

Verbal and adjectival participles in imperative and declarative root configurations

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Apart from their use in periphrastic and adnominal contexts, past participles may also occur as the core of non-finite root clauses. These come in four different types in Germanic, as the German and Dutch cases in (1) to (4) exemplify: (i) directive participles with imperative force and (ii) commissive, (iii) expressive and (iv) representative participles with declarative force.

- (1) a. (HSV-Fans) Aufgepasst! b. (Ajax-fans) Opgepast!
 (*HSV-fans*) *out.watched!* (*Ajax-fans*) *out.watched!*
 ‘(HSV-fans) pay attention!’ ‘(Ajax-fans) pay attention!’
- (2) a. Versprochen! b. Beloofd! (3) a. *Gegrüßt! b. Gegroet! (4) a. Erledigt! b. Gedaan!
 promised *promised* *greeted* *greeted* *done* *done*
 ‘I promise!’ ‘I promise!’ ‘Greetings!’ ‘Done!’ ‘Done!’

As the contrast in (3) and the fact that (1) to (3) cannot be translated with a participle in English show, the use of participles as roots is subject to parameterisation: English shares with the North Germanic languages that only the type in (4) is permitted, whereas German additionally allows (1) and (2) and Dutch even permits the additional type in (3). While previous work mostly investigated the properties of the directive type (see Rooryck & Postma 2007; Coussé & Oosterhof 2012; Heinold 2014), recent work also considered non-directive performative participles (see Ørnsnes 2020). By contrasting their argument structural and aspectual properties, the present paper argues that root participles with declarative force comprise verbal (passive) participles, whereas their declarative counterparts feature adjectival participles. The two types are taken to have different C-heads selecting for distinct participial complements.

Zugehört! (‘Listen up!’) – Alongside a plain infinitive (*Hinsetzen!* ‘Sit down!’) and a finite form (*Setz dich hin!* ‘Sit down!’), German and Dutch make use of participles to encode imperative force. These are traditionally taken to be quite restricted.¹ However, while bare infinitives indeed are more productive than their participial counterparts (cf. Wunderlich 1984: 98), Heinold (2014: 332) suggests that there are no grammatical restrictions in German and Coussé & Oosterhof (2012: 51f.) show that the main restriction in Dutch is that participial imperatives be weakly conjugated. Indeed, German is quite flexible with respect to allowing not just unergative but also (di-)transitive predicates to give rise to imperative participles.

- (5) a. Hergehört! Hiergeblieben! b. Opgehoepeld! Ingerukt! Afgemarcheerd!
 up.listened here-stayed *up-jumped* *in-pulled off-marched*
 ‘Listen up! Stay here!’ ‘Get lost! Dismiss! March off!’
- (6) Den Müll rausgetragen! Den Bleistift gespitzt! Ihm den Rücken zugekehrt!
 the trash out-taken *the pencil sharpened him the back to-turned*
 ‘Take out the trash! Sharpen the pencil! Turn your back to him!’

These demand the overt licensing of an IA if present in the argument structure, whereas Dutch is more restrictive and does not permit participles that would have to realise an IA.² While the EA is implicit (pro; licensing BY-phrases), it is bound by an overt or covert referent that is introduced in Spec, C: German and Dutch introduce quantificational subjects, which occur in the default case ACC when licensed overtly (cf. Rapp & Wöllstein-Leisten 2009: 168). These may even be further specified by external vocatives which are not integrated into the clause (as marked by an intonational break, e.g. when adding *Peter* or *spaarzame Nederlanders* to (7)).

- (7) a. Alle Teilnehmer aufgestanden/hingesetzt! b. Allemaal/Leerlingen opgelet!
 all participants up-stood down-sat *everyone/apprentices out.watched*
 ‘All participants, stand up/sit down!’ ‘Everyone/apprentices pay attention!’

The fact that a quantificational subject binds the EA may be related to the proper licensing of the IAs as in (6): ACC is available since the participle’s EA is bound by the head of the

¹ Hoeksema (1992) calls them a lexical, idiomatic quirk and Aikhenvald (2010) restricts them to motion/posture verbs.

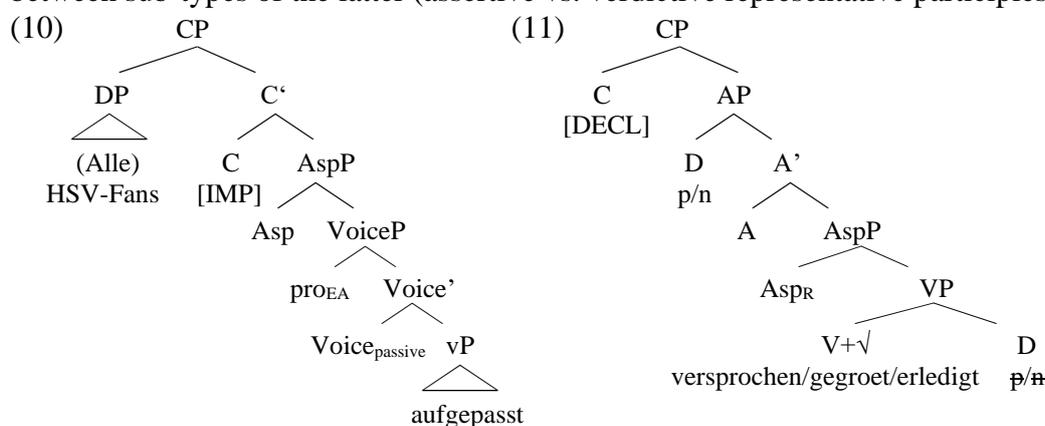
² Unaccusatives are ruled out in both languages: while Heinold (2012: 323) presents examples with *sterben* (‘die’) and *aufwachen* (‘wake up’), these are subject to coercion. Similar cases appear in periphrastic passives.

imperative structure (doing justice to Burzio’s 1986 generalisation; reminiscent of HAVE in identity approaches to passive and perfect participles, cf. Wegner 2019). Apart from argument structural considerations, their aspectual and modificational properties also support the claim that imperative root participles are based on verbal passives. They denote imperfective situations like their infinitival counterparts but unlike adjectival passive and verbal perfect participles. In fact, the events are tied to the moment of utterance, to “the immediate ‘here and now’” (Rooryck & Postma 2007: 285). Additionally, event-related modification is licit (e.g. with *vorsichtig* ‘careful’ or *langsam* ‘slowly’), whereas it is barred with adjectival participles.

Abgemacht und Hausaufgaben erledigt! (‘That is a deal and I have done my homework!’)
 – Participles in declarative root configurations, on the other hand, pattern with adjectival rather than verbal participles, e.g. in terms of denoting results. The cases in (2) commit the speaker to future actions by instantiating the result of a commissive event. (3b) as well as other Dutch cases like *Bedankt!* (‘Thanks!’) and *Gecondoleerd!* (‘Condolences!’), in turn, attribute the result of the expressive event to the addressee and representative cases like (4) just state that the result of a situation has been reached (either by the speaker in assertive cases like *Overruled!* or some other entity in verdictive cases like *Well played!*, which license the verdictive adverb external to the participial domain). The distinct types readily give rise to clausal counterparts in the form of stative passives, consider e.g. *Versprochen ist versprochen* (‘A promise is a promise.’), *Sei begrüßt* (‘Greetings!’), and *Die Hausaufgaben sind erledigt* (‘The homework is done.’). The lack of a grammatically represented EA may be taken to be at the core of the flexibility in terms of speaker-/hearer-orientation, unlike in imperative cases, in which the quantificational subject delimits the EA (pro) to a plurality of addressees. Additionally, the three types of declarative root participles differ with respect to the IA: while the implicit IA in commissive cases has to be propositional, it has to be a nominal referent for expressive cases. Representative participles permit both and even allow for an overt IA, unlike the other two sub-types. This seems to put into question that we are dealing with adjectival participles. However, possible subjects are restricted to bare nouns (lacking case) and not just participial cases like (8), but crucially also non-participial counterparts like (9) allow for these.
 (8) a. Einspruch abgewiesen! b. Mission accomplished! (9) a. Haus leer! b. Game over!
objection overruled *house empty*
 ‘Objection overruled!’

This suggests that the root configuration rather than the participle is responsible for licensing N. Additionally, what speaks out in favour of analysing such cases as adjectival is the lack of event-related modifiers (e.g. *aufrichtig* ‘sincerely’ in (2) and *vollständig* ‘completely’ in (4)).

Based on the distinct grammatical properties attested for imperative root participles of type (i), on the one hand, and declarative ones of types (ii) to (iv), on the other, the two variants may be syntactically contrasted along the lines of (10) and (11) pending more fine-grained contrasts between sub-types of the latter (assertive vs. verdictive representative participles).



Selected references: Coussé & Oosterhof. 2012. Het Imperativische Participium in het Nederlands. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 17: 26–55. Heinold. 2014. Eigenschaften von direktiven Partizipien im Deutschen. *Deutsche Sprache* 13: 313–335. Ørnsnes. 2020. On the performative use of the past participle in German. *Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 32: 335–419. Rapp & Wöllstein-Leisten. 2009. Infinite Strukturen. In: *Koordination und Subordination im Deutschen*. 159–179. Rooryck & Postma. 2007. On participial imperatives. In: *Imperative Clauses in Generative Grammar*. 273–296.