

Double Past Participle Forms in the Romance Languages

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Aims of research

- Investigate the current usage of double past participle forms in modern European Portuguese
- Consider factors including
 - Verb-to-verb variation
 - Active versus passive context
 - Type of passive participle (Embick classification)
- Compare this with double past participle forms documented in other Romance languages

What are double past participle forms?

- Romance languages normally use the same past participle form in both passive and active perfective contexts:
 - French**
J'ai mangé le fromage. Active
I have eaten the cheese.
Le fromage a été mangé. Passive
The cheese has been eaten.
- A similar pattern is found in Germanic languages, including English, across all verbs:
 - English**
I have painted the walls. Active
The walls were painted. Passive
He has stolen the car. Active
The car was stolen. Passive
- Some Romance languages have verbs that use different forms in some contexts. Portuguese is the best known example:
 - Portuguese**
Tenho acendido as luzes. Active: long form
I have been turning on the lights.
As luzes foram acesas. Passive: short form
The lights were turned on.

Embick’s classification of passive participles

- Embick (2004) goes beyond the traditional distinction between verbal and adjectival past participles
- Eventive:** verbal form
‘The door was opened’ = ‘Someone opened the door.’
- Resultative:** adjectival form. ‘The result of a grammatically represented event.’
‘The door was opened’ = ‘The door was in a state of having become open.’
- Stative:** simple adjective
‘The door was open.’

Method

- Data collected in acceptability judgement task
- 42 participants, native speakers of European Portuguese from Lisbon aged 18–60
- Task included 76 sentences, of which 48 were items and 28 fillers
- Tested the long and short past participle form of 6 verbs in 4 different contexts
- Participants rated acceptability on a scale of 1 to 4
- 6 verbs studied:

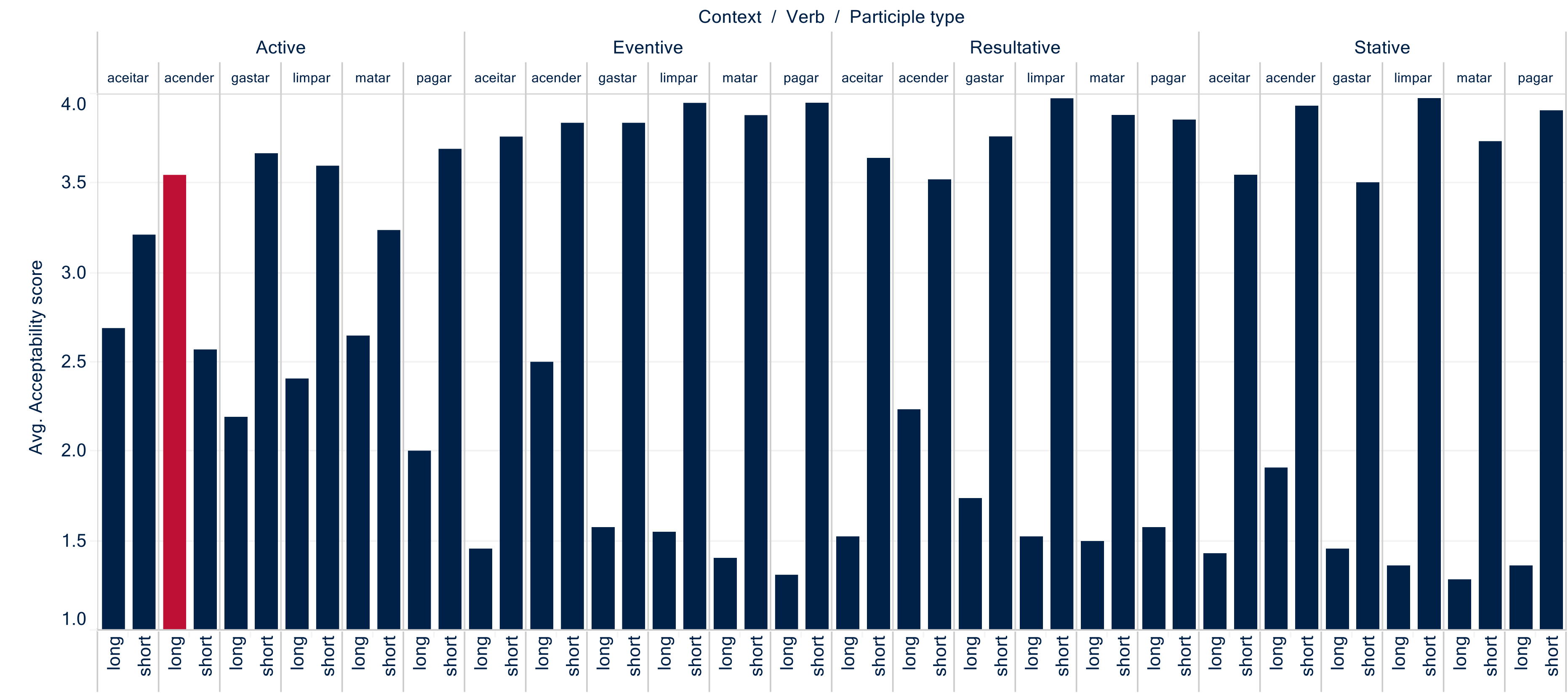
	short form	long form
aceitar ‘accept’	aceite	aceitado
acender ‘turn on’	aceso	acendido
gastar ‘spend’	gasto	gastado
limpar ‘clean’	limpo	limpado
matar ‘kill’	morto	matado
pagar ‘pay’	pago	pagado
- The table below summarises the conditions tested

Type of participle	Eventive		Resultative		Stative		Active	
Auxiliary								
Ser ‘be’	Long	Short	Long	Short				
Estar ‘be’					Long	Short		
Ter ‘have’							Long	Short

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Results of acceptability judgement task



Discussion

- For nearly all verbs, the short form is preferred to the long form (rated more acceptable) in all contexts
- In only one context, one verb had a higher rating for the long form than for the short form
- This was the long form of *acender* in the active context (highlighted in red)
- Verb-to-verb variation is relevant
- Syntactic context (active versus passive) is relevant
- No evidence for a distinction within passive participles as classified by Embick
- Inflection class may be a contributing factor: *acender* is the only -er verb studied here
- Further investigation using corpora suggests that in synchronic terms, there are different patterns within -ar and -er classes (based on modern *Corpus do Português*)

Diachrony of double past participle forms

- Considerable variation in membership of the double past participle class over time
- Additional corpus research carried out using historical *Corpus do Português*
- Verbs sometimes develop new additional past participle forms, and sometimes regularise by losing one form
- In diachrony, there are clear differences between -ar and -er inflection classes
- er verbs more likely to have innovated a long past participle form
- ar verbs more likely to have inherited two forms, and many have recently lost a long form
- Historical perspective explains differences between standard prescriptive accounts and modern usage

Pesquisa linguística

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O chão foi limpo com cuidado.

Avalie a frase

Adicione comentários aqui, se quiser

Enviar Sair

Comparison with other Romance languages

- In other Romance varieties with double past participle forms, they often have different grammatical properties
- European Portuguese is unusual from a cross-Romance perspective: in other varieties, the distinction between the two forms does not align with the active/passive distinction
- Brazilian Portuguese (BP)**
- 'Innovative' short participle forms are the focus of recent research (Chagas de Souza 2011, Nevins & Rodrigues 2014)
- e.g. *pego* from *pegar* 'take, catch', *chego* from *chegar* 'arrive'. Standard BP has only long forms *pegado*, *chegado*
- Double past participle pattern increasing in scope to include more verbs
- Syntactic distribution of two forms is different from European Portuguese: innovative short forms associated with active contexts, not passive
- Spanish**
- Double past participle pattern exists in a few verbs
- e.g. *benedito/bendito* 'blessed', *freído/frito* 'fried', *imprimido/impreso* 'printed'
- Syntactic distinction between verbal and adjectival contexts: short forms are adjectival, long forms verbal
- Does not align with active/passive distinction seen in Portuguese
- Galician**
- Distinction between verbal and adjectival contexts as Spanish
- Short form of -ar verbs tends to be lost, as does long form of -ir verbs: inflection class may be relevant as in Portuguese
- Italian dialects**
- Some dialects from the Veneto have verbs with two or even three past participle forms
- e.g. Venetian *pjâzer* 'please' has forms *pjâso*, *pjâzo* and *pjâzêto*
- Forms are apparently not used in distinct syntactic contexts, but may be sociolinguistically meaningful (Da Tos 2012)

Future research

- Many interesting patterns seen across Romance varieties, demonstrating syntactic variation across closely related languages
- Further investigation is needed into relevant factors for the distribution of short/long past participle forms
- Divergence between Brazilian and European Portuguese is particularly intriguing
- Regional variation, both on a large scale and in more fine-grained detail, may give new insights into variation in this area of morphosyntax

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