Stative passives in Ardalani Kurdish*

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1 Introduction

Today we investigate the structural and interpretative properties of statives passives in Ardalani Kurdish primarily by examining how they pattern against eventive passives. On the surface, Ardalani eventive and stative passives can appear nearly identical, as shown in (1)[1].

(1) ktew-ak-an dr-ja-g-in
book-DEF-PL tear-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3PL
a. 'The books have been torn.' ✓ ***eventive:*** *the books have undergone a tearing event.*
b. 'The books are torn.' ✓ ***stative:*** *the books are in a state resulting from a tearing event.*

Upon closer inspection, eventive and stative passives exhibit distinct asymmetries.

- With different tense/aspect configurations, the stative passive takes a distinct from, as shown by (2),

(2) ktew-ak-an dr-ja-g bu-n
book-DEF-PL tear-NA.PFV-PTCP be.PST-3PL
a. **NOT:** 'The books had been torn.' ✗ ***eventive:*** *the books had undergone a tearing event*
b. 'The books were torn.' ✓ ***stative:*** *the books were in a state resulting from a tearing event*

- while (3) only has an eventive passive interpretation.

(3) ktew-ak-an dr-ja-n
book-DEF-PL tear-NA.PFV-3PL
a. 'The books were torn.' ✓***eventive:*** *the books underwent a tearing event*
b. **NOT:** 'The books were torn.' ✗ ***stative:*** *the books were in a state resulting from a tearing event*

1.1 Brief theoretical background

Stative passives have been a subject of debate in morphosyntactic theory:

- If syntactic, what is their internal structure?

Two main approaches in recent literature:

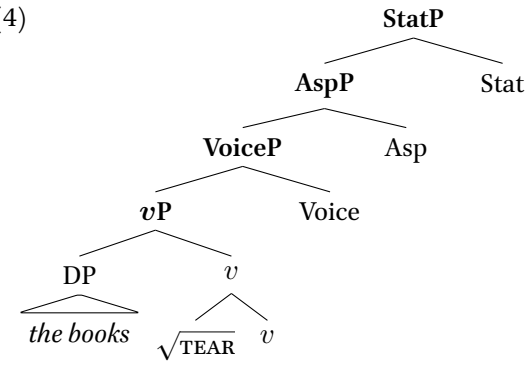
*Many thanks to Dave Embick, Julie Legate, Lefteris Paparounas, Johanna Benz, Alison Biggs

[1] Glossing abbreviations: D = (demonstrative) circumfix, DEF = definite, DEM = demonstrative, EZ = Ezafe, INDF = indefinite, NA = non-active, NEG = negative, P = prep/postposition, PFV = perfective, PL = plural, PRS = present, PRT = particle, PST = past, PTCP = participle, SG = singular.

Phrasal layering

- Stative passives contain full verbal projections.
- Key argument: Apparent agent/event-related modification and thematic roles of the argument in statives.

(4)

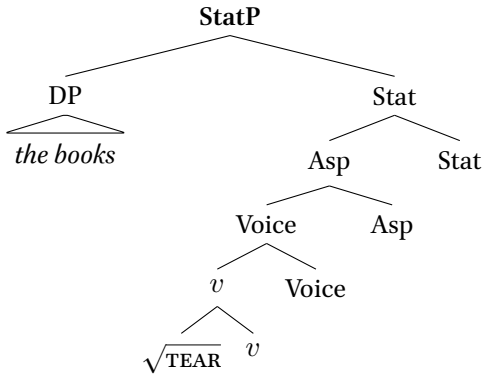


(see Bruening 2014, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Anagnostopoulou 2003)

Complex head

- NO phrasal projections below a stativizing head.
- Key argument: Restricted modification and argument structure properties.

(5)



(see Embick 2023, Paparounas 2023a; for similar approaches in the nominal domain, see Wood 2023, Benz 2023)

Central questions:

- Are stative passives built with phrasal projections or as complex heads?
  - How does their syntactic structure relate to event structure and stativity?
- How are their arguments introduced syntactically?
  - How are the arguments interpreted thematically?

GOALS FOR TODAY

1. Explore structural/interpretive differences between eventive and stative passives in Ardalani.
2. Provide evidence for a complex head analysis of stative passives.
3. Demonstrate that the argument is base-generated high, not as a complement to the verb, and interpreted as a state holder, not necessarily as a theme.

ROAD MAP

2 BACKGROUND ON ARDALANI VERBS

- Descriptively, the Ardalani[2] verbal system is structured around the presence or absence of perfective aspect.
- Today we will focus on perfective constructions, as they exhibit overlapping morphology with stative passives.

2.1 ACTIVE/PASSIVE ALTERNATIONS AND PASSIVE MORPHOLOGY

In passives, perfective aspect exhibits contextual allomorphy conditioned by the presence of "nonactive" Voice:

Active

(6) zara kras-ak-an=i ʃor-**d**
zara shirt-DEF-PL=3SG wash-**PFV**
'Zara washed the shirts.'

***Passive* (*eventive*)**

(7) kras-ak-an ʃor-**ja**-n
shirt-DEF-PL wash-**NA.PFV**-3PL
'The shirts were washed.'

- The active in (6) shows default exponent /t/ for $[\text{PFV}]_{\text{Asp}}$ (or ***-d*** via morphophonological voicing)
- In the corresponding passive, /ja/ is an exponent of a nonactive feature [NACT] on Voice, which is sensitive to the presence of an adjacent $[\text{PFV}]_{\text{Asp}}$ feature.
- The realization of $[\text{PFV}]_{\text{Asp}}$ is contextually sensitive to the presence of [NACT], in which case $[\text{PFV}]_{\text{Asp}}$ is realized as ∅

Vocabulary Items

(8) *VIs for nonactive Voice*
a. $[\text{NACT}]_{\text{Voice}} \longleftrightarrow$ /ja/ / ___ $[\text{PFV}]_{\text{Asp}}$

(9) *VIs for Asp*
a. $[\text{PFV}]_{\text{Asp}} \longleftrightarrow \varnothing$ / $[\text{NACT}]_{\text{Voice}}$ ___
b. $[\text{PFV}]_{\text{Asp}} \longleftrightarrow$ /t/

As an illustration of the Vocabulary Insertion that gives rise to the forms above:

(10) *Active exponents*

$\sqrt{\text{WASH}}$	v	Voice	$\text{Asp}_{[\text{PFV}]}$
↕	↕	↕	↕
ʃor	∅	∅	**d**

(11) *Eventive passive exponents*

$\sqrt{\text{WASH}}$	v	$\text{Voice}_{[\text{NACT}]}$	$\text{Asp}_{[\text{PFV}]}$
↕	↕	↕	↕
ʃor	∅	**ja**	∅
		contextual allomorphy	

Now observe the verbal morphology in the *stative passive*, shown in (12) and (13):

- The exponents in eventive passives overlap with those seen in stative passives.
- **However**, stative passives always include the participial marker /g/ regardless of tense/aspect.

(12) kras-ak-an [ʃor-**ja**-**g**] -in
shirt-DEF-PL [wash-**NA.PFV-PTCP**] -be.PRS.3PL
'The shirts are washed.'

(13) kras-ak-an [ʃor-**ja**-**g**] (b)u-n
shirt-DEF-PL [wash-**NA.PFV-PTCP**] be.PST-3PL
'The shirts were washed.'

Generalization:
Stative passives involve at least the same functional heads as eventive passives, illustrated in (14)

(14) *Stative passive exponents*

$\sqrt{\text{WASH}}$	v	$\text{Voice}_{[\text{NACT}]}$	$\text{Asp}_{[\text{PFV}]}$	Stat
↕	↕	↕	↕	↕
ʃor	∅	**ja**	∅	**g**
		contextual allomorphy		

[2] Ardalani Kurdish is a variety of Sorani Kurdish that is spoken in the Kurdistan province of Iran.

- Note the eventive passive forms where /g/ is only realized in the *'present perfect'*[3], shown in table 1.

Table 1: 3PL forms for *wash*

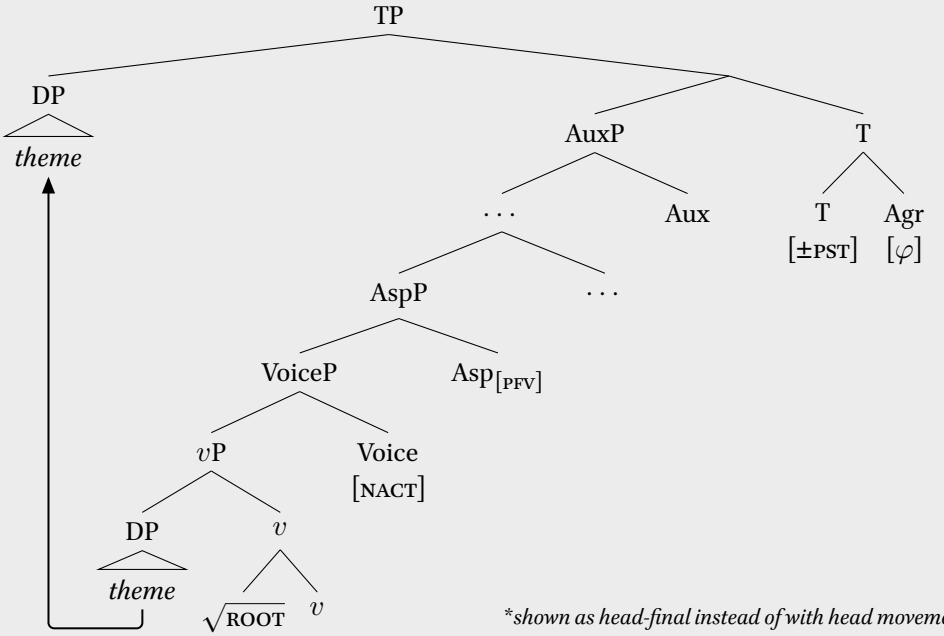
Eventive		***Stative***	
'simple past'	ʃor-**ja**-n	*'simple past'*	ʃor-**ja**-**g** bu-n
'present perfect'	ʃor-**ja**-g-in	*'simple present'*	ʃor-**ja**-**g**-in
'past perfect'	ʃor-**ja**-un		

  - Many examples used today compare **present perfect eventive passives** with **present stative passives** (boxed above) to show that failed diagnostics are not due to presence of *stativity*, per se.[4]

    ⁕ N.B. the diagnostics below hold across different tense/aspect forms of eventive passives.

- The tree in (15) provides a rough sketch of the structure we assume for eventive passives in Ardalani, following Akkuş et al. 2024 and their work on related varieties of Kurdish.

(15) *Eventive passive structure**



**shown as head-final instead of with head movement, for readability.*

[3]The participial exponent /g/ is not restricted to eventive passives; it also occurs in active clauses in present perfect

[4]We suppose that the **Ptcp** head in the present perfect and the **Stat** head we posit in stative passives are the same functional projection, sharing both the same morphological exponent /g/ and denotation, but set aside the details for purposes of today.

3 PHRASAL MODIFICATION

- In this section, we examine how various types of modifiers interact with Ardalani stative passives compared to their eventive counterparts.
- This comparison allows us to probe the presence/absence of certain syntactic projections in stative passive constructions, particularly vP and VoiceP.

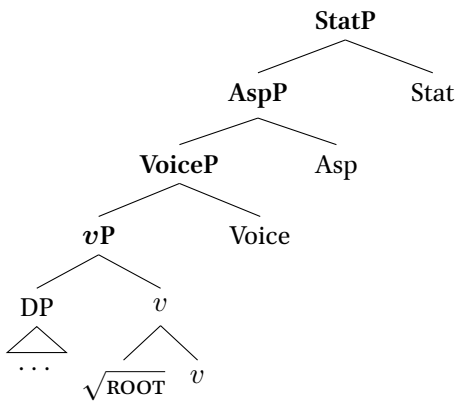
Q: Do stative passives involve phrasal syntax?

Two competing analyses:

Phrasal layering

- Stative passives contain full verbal projections (vP, VoiceP, etc.) (Bruening 2014, Alexiadou et al. 2015).
- Predicts similar modification possibilities as eventive passives.

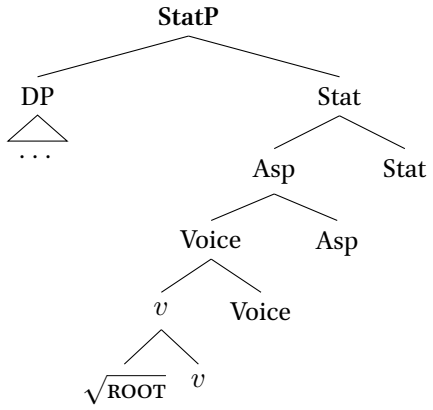
(16)



Complex head

- Stative passives are syntactically complex but lack phrasal projections below StatP (Embick 2023, Biggs and Embick 2023, Paparounas 2023a).
- Predicts restricted modification possibilities

(17)



Our claim: Ardalani stative passives involve complex heads, not phrasal syntax

Prediction: Phrasal modification below StatP is impossible

3.1 MODIFYING EVENTUALITIES

Claim:
Stative passives do not have phrasal projections below StatP, thus **do not have a *v*P layer.**

Prediction:
Eventuality modifiers can only modify the resulting state, not the underlying event.

- To test this hypothesis, we employ diagnostics that have been shown to be sensitive to event structure:
  - cf. Harley 1995, Bowers 1993, Travis 1988; for passive participles in particular, see Rapp 1996, Gehrke 2011, 2015, McIntyre 2015 for German, Meltzer-Asscher 2011 for Hebrew, McIntyre 2013, Bruening 2013, Embick 2023, Biggs and Embick 2022, 2023 for English, Paparounas 2023a,b for Greek.

- **Diagnostics we use:**
  - **D1:** temporal modification (e.g., *at noon*, *in/for an hour*, *recently*, etc.)
  - **D2:** event repetition (e.g., *twice*)

D1: Temporal modification

- Eventive passives freely allow temporal modifiers, shown in (18a–c)[5].

(18) *Eventive passive: temporal event modifier*

a. ʃiʃa-ka **nimaro** tamis kɨɾ-ja-g-a
glass-DEF **noon** clean do-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3SG
'This window has been cleaned **at noon**.'

b. diwar-ak-an (**ba saat-ek** / **saat-ek**) raŋ kɨɾ-ja-g-in
wall-DEF-PL (**P** **hour-INDF** / **hour-INDF**) color do-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3PL
'The walls have been painted **(✓in an hour / ✓for an hour)**.'

c. kras-ak-an **taza** ʃor-ja-g-in
shirt-DEF-PL **recently** wash-NA.PFV-PRF-be.PRS.3SG
'The shirts have been **recently** washed.'

- Stative passives are generally incompatible with these same temporal modifiers, as shown by (19a, b).

(19) *Stative passive: temporal event modifier*

a. ʃiʃa-ka **(*nimaro)** tamis kɨɾ-ja-g-a
glass-DEF **(*noon)** clean do-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3SG
'The window is cleaned **(*at noon)**.'

b. diwar-ak-an (***ba saat-ek** / ***saat-ek**) raŋ kɨɾ-ja-g-in
wall-DEF-PL (***P** **hour-INDF** / ***hour-INDF**) color do-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3PL
'The walls are painted **(*in an hour / *for an hour)**.'

- Except when modifying the state denoted by the participle, provided sufficient context, as shown by (20).

(20) *Stative passive: temporal state modifier*

kras-ak-an **taza** ʃor-ja-g-in
shirt-DEF-PL **recently** wash-NA.PFV-PRF-be.PRS.3SG
'The shirts are **recently** washed.'
*[**context:** The shirts are hanging on a drying rack, still wet.]*

- The acceptability of eventuality modification in stative passives is constrained by *state relevance* (McIntyre 2013, Gehrke 2013, Embick 2023, Paparounas 2023a,b).
  - Eventuality modifiers are acceptable in stative passives insofar as they can be interpreted as being relevant to the *state* denoted by the participle.

[5]The difference between complex predicates and simplex predicates has no bearing on these diagnostics; these observations hold for both complex and simplex predicates alike.

D2: Event repetition

- In eventive passives, event modification with 'twice' is permitted, as in (21), targeting event repetition.

(21) *Eventive passive: twice*
liwan-aka **dudæfʕa** ʃk-ja-g-a
glass-DEF **twice** break-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3SG
'The glass has been broken **twice**.'

- However, it is unacceptable in stative passives, as shown by (22).

(22) *Stative passive: twice*
liwan-aka **(*dudæfʕa)** ʃk-ja-g-a
glass-DEF **(*twice)** break-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3SG
'The glass is broken **(*twice)**.'

- The systematic unavailability of event modification suggests that stative passives do not contain a syntactically accessible event structure.
- This aligns with the complex head analysis, where the stative participle is formed without projecting a full verbal phrase structure.

3.2 TARGETING VOICE

Claim:
Stative passives do not have phrasal projections below StatP, thus **do not have a VoiceP layer**.

Prediction:
Agent-oriented modifiers can only modify resulting state.

- We employ several diagnostics that have been shown to detect to the presence of an implicit agent:
  - cf. Wasow 1977, Kratzer 2000, Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou 2008, Alexiadou et al. 2015, Gehrke 2011, 2015, Meltzer-Asscher 2011 McIntyre 2013, Paparounas 2023a, Paparounas 2023b, Embick 2023; see also Roberts 1987, Legate et al. 2020, among many others.

- **Diagnostics we use:**
  - **D1:** agent-oriented manner: (e.g. *carefully*, *secretly*, *intentionally*)
  - **D2:** agent-oriented instrumental: (e.g. *with a rag*, *with a stick*)
  - **D3:** (pseudo) by-phrase (e.g. *by* (*hand of*) *X*)

D1: Agent-oriented manner

- Eventive passives freely allow agent-oriented manner adverbials, as shown by (23a, b).

(23) *Eventive passive: agent-oriented manner modifier*
a. ktew-ak-an **ba dzi-ow** dr-ja-g-in
book-DEF-PL **P** **secret-PRT** tear-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3PL
'The books have been **secretly** torn.'

b. am dəkor-a **ba saliaq-ow** tʃn-ja-g-a
this decor-DEF **P** **artful-PRT** put-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3SG
'This decor has been artfully placed.'

- In stative passives, these modifiers are generally infelicitous, as in (24)

(24) *Stative passive: agent-oriented manner modifier*

ktew-ak-an **(#ba dzi-ow)** dr-ja-g-in → *no clear/obvious connection to be made between "secretly" and resulting state of a tearing event.*
book-DEF-PL **(#P secret-PRT)** tear-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3PL
'The books are **(#secretly)** torn.'

- but possible when modifying the resulting state and given sufficient context, as shown by (25).

(25) *Stative passive: state modifier*

?am dəkor-a **ba saliaq-ow** tʃn-ja-g-a
this decor-DEF **P** **artful-PRT** put-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3SG
'This decor is **artfully** placed.'
*[**context:** In a home decor contest, a judge evaluates a contestant's well-executed design.]*

- In (25), the modifier *ba saliaq-ow* 'artfully' is acceptable because it describes a *detectable* property of the resulting state, not just the manner of the placing event.

D2: Agent-oriented instrumental

- Eventive passives freely allow agent-oriented instrumental PPs, as shown by (26a, b).

(26) *Eventive passive: agent-oriented intrumental modifier*

a. qzh=i **ba sʃwar-aka** wʃkaw kr-ja-g-a
hari=3SG **P** **hair.dryer-DEF** dry do-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3SG
'Her hair has been dried **with a hair dryer**.'

b. am diwar-a **ba paro** raŋ kɨr-ja-g-a
this wall-DEF **P** **rag** paint do-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3SG
'This wall has been painted **with a rag**.'

- In stative passives, these modifiers are acceptable only if they satisfy state relevance: cf. (27) and (28)

(27) *Stative passive: agent-oriented instrumental modifier*

qzh=i **(#ba sʃwar-aka)** wʃkaw kr-ja-g-a → *no clear/obvious connection between "with a hair dryer" and resulting state of a drying event.*
hari=3SG **(#P hair.dryer-DEF)** dry do-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3SG
'Her hair is dried **(#with a hair dryer)**.'

(28) *Stative passive: state modifier*

am diwar-a **ba paro** raŋ kɨr-ja-g-a
this wall-DEF **P** **rag** paint do-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3SG
'This wall is painted **with a rag**.'
*[**context:** An inspector assesses a paint job, notices flaws, drip marks, uneven strokes.]*

- The acceptability of *ba paro* 'with a rag' in the stative passive in (28) is due to state relevance:
  - the use of a rag for painting is likely to leave detectable traces in the resulting state of the wall, such as texture or unevenness that can be observed by the inspector, as the context provided indicates.

D3: By-phrase

- Eventive passives freely allow by-phrases, as in (29a, b).

(29) *Eventive passive: by-phrase*

a. qzh=i **ba das dajk=i** ʃana kr-ja-g-a
hair=3SG **P hand mother=3SG** comb do-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3SG
'Her hair has been combed by her mother.'

b. am diwar-gel-a **ba das-∅ minal** raŋ ne-kir-ja-g-in
DEM wall-INDF.PL-D **P hand-EZ child** paint NEG-do-NA.PFV-PTCP-3PL
'These walls have not been painted **by children**.'

- In stative passives, by-phrases can be acceptable insofar as they satisfy the state relevance conditions, as demonstrated by the contrast between (30) and (31).

(30) *Stative passive: by-phrase*

qzh=i **(#ba das dajk=i)** ʃana kr-ja-g-a → *no obvious connection between 'her mother's hand' and resulting state of a combing event.*
hair=3SG **(#P hand mother=3SG)** comb do-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3SG
'Her hair is combed **(#by her mother)**.'

(31) *Stative passive: by-phrase*

am diwar-gel-a **ba das-∅ minal** raŋ kir-ja-g n-in
DEM wall-INDF.PL-D **P hand-EZ child** paint do-NA.PFV-PTCP NEG-be.PRS.3PL
'These walls are not painted **by children**.'

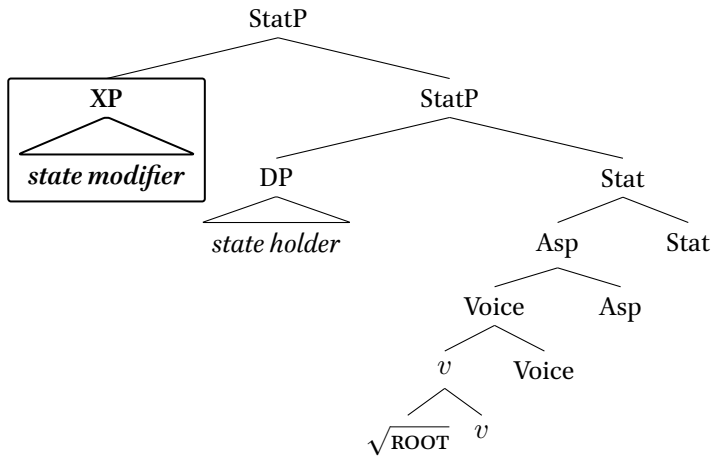
*[**Context:** A primary school organizes an activity where the children paint several walls on the exterior of the building. Since the children are not careful painters, the walls they paint have uneven strokes. A teacher inspects the walls, and notices that some walls which were supposed to be painted by the children appear perfectly painted, with no uneven brush strokes, drips, etc.]*

- The acceptability of the by-phrase in the stative passive in (31) is again due to state relevance:
  - The fact that children *didn't* paint the walls is detectable from the resulting state (which would have otherwise likely reflected clearly detectable properties (e.g. uneven strokes, imperfections, etc.)), making the by-phrase relevant to describing the state denoted by the participle.

Interim summary:

- Eventive passives freely permit modification at various phrasal levels, including event modification and agent-oriented modification
- In stative passives, while such modifiers are generally unacceptable, they can occur insofar as they describe properties of the resultant state that are inferrable from the state itself.
- The restricted distribution of modifiers suggests the absence of phrasal projections below StatP.
- When acceptable in stative passives, these modifiers likely adjoin to StatP and modify the state, not an underlying event or implicit agent, as sketched in (32).

(32)



4 ARGUMENT INTRODUCTION

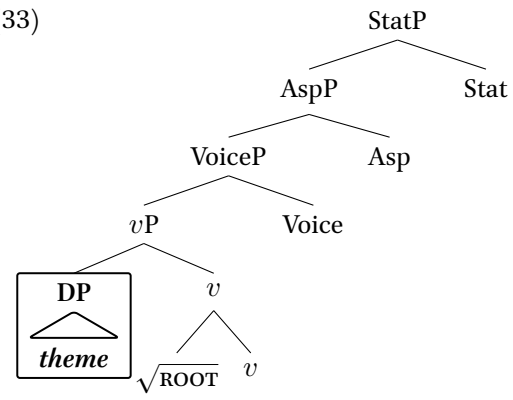
- In this section, we examine the structural position of the surface subject in Ardalani stative passives.
- We argue that the argument is generated at the edge of the stative phrase in predicative position, as a *state-holder* of an event-entailing state (cf. Paparounas 2023a, Biggs 2021, Fruehwald and Myler 2015).
- Evidence supporting this analysis:
  - (i) the interaction of negation and quantifier scope (section §4.1)
  - (ii) the behavior of object-verb idioms (section §4.2)
  - (iii) unavailability of ditransitives (section §4.3)

? **Q:** Is the argument in stative passives base-generated as a verbal complement or in a higher position?

Two competing analyses:

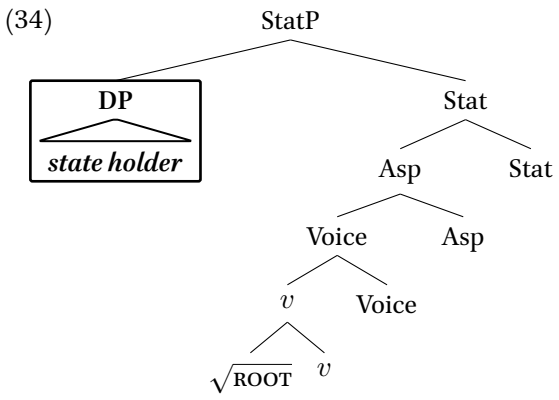
Phrasal layering: verbal complement

(33)



Complex head: state-holder

(34)



! **Claim:** The sole argument in Ardalani stative passives is not base-generated as a verbal complement.

4.1 NEGATION

4.1.1 CLAUSAL NEGATION VS. PARTICIPLE NEGATION

- Negation on the stative participle is syntactically distinct from clausal negation.

In eventive passives...

- Clausal negation prefixes to the verb, as in (35) and (36).

(35) kras-ak-an **ne**-ʃor-j-ag-in
shirt-DEF-PL **NEG**-wash-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3PL
'The shirts have not been washed.'

(36) kras-ak-an **ne**-ʃor-ja-w-n
shirt-DEF-PL **NEG**-wash-NA.PFV-be.PST-3PL
'The shirts had not been washed.'

In stative passives...

- clausal negation is realized as a prefix on the copula, as in (37);
- participle negation (or "head" negation) is realized as a prefix on the participle, as in (38);
- (39) demonstrates that these two forms (clausal negation and participle negation) can co-occur in the same construction.

(37) kras-ak-an ʃor-ja-g **nə**-w-n
shirt-DEF-PL wash-NA.PFV-PTCP **NEG**-be.PST.3PL
'The shirts were **not** washed.'

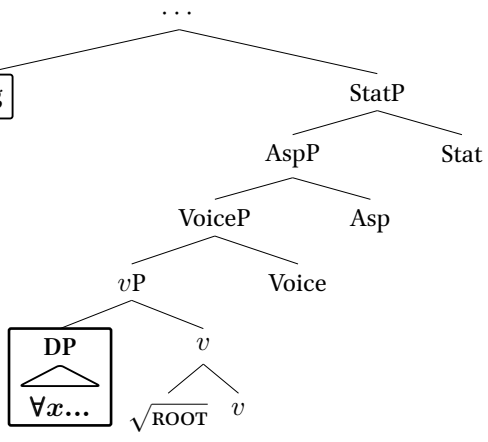
(38) kras-ak-an **ne**-ʃor-ja-g bu-n
shirt-DEF-PL **NEG**-wash-NA.PFV-PTCP be.PST-3PL
'The shirts were **un**-washed.'

(39) kras-ak-an **ne**-ʃor-ja-g **nə**-w-n
shirt-DEF-PL **NEG**-wash-NA.PFV-PTCP **NEG**-be.PST.3PL
'The shirts are **not un**-washed.'

4.1.2 NEGATION AND QUANTIFIER SCOPE

Negation in phrasal layering

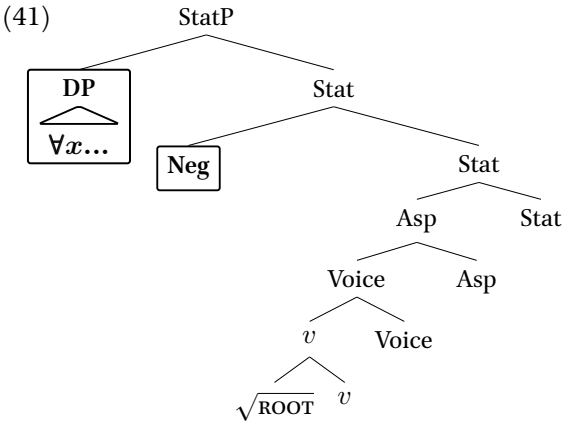
(40)



- Predicts quantified DPs can reconstruct under participle negation

Negation in complex head

(41)

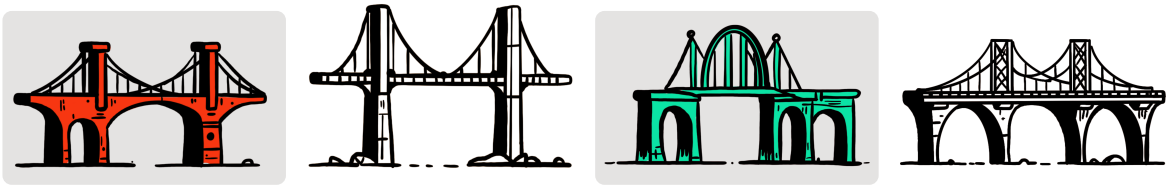


- Predicts quantified DPs ***cannot*** reconstruct under participle negation

Clausal negation

- In both eventive passives and stative passives, quantified DPs reconstruct under **clausal negation**

(42) *Context:*



a. **b.** **c.** **d.**

Eventive passive

(43) hartʃi prd-a raŋ **ne**-kɨɾ-ja-g-a
every bridge-D color **NEG**-do-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3SG
'Every bridge has not been painted.' (neg>every)

- (43) is ***true*** given the context in (42).
  ∼*it's not the case that every bridge has undergone a painting event*

Stative passive

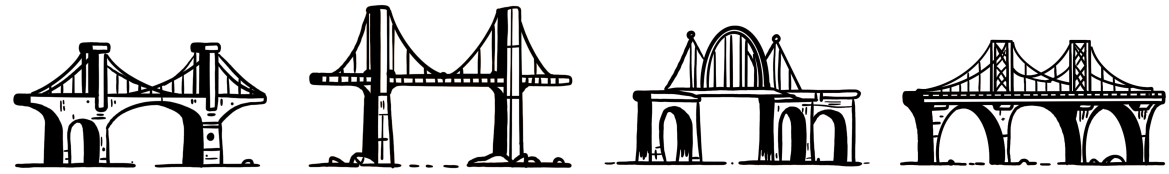
(44) hartʃi prd-a raŋ kɨɾ-ja-g **ni**-a
every bridge-D paint do-NA.PFV-PTCP **NEG**-be.PRS.3SG
'Every bridge is not painted.' (neg>every)

- (44) is ***true*** given the context in (42).
  ∼*it's not the case that every bridge is in a state resulting from a painting event*

Participle negation

- In stative passives, quantified DPs **do not reconstruct under participle negation.**

(45) *Context:*



a. **b.** **c.** **d.**

(46) hartʃi prd-a raŋ **ne**-kɨɾ-ja-g bu
every bridge-D color **NEG**-do-NA.PFV-PTCP be.PST.3SG
'Every bridge was **un**painted.' (every>neg)

- The stative passive construction in (46) is:
  - ***true*** given the context in (45),
  - ***false*** given the context in (42).

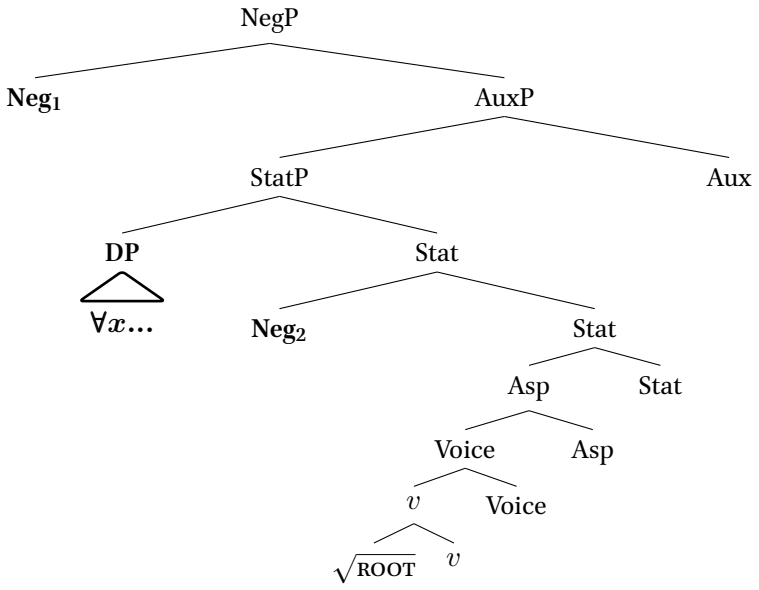
  ∼*every bridge was such that it was not in a state resulting from a painting event*

Generalization: As sketched in (47), the surface subject in stative passives originates

(i) below clausal negation (Neg_1)

(ii) above participial negation (Neg_2)

(47) *Stative passive with clausal and participle negation*



4.2 OBJECT-VERB IDIOMS

- In Ardalani, we observe that while certain idioms can be passivized, they lose their idiomatic interpretation in stative passives, providing further evidence for the structural position of the surface subject.

- The idiom 'eat money' meaning *'embezzle'* in (48a) is preserved in the eventive passive, shown in (48b).
- The preservation of idiomatic readings in (eventive) passive constructions is taken as evidence for the base position of the argument as a thematic object to the verb before undergoing A-movement.
  - As sketched in (50), idioms form a syntactic unit at some level of representation, and this unit must be preserved for the idiomatic reading to be available (Chomsky 1993, Marantz 1995).

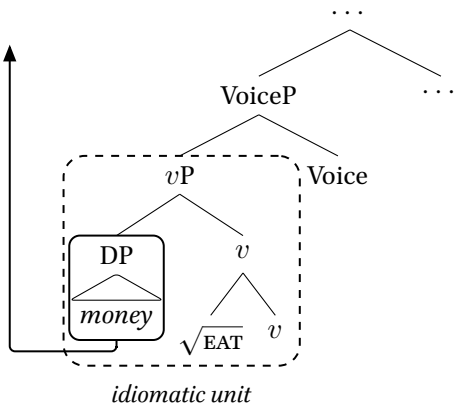
(48) a. mardin ba dzi-ow [**pul-aka**=i **xor-d**]
Mardin P secret-PRT money-DEF=3SG **eat-PFV**
'Mardin secretly embezzled the money.'

b. **pul-aka** ba dzi-ow [$_{vP}$ ~~pul-aka~~ xor-ja]
money-DEF P secret-PRT eat-NA.PFV
'The money was secretly embezzled.'

(49) a. minal-ak-an **maʁz**=**m**=jan **har-i**
child-DEF-PL brain=1SG=3PL grind-PFV
'The children gave me a headache.'
Lit: 'The children ground my brain.'

b. maʁz=m har-ja
brain=1SG grind-NA.PFV
'I was given a headache.'
Lit: 'My brain was ground.'

(50) *Passivized idiom*

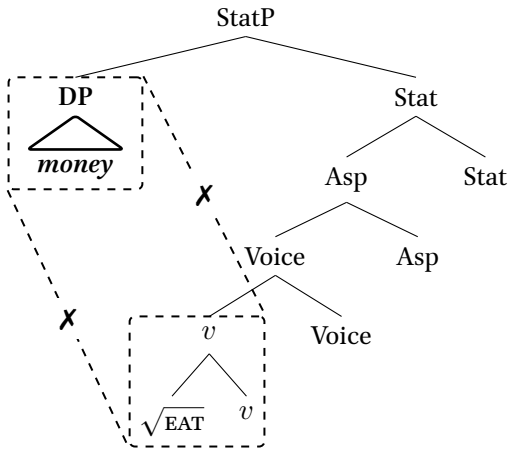


- In the stative passive, the idiomatic reading is lost, as shown by (51).

(51) *pul-aka xor-ja-g bu
money-DEF eat-NA.PFV-PTCP be.PST.3SG
✗ 'The money was embezzled.'
Lit. '#The money was eaten.'
(*no idiomatic interpretation*)

(52) maʁz=m har-ja-g bu
brain=1SG grind-NA.PFV-PTCP be.PST.3SG
✗ 'I had a headache.'
Lit: 'My brain was ground.'
(*no idiomatic interpretation*)

(53) *No idiomatic unit in stative passive*



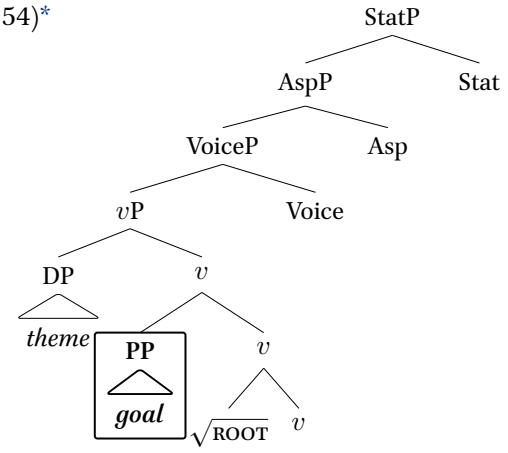
- This pattern supports our claim that the argument in statives is not base-generated as a thematic object of the verb (cf. Paparounas 2023a,b).

4.3 DITRANSITIVES

- Ditransitives provide further evidence for the argument structural properties of stative passives.

Phrasal layering: IO

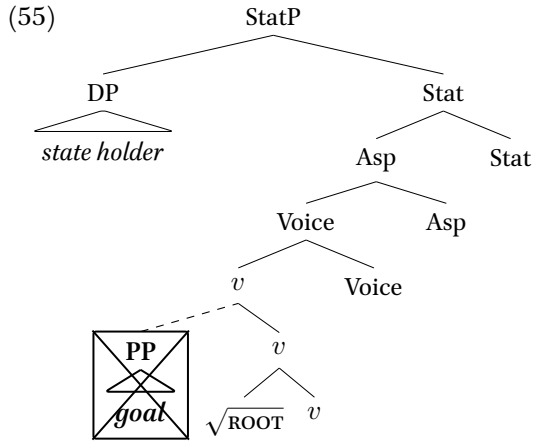
(54)*



* This structure and the position of the IO/goal follows from recent work by Akkuş et al. (2024), Akkuş (2024) on ditransitives in Sorani Kurdish.

Complex head: *IO

(55)



Claim:
(As complex heads,) stative passives do not introduce ***phrasal arguments*** within their verbal structure

Prediction:
Stative passives built from ditransitive verbs have restricted argument structure.

- To test this we examine the behavior of both direct objects (DOs) and indirect objects (IOs) in eventive passives and compare the pattern we find in stative passives.

First consider the ditransitive verb 'put'.

- In eventive DO-passives, the DO *'the books'* becomes the grammatical subject, while IO *'on the table'* remains in its base position, as shown by (56).

(56) am ktew-gal-a [**ba ban mez**] ne-nr-ja-g-in
DEM book-PL-D [**P top table**] NEG-put-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3PL
'These books have not been put on the table.'

- In stative passives, this construction is dis-allowed, as shown by (57).

(57) *am ktew-gal-a [**ba ban mez**] nr-ja-g n-in
DEM book-PL-D [**P top table**] put-NA.PFV-PTCP NEG-be.PRS.3PL
Int. 'These books are not put on the table.'

- This pattern is expected if full phrasal arguments are not introduced in stative passives, as suggested in (55).

DO-passives vs IO-passives

Similar to observations made for Sorani Kurdish in Akkuş et al. 2024, Akkuş 2024, we observe that with verbs like 'give', Ardalani exhibits symmetric passivization in ditransitive eventive passives, where:

- In DO-passives, the DO is promoted to the grammatical subject.
- In IO-passives, the IO is promoted to the grammatical subject

Now examine the ditransitive verb *'give'*:

- In eventive DO-passives, the IO *'to the children'* is allowed and remains in its base position, as shown by (58)

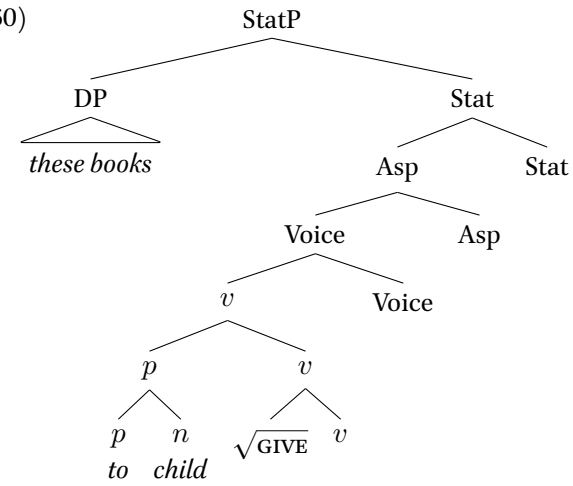
(58) *Eventive DO-passive*
am ktew-gal-a dr-ja-g-in **ba mɨnal-ak-an**
DEM book-PL-D give-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3PL **P child-DEF-PL**
'These books have been given to the children.'

- In stative passives built with 'give', as in (59), the "IO" can occur but the following restrictions:
  - The nominal element of the PP must be a bare noun (e.g. *mɨnal* 'children')
  - The "PP" must occur before the participle (cf. the post-verbal PP in (58)).
  - Sufficient context

(59) *Stative "DO"-passive*
am ktew-gal-a **ba mɨnal** dr-ja-g n-in
DEM book-PL-D **P child** give-NA.PFV-PTCP NEG-be.PRS.3PL
'These books are not to-children-given.'

- Given the restricted distribution, we suppose that 'to child' is not introduced as a PP/IO in the verbal structure, but is itself a complex head that adjoins to the verbal head, as sketched in (60).

(60)



- In eventive IO-passives, as in (61):
  - The IO becomes the grammatical subject (stranding the preposition)
  - The DO remains as the grammatical object

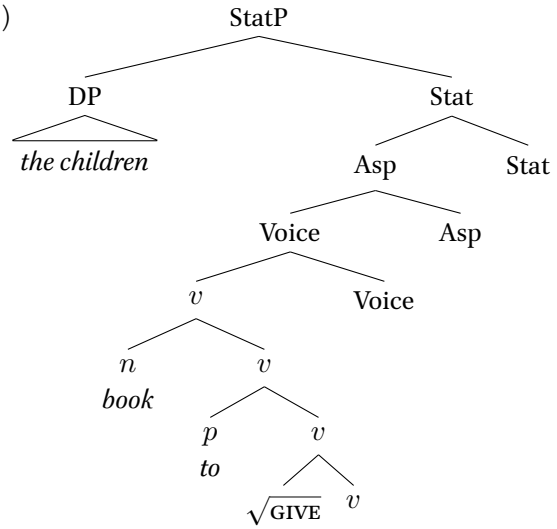
(61) *Eventive IO-passive*[6]
minal-ak-an **ktew**=jan **pe** [~~minal-ak-an~~] dr-ja-g-a
child-DEF-PL **book**=3PL **P** give-NA.PFV-PTCP-be.PRS.3SG
'The children were given books.'

- In stative IO-passives, the "DO" can occur but with the following restrictions:
  - It must be a bare nominal (cannot be definite).
  - It does not host a subject-indexing clitic.

(62) *Stative "IO"-passive*
minal-ak-an **ktew pe**-dr-ja-g n-in
child-DEF-PL **book P**-give-NA.PFV-PTCP NEG-be.PRS.3PL
'The children are not book-given to.'

- Given these restrictions, we suppose:
  - The "DO" is not introduced as a full phrasal complement to the verb, but rather as a bare n.
  - The surface subject "IO" is generated high as a state holder, and does not move from a lower origin (i.e., complement to P).
  - *'give'* selects for p.
- (63) provides a sketch of this configuration:

(63)



[6] We set aside details involving the distribution of clitics and agreement here (see Akkuş et al. 2024 for a detailed case study and analysis). However, we note that the clitic and agreement patterns are distinct in stative passives, shown below.

5 CONCLUSION

- Stative passives in Ardalani differ from eventive passives despite surface-level morphological similarity.
  - They share verbal morphology but convey distinct interpretations.
- Evidence suggests that stative passives are syntactically complex but lack phrasal structure.
  - The complex head structure consists of (at least) v, Voice, Asp, Stat.
- **Event Structure:**
  - The event denoted by the stative participle is inaccessible to phrasal modification.
    - Modification restrictions: event/agent-oriented modifiers only apply when describing the resulting state.
    - Supports the absence of phrasal structure below Stat.
      - cf. eventive passives, which allow event modification.
- **Argument Structure:**
  - The subject is introduced high as a state holder, not as a verbal complement.
    - Quantifier scope interactions under negation.
    - Loss of idiomatic readings in stative passives.
    - Restricted argument structure in ditransitives.
- **Implications and Open Questions:**
  - Findings support non-phrasal derivation of syntactic structure.
  - Future work should explore the semantic composition of these complex heads.

APPENDIX

A NONVERBAL PREDICATION

- Stative passive participles pattern with other nonverbal predicates in Ardalani.
- This similarity provides initial evidence for their distinct syntactic status compared to the eventive passives

General observation:

- Stative passive participles have the same syntactic distribution as "simple" (i.e., underived) adjectives in nonverbal predication:
  - With both underived adjectives, (64a), and stative participles, (65a), the copula forms a suffix on the predicate.
  - In negated constructions, negation intervenes between the predicate and the copula, and the copula attaches to the negation, as in (64b, 65b).

(64) *Simple adjective in nonverbal predication*

a. ʃiʃa-k-an [tamis] **-in**
shirt-DEF-PL [clean] **-be.PRS.3PL**
'The windows are clean.'

b. ʃiʃa-k-an [tamis] **n-in**
shirt-DEF-PL [clean] **NEG-be.PRS.3PL**
'The windows are not clean.'

(65) *Stative participle in nonverbal predication*

a. ʃiʃa-k-an [tamis kir-ja-g] **-in**
glass-DEF-PL [clean do-NA.PFV-PTCP] **-be.PRS.3PL**
'The windows are cleaned.'

b. ʃiʃa-k-an [tamis kir-ja-g] **n-in**
glass-DEF-PL [clean do-NA.PFV-PTCP] **NEG-be.PRS.3PL**
'The windows are not cleaned.'

- In nonverbal predication, note the position and form of the stative passive participle with respect to:
  - the copula/auxiliary, (66), (67)

(66) kras-ak-an **[ʃor-ja-g]** -in
shirt-DEF-PL **[wash-NA.PFV-PTCP]** -be.PRS.3PL
'The shirts are washed.'

(67) kras-ak-an **[ʃor-ja-g]** (b)u-n
shirt-DEF-PL **[wash-NA.PFV-PTCP]** be.PST-3PL
'The shirts were washed.'

  - clausal negation, (68), (69)

(68) kras-ak-an **[ʃor-ja-g]** n-in
shirt-DEF-PL **[wash-NA.PFV-PTCP]** NEG-be.PRS.3PL
'The shirts are not washed.'

(69) kras-ak-an **[ʃor-ja-g]** nə-w-n
shirt-DEF-PL **[wash-NA.PFV-PTCP]** NEG-be.PST.3PL
'The shirts were not washed.'

  - other verbs like *seem*, (70), *remain*, (71)

(70) kras-ak-an **[ʃor-ja-g]** diar-n
shirt-DEF-PL **[wash-NA.PFV-PTCP]** seem-be.PRS.3PL
'The shirts seem washed.'

(71) kras-ak-an har wa **[daq kr-ja-g]** ma-w-n
shirt-DEF-PL every so **[neat do-NA.PFV-PTCP]** remain-be.PST-3PL
'The shirts had remained neat.'

B STATIVE PASSIVES IN ATTRIBUTIVE SYNTAX

B.1 DISTRIBUTION OF PREDICATES IN ATTRIBUTIVE SYNTAX

General observation: In attributive syntax, nominal modifiers are realized in a so-called Ezafe phrase.

(72) ʃiʃa-**j** **[tamis]** -ak-an
glass-EZ [clean] -DEF-PL
'The clean windows...'

(73) ʃiʃa-j (taza) **[tamis kir-ja-g]** -ak-an
glass-EZ (taza) [clean do-NA.PFV-PTCP] -DEF-PL
'The recently cleaned windows...' (no state relevance necessary)

C STRESS PATTERNS

- Another important observation to be made regarding a fundamental distinction between eventive and stative passives involves stress.
- The difference in stress patterns is most clearly illustrated when negation is present, namely sentential negation in the eventive passive and participle negation in the stative.
- In the eventive passive in (74), primary stress falls on the (sentential) negation prefix, whereas in the stative passive in (75), primary stress is on the nonactive/participial morphology.

Eventive passive: clausal negation

(74) sef-aka ***ne***-ʃor-j-ag-a
apple-DEF **NEG**-wash-NACT-PTCP-be.3SG
'The apple has not been washed.' (stress on ***ne***)

Stative passive: head negation

(75) sef-aka ne-ʃor-***ja***-g-a
apple-DEF NEG-wash-**NA.PFV**-PTCP-be.3SG
'The apple is un-washed.' (stress on ***ja***)

D COMPOSITION

(76) $[\![\text{Stat}]\!] = \lambda x.\lambda s.\exists e'\exists e.[\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}(e) \wedge \mathit{THEME}(s,x) \wedge \mathit{MAX}(e',e) \wedge \mathit{END}(e',s)]$

(77) a. $[\![\text{PFV}]\!] = \lambda P\lambda e'\exists e[P(e) \wedge \mathit{MAX}(e',e)]$

b. $\mathit{MAX}(e',e) \equiv e' \leqslant e \wedge \neg\exists e''[e' < e'' \leqslant e]$

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