

**Athematic Participles in Brazilian Portuguese:
Evidence for Syncretism as a Paradigm-Driven Process
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- ➔ GOALS: track the diachronic developments that gave rise to an apparently increasing kind of irreg. participle in BP (athematic).
- Argue it is a case of syncretism not motivated by any sharing of features and not the result of phonology. It is therefore totally morphological/morphomic, a paradigm-driven process.
 - this process is not the result of an accidental *phonological* homophony that was reinterpreted as systematically morphological. All phases that have led to this state of affairs were **morphologically** determined throughout its history.

1. PRELIMINARIES

- Reg. past participles in BP: thematic stem + {-d-} + gender morpheme. Plural {-s-} may also be added at the end. Exs:
 - *amar* 'love' *am-a-d-o*;
 - *querer* 'want' *quer-i-d-o*;
 - *sentir* 'feel' *sent-i-d-o*.
- not the only schema: many form participle w/o theme vowel or -d-. Ex. *aceitar* 'to accept', part. *aceit-o*, besides reg. *aceit-a-d-o*.
- still an irregular type but on the increase in colloquial spoken BP.
- Opposite tendencies:
 - regularize irregular verbs. Participles as *escrito* from *escrever* 'to write' ⇒ *escrevido* (non-standard).
 - form irregular participles. Verbs like *chegar* 'to arrive', *chegado* ⇒ *chego* (non-standard, too). This is the focus of the present paper.
- Striking characteristic: directional syncretism in which the participle mirrors the 1sg pres. ind. Situation mentioned in:
 - Baerman (2005, 823), i.e., one which is "clearly systematic and that involve[s] morphosyntactic values so remote from each other that any

account in terms of natural classes would void the notion of any explanatory value." An analysis with underspecification and defaults would probably be unfeasible.

2. PARTICIPLES

- diachronically crucial: participles have a mixed status (part of verbal paradigms but also adjectives) ⇒ semi-independent life.
 - verbs may fall into disuse and have their corresponding participles survive, as (eventive) participles or as adjectives.
 - much less common or even very unusual for other verb forms.
 - few like Latin AIO: imperfect and a dozen other scattered forms. Common in suppletion. Ex., WEND *went*, part of the paradigm of GO.
 - also extremely rare in Portuguese. Only SER 'to be', and IR 'to go'.
 - English *quoth* is an example of a past form which survived by itself in a certain register for some time.
- **not uncommon** with participles, which may very well be the only surviving forms of a verb's paradigm:

(1) († Accipio, accipere, accēpi), acceptum.	Ptg. aceito 'accepted', p.
(† Quiesco, quiescere, quievi), quietum.	Ptg. quieto 'quiet', adj.
(† Promo, promere, prompsi), promptum.	Ptg. pronto 'ready', adj.
(† Censēo, censere, censui), censum.	Ptg. censo 'census', N.
(† Lugēo, lugere, luxi), luctum.	Ptg. luto 'mourning', N.

3. LATIN

- four conjugations in the *inflectum* (one had two subgroups). Three different stems. Aronoff (1994): third stem.
 - Present stem (*inflectum*): laudā-
 - Perfect stem (*perfectum*): laudā-v-

Third stem: laudā-t-	{	Perfect participle: laudātus, a, um
(participle, supine)	}	Future active participle: laudātūrus, a, um
		Supine: laudātu(m)
- derivation: *nomina agentis* (-or) and *nomina actionis* (-io). Exs.: laudator, laudatio.

- another morphomic fact. It was only possible to create derived verbs from verbs based on the third stem.
- Aronoff (1994, 46) - there were three kinds of verbs derived on the third stem of Latin verbs:
 - desideratives: *cenaturio, esurio, parturio*.
 - iteratives or frequentatives added *-ītō/-ītāre* to the athematic form of the third stem. Exs.:
 - (2) *script-ītō* 'write often', from *scrib-ō, scrips-ī, script-um* 'write';
vīs-ītō 'visit', from *vide-ō, vīd-ī, vīs-um* 'see';
iact-ītō 'throw often', from *iaci-ō, iēc-ī, iact-um* 'throw'.
 - **Intensives** were formed simply by adding first conjugation endings, including the theme vowel *-ā-* to the athematic form of the third stem. Exs.:
 - (3) *iact-ō* 'throw forcefully/often', from *iaci-ō, iēc-ī, iact-um* 'throw';
volūt-ō 'roll, meditate', from *volv-ō, volv-ī, volūt-um* 'roll';
tract-ō 'drag, handle', from *trah-ō, trax-ī, tract-um* 'pull'.
- Allen & Greenough (1888: 159): "Intensives or iteratives are formed from the Supine stem and end in *-tō* or *-itō* (rarely *-sō*). They denote a *forcible* or *repeated* action, but this special sense often disappears."
- Ernout & Meillet (1967: 167): "à *canō* correspond un intensif *cantō, ās, āuī, ātum, āre*, qui, dès les plus anciens textes, concurrence *canō* sans [my underlining] que la nuance itérative ou intensive soit toujours visible, et qui s'est spécialisé dans le sens propre de 'chanter'. *Cantō* substitue seulement une flexion régulière à un verbe irrégulier."
- They also say that based on *iaciō* the frequentative *iactō, ās*, "lancer, jeter souvent ou avec force", was formed, and that it later started to mean 'agiter' or 'mettre en avant'. They conclude by saying that "lactare ... qui à basse époque s'emploie comme synonyme de *iaciō*, a seul subsisté et a remplacé *iacere* dans les langues romanes."
- One further remark they make is that "de *saliō* existe un itératif-intensif ancien et usuel *saltō, ās* ... qui tend à se substituer à *salire*."
- Some more examples follow:
 - 1) *crepo, crepare, crepitem*: 'rattle, crack'
crepito, crepitare, crepitatum: 'crack repeatedly'
 - 2) *verto, vertere, versum*: 'turn'
verso, versare, versatum: 'whirl'
 - 3) *cedo, cedere, cessum*: 'grant, give'
cesso, cessare, cessatum: 'cease'
 - 4) *pello, pellere, pulsum*: 'hit, drive away'
pulso, pulsare, pulsatum: 'knock, strike (the hour)'
- IMPORTANT: **intensive** verbs are the ones that matter for our purposes here. They always belonged to the **first conjugation**. What Aronoff calls the morphomic level contains purely morphological properties. In this sense, it is a morphomic fact that the third stem of Latin verbs is ultimately the base on which both the past participle and the so-called intensive verbs are formed.
- with the creation of these new verbs, Latin had some participles related to two lexemes at the same time. The stem *puls-* found in the participle *pulsum* contained the third stem of the primitive verb *pello* and was identical to bare stem of derived verb *pulso*.
 - Note that the past participle eventually became lexically related to two different lexemes, since *habitum*, e.g., was related both to *habeo* and to *habito*.
 - Sometimes, derivatives ended up 'leading a life of their own', undergoing an independent semantic drift. Ex.:
 - 5) *habeo, habere, habitum*: 'have, occupy'
habito, habitare, habitatum: 'inhabit'
- some common Latin verbs replaced by their intensives:
 - iacio, iacere, iactum* ⇒ Fr. *jeter*
 - cano, canere, cantum* ⇒ pan-Romance *cantar*
 - accipio, accēpi, acceptum* ⇒ Ptg. *aceitar*, It. *accettare*
- A regular morphomic association between derivationally related forms gave rise to an accidental identity within an inflectional paradigm, which was then reinterpreted as systematic and is gradually being extended.
- Baerman (2005): an indicator of systematicity is the diachronic extension of a syncretic pattern.

4. DIACHRONY

- 6) 1st phase: only doublets resulting from Latin participles. Circumscribed to verb roots ending in alveolar obstruents (mostly t, but also s, d), e.g.:
- *aceitar* 'accept': *aceitado/aceito* (< *acceptu-*);
Eu tinha *aceitado/aceito* a oferta.
'I had accepted the offer.'
 - *expulsar* 'expel, kick out': *expulsado/expulso* (< *expulsu-*).
O professor tinha *expulsado/expulso* o aluno.
'The teacher had expelled the student.'
 - *findar* 'finish': *findado/findo* (< *finitu-*) (uncommon in current BP);
- 7) 2nd phase: beginning of extension to other 1st conjugation verbs. Note that originally only thematic participles existed. Athematic participles were created analogically, e.g.:
- *pagar* 'pay': *pagado/pago* (a few found in standard BP)
Eu tinha *pagado/pago* a conta.
'I had paid the bill.'
 - *chegar* 'arrive': *chegado/chego* (and several others not found in standard BP)
A carta tinha *chegado/chego*.
'The letter had arrived.'
- 8) 3rd phase: the process of creation of athematic participles is being extended to verbs in other conjugations (also not found in standard BP). E.g.:
- *trazer* 'bring': *trazido/trago*.
O professor tinha *trazido/trago* o livro.
'The teacher had brought the book.'
 - *pedir* 'request': *pedido/peço*.
O presidente tinha *pedido/peço* paciência.
'The president had asked for patience.'

5. SYNCRETISM AND PARADIGMS

- Baerman et al. (2005: 7): "... there is not always a clear distinction between phonological and morphological change, much less a way to classify phenomena whose history remains unknown. It seems useful, then, to retain 'syncretism' as a cover term that will apply to all instances of inflectional homophony, regardless of their origin or interpretation; indeed, this is how the term was first used by Pott (and Bindseil) in 1836." I will use the term syncretism in this sense. The alternative of restricting the term syncretism to non-arbitrary feature-based syncretism would amount either to devoiding the theory of function or to excluding the "undesirable" phenomena by fiat.
- Zwicky (1985): rules of exponence and rules of referral.
- Albright (2002, 686): "... language learners explore the space of possible phonological environments, looking for those that have especially high reliability for a given change. An environment is said to be an ISLAND OF RELIABILITY when its reliability value is higher than the general reliability of a change."
- Is there an island of reliability for the athematic participles?
- Supposing there is a rule of referral in operation in these cases, what cell in the verb paradigm do they refer to? In principle, participles may have four different forms: masculine and feminine, both singular and plural. The participle of the verb *COMPRAR* has the following forms:

	sing.	plur.
masc.	<i>comprado</i>	<i>comprados</i>
sing.	<i>comprada</i>	<i>compradas</i>

- One could easily segment regular participle forms, which would be composed of a root (or stem), *compr-* in this case, followed by the theme vowel of the respective conjugation (*-a-* for the first, *-e-* for the second, *-i-* for the third), then the gender morpheme (*-o* for masc., *-a* for fem.), which may be followed by the plural *-s*.
- SEE TABLE AT THE END.

6. A NOTE ON PROSODY

- no syncretism with monosyllabic 1sg pres ind, because they are not trochees:
- tenho *sei, tenho *dou.

7. GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES

- Chomsky (1970), Jackendoff (1977): features [$\pm N$] and [$\pm V$]:
 - nouns are [$+N, -V$] verbs are [$-N, +V$]
 - adjectives are [$+N, +V$] prepositions are [$-N, -V$]
- Two major category features:
 - $\pm N$: having or not having nominal properties
 - $\pm V$: having or not having verbal properties
- Asymmetric features (tentative):

A	A;V	A,V	V;A	V
only adjectival	more adjectival than verbal	equally adjectival and verbal	more verbal than adjectival	only verbal
quieto	ocupante	escrito	Slavic past	Swedish supine
quente			inflects like adj	

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conjugation	first	second	third
infinitive	comprar	vender	dividir
present indicative			
1SG	compro	vendo	divido
2, 3SG	compra	vende	divide
1PL	compramos	vendemos	dividimos
2, 3PL	compram	vendem	dividem
imperfect indicative			
1, 2, 3SG	comprava	vendia	dividia
1PL	comprávamos	vendíamos	dividíamos
2, 3PL	compravam	vendiam	dividiam
perfect indicative			
1SG	comprei	vendi	dividi
2, 3SG	comprou	vendeu	dividiu
	compramos	vendemos	dividimos
	compraram	venderam	dividiram
present subjunctive			
1SG	compre	venda	divida
2, 3SG	compre	venda	divida
1PL	compremos	vendamos	dividamos
2, 3PL	comprem	vendam	dividam
imperfect subjunctive			
1, 2, 3SG	comprasse	vendesse	dividisse
1PL	comprássemos	vendêssemos	dividíssemos
2, 3PL	comprassem	vendessem	dividissem
future subjunctive			
1, 2, 3SG	comprar	vender	dividir
1PL	comprarmos	vendermos	dividirmos
2, 3PL	comprarem	venderem	dividirem
gerund			
	comprando	vendendo	dividindo
past participle			
	comprado/a(s)	vendido/a(s)	dividido/ a(s)

Summary of simple verb forms in BP.