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CHAPTER 6

Participles in Syrian Arabic

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This paper explores the distribution and interpretation of active and passive participles in contemporary Syrian Arabic. The fact that Syrian Arabic participles license objective Case suggests they are ‘verbal’ participles, i.e. verbs ‘disguised’ as adjectives. However, a detailed investigation uncovers substantial parallels with English adjectival participles. I therefore argue that Syrian Arabic adjectival participles differ from those in better-studied Indo-European languages in containing licensing structure for object Case. This, in turn, means that adjectival participles are not necessarily structurally defective, as has been proposed in the literature, but that the size of adjectival participles is a point of cross-linguistic parametric variation.

Keywords: Syrian Arabic, participles, passive, perfect, adjectives

1. Introduction

In this paper, I investigate the form and function of active and passive participles in contemporary Syrian Arabic, and show that they display an unusual mixture of properties of verbal and adjectival participles. On the one hand, Syrian Arabic participles occur with the full complement frame of the corresponding verb, a property typical of verbal participles. On the other hand, their interpretation is connected to the aspectual type of the underlying verb in a way that is characteristic of adjectival participles. This combination of properties is significant for the analysis of the verbal/adjectival distinction cross-linguistically. A common thread in recent analyses of this distinction is that adjectival participles are structurally ‘smaller’ than verbal participles, in that they lack the syntactic structure responsible for Case licensing of nominal complements of the underlying verb. The Syrian Arabic pattern means that it is possible for a constituent to contain enough structure to license the complement frame of an underlying verb and nonetheless display interpretational properties of an adjective. This means that those interpretational properties do not result from paucity of structure. In this paper, I argue that, in Syrian Arabic,

adjectival interpretational characteristics arise through the participle-formation process itself; specifically, I attribute these properties to the adjectivizing operator.

2. Background on the verbal/adjectival distinction

Wasow (1977) observes that the passive participle in English is ambiguous between two different uses: a ‘verbal’ use and an ‘adjectival’ use. In the verbal use, a passive participle has the same aspectual type as the corresponding verb. For instance, the passive participle of an eventive verb remains eventive, as demonstrated by its ability to occur in the progressive (as only eventive verbs may: Vendler 1957). Thus, the ability of *repair* to occur in the progressive in (1a) entails the ability of *be repaired* to occur in the progressive in (1b).

- (1) a. Max is repairing the car.
- b. The car is being repaired.

Wasow’s second, adjectival use of the passive participle is exemplified in (2a), which asserts that the repairing of the car is complete. This assertion is similar to the meaning of the passive perfect construction in (2b).

- (2) a. The car is repaired.
- b. The car has been repaired.

Wasow claims that, while verbal passive participles retain the aspect of the underlying verb, adjectival passive participles are uniformly stative. For example, *repaired* in (2a) occurs in the simple present tense, which eventive verbs normally may not do. The eventive verb in the simple present tense in (3) is only grammatical on a habitual reading not found in the interpretation of (2a).

- (3) #Max repairs the car.

Wasow next points out that adjectival participles do not license the same repertoire of nominal objects that their corresponding verbs do. Of course, investigating the object licensing of passive participles is complicated by the fact that the direct object is always promoted to subject position in a passive construction. Thus, to demonstrate that adjectival passive participles do not license nominal objects, Wasow turns to double object constructions, in which a secondary object remains in the verb complement after promotion of the primary object to subject position. Consider the passive participles built from the double object verb ‘give’ in (4):

- (4) a. #Max is given gloves to handle the chemicals.
- b. Max was given gloves to handle the chemicals.
- c. Max has been given gloves to handle the chemicals.

Example (4a) shows that the passive participle of a double object verb cannot occur in the simple present tense. Assuming (per Wasow) that a passive participle is, in principle, ambiguous between a verbal and an adjectival construal and that the adjectival construal is compatible with the simple present tense, this sentence should be acceptable in the adjectival interpretation, on a par with (2a). Since it is not, Wasow reasons (in connection with similar examples) that the secondary object *gloves* must be incompatible with the adjectival interpretation of the participle – the presence of this object is the only thing that distinguishes (4a) from (2a).

If we interpret *given* in (4a) not as an adjectival participle, but as a verbal participle on a habitual reading (e.g. with the continuation *every time he enters the lab*), the sentence becomes grammatical. Similarly, in (4b), *given* is grammatical as a verbal participle in the past tense. We can thus see a clear correlation: when the participle is verbal and bears the aspectual type of the underlying verb, it can license its full complement frame (modulo passivization); conversely, when the participle is adjectival, it obligatorily takes a stative interpretation and does not license any nominal objects at all.

This conclusion, in turn, entails that *given* in the perfect construction in (4c) is a verbal participle, since the secondary object is licit there. Note, though, that the perfect construction as a whole – whether active or passive – must be stative, since (unlike an eventive predicate) it is incompatible with the progressive (5) (Katz 2003a, Stowell 2007). It thus appears that the perfect construction displays a mixture of adjectival and verbal properties. The participle itself (e.g. *repaired the car*) is eventive whenever its underlying verb is eventive, but the construction as a whole (*have repaired the car*) is stative.

- (5) a. *Max is having repaired the car.
 b. *Max is having been given gloves to handle the chemicals.

Note that these remarks exclude the possibility of an active adjectival participle derived from a transitive verb, since the object of that verb could not be licensed on the adjectival use of the participle. Data from Syrian Arabic, however, challenge this expectation.

3. Participles in Syrian Arabic

The morphological forms of active and passive participles in Syrian Arabic depend on the morphological complexity of the base verb. If the verb is simplex, the active participle is formed on the prosodic template $C_1a:C_2iC_3$ (where C_1-C_3 together constitute the consonantal root of the verb), while the passive participle is formed on the template $maC_1C_2u:C_3$, as shown in the table below for the standard root

exemplar *f-ʕ-l*. If the base verb is in any way morphologically augmented with respect to the simplex form, then the participle is formed by adding the prefix *mi-* to the imperfective form of the verb; this pattern, among other evidence, leads Benmamoun (1999) to argue that the imperfective form is the true basic verb form, morphologically. The active/passive distinction is expressed by the stem vowel, with *i* marking active and *a* marking passive. Not all of the forms listed below exist for all verbs. Classical Arabic form IV seems to have been lost in modern Syrian Arabic. Note also that the prefix *mi-* is typically reduced to *m-* in light open unstressed syllables following a regular apocope rule.

	Verb	Active participle	Passive participle
I	faʕal	faʕil	maʕʕul
II	faʕʕal	mifaʕʕil	mifaʕʕal
III	fa:ʕal	mifa:ʕil	mifa:ʕal
V	tifaʕʕal	mitfaʕʕil	mitfaʕʕal
VI	tifa:ʕal	mitfa:ʕil	mitfa:ʕal
VII	infaʕal	minfaʕil	–
VIII	iftaʕal	miftaʕil	miftaʕal
IX	ifʕall	mifʕall	–
X	istaʕʕal	mistaʕʕil	mistaʕʕal

In the participles of morphologically complex verbs (non-form I), the active/passive distinction has a separate morphological exponence from the verb/participle distinction. This pattern is a carry-over from Classical Arabic, in which the active/passive distinction was productively marked by a stem vowel alternation. In modern Syrian Arabic, the stem vowel alternation does not productively distinguish active and passive verbs. Rather, form VII functions productively as a passive for form I, and form V functions productively as a passive for form II. That is, the *in-* and *ti-* prefixes are passivizing in modern Syrian (the latter loses its vowel in the same environments as *mi-*). Thus, the passive prefix in the stem renders the ‘active’ participles of forms V and VII passive in signification. Consequently, form VII lacks a stem vowel passive participle; the base form is already passive by virtue of the *in-* prefix. Likewise, where *ti-* marks the passive, this form has no stem vowel-marked passive participle, although *ti-* is not always passivizing; it occurs in some transitive verbs, such as *dzakkar* ‘remember’ and *dzannab* ‘avoid’ (note that in these cases the prefixal consonant is voiced by the following voiced segment). Form IX is consistently intransitive in signification and does not have a passive participle.

As a result of the overlapping stem-vowel-passive and prefix-passive forms found in the participles, and the fact that participle formation is marked uniformly for active and passive (by the *mi-* prefix, at least for non-form-I verbs), the boundary

between active and passive participles is somewhat murky in Syrian Arabic. As a result, we might expect active and passive participles to be substantially similar syntactically and semantically. In this paper, I demonstrate that this is the case, focusing first on the active participles (those from the ‘active’ column in the table above).

4. Syrian Arabic active participles

Active participles in Syrian Arabic appear at first glance to be verbal; they license the full complement frame of the corresponding verb, whether transitive (6a) or ditransitive (6b). The examples in (6) contrast the perfective (simple past tense) verb with the active participle. The Syrian Arabic active participle is glossed here and throughout this paper by its English morphological counterpart with *-ing*. As is evident from the translation, however, the active participles in (6) do not have the progressive interpretation of the English active participle. Rather, they have what one might call a ‘perfect’ interpretation, describing a ‘post state’ of an event falling under the underlying verb description.

- (6) a. *ma:hir sʕallah / msʕallih s-sijja:ra.*
 mahir repaired / repairing the-car
 ‘Mahir repaired / has repaired the car.’
- b. *ma:hir satʕa / satʕi marwan l-ktab.*
 mahir gave / giving marwan the-book
 ‘Mahir gave / has given Marwan the book.’

As the literature substantiates, this perfect interpretation is actually contingent on the lexical aspect of the underlying verb, and occurs most robustly with ‘telic’ verbs (those that make reference to a logical endpoint) like those in (6) (Wild 1964, Cowell 1964, Woidich 1975, Brustad 2000, Mughazy 2005, Boneh 2010). I return to this issue in Section 4.2 in detail, restricting myself for now to only those verbs that license the perfect reading of the participle. Note lastly that the active participle requires the support of a copular auxiliary, but this auxiliary is dropped in the present tense. It will make its appearance in due course.

Because the active participles appear to be verbal and have a ‘perfect’ reading, we appear to be looking at a Syrian Arabic counterpart of the English perfect construction. On the basis of these parallels and others, Boneh (2010) describes this active participle construction as “the Syrian Arabic perfect.” Below, I investigate the parallels between this construction and the English perfect in more detail. I will show that, while the parallels hold up quite well, these properties are in fact shared by adjectival passive participles as well, and therefore that the characterization of the active participle construction as a perfect construction is premature.

4.1 'Perfect' properties of the active participles

Stativity

The Syrian Arabic active participle construction is stative, as is the English perfect. As a first piece of evidence for the stativity of the Syrian Arabic active participles, note that they are incompatible with the progressive particle *ɤam*, even when supported by the imperfective auxiliary *jiku:n* (7a). *ɤam* is compatible with an imperfective eventive verb (7b) but not with a stative verb (7c) or the active participle construction (7a). As the translation of (7a) shows, the English perfect is also incompatible with the progressive. Note that the phoneme written *q* here is weakened to *ʔ* in many varieties of Syrian Arabic, particularly urban varieties like that found in Damascus.

- (7) a. **ma:hir ɤam jiku:n ha:tʔitʔ l-qahwe ɤa n-na:r.*
 mahir PROG be putting the-coffee on the-fire
 *'Mahir is having put the coffee on the stove.'
- b. *ma:hir ɤam jaħutʔtʔ l-qahwe ɤa n-na:r.*
 mahir PROG put the-coffee on the-fire
 'Mahir is putting the coffee on the stove.'
- c. **ma:hir ɤam jaʔrif dʒ-dʒawa:b.*
 mahir PROG know the-answer
 *'Mahir is knowing the answer.'

Another test for the state/event distinction concerns the way the predicate affects the interpretation of modal verbs (Hoffmann 1966, Condoravdi 2002). An eventive predicate allows only the 'deontic' reading of a modal verb like *la:zim* (*must*), while stative predicates are also compatible with the 'epistemic' reading. The deontic reading, illustrated in (8a) with an eventive verb, expresses an obligation that accrues to its subject. The epistemic reading, illustrated in (8b) with a stative verb, comments on the speaker's epistemic state: the speaker expresses a high degree of certainty that the underlying proposition is true. These readings are reflected in the English translations. Once again, the active participle of an eventive verb in (8c) patterns with the stative verb in (8b) in licensing the epistemic reading of the modal; again, the English perfect in the translation to (8c) shows the same judgment as the Syrian Arabic active participle.

- (8) a. *ma:hir la:zim jaħutʔtʔ l-qahwe ɤa n-na:r*
 mahir must put the-coffee on the-fire
 'Mahir must put the coffee on the stove.' [deontic]
- b. *ma:hir la:zim jaʔrif dʒ-dʒawa:b*
 mahir must know the-answer.
 'Mahir must know the answer.' [epistemic]

- c. *ma:hir la:zim jiku:n ħa:tʔitʕ l-qahwe sa n-na:r*
 mahir must be putting the-coffee on the-fire
 ‘Mahir must have put the coffee on the stove.’ [epistemic]

Non-finiteness

Although the Syrian Arabic active participles have a perfect reading, in which the event described by the underlying verb is ‘past shifted’, the participial construction itself is non-finite, and is related to tense by an auxiliary: an overt auxiliary in past-tense contexts and a covert auxiliary in present-tense contexts (as noted above). Consider, for instance, a participial construction in which the root clause is modified by a past-tense *lamma* (when) clause, as illustrated in (9). If the verb in the *lamma* clause is in the past tense, then the past-tense auxiliary *ka:n* (was) must be added; whatever “past” connotation the participle may contribute does not suffice to make the main clause past tense in (9). This pattern once again matches that of the English perfect. Here too, the English perfect must occur with a past tense auxiliary, as the translation of (9) indicates.

- (9) *lamma dʒi:t, *(ka:n) ma:hir ħa:tʔitʕ l-qahwe sa n-na:r*
 when came-1SG, *(was) mahir putting the-coffee on the-fire
 ‘When I arrived, Mahir *has/had put the coffee on the stove.’

Present orientation

As Boneh (2010) points out, the function of the active participles in Syrian Arabic is to assert that the “post state” of the underlying verb holds at the reference time (equivalent to the utterance time in simple present-tense contexts). This is in contrast to the perfective (simple past tense) form of the same verbs. The perfective verbs in (10) are compatible with a continuation that denies the validity of the verb’s post-state entailment at the utterance time (i.e., the continuation that the glasses are lost in (10a) and that the window is open in (10b)). The participial forms of the same verbs are incompatible with these continuations (11). As the translations to the examples below reflect, the Syrian Arabic active participles pattern like the English perfect in this respect.

- (10) a. *ma:hir dʕajjaʕ nadʕdʕa:ra:t-u bas la:qa:-hun basde:n.*
 mahir lost glasses-his but found-them later
 ‘Mahir lost his glasses, but he found them again later.’
 b. *ana fataħ-t f-ʕibba:k bas sakkar-t-u basde:n.*
 I opened-1s the-window but closed-1s-it later
 ‘I opened the window, but I closed it again later.’
- (11) a. **ma:hir mdʕajjiʕ nadʕdʕa:ra:t-u bas la:qa:-hun basde:n.*
 mahir losing glasses-his but found-them later
 ‘*Mahir has lost his glasses but he found them again later.’

- b. **ana fa:tih f-fibbak bas sakkar-t-u basde:n.*
 I opening the-window but closed-1s-it later
 *‘I have opened the window but I closed it again later.’

The present perfect puzzle

If Syrian Arabic active participles in fact represent a perfect construction, we should expect these participles to display characteristics of the ‘present perfect puzzle’. It is a puzzling fact that, although the perfect situates an event described by an underlying verb in the past with respect to the reference time (just as the simple past does), the present perfect does not allow a past adverb (e.g. *yesterday*) to modify the event time (the time of leaving in (12a)), unlike the simple past (12b) (Klein 1992, Portner 2003, Katz 2003b). What is particularly puzzling about this phenomenon is that the restriction is only found in the simple present. In the past perfect (12c), and even in present modal constructions like (12d), the past adverb may very well describe the time of leaving.

- (12) a. ?*Chris has left New York yesterday.
 b. Chris left New York yesterday.
 c. Chris had left New York yesterday.
 d. Chris must have left New York yesterday.

Mughazy (2005) reports that active participles in Egyptian Arabic do not display the present perfect puzzle, and accordingly claims that these participles have a ‘past tense’ reading. However, I have already shown that examples like the one in (9) rule out the possibility that Syrian Arabic active participles represent a past-tense construction. Syrian speakers consulted for this research also accept examples analogous to (12a), as shown in (13a), though they display a slight preference for simple past in such contexts (13b); this disparity disappears in past tense (13c) and modal (13d) contexts, as in English. It seems safe to say the present perfect puzzle manifests itself as a slight dispreference for the present participle with a past adverb in Syrian Arabic, although the effect is not as strong as in English.

- (13) a. *xa:lid ka:tib r-risa:ale (?mba:rħa).*
 khalid writing the-letter (?yesterday)
 ‘Khalid has written the letter (?*yesterday).’
 b. *xa:lid katab r-risa:ale (mba:rħa).*
 khalid wrote the-letter (yesterday)
 ‘Khalid wrote the letter (yesterday).’
 c. *xa:lid ka:n ka:tib r-risa:ale (mba:rħa).*
 khalid was writing the-letter (yesterday)
 ‘Khalid had written the letter (yesterday).’

- d. *xa:lid la:zim jiku:n kartib r-risa:ale (mbar:rha).*
 khalid must be writing the-letter (yesterday)
 ‘Khalid must have written the letter (yesterday).’

While the evidence presented above appears at first glance to pinpoint a difference between the Syrian Arabic active participial construction and the English perfect, I show below that this difference can be traced to an independent difference between the two languages, and therefore does not qualify as a difference between these two particular constructions.

The distinction in question concerns agreement between verb tense morphology and various temporal anchors. In general, this agreement appears to be more relaxed in Syrian Arabic than in English. Several pieces of evidence can be amassed to demonstrate this point. For one, neither Standard Arabic (Fassi Fehri 2004) nor Syrian Arabic (Cowell 1964) displays sequence of tense effects. In these languages, the tense in a subordinate clause is relative to the tense in the matrix clause, and does not ‘agree with’ the matrix tense morphologically, in contrast to the situation in English (Prior 1967, Ladusaw 1977, Dowty 1982, and many others). Consequently, the future tense in the subordinate clause in (14a) is interpreted as future with respect to the past time invoked in the matrix clause (expressed by *was going to* in English). Similarly, the present tense in the embedded clause in (14b) is interpreted as present with respect to the matrix past time, meaning that the individual might not be sick at the utterance time. These examples are from Cowell (1964), with the transcription adjusted to match the other data presented here.

- (14) a. *basde:n qa:l innu raħa jint^ʕaz^ʕir awa:mir zdi:de.*
 afterwards said that will await orders new
 ‘Then he said that he was going to await new orders.’
- b. *bas mbar:riħ smis-t inn-ak marid^ʕ.*
 just yesterday heard-1s that-you ill
 ‘Just yesterday I heard that you were ill.’

In light of this observation, the relative naturalness of examples like (13a) with the past adverb is traceable to the fact that the participle is able to be anchored to the past-oriented adverb, much like *marid^ʕ* (*ill*) is anchored to *smis-t* (*I said*) in (14b). In effect, Syrian Arabic does not display the present perfect puzzle because the puzzle is obviated by a general flexibility in temporal anchoring that is seen in Syrian Arabic but not English.

Summary

Active participles in Syrian Arabic have a past-shifted interpretation in the range of examples discussed above, and display the stativity and present relevance that likewise typifies the English perfect. They also license the full complement frame of the corresponding verb – again, as the English perfect does. The only apparent difference between the Syrian Arabic participles and the English perfect – their relative compatibility with past-oriented adverbs – is traceable to a general typological difference between Syrian Arabic and English. All of these observations point to the conclusion that the active participle construction is the Syrian Arabic counterpart to the English perfect construction. The data reviewed in the following section, however, cast doubt on this conclusion.

4.2 ‘Adjectival’ properties of the active participles

This section reviews properties of the Syrian Arabic active participles that parallel those of Syrian Arabic passive participles, which in turn parallel the properties of English adjectival passive participles. These findings suggest that the Syrian Arabic active participles have a closer affinity to adjectival participles than the previous observations lead us to believe.

First, the interpretation of the active participles is contingent on the aspectual type of the underlying verb in a way that is characteristic of passive participles in both Syrian Arabic and English. It is often remarked for Syrian Arabic participles that the reading in which the underlying verbal event is ‘past-shifted’ with respect to the evaluation time of the participle (what I called the ‘perfect’ reading before) is only available to participles derived from eventive verbs. Participles of stative verbs, by contrast, have what I will call a ‘simultaneous’ interpretation, which asserts that the state described by the underlying verb holds at the evaluation time of the participle. The active participles of the stative verbs *ḥabb* (love) in (15a) and *ṣaraf* (know) in (15b), for example, display the simultaneous reading. That these verbs are stative is evidenced by their incompatibility with the progressive (not shown).

- (15) a. *ma:hir ḥa:rib nawa:l z-zoybi ktir.*
 mahir loving nawal zoghbi much
 ‘Mahir loves Nawal Zoghbi a lot.’
 Not: ‘Mahir has loved Nawal Zoghbi a lot.’
- b. *ma:hir ṣarīf d3-d3awar:b.*
 mahir knowing the-answer
 ‘Mahir knows the answer.’
 Not: ‘Mahir has known the answer.’

Compare the active participles of the stative verbs above to those of the eventive verbs discussed previously, repeated in (16), which display the past-shifted reading.

- (16) a. *ma:hir ha:tʕitʕ l-qahwe sa n-na:r.*
 mahir putting the-coffee on the-fire
 ‘Mahir has put the coffee on the stove.’
- b. *ma:hir fa:tiḥ f-fibba:k.*
 mahir opening the-window
 ‘Mahir has opened the window.’

Significantly, the passive participles of stative and eventive verbs behave like their active counterparts. The passive participles of the stative verbs in (15) also have the simultaneous reading (17), while the passive participles of the eventive verbs in (16) also have the past-shifted reading (18).

- (17) a. *nawa:l z-zoybi maḥbu:be ktir.*
 nawal zoghbi loved a lot
 ‘Nawal Zoghbi is well loved.’
- b. *d3-d3awa:b maʕru:f.*
 the-answer known
 ‘The answer is known.’
- (18) a. *l-qahwe maḥtʕu:tʕa sa n-na:r.*
 the-coffee put on the-fire
 ‘The coffee is put on the stove.’
- b. *f-fibba:k maftu:h.*
 the-window opened
 ‘The window is opened.’

Significantly, the English translations of (17) and (18) display the exact same sensitivity to the aspect of the underlying verb. The passive participles of *love* and *know* (*loved* and *known*, respectively) have the simultaneous reading, while the passive participles of *put* and *open* (*put* and *opened*, respectively) have the past-shifted reading. Thus, we see an equivalence between passive participles in Syrian Arabic and adjectival passive participles in English: in both cases, the passive participles of eventive verbs receive a past-shifted reading while passive participles of stative verbs receive a simultaneous reading. A significant chain of equivalence arises here; the active participles in Syrian Arabic behave exactly like the corresponding passive participles in Syrian Arabic, which again behave exactly like the corresponding adjectival passive participles in English. If sensitivity to the aspect of the underlying verb is characteristic of adjectival passive participles, then the active participles in Syrian Arabic pattern like adjectival participles.

I mention here in passing a subclass of eventive verbs that receive the simultaneous reading in the participial form, namely verbs of directed motion such as *ra:h*, (go), *mafa* (walk), *fa:l* (carry), and others. The active participles of these verbs have an essentially progressive interpretation (as well as a futurate reading typically available to progressive predicates). For reasons of space, I must neglect this class here, except to say that the analysis in Section 6 implicates that these verbs are subject to stativization before the participle is formed. The details of this derivation remain unclear.

More significant for the analysis in Section 6 is the fact that most activity verbs have both active and passive participles with the past-shifted reading, like those below. Each example below has an active participle in the *a*-example and a passive participle in the *b*-example. The active and passive participles below systematically share the past-shifted reading. Note that the English translations of the passive participles also have the past-shifted reading, rendered there by the perfect construction.

- (19) a. *ma:hir qa:fit^s l-ras^si:f.*
mahir scrubbing the-sidewalk
'Mahir has scrubbed the sidewalk.'
- b. *l-ras^si:f maqfu:t^s.*
the-sidewalk scrubbed
'The sidewalk is scrubbed.'
- (20) a. *ma:hir mmaffit^s fasr-u.*
mahir combing hair-his
'Mahir has combed his hair.'
- b. *fasr-u mmaffat^s.*
hair-his combed
'His hair is combed.'
- (21) a. *ma:hir fa:rik l-xafib bi-waraq qza:z.*
mahir rubbing the-wood with-sheet sandpaper
'Mahir has sanded the wood.'
- b. *l-xafib mafruk bi-waraq qza:z.*
the-wood rubbed with-sheet sandpaper
'The wood is sanded.'

The facts presented above show that the Syrian Arabic active participles pattern aspectually with their passive counterparts, which in turn pattern with the English adjectival participles. Except for a class of motion verbs, participles of eventive verbs, whether telic (e.g. (16) and (18)) or atelic (e.g. (19)–(21)), receive the past-shifted reading, while participles of stative verbs (e.g. (15) and (17)) receive

the simultaneous reading. English adjectival participles also show the basic contingency found in Syrian Arabic between the aspect of the underlying verb and the past-shifted vs. simultaneous reading of the corresponding participle.

Further, the facts recounted in Section 4.1 (which the reader will recall presented evidence of a parallel between the Syrian Arabic active participles and the English perfect construction) also apply to passive participles in both English and Syrian Arabic. This undermines the possibility of construing these parallels as uniquely supporting the analysis of the Syrian Arabic active participles as a perfect construction. We have seen that Syrian Arabic active participles are stative, but so are adjectival participles, so this point does not support the perfect analysis over the adjectival participle analysis. Just as the active participle in (7a) cannot occur in the progressive, neither can its passive counterpart, nor the corresponding adjectival passive participle in English; the translation of (22a) is ungrammatical on the adjectival reading of the phrase *put on the stove* – the reading analogous to *The coffee is put on the stove*. Also, just as the active participle in (8a) licenses the epistemic reading of the modal *lazim* (*must*), the passive counterpart does as well, and so does the corresponding adjectival passive participle in English (translation to (22b)). In these examples, I add the adverb *already* to the English translation to exclude a verbal reading of the participle in English and emphasize the adjectival reading.

- (22) a. **l-qahwe sam ti-ku:n maht^ʕu:t^ʕa sa n-nar.*
 the-coffee PROG F-be put on the-fire
 ‘*The coffee is being [already] put on the stove.’
- b. *l-qahwe lazim ti-ku:n maht^ʕu:t^ʕa sa n-nar.*
 the-coffee must F-be put on the-fire
 ‘The coffee must be [already] put on the stove.’ [epistemic]

Also, just as the active participle cannot occur in past-tense contexts without a past-tense auxiliary (9), neither can its passive participle counterpart (23). Again, the English translation to (23) shows the same behavior; the passive participial phrase *put on the stove* cannot occur in the past-tense context *when I arrived*.

- (23) *lamma zir-t, *(ka:n-it) l-qahwe maht^ʕu:t^ʕa sa n-nar.*
 when came-1SG, *(was-F) the-coffee put on the-fire
 ‘When I arrived, the coffee *is/was [already] put on the stove.’

Further, the present orientation that active participles display (11) is also found in the passive participles, as (24) illustrates. Once again, in both English and Syrian Arabic, the post-state that the adjectival participle refers to must hold at the evaluation time of the sentence, even though the event the participle evokes is past-shifted.

- (24) a. **f-fibbak maftu:h, bas sakkar-t-u basde:n.*
 the-window opened, but closed-1SG-it afterwards
 *‘The window is opened, but I closed it afterwards.’
- b. **l-ga:to mašmu:l, bas akal-t-u basde:n.*
 the-cake made, but ate-1SG-it afterwards
 *‘The cake is made, but I ate it afterwards.’

Lastly, the Syrian Arabic passive participles fail to display the effect of the present perfect puzzle. Like the active participle in (13a), the active participles in the *a*-examples below are (at worst) marginally compatible with the deictic past adverb *mba:rħa* (yesterday). The passive participles in the *b*-examples are analogous. This is very unlike English, as I already remarked in Section 4.1, but as discussed there, the absence of the present perfect puzzle in Syrian Arabic can be traced to independent differences in temporal anchoring in the two languages.

- (25) a. ?*ma:hir da:hin l-ba:b mba:rħa.*
 mahir painting the-door yesterday
 *?‘Mahir has painted the door yesterday.’
- b. ?*l-ba:b madhu:n mba:rħa.*
 the-door painted yesterday
 *‘The door is painted yesterday.’
- (26) a. ?*hinne mzafft-i:n ha:d f-fa:ri:s s-sana l-ma:dšije.*
 they paving-PL this the-street the-year the-past
 *?‘They have paved this street last year.’
- b. ?*ha:d f-fa:ri:s mzaffat s-sana l-ma:dšije.*
 this the-street paved the-year the-past
 *‘This street is paved last year.’
- (27) a. ?*ma:hir ša:mi:l ga:to mba:rħa.*
 mahir making cake yesterday
 *?‘Mahir has made a cake yesterday.’
- b. ?*l-ga:to mašmu:l mba:rħa.*
 the-cake made yesterday
 *‘The cake is made yesterday.’

Based on these observations, we can conclude that the many parallels between the Syrian Arabic active participles and the English perfect construction do not uniquely support an analysis of the active participles as a form of perfect construction. Rather, these facts just as readily support an analysis of the active participles as adjectival participles on par with the adjectival passive participles in both English and Syrian Arabic. The adjectival participle analysis receives *prima facie* support

from the fact that the meaning of Syrian Arabic active and passive participles is contingent on the aspectual type of the underlying verb in the same way as English adjectival participles. An additional argument in support of the adjectival analysis comes from the behavior of the particle *lissa* (*still*); I describe this evidence below.

Compatibility with lissa (still)

One of the most striking adjectival properties of the Syrian Arabic active participles is their compatibility with *lissa*, an inflected particle meaning *still*. English *still* combines only with stative predicates, and introduces the presupposition that the state expressed by that predicate already held before the reference time (Loebner 1989). Kratzer (2000) points out that *still* is compatible with adjectival participles, though she notes differences in acceptability among the participles; I will return to her observations in more detail shortly.

- (28) a. The boat is still pumped up.
b. The train station is still closed.

Katz (2003a), on the other hand, notes that *still* is unequivocally incompatible with the perfect, as the examples below based on those in (28) show.

- (29) a. *Max has still pumped up the boat.
b. *The fire department has still closed the train station.

In light of this contrast, it is very significant that Syrian Arabic active participles are in principle compatible with *lissa* (*still*), as are the passive participles. There is some regional and idiolectal variation on this matter, but the fact that this compatibility is attested at all stands in contrast to the absolute incompatibility of English *still* with the perfect (29), and supports an analysis that likens the Syrian Arabic active participles to the English adjectival participles, not the English perfect. If a dialect exists in which *lissa* is systematically ungrammatical with active participles but grammatical with passive participles, then we could conclude that, in that dialect, the active participles behave more like a perfect construction than an adjectival one. However, the Syrian speakers consulted for this work consistently accept *lissa* with active participles (on the relevant reading of *lissa* – see below), implying that an adjectival analysis is preferable for their variety.

The particle *lissa* typically bears an object clitic pronoun that agrees with the subject and triggers a stem-final liaison *t*. The issue of the distribution of *lissa* is complicated by the fact that, unlike *still*, *lissa* may combine with an eventive predicate, in which case it has the equivalent interpretation as *just* (in the sense of ‘just now’, not ‘merely’) in English (30). When *lissa* is combined with a stative predicate, however, it can only mean *still* (31).

- (30) a. *ma:hir lissa:t-u samal ga:to.*
 mahir LISSA-3MSG made cake
 ‘Mahir just made a cake.’
- b. *ma:hir lissa:t-u hat^{ʔt} l-qahwe sa n-narr.*
 mahir LISSA-3MSG put the-coffee on the-fire
 ‘Mahir just put the coffee on the stove.’
- (31) a. *l-bert lissa:t-u nad^{ʔi}:f.*
 the-house LISSA-3MSG clean
 ‘The house is still clean.’
- b. *l-bari:q lissa:t-u saxin.*
 the-pot LISSA-3MSG hot
 ‘The pot is still hot.’

In combination with a participle based on a stative verb – whether active (the *a*-examples) or passive (the *b*-examples) – *lissa* is also unsurprisingly interpreted as *still* ((32)–(33)).

- (32) a. *ma:hir lissa:t-u ha:rib nawa:l z-zoʔbi.*
 mahir LISSA-3MSG loving nawal the-zoghbi
 ‘Mahir still loves Nawal Zoghbi.’
- b. *nawa:l z-zoʔbi lissa:t-a maħbu:be ktir.*
 nawal the-zoghbi LISSA-3MSG loved a-lot
 ‘Nawal Zoghbi is still loved a lot.’
- (33) a. *ma:hir lissa:t-u sa:rif d3-d3awa:b.*
 mahir LISSA-3MSG knowing the-answer
 ‘Mahir still knows the answer.’
- b. *d3-d3awa:b lissa:t-u maʔru:f.*
 the answer LISSA-3MSG known
 ‘The answer is still known.’

In combination with a participle based on an eventive verb, on the other hand, *lissa* is ambiguous between *still* and *just*. It seems clear from the pattern in (30) and (31) that the *just*-reading is licensed by the underlying eventive verb, while the *still*-reading is licensed by the (stative) participial derivative, as discussed in Section 4.1. The fact that English *still* is not compatible with the perfect construction (in spite of its stativity) provides further evidence that the active participles (and for that matter, the passive participles) pattern as adjectival participles in Syrian Arabic. The Syrian Arabic passive participial constructions with *lissa* below are completely parallel to their English translations with *still*. The parallel across the interpretations of *still/lissa* in Syrian Arabic active participles, Syrian Arabic passive participles, and English adjectival passive participles supports an adjectival analysis of the Syrian Arabic active participles.

- (34) a. *ma:hir lissa:t-u na:fix l-qa:rib.*
 mahir LISSA-3MSG pumping.up the-boat
 i. 'Mahir has pumped up the boat and it's still pumped up.'
 ii. 'Mahir has just pumped up the boat.'
- b. *l-qa:rib lissa:t-u manfux.*
 the-boat LISSA-3MSG pumped.up
 i. 'The boat is still pumped up.'
 ii. 'The boat has just been pumped up.'
- (35) a. *l-it^ʕfa:ʕijje lissa:t-a msakkra mahat^ʕt^ʕat l-qit^ʕa:r.*
 the-fire.department still-3FSG closing station the-train
 i. 'The fire department has closed the train station and it's still closed.'
 ii. 'The fire department has just closed the train station.'
- b. *mahat^ʕt^ʕat l-qit^ʕa:r lissa:t-a msakkra.*
 station the-train still-3FSG closed
 i. 'The train station is still closed.'
 ii. 'The train station has just been closed.'
- (36) a. *ma:hir lissa:t-u fa:tiḥ f-fibba:k.*
 mahir LISSA-3MSG opening the-window
 i. 'Mahir has opened the window and it's still opened.'
 ii. 'Mahir has just opened the window.'
- b. *f-fibba:k lissa:t-u maftu:ḥ.*
 the window LISSA-3MSG opened
 i. 'The window is still opened.'
 ii. 'The window has just been opened.'
- (37) a. *ma:hir lissa:t-u mrattib l-kitub ʕa r-raff.*
 mahir LISSA-3MSG arranging the-books on the-shelf
 i. 'Mahir has arranged the books on the shelf and they're still arranged (they haven't been touched).'
 ii. 'Mahir has just arranged the books on the shelf.'
- b. *l-kitub lissa:t-a mrattabe ʕa r-raff.*
 the-books LISSA-PL arranged on the-shelf
 i. 'The books are still arranged on the shelf.'
 ii. 'The books have just been arranged on the shelf.'
- (38) a. *ma:hir lissa:t-u mxazzin f-famaʕ bi-l-xizarne.*
 mahir LISSA-3MSG storing the-candles in-the-cupboard
 i. 'Mahir has stored the candles in the cupboard and they're still stored there.'
 ii. 'Mahir has just stored the candles in the cupboard.'

- b. *f-famaʕ lissa:t-u mxazzan bi-l-xiza:ne.*
 the-candles LISSA-3MSG stored in-the-cupboard
 i. ‘The candles are still stored in the cupboard.’
 ii. ‘The candles have just been stored in the cupboard.’

The activity verbs discussed in Section 4.2 behave analogously:

- (39) a. *ma:hir lissa:t-u qa:fitʕ l-rasʕi:f.*
 mahir LISSA-3MSG scrubbing the-sidewalk
 i. ‘Mahir has scrubbed the sidewalk and it’s still scrubbed.’
 ii. ‘Mahir has just scrubbed the sidewalk.’
 b. *l-rasʕi:f lissa:t-u maqʕu:tʕ.*
 the-sidewalk LISSA-3MSG scrubbed
 i. ‘The sidewalk is still scrubbed.’
 ii. ‘The sidewalk has just been scrubbed.’
- (40) a. *ma:hir lissa:t-u mmaffitʕ faʕr-u.*
 mahir LISSA-3MSG combing hair-his
 i. ‘Mahir has combed his hair and it’s still combed.’
 ii. ‘Mahir has just combed his hair.’
 b. *faʕr-u lissa:t-u mmaffatʕ.*
 hair-his LISSA-3MSG combed
 i. ‘His hair is still combed.’
 ii. ‘His hair has just been combed.’

As I mentioned above, in her discussion of adjectival passive participles in English, Kratzer remarks that not all participles accept *still* equally readily. *Prove* in (41a) below provides an example. However, when we compare the adjectival participle *proven* with the perfect predicate *have proven* (41b), the former is clearly more acceptable than the latter. Specifically, the former gives the impression of being redundant, since being proven is inherently permanent (if it turns out the proof is wrong, then the theorem was never proven in the first place). Example (41b), however, gives the impression of being ungrammatical, not merely redundant.

- (41) a. #The theorem is still proven.
 b. *Max has still proven the theorem.

The Syrian Arabic participle *mbarhan* (*proven*) patterns like (41a) as opposed to (41b), and, crucially, the active participial form *mbarhin* is also judged redundant, rather than ungrammatical, with *lissa*. A similar case arises with the verb *hazam* (*defeat*). Once a team is defeated, their defeat cannot be reversed.¹

1. A reviewer of the present work notes an alternative stative interpretation available to *hazam* ‘defeat’: ‘to be ahead in score’, i.e., to be winning. This interpretation occurs naturally with *lissa*.
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- (42) a. #*ma:hir lissa:t-u mbarhin l-naz^hariije*.
 mahir LISSA-3MSG proving the-theorem
 #‘Mahir has proven the theorem and it’s still proven.’
- b. #*n-naz^hariije lissa:t-a mbarhane*.
 the-theorem LISSA-3FSG proven
 #‘The theorem is still proven.’
- (43) a. #*barfalu:na lissa:t-u hazim rija:l madrid*.
 barcelona still-3MSG defeating real madrid
 #‘Barcelona has defeated Real Madrid and Real Madrid is still defeated.’
- b. #*rija:l madrid lissa:t-u mahzu:m qadda:m barfalu:na*.
 real madrid still-3MSG defeated before barcelona
 #‘Real Madrid is still defeated by Barcelona.’

Again, there is no distinction in acceptability between the *a*- and *b*-examples above. However pragmatically odd the passive participle is, the active participle is similarly odd, and neither is ungrammatical with *lissa*. This means that the Syrian Arabic active participles pattern with adjectival passive participles in their compatibility with *lissa*, and pattern against the English perfect, which is systematically ungrammatical with *still*. This indicates that both active and passive participles in Syrian Arabic are adjectival, not verbal, participles.

5. Complement frames again

The meanings of Syrian Arabic active participles vary with the aspectual type of the underlying verb, just like the meanings of adjectival passive participles do in both English and Syrian Arabic, and they are compatible with *lissa*, just as adjectival participles are. Thus, it seems that the similarities between the Syrian Arabic active participles and the English perfect are independent similarities between the interpretation of the perfect and adjectival participles, and are not evidence that the active participles constitute a perfect construction.

The Syrian Arabic active participles do display one property that is decisively not adjective-like: they license the full complement frame of the corresponding verb. If indeed the Syrian Arabic active participles are adjectival, then the fact that they license the full complement frame of the corresponding verb is a significant empirical observation. Among other things, it implies that adjectival participles in English do not fail to license the complement frame of the verb by virtue of being adjectival, as has been argued in the literature, but rather for some other reason. Before turning to a more in-depth discussion of this matter, I first wish to unpack a prediction of the observations made so far.

If Syrian Arabic participles are adjectival but nonetheless license object Case, then we should find (grammatical) examples in Syrian Arabic that parallel the (ungrammatical) English examples that lead Wasow to conclude that adjectival participles do not license Case – examples like (4a). Double-accusative verbs in Syrian Arabic confirm this prediction. The examples below show that a secondary object is possible in Syrian passive participles, where the primary object has been promoted to subject.

- (44) a. *ma:hir minsatʿi kfu:f la-jitsa:mal mas l-ki:mija:wija:t.*
 mahir given gloves to-handle with the-chemicals
 lit.: ‘Mahir is given gloves to handle the chemicals.’
- b. *ma:hir mitdʿajjif qahwe.*
 mahir served coffee
 lit.: ‘Mahir is served coffee.’
- c. *ma:ria mamnu:ha mi:da:lija:t kti:ra.*
 mahir awarded medals many
 lit.: ‘Maria is awarded many medals.’
- d. *ma:ria minʿa:ra sijja:rit marwa:n min mba:rha.*
 maria lent car marwan since yesterday
 lit.: ‘Maria is lent Marwan’s car since yesterday.’

These observations confirm that adjectival participles in Syrian Arabic differ from adjectival participles in English in a fundamental way: the Syrian participles assign Case to their object(s), just like the corresponding verb does. This is therefore one respect in which Syrian Arabic and English are thoroughly different.

6. Analysis

Based on the observation that (English) verbal participles license the full complement frame of the verb (modulo promotion of the primary object to subject) while adjectival participles do not, Embick (2004) argues that adjectival participles are structurally ‘defective’: they lack the Case/inflectional superstructure required to license an object, which verbal participles possess. That is, adjectival participles are ‘small’, while verbal participles are ‘big’. To put this in formal terms, verbal participles contain the object-Case-licensing projection AgrOP (as depicted in the basic clause schema in (45)), while adjectival participles lack it. ‘Resultative’ adjectival participles contain the agent- and event-licensing projection vP, but not AgrOP (an additional class of adjectival participles, called ‘target state’ participles, contain only the patient-licensing VP; these exist in Syrian Arabic, too, but I do not go into

the matter here). That is, verbal participles contain all the underlined structure in (45), while adjectival participles contain only the double underlined structure, according to Embick.

- (45) $[_{TP} \text{subject} [_{AgrOP} \text{object} [_{VP} \text{agent} [_{VP} \text{patient}]]]]]$

The Syrian Arabic active participles we have reviewed license the full complement domain of the corresponding verb, and therefore contain AgrOP (and perhaps more structure for double object verbs). Yet they have the interpretational properties of adjectival participles. This suggests that the structural size of a participle is not the critical factor that determines its semantic behavior. That is, possessing AgrOP structure does not entail that a participle is verbal in its interpretation. The equivalence ‘big participle = verbal participle’ fails, since, at least in Syrian Arabic, it seems possible for a participle to be ‘big’ (in this narrow, structural sense) yet behave like an adjectival participle. To put this another way, it appears that the interpretational properties of the participle are not an aftereffect of its size, but directly related to the meaning of the adjectivizing operator. Below, I pursue this line of reasoning to present an analysis that seeks to derive the contingency between a participle’s interpretation and the aspectual type of the underlying verb.

Kratzer (2000) claims that verbs like *pump up* describe a relationship between an event (of pumping up an entity x) and its ‘result’ state (of x being pumped up), as illustrated in (46a). The agent is not represented here, since it is introduced by a Voice head external to the VP (Kratzer 1996). The stativizing operator that forms the adjectival participle – which Kratzer identifies with the passive participial morphology in German and English – is shown in (46b). The combination of the two, which yields the meaning of the passive participle *pumped up*, is shown in (46c). It says of an entity x and a state s that s is the state of x being inflated and that s is caused by a pumping-up event e . The adverb *still* in the phrase *still pumped up* introduces the presupposition that this state already held prior to the utterance time.

- (46) a. $\lambda s \lambda e$ [pump(e) & inflated(the boat)(s) & cause(s)(e)]
 b. $\lambda R \lambda s \exists e$ [R(s)(e)]
 c. $\lambda s \exists e$ [pump(e) & inflated(the boat)(s) & cause(s)(e)]

Kratzer explains the infelicitousness of *#still proven* by arguing that the verb *prove* lacks a result-state argument (47a). Here, the passive participle *proven* is built by a different stativizer, shown in (47b), which merely situates the event described by the underlying verb in the past with respect to the participle’s reference time. Since the passive participle *proven* simply asserts that a proving event took place in the past with respect to the reference time, and since once this is the case it is the case in perpetuity, the presupposition introduced by *still* is redundant. Note, however,

that the passive participial morphology, on Kratzer's analysis, must be semantically ambiguous in such a way that it allows the past-shifting effect on both readings.

- (47) a. λe [prove(the theorem)(e)]
 b. $\lambda P \lambda t \exists e$ [P(e) & $\tau(e) \leq t$]
 c. $\lambda t \exists e$ [prove(the theorem) & $\tau(e) \leq t$]

Katz (2003a) presents essentially the same explanation for the ungrammaticality of *still* with the perfect (29). In his analysis, the phrase *have proven the theorem* is a description of a time, not a state, and so is incompatible with *still*. As remarked above, though, there is a substantial difference in acceptability between the adjectival participle and the perfect with *still*, illustrated originally in (41) and repeated in (48) below. If one of these two constructions is excluded for combinatorial reasons, it should be the ungrammatical (48b) rather than the infelicitous (48a). I conclude that Katz is right about (48b) and therefore that Kratzer is wrong about (48a).

- (48) a. #The theorem is still proven.
 b. *Max has still proven the theorem.

I propose instead that *prove*, like all verbs whose participles show the past-shifted reading, also has a post state in its lexical semantics and that (48a) may therefore also be derived by the stativizer in (46b). The difference between the infelicitous #*still proven* and the felicitous *still pumped up* can then be attributed to real world knowledge: things that are pumped up have a natural tendency to revert to their original un-pumped-up state, while things that are proven stay proven. The redundancy of *still proven* is not grammatical in nature. In light of this conclusion, the natural analysis of the Syrian Arabic active participles is that all of the verbs that allow the past-shifted reading are derived from verbs with a post-state argument.

This cannot be the end of the story, though. Participles of stative verbs, i.e. (15) and (17), have the same morphology as eventive verbs (in English as well as Syrian Arabic), but do not have an event argument. This makes stative verbs incompatible with the stativizer in (46b), which contains an existential quantifier over events.

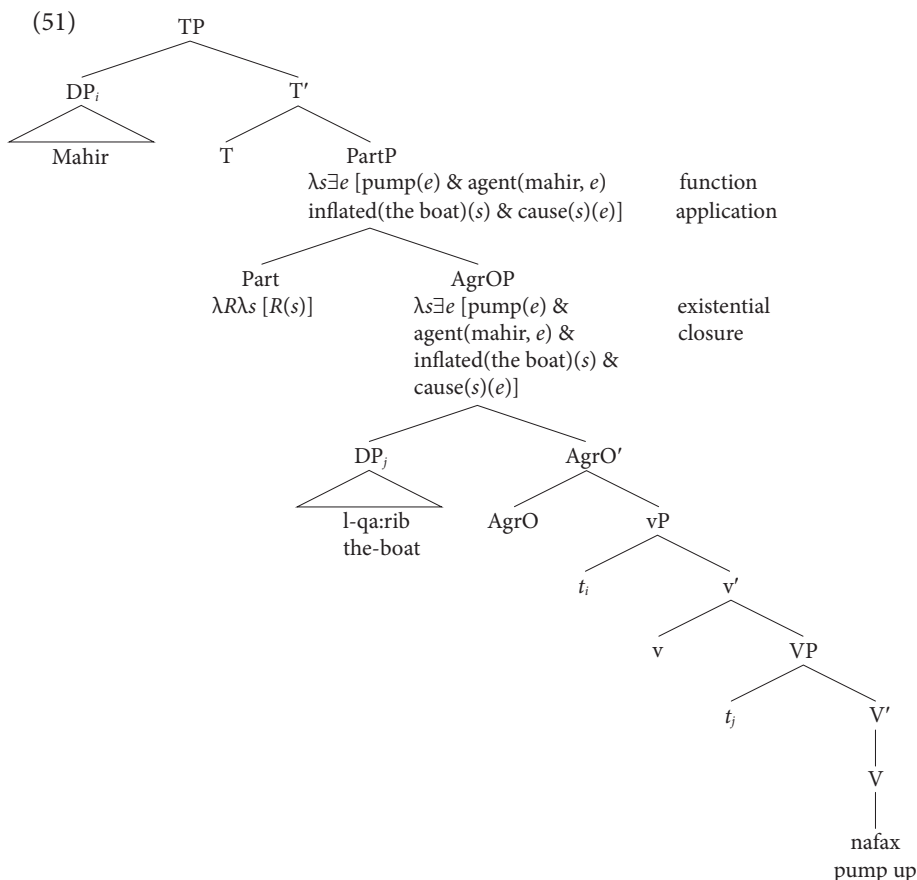
I propose that these two cases can be unified under a definition of the stativizing (participial) morphology ('PART' below) that only binds the state argument of the underlying verb, as shown in (49). If the underlying verb is eventive, then an existential quantifier over the causing event in a verb like *pump up* in (46a) is inserted by default existential closure over unbound variables in the verb phrase (on which subject, see Heim 1983, Diesing 1992). That is, an event argument that goes unsaturated in the environment of the stativizer gets saturated by existential closure. The past-shifting effect is an entailment of the *cause* relation the verb puts the event in with respect to the result state. The participle describes the result state, whose cause

naturally must precede it. On the other hand, if the underlying verb is stative, the stativizer derives a description of that state; in this case, it is essentially vacuous.

$$(49) \text{ PART} = \lambda R \lambda s [R(s)]$$

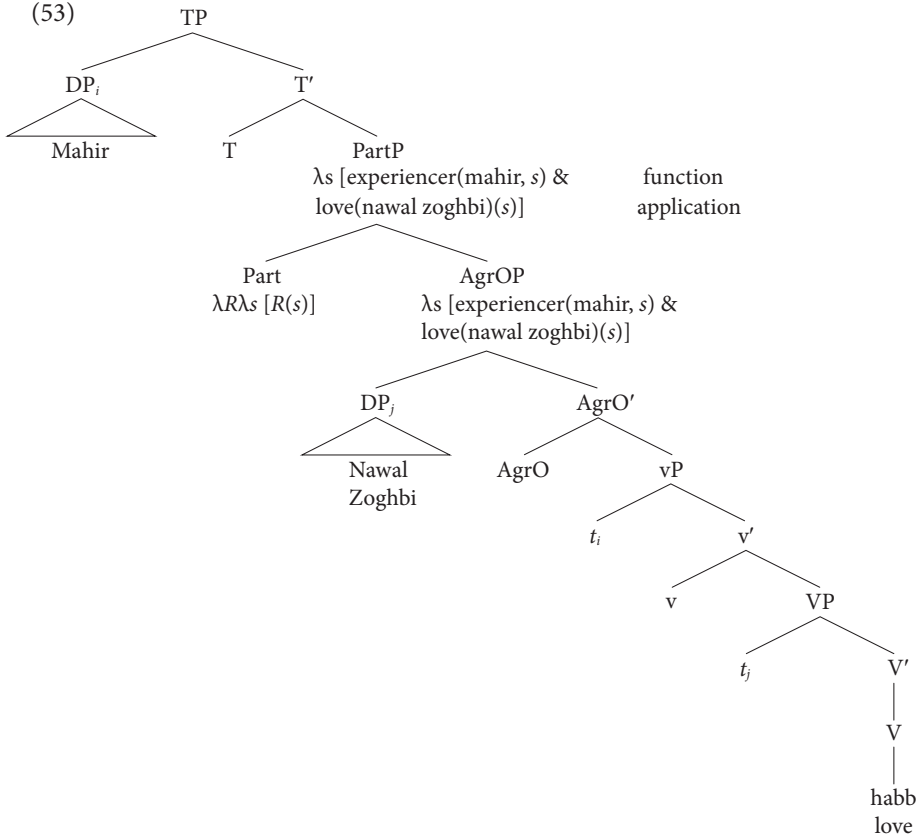
A participle derived from an eventive verb like *nafx* (pump up) in (50) – an example based on Kratzer’s – has the structure and interpretation in (51) on this view. The bracketed constituent in (50) corresponds to the participle.

- (50) *ma:hir* [_{PartP} *na:fix* *l-qa:rib*].
 mahir pumping.up the-boat
 ‘Mahir has pumped up the boat.’



A participle based on a stative verb like *habb* (love), shown in (52), has the same structure as its eventive counterpart in (50), but no eventive component over which existential closure can apply:

(52) *mā:hir* [_{PartP} *ħa:ʔib nawa:l z-zoʔbi*].
 mahir loving nawal the-zoghbi
 ‘Mahir loves Nawal Zoghbi.’



The active participles of eventive and stative verbs are formed in this manner in Syrian Arabic. It is evident from the table in Section 3 that, in the complex verb forms (non-form-I), passivization is achieved either through stem-vowel alternation or prefixation internal to the *mi-* prefix that forms the participle. This pattern suggests that, in general (i.e., even in the form-I verbs), passivization is internal to the participle. If that is indeed the case, then the analysis of the active participles in (50) and (52) carries over to the passive participles by virtue of passivization internal to PartP. Both lack of space and lack of imagination prevent me from presenting a complete analysis of passivization in Syrian Arabic in this paper, but it is clear that passivization in Syrian Arabic is a separate process from participle formation with a separate morphological exponence. The situation in English, where these processes appear to be morphologically conflated, requires further investigation.

The fact that English adjectival participles do not license objective Case is compatible with Embick's claim about English: the participle is formed low in English – lower than in Syrian Arabic – above vP but below AgrOP. As a result, no object-licensing structure is available to the English adjectival participle. However, the observations of Syrian Arabic I have presented in detail in this paper indicate that there is no necessary connection between adjectivehood and the failure of object licensing. If the participle is formed higher in the structure, the object is licensed, even though the participle is adjectival. The presence of 'small' adjectival participles in English thus appears, on this analysis, to be nothing more than a kind of parameter specification. This specification is not logically necessary and consequently not universal.

7. Conclusion

This paper has sought to motivate the claim that the Syrian Arabic active participles are 'big' adjectives, containing the complement-licensing structure of the underlying verb (and its agent) but showing the interpretational behavior of an adjective. These observations implicate an analysis where the adjectivizing/stativizing morpheme applies relatively high in the structure, above AgrOP in Syrian Arabic. This conclusion, in turn, undermines the view that verbal participles are verbal by virtue of being 'big' in a specific structural sense, since Syrian Arabic possesses passive participles that are big enough to license the full complement frame of the underlying verb but that are nonetheless adjectival. I propose instead that the characteristic property of English verbal participles is their lack of any stativizer. If the participial morphology itself is stativizing, then all participles should be stative. In Syrian Arabic, this expectation is borne out. The fact that participles in English may show verbal interpretational behavior is puzzling and indicates that what we call participial morphology in English is not itself adjectivizing. What role it has is unclear and requires further investigation.

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