no quiosque do North Shopping Caruaru em 30/01/12, um relógio da marca Touch com referência AD 0921-22 com garantia de um ano. No dia 26/12/12 ele **foi mando** à assistência, pois parou de funcionar. A vendedora informou que, como a assistência era em Recife, teria um prazo de 20 ou 30 dias para retornar.

'I have bought a Touch watch with the reference AD 0921-22 with a one-year- guarantee at a kiosk in Caruaru North Shopping in 01/30/2012. On 12/26/12 it **was sent** to the assistance because it stopped working. The saleswoman informed that, as the assistance shop was in Recife, it would take 20 to 30 days to return.'

In view of these facts, one cannot ignore that the alleged asymmetries in the distribution of innovative participles regarding active and passive contexts might not be real. In fact, it should be observed that this distribution seems to interact with the grammar of the participle.

What the data above show is that innovative participles, which initially entered BP grammar by the context of active sentences, are now expanding their use to other contexts such as passive sentences in the dialects which allow them. In other words they are having their distribution regularized in the syntax of BP. The questions which follow, then, are:

- a) How can this new distribution be captured formally?
- b) Which features are affected by this new organization of the grammar of innovative participles?

A possible answer to these questions, which, in fact, are intertwined, can be seen in comparative terms: innovative participles seem to have been created to those verbs which initially were only regular, that is, verbs which had only the regular participial form and used this form both in active and passive contexts. What happened is that the innovative participle seems to have just walked its way to become a truly variant of the regular participial form. For some verbs it is true, since both forms (regular and innovative) can be used in active and passive sentences.

If what we proposed in SLRT is on the right track, it is reasonable to assume that, for those verbs which allow regular and innovative participles in active and passive sentences, what seems to be happening is that the innovative forms might be changing their composition of features and, as a result of this change, they are becoming compatible with both [PERF] and [PASS] features. What we are saying is that the same way /-d/ is compatible with [PERF] and [PASS], \emptyset – for some verbs – is also compatible with these two features. That means to say that both the Vocabulary Items /-d/ and \emptyset are underspecified for those features, which is exactly which allows them to occur in either context eliminating the asymmetry previously observed for them.

(21) Vocabulary Items

/-d/ ↔ []
 \emptyset ↔ []/ __-th

The representations for active sentences both with regular and innovative participles remain unaltered, the way it was suggested in (14) and (15). As for the passive sentences, their syntactic representation also remains the same as that in (19). Their morphological representations, however, now that more than one participial form has been registered, will have to reflect morphological operations which will vary according to participle formed.

What we can conclude from the picture just sketched (and based on the data studied here) is that there is a division inside the innovative participles in group IV (Cf. (23) below):

- a) part of them is changing their internal composition of features, resulting in their compatibility with both active and passive contexts and functioning as real variants of regular participles; and,
- b) part of them keep their feature composition intact/stable; they are seen only in active contexts, exhibiting the voice asymmetry.

(23) The grammar of innovative participles

Brazilian Portuguese innovative participles	
<p>Main property $\emptyset \leftrightarrow [] / _ -th$</p> <p>Consequences - Compatibility with both active and passive sentences - Real variants of regular participles</p> <p>Examples <i>comprar</i> ('to buy'), <i>falar</i> ('to speak'), <i>fechar</i> ('to close'), <i>mandar</i> ('to send'), <i>pedir</i> ('to ask'), <i>perder</i> ('to lose'), <i>trazer</i> ('to bring')</p>	<p>Main property $\emptyset \leftrightarrow [PERF] / _ -th$</p> <p>Consequence - Compatibility with active sentences only: voice asymmetry</p> <p>Examples <i>cortar</i> ('to cut'), <i>levar</i> ('to take'), <i>quebrar</i> ('to break'), <i>subir</i> ('to go up')</p>

It is important to emphasize that some verbs will never be compatible with passive sentences. It is the case of unaccusatives verbs like *chegar* ('to arrive') and *faltar* ('to miss'), which due to syntactic properties do not undergo passivization, and are found only in active sentences:

- (24) E mais uma vez o clima pregou uma peça na gente. Aqui em São Paulo todos achando que o frio ***tinha chego*** com tudo. Mas não... Esse calor de 35° graus voltou com tudo e nada mais incômodo do que usar roupas muito fechadas certo?

'Once more the weather has played a joke on us. Here in São Paulo everybody thought that the cold weather ***had*** strongly ***arrived***, but no... this 35° hot weather came back and nothing is more disturbing than wearing clothes that are too closed, right?'

- (25) Cheguei no shopping Morumbi cerca das nove e meia da manhã "achando que ***tinha chego*** cedo demais".

'I got to Morumbi Mall at about nine thirty a.m. "I was thinking that I ***had arrived*** too early".'

(26) Estou atualizando a tabela. *Tinha falta* luz aqui desde o meio-dia. Daqui a pouco posto.

‘I am updating the table. There *was* power *failure* here since midday. I will post it soon.’

(27) Eu *tinha falta* no dia e o trabalho era em dupla.

‘I had missed the class on that day and the task was to be done in twos.’

This section helped us to build a clearer scenario for the distribution of the innovative participles in BP and to revisit the analysis in SLRT accommodating to it the new data concerning passive contexts. However, it is still unclear what restricts the use of innovative participles in passive contexts for some verbs, a question to be addressed in future work.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The main goal of this paper was to examine the claim made in SLRT, according to which the innovative participles in BP were ungrammatical or strange in passive. This constraint was called voice asymmetry. Through a search in the internet and from data collected in spontaneous speech, we gather some new data revealing that the idea presented in SLRT was too strong to be maintained. The data showed that some BP innovative participles exhibited a more complex distribution: part of these participles – which were restricted to active contexts – are perfectly grammatical in passive being free of the effects of voice asymmetry and for the other part the effects of voice asymmetry are still visible, given that these verbs are confined only to active contexts.

In order to treat this internal organization of innovative participles, we adopted SLRT’s analysis, expanding it to the case of innovative participles which are immune to the voice asymmetry. In the case of these participles, they share with the regular ones the same syntax (active and passive). The differences have to do with the fact that both forms employ different morphological operations at the Morphological Structure to produce their final form. The distributional similitude is consequence of the fact that the both /-d/ and Ø are underspecified Vocabulary Items compatible with both the features [PERF] and [PASS]. The final conclusion we arrive at is that these forms behave as linguistic variants. In the case of innovative participles which show the effects of voice asymmetry, the idea is that the Ø maintains its specification for the [PERF] feature, occurring just in active contexts.

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APPENDIX

1) Innovative participles in Brazilian Portuguese

Active perfective sentences (compound tenses)

- (1) Sobre o que eu *tinha falado*.
'On what I *had said*.'
Source: http://ladesabafo.blogspot.co.uk/2011_08_01_archive.html.
- (2) E mais uma vez o clima pregou uma peça na gente, aqui em São Paulo todos achando que o frio *tinha chegado* com tudo, mais não esse calor de 35° graus voltou com tudo e nada mais incomodo do que usar roupas muito fechadas certo? Once more the weather has played a joke on us. Here in São Paulo everybody thought that the cold weather *had* strongly *arrived*, but no... this 35° hot weather came back and nothing is more disturbing than wearing clothes that are too closed, right?
Source: <http://www.vaidademasculina.com/search/label/regata%20loose%20fit%20masculina>.
- (3) Cheguei no shopping Morumbi cerca das nove e meia da manhã “achando que *tinha chegado* cedo demais”.
'I got to Morumbi Mall at about nine thirty a.m. “I was thinking that I *had arrived* too early”.’
Source: http://www.estilocomfarofa.com.br/index.p?sub=_c&secao=ler&id=539.
- (4) to atualizando a tabela *tinha faltado* luz aqui desde do meio dia daqui apouco posto.
'I am updating the table. There *was* power *failure* here since midday. I will post it soon.’
Source: <http://www.htforum.com/vb/archive/index.php/t-171578-p-2.html>.
- (5) eu *tinha faltado* no dia e o trabalho era em dupla.
'I *had missed* the class on that day and the task was to be done in twos.’
Source: <http://www.x-flog.com.br/xdrix/908916>.
- (6) Me ajudem, quando eu entrei no yahoo apareceu uma mensagem na minha foto dizendo que eu *tinha perdido* 33 pontos?
'Help me, when I entered Yahoo, there was a message in my photograph, saying that I *had lost* 33 points?’.
Source: <https://br.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20090706180256AAAnw5bO>.
- (7) (...) e meus créditos que eu *tinha perdido* (...).
'(...) and what about the credits I *had lost* (...).’
Source: <https://br.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20130603085847AAe7xXq>.
- (8) (...) tava doendo tanto que meus pais me levaram no Hospital pra ver se eu não tinha quebrado nenhum osso, fiz exame e não *tinha quebrado* nada (...).
'(...) it was hurting so much that my parents took me to the hospital to see whether I had broken any bones. I was examined and I *had not broken* anything (...).’
Source: <https://br.answers.yahoo.com/question/index?qid=20110825092439AAq4RBR>.

- (9) Depois dessa eu *tinha quebro* a perna desse desgraçado.
'After that, I would *have broken* that bastard's leg.'
Source: <http://www.meutimao.com.br/comentario/905810/kkkkkkkkkkkkkk>.
- (10) Na virada de ano fui tomar banho de mar e acabei perdendo a chave de casa, foi uma depressão porque só eu *tinha levo* a chave...
'On New Year's Eve I went for a bath in the sea and ended up losing the key of my house. It was depressing because only I *had taken* the key...'
Source: <http://brieleconta.blogspot.com.br/>

Passive sentences

- (1) 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 glitter in them... All ornaments *were bought* at Cristal Doces e Festas (...).'
Source: linehdamas.blogspot.com.
- (2) O que os artistas não tinham em mente que engenheiros e estudantes de vários locais do Brasil fariam vídeos parecidos “nocauteando” o que *tinha sido falo* por eles.
'What the artists didn't see coming was that engineers and students from many parts of Brazil would produce similar videos denying what *had been said* by them.'
Source: <http://beautyeco.com.br/2011/12/a-polemica-dos-ecochoatos/>.
- (3) (...) achei um derrespeito da companhia, lembrando que meu bilhete *tinha sido compro* em uma tarifa normal.
'(...) I thought it was very disrespectful of the company, since my ticket *had been bought* at a normal rate.'
Source: <http://www.reclameaqui.com.br/6088976/tam-linhas-aereas/falta-de-respeito-com-cliente/>.
- (4) (...) quando não choramos guardamos para nós mesmo todo o sentimento que foi ganho ou que *foi perco*.
'(...) when we don't cry, we keep to ourselves all the feeling that *was* got or *lost*.'
Source: http://pensador.uol.com.br/autor/kleber_chambarelli/2/.
- (5) Minha noite já *tinha sido perca* no momento em que tinha avistado Julia.
'My night *had been lost* in the moment I had spotted Julia.'
Source: <http://web-ao-cair-da-noite.tumblr.com/>.
- (6) 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* until the Security finishes its inspection and frees the place.'
Source: <http://www.unidas.org.br/rj-mortes-suspeitas-levam-a-interdicao-de-cti-infantil/2624/detalhe-noticia-saude>.

- (7) As placas continuaram a serem instaladas na próxima semana, por causa da pouca quantidade que *tinha sido trago* para a cidade.
'The plates will continue to be installed next week because of the small amount that *had been brought* to the city.'
Source: <http://redemarica.blogspot.com.br/2013/08/prefeitura-instala-placas-de-pontos-de.html>.
- (8) Enviei ao endereço dado um anexo que continha os seguintes dados: Cópia do meu CPF, indenidade frete e verso e o comprovante de residência. Tudo o que me *tinha sido peço* na ultima ligação.
'I sent to the relevant address an attachment containing the following data: a copy of my CPF, duplex ID and the proof of residence. Everything that I *had been asked* (to send) in the last call.'
Source: <https://www.facebook.com/SKYBrasil/posts/10151568537107215>.
- (9) Comprei no quiosque do North Shopping Caruaru em 30/01/12, um relógio da marca touch com referência AD 0921-22 com garantia de um ano. No dia 26/12/12 ele *foi mando* a assistência pois parou de funcionar, a vendedora informou que como a assistência era em Recife, teria um prazo de 20 ou 30 dias para retornar.
'I have bought a Touch watch with the reference AD 0921-22 with a one-year-guarantee at a kiosk in Caruaru North Shopping in 01/30/2012. On 12/26/12 it *was sent* to the assistance because it stopped working. The saleswoman informed that, as the assistance shop was in Recife, it would take 20 to 30 days to return.'
Source: <http://www.reclameaqui.com.br/4488191/touch-watches/produto-a-40-dias-na-assistencia/>.

2) Innovative participles in European Portuguese

Passive sentences

- (1) (...) as MINHAS queixas foram só apresentadas dado serem as que referem as regras que mais *foram falas* e discutidas (...).
'(...) my complaints were only presented once they are the ones which refer to rules that *were* the most *said* and discussed (...).'
Source: <http://www.simracingportugal.net/forum/archive/index.php?thread-5679.html>.
- (2) “Esqueceram-se” de recolher as ervas que *foram cortas* na ecopista, já passaram 10 dias lá continuam...
'They forgot to collect the weeds that *were cut* in Ecopista. 10 days have passed and they continue there...'
Source: http://maisevora.blogspot.com.br/2014/01/armazem-8-programacao-deste-fim-de_30.html.
- (3) vendo ou troc (sic) embaladeiras para fiat bravo sao novas nunva (sic) usada *foram compras* pintadas (...).
'I sell or exchange sill for Fiat Bravo. They are new, they have never been used. They *were bought* painted (...).'
Source: <http://visucity.olx.pt/embaladeiras-abarth-iiid-451940903>.