

STATIVE PASSIVES IN ARDALANI KURDISH

Stative passives have been argued to have a syntax that is distinct from eventive passives. In contrast to phrasal analyses of statives (Bruening 2014 English, Alexiadou et al. 2015 Greek), Biggs and Embick 2023; Embick 2023 (English), Paparounas 2023a,b (Greek) argue for a ‘small’ structure (i.e. a complex head). In this paper, we provide independent evidence from Ardalani Kurdish (AK) which supports a complex head analysis, in contrast to phrasal layering analyses. We demonstrate that the participle in the stative reading is a syntactically complex verbal construction: both in predicative syntax (1b) and in attributive syntax (2), these stative participles comprise a complex head which (i) consists of (at least) *v*, Voice, and Asp; (ii) do not contain phrasal structure (i.e. *v*P, VoiceP, etc.); (iii) is syntactically distinct from eventive passives (1a), despite overlapping morphology; and (iv) do not have an internal DP argument.

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| (1) kras-aka dr-ja-g-a
shirt-DEF tear-NA-PTCP-is.3SG
a. ✓ <i>ev</i> : ‘The shirt has been torn.’
b. ✓ <i>st</i> : ‘The shirt is torn.’ | (2) kras-a dr-ja-g-aka...
shirt-EZ tear-NA-PTCP-DEF
‘The torn shirt...’ |
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Further, stative passives have been argued to reflect an asymmetry in interpretations available in predicative vs. attributive position (Biggs and Embick, 2023). We provide independent evidence from AK that attributive stative passives can have an *eventive* interpretation that is unavailable in predicative position.

VERBAL MORPHOLOGY: Here we demonstrate that in non-stative constructions, Voice and Asp exhibit contextual allomorphy that also occurs in stative participles. The default exponent for Voice is null, while [PFV]_{Asp} is /t/ (or /d/ after voiced segments) (3). For passives (4) and marked unaccusatives (6), which involve a non-active feature [NA] on Voice, the vocabulary items in (7) and (8) state that the non-active exponent is /ja/ in the context of [PFV]_{Asp}, and, in turn, [PFV]_{Asp} is realized as a null exponent in the context of a [NA] feature (i.e. mutual conditioning between Asp and Voice). The stative participles discussed below exhibit these morphological exponents, supporting the structural hierarchy for the complex head proposed in (22)

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| (3) kras-aka=i for-d-g-a
shirt-DEF=3SG wash-PFV-PTCP-is
‘(She) has washed the shirt.’ | (5) dar-aka kaf-t-g-a
tree-DEF fall-PFV-PTCP-is
‘The tree has fallen.’ | (7) <i>V.I.s for Asp</i>
a. [PFV] _{Asp} ↔ /∅// [NA]___
b. [PFV] _{Asp} ↔ /t/ |
| (4) kras-aka for-ja-g-a
shirt-DEF wash-NA-PTCP-is
‘The shirt has been washed.’ | (6) jiʃa-ka ʃk-ja-g-a
glass-DEF break-NA-PTCP-is
‘The glass has broken.’ | (8) <i>V.I.s for non-active Voice</i>
a. [NA] _{VOICE} ↔ /ja// ___ [PFV] _{Asp} |

PHRASAL MODIFICATION Eventive passives freely permit modification at various phrasal levels: event modification (9a,10a), agent-oriented manner (11a), agent-oriented instrumental (12a). For stative passives in predicative position, on the other hand, event modifiers are unacceptable (9b,10b), while agent-oriented modifiers are highly restricted by *state relevance* (McIntyre, 2015) (i.e. clear connection between the modifier and the state holder’s resultant state denoted by the participle), as provided by context (11b,12b).

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| (9) liwan-aka dudæffa ʃk-ja-g-a
glass-DEF twice break-NA-PTCP-is
a. <i>ev</i> : ‘The glass has been twice broken.’
b. <i>st</i> : ‘The glass is (#twice) broken.’ | (10) jiʃa-ka nimaro tamis kiɪ-ja-g-a
glass-DEF noon clean do-NA-PTCP-is
a. <i>ev</i> : ‘The window has been cleaned at noon.’
b. <i>st</i> : ‘The window is cleaned (#at noon).’ |
| (11) am dəkor-a ba saliaq-ow tʃn-ja-g-a
this decor-DEF P artful-PRT put-NA-PTCP-is
a. <i>ev</i> : ‘This decor has been artfully placed.’
b. <i>st</i> : ‘This decor is (✓artfully) placed.’
[context: In a home decor contest, a judge evaluates a contestant’s well-executed design.] | (12) am diwar-a ba paro raŋ kiɪ-ja-g-a
this wall-DEF P rag paint do-NA-PTCP-is
a. <i>ev</i> : ‘This wall has been painted with a rag.’
b. <i>st</i> : ‘This wall is painted (✓with a rag).’
[context: An inspector assesses a paint job, notices flaws, drip marks, uneven brush strokes.] |

The generalization here is that stative passives in predicative position only have a *stative* interpretation. Neither the event nor the (implicit) agent can be accessed directly via modification; modification must involve state relevant context, and the event modifiers in (9b,10b) cannot be shown to be state relevant. We take this as evidence that there are no phrasal layers (e.g. *v*P, VoiceP, etc.) in the stative for these modifiers to adjoin to, and instead must adjoin to StatP, as shown in (22).

ARGUMENT INTRODUCTION We provide two arguments that the surface subject is generated at the edge of the stative phrase in predicative position (as a state-holder of an event-entailing state (Paparounas, 2023b; Biggs, 2021; Fruehwald and Myler, 2015)): (i) negation; (ii) idioms. (i): Negation on the stative participle is syntactically distinct from sentential negation. In eventive passives, sentential negation occurs prefixally on the verb (13), while in stative passives sentential negation is realized as a prefix on the copula, in contrast to *participle* negation, which prefixes to the participle and can co-occur with sentential negation (14). Unlike in eventive passives (15a), quantified DPs do not reconstruct under the scope of participle negation (15b), while they do scope under sentential negation (16), demonstrating that the surface subject originates in a position below sentential negation but above participial negation, i.e. in the specifier of the stative phrase, as in (22).

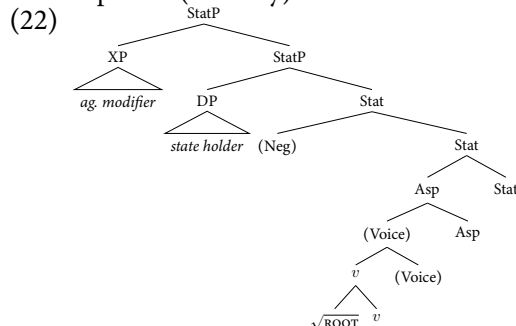
- (13) kras-ak-an ne-for-j-ag-in
 shirt-DEF-PL NEG-wash-NA-PTCP-are
 ‘The shirts have not been washed.’
- (14) kras-ak-an (ne-)for-ja-g (n-)in
 shirt-DEF-PL (NEG-)wash-NA-PTCP (NEG)-are
 ‘The shirts are (not) (un)washed.’
- (15) hartfi prd-a raj na-ki-r-ja-g-a
 every bridge-D color NEG-do-NA-PTCP-is
 a. ‘Every bridge has not been painted.’ (neg>every)
 b. ‘Every bridge is unpainted.’ (every>neg)
- (16) hartfi prd-a raj ki-r-ja-g ni-a
 every bridge-D paint do-NA-PTCP NEG-is
 ‘Every bridge is not painted.’ (neg>every)
- (17) pul-aka (na-)xor-ja-g-a
 money-DEF (NEG-)eat-NACT-PTCP-is
 a. ✓*ev*: ‘The money has (not) been embezzled.’
 b. ✗*st*: #‘The money is (un)embezzled.’

EXTENSIONS Two open questions remain involving asymmetries between predicative and attributive position of the stative participle. First, stative passives in AK reflect an eventive interpretation that is unavailable in predicative position. While event modifiers of stative passives are unacceptable in predicative position (9b,10b), such modifiers are not restricted when the stative passive occurs in attributive syntax (18) and (19).

- (18) liwan-a dudæfya jk-ja-g-aka...
 glass-EZ twice break-NA-PTCP-DEF
 ‘The twice broken glass...’
- (19) ji-ja-j nimaro tamis ki-r-ja-g...
 glass-EZ noon clean do-NA-PTCP
 ‘Windows cleaned at noon...’

If the complex head analysis of stative passives is on the right track, an open question remains regarding how two distinct interpretations can be associated with a single structure (i.e. the *eventive* (and *stative*) interpretation in attributive position vs. only the *stative* interpretation in predicative position.) Second, roots like *kaf* ‘fall’ that typically enter in unaccusative structures only seem to be acceptable as stative participles in attributive position (20) and cannot occur in predicative position (21b).

- (20) kolaka-∅ taza kaf-t-g-aka...
 pole-EZ recently fall-PFV-PTCP-DEF
 ‘The recently fallen pole...’
- (21) kolaka-ka (taza) kaf-t-g-a
 pole-DEF (recently) fall-PFV-PTCP-is
 a. *ev*: ‘The pole has (recently) fallen.’
 b. *st*: #‘The pole is (recently) fallen.’



ABBREV: D = demonstrative suffix, EZ = Ezafe, NA = non-active voice.

SELECTED REFERENCES: Alexiadou, A., Anagnostopoulou, E., & Schäfer, F. (2015). External arguments in transitivity alternations: A layering approach. *Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics*, 55. Biggs, A., & Embick, D. (2023). On the interpretation and structure of English stative passives. LAGB. Bruening, B. (2014). Word formation is syntactic: Adjectival passives in English. *NLLT*, 32. Embick, D. (2023). Smaller syntax for English stative passives: A first report. *Acta Linguistica Academia*. McIntyre, A. (2015). Event modifiers in (German) adjectival participles: Remarks on Gehrke. *NLLT*, 33. Paparounas, L. (2023a). Phrasal layering versus complex heads in Greek stative passives. In *Proceedings of NELS 53*. Paparounas, L. (2023b). Voice from syntax to syncretism. Dissertation.