

On the Performative Use of the Past Participle in German

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In German, past participles not only occur in root position with a directive force, as in *Stillgestanden!* ‘Stop!’ lit. ‘stood still(PTCP)’, but also as performatives in responses: A: *Du sagst also nichts zu Papi.* ‘So you won’t tell dad.’ B: *Versprochen!* ‘I promise!’ lit. ‘promised(PTCP)’. Here B performs the speech act denoted by the verb by saying that it has been performed. The propositional argument of the participle (what is promised) is resolved contextually, and the agent and the recipient arguments are restricted to the speaker and the hearer, respectively. This article presents a syntactic analysis of this rarely studied phenomenon, arguing that the construction with a performative participle is not ellipsis but an IP with a participial head and null pronominal complements. The syntactic analysis is formalized within Lexical-Functional Grammar. A pragmatic analysis is proposed arguing that the performative participle in its core use alternates with *Yes!* to express agreement with an assertion or compliance with a request, that is, to express consent to the effect that a proposition *p* may safely be added to the Common Ground. This analysis is cast within the dialogue framework of Farkas & Bruce (2010) and extended to response performative participles in monological uses.*

Keywords: past participle, performative utterance, nonfinite clauses, German, consent

* I wish to thank the reviewers and the editors from JGL for their extremely constructive and thorough comments. For extensive help with the data I thank (in alphabetical order): Jörg Asmussen, Esther Jahns, Stefan Müller, Ulrike Sayatz, Roland Schäfer, and Robin Schmalzer. This work was presented at the Workshop *Participles: Form, Use and Meaning* at the SLE conference in Zürich in 2017. I wish to thank the reviewers as well as the audience of the conference for comments and ideas. All remaining errors are my sole responsibility.

1. Introduction.

It is well-known that in German, past participles can occur in root position with a directive illocutionary force, as in 1 (Fries 1983, Donhauser 1984, Gärtner 2013, Heinold 2012, 2013, among others).

- (1) Stillgestanden!
 stood still(PTCP)¹
 ‘Stop!’

The directive interpretation is sometimes suggested to follow from the fact that infinite root clauses can be seen as a special case of imperatives: Like imperatives, they denote properties rather than propositions (Gärtner 2013:217). Still, past participles as root clauses do not have to exhibit directive illocutionary force, as shown by Fries (1983:52), who gives the example *Abgemacht!* lit. ‘agreed’, without commenting on the interpretation, though. This example shows that past participles in root position can also have a performative illocutionary force.² Other examples are given in 2, where the speaker performs the speech act denoted by the verb by saying that the speech act in question has been performed, thus the illocutionary force is that of a performative (Searle 1989:536).³

¹ In English regular verbs, the past participle and past tense forms are identical, and so German past participle forms are glossed using the PTCP notation to avoid confusion (for convenience, PST for *past* is omitted). I am grateful to the copy editor for pointing out the potential ambiguity. Since for the purposes of this article morpheme segmentation is not important, the PTCP notation appears in parentheses. In the main text, as well as in the examples, where the ambiguity does not arise, all English translations ending in *-ed* are intended to represent the participle.

² I follow Eckardt (2012) in speaking of performatives instead of declarations, and I follow Searle (1989:536) in assuming that performatives are by definition explicit performatives, that is, they contain an expression naming the kind of speech act being performed.

³ Examples extracted from the IDS German Reference Corpus (*DeReKo; Das Deutsche Referenzkorpus am Leibniz Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Mannheim*) are given with their corpus codes. Examples from the internet are indicated with URL and the access date. Examples without reference are constructed.

- (2) a. A: Du sagst also nichts zu Papi.
 ‘You are not going to tell dad.’
 B: Versprochen!
 promised(PTCP)
 ‘I promise!’
- b. Qualität ist wichtiger als Quantität. Geschenk.
 quality is more important than quantity granted(PTCP)
 ‘Quality is more important than quantity. I grant that.’

The performative participles in 2 are formed from verbs denoting speech acts such as compliance with a request (in a broader sense) or confirming a statement. In 2a, the participle is used as “linguistic feed-back” (Allwood et al. 1992): It serves as a response from the hearer to grant a request. In 2b, the performative participle occurs in a monological use and has the—informationally redundant—effect of acknowledging the truth of a proposition: The speaker explicitly concedes to a widely held opinion. In both cases, the performative participle alternates with the affirmative response particle *Ja!* ‘Yes!’, or *Nein!* ‘No!’, if it is a confirmation of a negative statement, as in 2a. The core use of the performative participle is to signal that a proposition *p* may safely be added to the Common Ground (CG). The agent, which is understood to be the speaker, is left unexpressed, as is the propositional argument of the speech-act-denoting verb: A contextually resolved propositional content counts as promised or granted by virtue of the participle being uttered. I refer to this use of the past participle as the PERFORMATIVE PAST PARTICIPLE (henceforth: PfP).

It is not unusual for past participles to occur alone in various contexts in German, as in 3 (Behr 1994, Redder 2003).

- (3) Da endlich das Wunder, ein Taxi hält. Er rein. Gerettet.
 then finally the miracle a taxi stops he in saved(PTCP)
 ‘Finally the miracle, a taxi stops. He jumps in. He is saved.’
 (T06/NOV.03504)

In 3, the nonspeech-act-denoting verb *gerettet* ‘saved’ is used assertively to state that the character referred to as *er* ‘he’ is saved, or rather considers himself to be saved. Such uses lend themselves to an analysis

as a reduced clausal structure along the following lines: [*er ist*] *gerettet* ‘[he is] saved’. The same pertains to the following examples, where the participles are used assertively “out of the blue”, and the theme argument in 4a (whatever the speaker has managed to do) is found in the extralinguistic context.

- (4) a. *Geschafft!* (*Es ist geschafft!* ‘it is managed’)
 managed(PTCP)
 ‘I did it!’
- b. *Genug geredet!* (*Es ist genug geredet!* lit. ‘it is enough talked’)
 enough talked(PTCP)
 ‘Enough talking!’

Yet, the PfP has special properties that need to be accounted for. First, not all performative verbs can occur as PfPs. A performative verb such as *beenden* ‘to end’ cannot occur as a PfP, as shown in 5a, a continuation of the sentence in 5. This verb is (marginally) better as a PfP if accompanied by *hiermit* ‘hereby’, which forces a performative reading, as in 5b.⁴

- (5) *Das war der letzte Tagesordnungspunkt unserer Sitzung.*
 ‘That was the last item on the agenda of this meeting.’
- a. # *Beendet!*
 ended(PTCP)
 Intended: ‘I end the meeting!/Adjourned!’
- b. ??# *Hiermit beendet!*
 hereby ended(PTCP)
 Intended: ‘I hereby end/adjourn the meeting!’

⁴ The examples throughout the article exhibit morphosyntactic violations as well as pragmatic violations/infelicitous use. I use ?, ??, and * to mark morphosyntactic violations of different degrees and ?#, ??#, and # to mark pragmatic violations of decreasing degrees of acceptability. The distinction between morphosyntactic and pragmatic violations is not clear-cut in all cases, though.

The performative verbs that can form PFPs, in contrast, do not require *hiermit* ‘hereby’ to be used performatively:

- (6) Das war der letzte Tagesordnungspunkt unserer Sitzung.
 ‘That was the last item on the agenda of this meeting.’

Versprochen!
 promised(PTCP)
 ‘I promise!’

Second, performative verbs allow both assertive and performative readings, but the past participle in 7 only has the performative reading. It cannot be understood assertively as ‘this has been promised’.⁵

- (7) A: Kommt die Kanzlerin heute?
 ‘Will the chancellor be here today?’

⁵ This does not mean that participles of performative verbs occurring alone can never have an assertive reading. As i shows, they can occur as answers to *wh*-questions.

- (i) A: Wie ist es mit dem neuen Vertrag?
 ‘What about the new agreement?’

B: Vereinbart.
 adopted(PTCP)
 ‘It is adopted.’

They are also found in the so-called *Partizipialkette* ‘chains of participles’ (Redder 2003, Hoffmann 2006), as in iia, and in headlines, as in iib.

- (ii) a. Neuer Tarifvertrag vorgelegt, vereinbart.
 new labor agreement presented(PTCP) adopted(PTCP)
 ‘A new labor agreement presented and adopted.’

b. Vereinbart. Neuer Tarifvertrag wurde gestern vereinbart.
 adopted(PTCP) new labor.agreement was yesterday adopted(PTCP)
 ‘Adopted! A new labor agreement was adopted yesterday.’

The exact conditions for the assertive interpretation of participles of performative verbs occurring alone await further study.

B: #Vereinbart
 agreed(PTCP)
 Intended: ‘That’s the agreement.’

PfPs are primarily found in colloquial German, although participle constructions are generally taken to belong to a formal or literary style (Redder 2003:156).⁶ Participles in performative use are known from classical Semitic languages (Rogland 2001, Wild 1964:253–254) and also from Dutch (Rooryck & Potsma 2007).⁷ For a recent crosslinguistic discussion of performative participles, see Fortuin 2019. In German, they appear to have received little attention in the literature. They are briefly mentioned in Dal 1966:120, in the influential account of nonfinite main clauses in Fries 1983:52, 236, and also in Rapp & Wöllstein 2009:167, but they are not described as performatives, nor are they discussed in detail. Brandt et al. (1989:5) give an overview of performative utterances in German and provide one example of a past participle in root position: *Baden verboten* lit. ‘swimming forbidden’, while Liedtke (1998) and Colliander & Hansen (2004) do not mention the PfP at all in their discussions of speech acts in German. The Duden grammar (2006) does not comment on this use of the past participle, while Zifonun et al. (1997:2226) describe examples such as *offen gestanden* ‘frankly admitted’ and *ehrlich gesagt* ‘honestly said’ as stereotypical phrases commenting on the manner of speaking. The performative use as in *Versprochen!* ‘(I) promise!’ or *Geschenkt!* ‘Granted!’ does not seem to be mentioned.

Dal (1966:120) suggests that the use of participles such as *offen gestanden* ‘frankly admitted’ and *Zugestanden!* ‘I admit!’ lit. ‘admitted’, that is, as root clauses, is of a similar kind (“von ähnlicher Art”) as instances of the directive past participle, but this cannot be entirely true: Performativity is not a subtype of directive force (Fries 1983:52 also draws a distinction between participles with a directive reading and participles with other readings), and there are differences between the two uses of the past participle. The directive participle can occur with a quantified subject

⁶ Redder (2003:256) also observes that participles are not necessarily formal.

⁷ Dutch allows a broader range of verbs to occur as PfPs than German, such as *bedankt* lit. ‘thanked’ and *gefeliciteerd* lit. ‘congratulated’ (see Rooryck & Potsma 2007).

(see, among others, Fries 1983, Gärtner 2013:204), as in 8a and with an accusative object, as in 9a (Donhauser 1984:369, Gärtner 2013:210, Heinold 2013).⁸ The PfP permits neither of this as shown in 8b and 9b.⁹

(8) a. Alle aufgepasst: (...)
 everyone paid attention(PTCP)
 ‘Everyone, pay attention: (...)’ (T07/DEZ.01456)

b. *Wir abgemacht!
 we agreed(PTCP)
 Intended: ‘We have agreed!’

⁸ A performative utterance requires an agent in the 1st person (Eckardt 2012:24), with the exception of so-called delegated speech. This means that only the definite subjects *wir* ‘we’ or *ich* ‘I’ are eligible as possible agentive subjects. If infinitives and participles only allow quantified subjects (Fries 1983), this would explain the impossibility of 8b.

⁹ A reviewer gives the following example of a PfP with what appears to be an accusative object:

(i) Die Wähler (hiermit) beruhigt dahingehend,
 the voters.NOM/ACC hereby reassured(PTCP) to.the.effect
 dass die Steuern nicht erhöht werden.
 that the taxes not raised become
 ‘The voters are hereby reassured that the taxes won’t be raised.’

I have not been able to find any authentic examples of this kind, and the example seems to be far less acceptable with an unambiguous accusative object:

(ii) a. ??/*Dich (hiermit) beruhigt, ...
 you.ACC hereby reassured(PTCP)
 ‘You are hereby reassured, ...’
 b. ??/*Den Wähler (hiermit) beruhigt, ...
 the voter.ACC hereby reassured(PTCP)
 ‘The voter is hereby reassured, ...’

PfPs do allow recipient arguments in the dative case (see section 5.3), so the fact that the putative accusative object *die Wähler* ‘the voters’ is an animate argument could improve the example in i.

- (9) a. Den Aufzug benutzt!
 the-ACC lift used(PTCP)
 ‘Use the lift!’ (Gärtner 2013:210)
- b. *Den Beistand versprochen!
 the-ACC support promised(PTCP)
 Intended: ‘The support is (hereby) promised!’

A further striking difference is that the directive participle can be used “out of the blue”, while the PfP needs a supporting context for its interpretation. Thus, the PfP is different from the directive participle and deserves a discussion on its own.

The goal of this article is to show that a participle in root position can indeed be used performatively in German and to provide a description and an analysis of this phenomenon given that it has received little attention. I concentrate on PfPs used as responses, and the main focus is on description; but I also briefly show how the properties uncovered can be captured in the formal framework of Lexical-Functional Grammar (LFG), even though I believe that the analysis can be formalized in other syntactic frameworks as well. Furthermore, I discuss the pragmatics of PfPs used as responses. I demonstrate that the PfP is primarily used to express agreement with an interlocutor and show how consent can be analyzed within a conversational framework such as the one developed for responses in Farkas & Bruce 2010. Finally, I briefly show how the PfP is used for special rhetoric purposes in monological uses. Although there is a lot more to be said about the syntax, semantics, and pragmatics of PfPs, it is only possible to propose a preliminary syntactic and pragmatic analysis and to point to directions for future research.

The article is structured as follows: In section 2, I show that the PfP in its core use is restricted to a subset of speech-act-denoting verbs. In section 3, I discuss the performative interpretation of PfPs in German and compare PfPs with canonical (finite active) performatives. In section 4, I rule out alternative analyses by showing that the PfP is indeed a verbal participle and not a reanalyzed particle or a reduced clause. In section 5, I discuss the syntax of the PfP. In section 6, I show how the syntactic properties can be captured within LFG. Sections 7 and 8 give a preliminary account of the pragmatics of the PfP in dialogues, and

section 9 shows how this analysis can be extended to monological uses. Finally, in section 10, I conclude.

2. The PfP and Performative Verbs.

The PfP is formed using performative verbs, that is, verbs denoting actions that can be carried out by language. Performative verbs can be used assertively to describe the world (for example, to state that someone has declared war or made a promise) and performatively to change the world (a state of war or a promise comes into existence). Searle (1989:547) refers to this latter use as declarations and claims that declarations have a double direction of fit between word and world. By a successful performance of the speech act the world is changed according to the propositional content, and at the same time the utterance is a description of this new state of the world. Thus, successful declarations are self-fulfilling.

As mentioned above, PfPs cannot be formed with all performative verbs. First, performative verbs can be divided into two groups according to the outcome of the speech act, that is, what comes into existence. On the one hand, there are performative verbs such as *taufen* 'to baptize' and *trauen* 'to wed somebody'. By uttering these verbs, the speaker creates a nonlinguistic fact, for example, that someone or something has been baptized or that someone has been wedded. On the other hand, there are performative verbs such as *mitteilen* 'to announce', *versprechen* 'to promise', and *zugeben* 'to admit', which create a new linguistic fact (Searle 1989:549). By uttering *Ich verspreche hiermit ...* 'I hereby promise ...', the speaker creates the fact that a promise has been made, which is a linguistic fact. The PfP is primarily observed with verbs creating new linguistic facts. Verbs creating nonlinguistic facts are only marginally possible as PfPs if accompanied by *hiermit* 'hereby', as in 10 (see also example 5 above), while PfPs of verbs creating linguistic facts are possible without *hiermit*.¹⁰

¹⁰ There are three apparent PfPs that do not fit into the pattern presented here. These are: *Abgelehnt!* 'Denied!' and *Stattgegeben!/Genehmigt!* 'Approved!'. One finds them in legal language, and they are used to reject or grant formal requests. Unlike the PfPs discussed in this paper they require a special authority on the part of the speaker to be used felicitously; moreover, *ablehnen* and *stattgeben* do not allow *dass*-clauses. In addition, *Stattgegeben!/Genehmigt!* occur negated in performatives: *Nicht stattgegeben/Nicht genehmigt!* 'Not

- (10) Dein Name sei Alexandra.
 your name be.PRS.SBJV Alexandra.

??#Hiermit getauft! /#Getauft!
 hereby baptized(PTCP) baptized(PTCP)

Intended: 'Your name shall be Alexandra. I hereby baptize you.'

Second, the verbs denoting linguistic facts can be divided into verbs denoting initiating speech acts (such as *fragen* 'to ask') and verbs denoting responding speech acts (such as *abmachen* 'to agree'). PfPs are found with verbs denoting responding speech acts, while verbs denoting initiating speech acts such as *fragen* 'to ask', *sagen* 'to say', *mitteilen* 'to announce' or *beordern* 'to order' are only possible as PfPs if accompanied by *hiermit*, an adverbial or an internal argument (see section 7.1):

- (11) a. *(Ehrlich) gesagt, das ist keine gute Idee.
 honestly said(PTCP) this is no good idea
 'Honestly, this is not a good idea.'

- b. *(Mal rhetorisch) gefragt,
 just rhetorically asked(PTCP)
 können wir überhaupt diese Wahlen gewinnen?
 can we at.all these elections win

'Just a rhetorical question, do we have any chance of winning these elections?'

Finally, among the verbs denoting responding speech acts only those that express consent as opposed to disagreement can form PfPs. PfPs are primarily used to confirm an assertion or express readiness to comply with a request, but not to contradict an assertion or refuse a request

approved', while there is not a single instance of the most frequent PfPs *Zugegeben!* lit. 'admitted' and *Versprochen!* 'I promise!' with negation in the DeReKo corpus. I return to *Abgelehnt!* in section 7.1 but leave the analysis of these PfPs for future research. I am grateful to the reviewers for drawing my attention to these examples.

(#*Geleugnet!* lit. ‘denied’, #*Geweigert!* lit. ‘refused’). I return to a discussion of this restriction in section 7.1 and suggest that PfPs are used as responses to express consent. Verbs attested as PfPs used as responses appear in table 1.

<i>Abgemacht!</i> ‘agreed’	<i>Gestanden!</i> ‘confessed’
<i>Akzeptiert!</i> ‘accepted’	<i>Kapiert!</i> ‘understood’
<i>Angeschlossen!</i> ‘agreed’	<i>Vereinbart!</i> ‘agreed’
<i>Bestätigt!</i> ‘confirmed’	<i>Versichert!</i> ‘assured’
<i>Eingeräumt!</i> ‘admitted’	<i>Versprochen!</i> ‘promised’
<i>Eingestanden!</i> ‘confessed’	<i>Verstanden!</i> ‘understood’
<i>Garantiert!</i> ‘guaranteed’	<i>Zugegeben!</i> ‘admitted’
<i>Geeinigt!</i> ‘agreed’	<i>Zugestanden!</i> ‘confessed’
<i>Geschenkt!</i> ‘granted’	<i>Zugestimmt!</i> ‘agreed’
<i>Geschworen!</i> ‘sworn’	<i>Zur Kenntnis genommen!</i> ‘taken note of’

Table 1. Verbs used as PfPs.¹¹

It should be noted at this point that even within the category of performative verbs denoting responding supporting speech acts, the status of the various PfPs is not the same. PfPs such as *Versprochen!* lit. ‘promised’, *Zugegeben!* lit. ‘admitted’, *Abgemacht!* lit. ‘agreed’, and *Akzeptiert!* lit. ‘accepted’ are well established and generally accepted in performative use. Others, such as *Geeinigt!*/*Zugestimmt!*/*Vereinbart!*/*Angeschlossen!* lit. ‘agreed’, are attested as PfPs, but are not found natural by all informants and appear to be rare as PfPs. One way to explain this contrast is to propose that there is a core set of verbs allowing the PfP, and that other verbs, such as *sich einigen/zustimmen/sich anschließen* ‘to agree’, are used as PfPs by way of analogy, that is, resemblance with the core construction given that they express consent. Support for this proposal comes from the fact that the less acceptable verbs are often also syntactically different from the core verbs in selecting dative objects or genuine reflexive objects, while the core verbs select accusative objects.¹² Whether these less acceptable PfPs become

¹¹ The verb *garantiert* ‘guaranteed’ also occurs as an adverb with the same semantics as the verb. This assumes some importance in the discussion.

¹² I am grateful to a reviewer for this observation.

established PfPs remains to be seen. It is in any case striking that even the deviant cases of PfPs conform to independently observed behavior of past participles in root position. For example, the reflexive object is omitted in the PfPs *Geeinigt!//Angeschlossen!* ‘Agreed!/It is settled!’. In order to provide as comprehensive an account of the PfP as possible, I include such (possibly occasional) uses in the discussion and leave a more fine-grained classification of core verbs and peripheral verbs in this construction for future research.¹³

Finally, there are at least two verbs used as PfPs that do not usually qualify as performative verbs and do not occur as performative verbs in finite active performative sentences, or only marginally so. These are the verbs *verstehen* and *kapieren* ‘to understand’. On the face of it, *verstehen* and *kapieren* do not denote speech acts: They do not report communicative events unlike other performative verbs (Condoravdi & Lauer 2011:157), and one does not understand something just by claiming to understand it, that is, one cannot define an utterance to be an understanding. Nevertheless, the past participles of these verbs are used performatively. An example of *verstehen* is given in 12.

(12) A: Halten Sie sich bereit!
‘Please, be ready!’

B: Verstanden! /??#Ich verstehe das hiermit!
understood(PTCP) I understand that hereby
‘Got it!’

¹³ The so-called fake participle (Haig 2005) *einverstanden* lit. ‘being in agreement’ is used similarly to the PfP, as in i. The adjective *einverstanden* is not synchronically related to any existing verb (**einverstehen*). *Einverstanden* is different from the PfP though since it is predicated of the speaker (the speaker is in agreement), while the PfP is predicated of some propositional content (something counts as accepted).

(i) A: Du holst jetzt das Auto aus der Werkstatt.
‘You are going to pick up the car at the garage immediately.’

B: Einverstanden! / Akzeptiert!
agreed(PTCP) accepted(PTCP)
‘I agree! / I accept!’

In B's response in 12, *verstanden* 'understood' is interpreted performatively, as agreement to comply with the request made by A, while the finite form *verstehe* 'I understand' is not possible in the canonical finite active performative with *hiermit*.¹⁴

The possibility of using participles of some cognitive verbs as performatives invites the conclusion that some verbs can be coerced to performative use under special circumstances in the sense of Pustejovsky 1995 and Goldberg 1995:195. Another explanation is due to a reviewer, who suggests that the participle could be a fragment answer to an implicit question containing the participle, as in 13a. However, an analysis as a fragment answer does not explain why *verstehen* and *kapieren* 'to understand' are much better in this use than verbs such as *hören* 'to hear', as in 13b.

(13) a. A: Halten Sie sich bereit. Haben Sie mich **verstanden**?
'Please be ready. Have you **understood**?'

B: Verstanden!
understood(PTCP)
'Understood!'

¹⁴ The 1st person present tense form of *verstehen*, *verstehe* 'I understand', can indeed be used in a way reminiscent of the performative use of *verstanden*:

(i) Fellner: Ich hab keine Freunde.
'I have no friends'

Jeannèe: Verstehe.
understand-1SG.PRS
'I understand./I see.' (PRF17/JUN.00156)

Verstehe 'I understand' shares with the PfP that it is used as a response to a statement by the hearer, but it behaves as an assertive utterance. It does not allow *hiermit* (#*Verstehe hiermit!* 'I hereby understand') and it can be negated by the interlocutor:

(ii) A: Verstehe!
'I understand!'

B: Nein, tust du nicht!
'No, you don't!'

b. A: Halten Sie sich bereit. Haben Sie mich **gehört**?
 ‘Please be ready. Have you **heard**?’

B: ??#Gehört!
 heard(PTCP)
 Intended: ‘I have heard you!’

Why exactly the verbs *verstehen* and *kapieren* can be used as performative verbs, as in 12, and what the special circumstances are, awaits further study.

3. The Pfp as a Performative Speech Act.

The canonical performative clause is a present tense active clause containing a 1st person subject and *hiermit* ‘hereby’: *Ich V_{PERFORMATIVE} hiermit ...* ‘I hereby V_{PERFORMATIVE} ...’. In 14, the speaker makes a promise by saying that s/he is making a promise, that is, the speaker defines the utterance to be a promise (Eckardt 2012:22). Unlike the canonical performative clauses, the Pfp—being nonfinite—does not contain tense. Yet, in a similar vein, speaker B in 15 defines his/her answer to be a promise using a Pfp.

(14) Ich verspreche hiermit, dass ich deinem Papi nichts sage.
 I promise hereby that I your dad nothing say
 ‘I hereby promise that I won’t tell your dad.’

(15) A: Du sagst also nichts zu Papi.
 ‘So you are not going to tell dad.’

B: Versprochen.
 promised(PTCP)
 ‘I promise.’

Thus, despite the lack of tense in 15, the performatives in 14 and 15 are understood to have the same illocutionary effect of making a promise.

However, there is an aspectual difference between the finite performative and the Pfp: The finite verb in 14 focuses on the act of making a promise, and the resulting state of *p* [:speaker not telling hearer’s dad] being promised is inferred (with the propositional content of the complement clause in square brackets). In contrast, the participle

in the PfP in 15 focuses on the resulting state: The speaker claims that a state of *p* [:speaker not telling hearer's dad] being promised holds, and the event leading to this resulting state is inferred. In other words, the PfP denotes the state resulting from performing the speech act denoted by the verb and can be paraphrased as *With this message, the state of p being Ved holds*. Thus, a paraphrase of 15 is: *With this message, the state of [me not telling your dad] being promised holds*. In this sense, the PfP shows a clear affinity to the performatively used adjectival passive (Maienborn 2007:89, Schlücker 2009:109), as in 16. I discuss this association in section 4.2.

- (16) Das ist hiermit versprochen!
 that is hereby promised
 'That is hereby a promise!'

The PfP shares with finite performatives the ability to license the adverb *hiermit* 'hereby'. In fact, some performative verbs are more acceptable as PfPs if *hiermit* forces a performative reading, as shown in 5b and 10 above. Yet for PfPs such as *Versprochen!* 'I promise!', *Zugegeben!* 'I admit!', *Geschenkt!* 'Granted!', and *Geschworen!* 'I swear!' the presence of *hiermit* is not required at all.¹⁵

- (17) a. Ich hole dich vom Bahnhof ab. Versprochen!
 I pick you from station up promised(PTCP)
 'I will pick you up at the station. I promise!'
- b. Organisation, Transport, Hygiene—in Rio funktionierte
 organization transportation hygiene in Rio worked
 nicht alles. Geschenkt!
 not all granted(PTCP)
 'Organization, transportation, hygiene—not everything worked
 in Rio. I grant that.' (RHZ16/AUG.36106)

¹⁵ For the PfP *Geschenkt!* 'Granted!' there is not a single occurrence with *hiermit* in *W-Archiv der geschriebenen Sprache* in the IDS corpus DeReKo as of June 2019.

Eckardt (2012:26) proposes that *hiermit* refers to the ongoing information exchange, as in the paraphrase *with this message* given for 15. The paraphrase for 15 shows that this is indeed a performative reading and not an assertive reading since *hiermit* has a different interpretation with assertive readings. In 18, *hiermit* occurs with a verb that does not denote a speech act, and it deictically refers to some extralinguistic action, which led to the successful completion of a task, not to the utterance itself.

(18) A: Unterschreiben Sie bitte!
‘Please sign!’

B: a. Hiermit erledigt!
hereby done(PTCP)
‘Done!’

b. #Mit dieser Äußerung erledigt.
with this message done(PTCP).’
‘With this message I have done it!’

Another characteristic feature of performative utterances is their strict speaker orientation. The subject of a finite performative verb is canonically in the 1st person, as shown in 14. In contrast, the PfP hardly ever appears with an overt agent phrase (a *by*-phrase is accepted by some speakers, but an agentive nominative subject is ruled out). Yet the agent of the PfP is almost always associated with the speaker, just like the agent in the performatively used adjectival passive in 16. The PfP in 19 can only mean that the speaker admits that Peter is late, not that Peter has admitted that he (Peter) was late.

(19) A: Peter kommt zu spät.
‘Peter is late.’

B: Zugegeben!
admitted(PTCP)
‘I admit (that Peter is late).’
(≠ ‘Peter admits that he is late.’)

It even seems to be the case that a participle of a performative verb must always be speaker-oriented, unlike a finite performative verb. For example, a clause with a finite performative verb can be used to assert that someone else is engaged in a performative speech act: In 20, the clause with a finite performative verb is embedded within reported speech, as indicated by the use of the reportive subjunctive *verspreche* ‘promise-PRS.SBJV’. The speaker is reporting that Peter made an explicit promise.

(20) Peter sagte, dass er im Ferienhaus sei.
 Peter said that he in summer.house be.PRS.SBJV

Wir könnten ihn jederzeit in den Ferien besuchen.
 we can-PST.SBJV him any.time in the holidays visit

Das **verspreche** er.
 that promise-PRS.SBJV he

‘Peter said he was in his summer house. We could come and visit him any time during the holidays. He promised that.’

A PfP in the very same context of reported speech is degraded, according to informants, that is, a PfP is not understood to mean that Peter has made a promise:

(21) ?# Peter sagte, dass er im Ferienhaus sei.
 Peter said that he in summer.house be.PRS.SBJV

Wir könnten ihn jederzeit in den Ferien besuchen.
 we can-PST.SBJV him any.time in the holidays visit

Versprochen!
 promised(PTCP)

Intended: ‘Peter said he was in his summer house. We could come and visit him any time during the holidays. That was a promise!’

This could be an indication that PfPs are more strongly associated with performative use (and thus with the speaker) than clauses with finite performative verbs. The discourse in 21 appears incoherent, since the speaker is reporting what someone else has said, and at the same time

s/he is understood to make a promise to the effect that Peter has really said this, that is, the PfP is understood to mean that the speaker is making a promise.¹⁶

If the PfP is indeed more strongly associated with the speaker than finite active performatives, it should not be expected to occur in delegated speech. In delegated speech, the speaker is authorized to speak for someone else, and the subject is in the 3rd person and not in the 1st person (Eckardt 2012:32–34, Tiersma 1986:203). For example, in 22 the speaker makes a promise on behalf of the chancellor.

- (22) Die Bundeskanzlerin verspricht hiermit,
 the chancellor promises hereby
 dass alle entschädigt werden!
 that all compensated become
 ‘The chancellor hereby promises that everyone will be compensated!’

It is difficult to determine whether PfPs are used in delegated speech, since PfPs hardly ever occur with explicit agents. The PfP in 23 seems

¹⁶ There are authentic examples where a PfP appears to be embedded in reported speech while showing figure orientation rather than speaker orientation. In i, the PfP *garantiert* ‘guaranteed’ is part of what the speaker in the commercial has said.

- (i) Das Freifallsystem sei eine patentierte
 the quick-jump.freefall.system be.PRS.SBJV a patent.protected
 Trendsportart, versichert er. Risiken und Nebenwirkungen
 trend.sport assures he risks and side.effects
 seien ausgeschlossen. Garantiert.
 be.PRS.SBJV-PL excluded. guaranteed(PTCP)
 ‘The quick-jump freefall system is a new trend in sport protected by patent,
 he assures. Risks and side effects are excluded. Under guarantee.’
 (A98/JUL.46780 St.)

The example is not conclusive though, since *garantiert* ‘guaranteed’ also occurs as an adverb with the same semantics (Ørsnes 2014). Example i can be an instance of *garantiert* ‘guaranteed’ used as an adverb.

marginal, but it is hard to determine whether this is due to the presence of an explicit *by*-phrase or due to the fact it is an instance of delegated speech.

(23) Alle werden entschädigt.
all become compensated

?#Von der Bundeskanzlerin versprochen!
by the chancellor promised(PTCP)

‘Everyone will be compensated. The chancellor promises that!’

Even though it is possible to imagine a scenario like the one in 24, where a parent is speaking for her child, the lack of an explicit agent distinct from the speaker, as in 22, makes it almost impossible to determine whether the parent intends the utterance to be a promise of her own or to be a promise that her child allows her to make.¹⁷

(24) A: Ihr Sohn wird also nicht mehr zu spät kommen.
‘So your son will not be late any more.’

B: Versprochen!
promised(PTCP)
‘That’s a promise’

The PfP is only used without speaker orientation in questions, as in 25b, a continuation of 25, parallel to finite performatives occurring in questions, as shown in 25a. This appears to be a special case of performatives where the speaker asks the hearer to perform a performative speech act by providing an affirmative answer.

(25) Du holst mich dann vom Bahnhof ab. ...
‘You will pick me up from the station then.’
a. ... Versprichst du mir das?
promise-2SG.PRS you me that
‘Do you promise me?’

¹⁷ I am grateful to a reviewer for suggesting that instances of delegated speech could be possible, even though the evidence is not conclusive.

- b. ... Versprochen?
 promised(PTCP)
 '(Do you) promise?'

Another property that the PfP shares with the finite performative is that it cannot be denied or confirmed by the interlocutor (Eckardt 2012:28–29). It is not possible for the hearer to deny that the speaker just made a promise, and confirming this is redundant since performative uses are always true (Condoravdi & Lauer 2011:151).

- (26) a. A: Ich verspreche, dass ich dich morgen vom Bahnhof abhole.
 'I promise that I will pick you up from the station tomorrow.'

B: # Nein, das stimmt nicht! /#Ja, das stimmt!
 no that is.true not yes that is.true
 'No, that's not true!/Yes, that's right!'

- b. A: Du holst mich also morgen vom Bahnhof ab.
 'You will pick me at the station tomorrow.'

B: Versprochen!
 promised(PTCP)
 'I promise!'

A: # Nein, das stimmt nicht! /#Ja, das stimmt!¹⁸

¹⁸ *Nein!* is possible as a response to a PfP formed from a symmetrical verb requiring a plural subject (or a comitative *mit*-phrase) such as *abmachen* 'to agree', as in i. Here A does not negate B's performative utterance, but rather his/her own presupposed participation, on second thought.

- (i) A: Wir sehen uns also morgen.
 'We'll meet tomorrow then.'

B: Abgemacht!
 agreed(PTCP)
 'That's a deal!'

A: Nein, das stimmt nicht.
 no that is.true not
 'No, that's not true.'

no that is.true not yes that is.true
 ‘No, that’s not true!/Yes, that’s right!’

The data in this section have shown that the PfP clearly exhibits all the crucial features associated with the canonical finite active performative: It has the same illocutionary effect, it licenses *hiermit*, it is strictly speaker-oriented (even more so than the finite performative), and it can be neither denied nor confirmed. An important difference between PfPs and finite performatives is, however, that the PfP is restricted to a subset of those verbs that are observed in finite performatives. I return to this discussion in section 7.

4. PfPs as Particles, Adverbs or Reduced Clausal Structures.

The question is whether the PfPs considered so far are indeed verbal participles and not particles or adverbs, and—if they are verbal elements—whether they could be analyzed as having some kind of a reduced clausal structure, for example, as adjectival passives, as suggested by Fries (1983:236). In the following sections, I provide evidence that PfPs are verbs, and that they are not associated with a reduced clausal structure.

4.1. The PfP is Not a Particle or an Adverb.

The first question is not trivial because it is not unusual for past participles to be reanalyzed as other parts of speech. For instance, *ausgenommen* ‘exempted’ is used as a preposition or a subordinating conjunction, *verdamm* ‘dammed’ as an interjection, and *ausgerechnet* lit. ‘calculated—of all things/people/times’ as an adverb. Similarly, PfPs alternate with (affirmative) response particles such as *Ja!* ‘Yes!’, *Okay!*, *Jawohl!* ‘Yes, Sir’, *Stimmt!* ‘Right!’ or *Genau!* ‘Exactly!’, as shown in 27.¹⁹

- (27) A: Wir sehen uns dann morgen!
 ‘We’ll meet tomorrow then!’
 B: Abgemacht! /Okay! /Jawohl! /Genau!

¹⁹ For ease of exposition I treat *Stimmt!* ‘That’s right!’ as a response particle. It is presumably an ellipsis: *Das stimmt!* ‘That is true!’, since it can also be negated, as in *Stimmt nicht!* ‘That’s not true!’. I am grateful to a reviewer for pointing this out.

agreed(PTCP) okay yes.sir exactly
 ‘That’s a deal!/Okay!/Yes, Sir!/Exactly!’

However, there is evidence to suggest that PFPs are true verbal participles and not response particles or adverbs. PFPs do exhibit unambiguous verbal properties. First, they license *hiermit*, as discussed above, manner adverbials, as in 28b,c, and even internal (recipient) arguments, as in 28d,e, whereas response particles and adverbs do not.

- (28) a. Hiermit vereinbart! /*Hiermit Ja!
 hereby agreed(PTCP) hereby yes
 ‘I hereby agree!’
- b. ungern zugegeben²⁰ /*Ungern ja!
 reluctantly admitted(PTCP) reluctantly yes
 ‘I admit that reluctantly.’
- c. Hoch und heilig versprochen! /*Hoch und heilig Ja
 high and holy promised(PTCP) high and holy yes
 ‘I promise, high and holy!’ (BRZ06/MAI.02934)
- d. Nicht nur allen Subaru-Freunden hiermit versprochen!²¹
 not only all Subaru-friends hereby promised(PTCP)
 ‘(I) hereby promise this not only to all Subaru friends!’
- e. Den Vorrednern hiermit angeschlossen:
 the previous.speakers hereby subscribed.to(PTCP)
 Wahnsinns Arbeit!²²
 incredible work
 ‘(I) hereby agree with the previous speakers: Incredible work!’

²⁰ <http://derkreuzberger.de/haftpflichtversicherung-fuer-politiker-denn-auch-der-hund-hat-eine/?print=print>, accessed on March 8, 2020.

²¹ <https://www.subaru-community.com/subaru-foren/scooby-multimedia/1573-sti-gegen-porsche-in-ntv/index2.html>, accessed on December 8, 2014.

²² <http://www.opel66-72.de/viewtopic.php?t=5891&start=270>, accessed on September 23, 2017.

Second, PfPs do not modify other verbs. Krifka (2007:16) provides an example of a past participle used as a speech-act-related expression, namely, a speech act adverbial that modifies a (possibly unexpressed) speech act verb:

(29) *Zusammengefasst*, die Performative Hypothese
summarized(PTCP) the performative hypothesis

kann nicht stimmen.

can not be.true

‘In short, the performative hypothesis cannot be true.’

In 29, *zusammengefasst* lit. ‘summarized’ can be interpreted as modifying an unexpressed performative verb, such as *ausgedrückt* ‘expressed’ or *gesagt* ‘said’.²³ In contrast, PfPs do not lend themselves to an analysis as speech act adverbials. They do not modify speech acts, and they cannot occur with speech-act-denoting verbs.

Moreover, PfPs can occur alone as responses, while this is not possible for a speech act adverbial such as *zusammengefasst*, as shown in 30: A speech act adverbial must adjoin to a clause.

(30) A: Die Performative Hypothese kann nicht stimmen.

‘The performative hypothesis cannot be true.’

²³ As a reviewer observes, *zusammenfassen* ‘to summarize’ can itself be used as a speech-act-denoting verb, as in i. An example such as 29 could be interpreted as a PfP even though it cannot occur alone, as shown in 30. This verb would possibly pattern with a verb such as *fragen* ‘to ask’, which can be used as a PfP when accompanied by an adverbial (see section 7.1).

(i) KLIPP UND KLAR ZUSAMMENGEFASST: Diese Tracklist ist
brief and clear summarize-PCTP this tracklist is

absichtlich mit falschen Interpreten bestückt worden, ...

deliberately with wrong artists equipped been

‘To summarize, short and clear, this tracklist has deliberately been populated with wrong artists...’

(<http://www.dancecharts.at/forum/archive/index.php/t-17200.html>,
accessed on April 13, 2019)

- B: #Zusammengefasst.
 summarized(PTCP)
 Intended: ‘In short.’

Thus, there is clear evidence that the PfP is indeed a verbal participle and not a particle or an adverb.

4.2. *The PfP Does Not Have a Reduced Clausal Structure.*

Performative utterances are typically finite clauses in the present tense (Dahl 2008, Eckardt 2012:24), and so one could reasonably suppose that the PfP is derived from a finite clause. In fact, Rooryck & Potsma (2007:273–274) suggest for performative participles in Dutch that they are underlyingly (dynamic) passives, and Fries (1983:236) suggests for the PfP *Abgemacht!* ‘Agreed!’ in German that it is underlyingly an adjectival passive. An underlying clausal structure for the PfP would explain the difference in interpretation between performative and directive participles. The performative participle would denote a proposition, while the directive participle denotes a property since it does not have a clausal source (Donhauser 1984). However, as I demonstrate below, the PfP differs in a number of ways from various finite structures.

Putative clausal sources for the PfP should contain a finite verb in the present tense and a past participle. Given this, some potential finite sources of the PfP *Versprochen!* ‘I promise!’, with a propositional anaphor or a complement clause, are exemplified in 31. They include the active perfect clause 31a, the *werden*-passive clause 31b, and the adjectival passive clause in the indicative 31c and in the present subjunctive 31d. Note that the active perfect form *habe versprochen* ‘have promised’ is included because it satisfies the structural requirement of containing a present tense verb and a past participle, and is possible as a performative utterance. Note also that *hiermit* appears to be obligatory in 31a,b.

- (31) a. Das habe ich hiermit versprochen/
 that have I hereby promised

Ich habe hiermit versprochen, dass...
 I have hereby promised that

‘That I have hereby promised/I have hereby promised that...’

b. Das wird hiermit versprochen/
this is hereby promised

Es wird hiermit versprochen, dass...
it is hereby promised that

‘That is hereby promised/It is hereby promised that...’

c. Das ist (hiermit) versprochen/
that is hereby promised

Es ist (hiermit) versprochen, dass...
it is hereby promised that

‘That is (hereby) promised/It is (hereby) promised that...’

d. Das sei (hiermit) versprochen²⁴ /
this be.PRS.SBJV hereby promised

Es sei (hiermit) versprochen, dass...
it be.PRS.SBJV hereby promised that

‘That is hereby promised/It is hereby promised that...’

However, none of the structures in 31 qualify as a clausal source of the PfP. Examples 31a,b must be excluded from the list despite meeting the structural requirements. As far as the active perfect form is concerned, Rapp & Wöllstein (2009:167), in their discussion of the participle *Verstanden!* ‘Understood!’, do indeed suggest that when it occurs alone, it is an ellipsis of an active perfect. They observe that an auxiliary can be inserted:

²⁴ Example 31c has a finite indicative verb, while 31d has a finite verb in the present subjunctive. This use of the present subjunctive in independent V2-clauses is described as an expression of wishes, requests or proposals in Duden 2006: §779 or of intentions or plans in Jørgensen 1976:vol. III, p. 68. The use of the present subjunctive in a “Heischesatz” can be characterized as ‘setting the stage’. It is used to frame an ensuing discussion or an exercise as in mathematical texts: *Gegeben sei eine Menge A von ...* ‘let there be given a set A of ...’ or comments such as *Dies sei vorausgeschickt* ‘Let this be said in advance’. The example in 31d could be paraphrased as *Let this be promised*.

- (32) (habe) verstanden
 have understood
 ‘(I have) understood’

The verb *verstehen* ‘to understand’ is not, however, a canonical performative verb, as briefly discussed in section 2, and no insertion of the auxiliary *haben* ‘to have’ is possible with canonical performative verbs such as *versprechen* ‘to promise’ or *schwören* ‘to swear’, as shown in 33.

- (33) A: Du sagst also nichts zu Papa.
 ‘So you are not going to tell dad.’
- B: (#habe) versprochen! / (#habe) geschworen!
 have promised have sworn
 ‘I promise!/I swear!’

There are also other reasons why the active perfect in 31a or the present tense *werden*-passive in 31b can hardly count as clausal sources of the PfP. Both the active perfect and the *werden*-passive appear to require the presence of *hiermit* in order to be interpreted as performatives. Without *hiermit* the clauses are interpreted as assertions, that is, as a reminder that something has already been promised or that something will be promised.²⁵ In 34, B’s answer in the active perfect only seems possible on an assertive reading, and the *werden*-passive is marginal as a performative.

- (34) A: Du holst mich dann ab.
 ‘You will pick me up then.’
- B: Das habe ich versprochen. /?Das wird versprochen.
 that have I promised this is promised
 ‘I have promised that.’

²⁵ A reviewer observes that 31b can be construed as a performative without *hiermit* ‘hereby’ if the speaker is negotiating for a larger group, for example, a company.

Thus, *hiermit* appears to be necessary to enforce an interpretation of 31a,b as performatives. In contrast, no *hiermit* is required to enforce the performativity of the PfP, as already mentioned. This difference makes 31a,b unlikely clausal sources of the PfP.

Another important difference between active perfect clauses and *werden*-passives on the one hand and PfPs on the other is the presence versus absence of genuine reflexives. When participles of reflexive verbs, such as *sich schämen* ‘to be ashamed’ or *sich einigen* ‘to agree’, occur in structures that lend themselves to an analysis as an ellipsis—for example, in term answers (Fries 1983:53)—they obligatorily retain their genuine reflexives, as shown in 35.

(35) a. A: Wie hast du auf die Enthüllungen reagiert?
‘How did you react to the revelations?’

B: *(mich) geschämt!
REFL.1SG embarrassed(PTCP)
‘I was embarrassed!’

b. A: Wie habt Ihr den Streit beigelegt?
‘How did you resolve the dispute?’

B: *(uns) geeinigt!
REFL.1PL agreed(PTCP)
‘We settled on an agreement!’

In contrast, reflexive objects of verbs such as *sich anschließen* ‘to subscribe to’ and *sich einigen* ‘to agree’ do not occur in PfPs (or in directive participles, for that matter, as noted in Fries 1983:53, Rapp & Wöllstein 2009:168, and Heinold 2013:321). This argument is weakened by the fact that *sich anschließen* ‘to subscribe to’ and *sich einigen* ‘to agree’ are judged to be marginal as PfPs by some speakers. Still, when these verbs are used as PfPs, they behave like directive participles formed from verbs with reflexive objects: The reflexive is obligatorily omitted, as shown below.²⁶ Example 36 is from a conversation between

²⁶ A reviewer notes that these participles could be analyzed as term answers, echoing an implicit question: *Haben wir uns geeinigt?* ‘Can we agree on this?’. This is definitely an idea worth pursuing, but I am reluctant to appeal to echoic uses as long as the participles do not echo any overt linguistic material, as in 36.

two participants on a Wikipedia discussion page. Example 37 is from an exchange on an internet forum.²⁷

(36) Participant 1 (--CorradoX 18:36, 15. Dez. 2008 (CET)):

Solange niemand solches Material parat hat, könnte man tatsächlich “Mut zur Lücke” zeigen und das Beywl u.a.-Beispiel löschen.

‘As long as no one can provide such material, you could indeed show the courage to leave gaps and delete the Beywl and others example.’

Participant 2 (Lambada 19:35, 15. Dez. 2008 (CET)):

Geeinigt ;-) (...)

agreed(PTCP)

‘I agree’

(WDD11/G41.03491)²⁸

(37) Participant 1:

Ich denke die Herren Administratoren werden sich dem anschließen (...)

‘I guess, the honorable administrators will agree to this.’

Participant 2:

Oh Tanja (...) ja hiermit angeschlossen:

oh Tanja yes hereby subscribed.to(PTCP)

‘O, Tanja, yes, I hereby agree.’

Note that in both 36 and 37, the use of reflexives, as in **mich/uns/sich geeinigt* and **mich/sich hiermit angeschlossen*, respectively, would make the second participant’s response ungrammatical. If PFPs have an

²⁷ <http://www.wohnzimmerriff.de/wbb2/index.php/Thread/495-Anfänger-Fragen/?pageNo=3>, accessed on July 28, 2017.

²⁸ The format of example 36 has been modified for ease of exposition.

elliptical structure, the impossibility of genuine reflexive objects in them is puzzling.

Having ruled out clauses in the active perfect tense and the *werden*-passives in the present tense as possible clausal sources, let me now consider the adjectival passive in the indicative and present subjunctive. The adjectival passives as performatives, as in 31c,d (Brandt et al. 1990:4, Searle 1989:537, Liedtke 1998:177, Maienborn 2007:89, Schlücker 2009:109), capture the intuition that the PfP is predicated of the (contextually resolved) internal argument *p*: *With this utterance, the state of p being Ved holds*. Since the propositional content is resolved contextually, the putative clausal source can contain a propositional anaphor *das* ‘that’ as the passive subject, as in 38a, or the pronominal *es* ‘it’ with an extraposed complement clause, as in 38b.

(38) a. **Das** ist /sei versprochen!
 that is /be.PRS.SBJV promised
 ‘That is a promise!/Let this be a promise!’

b. Also ist /sei **es** versprochen,
 so is /be.PRS.SBJV it promised
 dass ich deinem Vater nichts erzähle!
 that I your dad nothing tell
 ‘So it is a promise/Let this be promised that I won’t tell your dad!’

From a synchronic point of view at least, there is no direct syntactic relationship between the adjectival passive and the PfP. The ability to form an adjectival passive is not a prerequisite for being able to form a PfP, as verbs that do not form adjectival passives can occur as PfPs. Adjectival passives are formed from verbs with internal arguments (theme or experiencer) (Gehrke 2015:908–909), but not from verbs with genuine reflexive objects. The verbs *sich einigen* ‘to agree’ and *sich anschließen* ‘to subscribe to’ do not form adjectival passives, as shown in 39, but they do occur as PfPs (although, as mentioned above, examples such as 36 and 37 are judged to be marginal by some speakers).

(39) a. *Darüber ist sich geeinigt
 thereover is REFL.3SG agreed(PTCP)

(Intended: 'This has been agreed upon.')

- b. *Dem ist sich angeschlossen
 that is REFL.3SG subscribed.to(PTCP)
 (Intended: 'This has been accepted.')

Interestingly, the adjectival passives of reflexive verbs are better in *Heische*-clauses, that is, clauses with the verb in the present subjunctive:

- (40) a. ?Darüber sei sich geeinigt.
 thereover be.PRS.SBJV REFL.3SG agreed(PTCP)
 'Let this be agreed upon/Let us agree upon that.'
- b. ?Dem sei sich angeschlossen.
 that be.PRS.SBJ REFL.3SG subscribed.to(PTCP)
 'Let this be accepted.'

Examples such as 40 are judged to be better than adjectival passives in the indicative in 39, but they are also judged to be somewhat stilted, while the PfPs in 36 and 37 are very colloquial. Moreover, it would be hard to explain why a PfP can only be based on an adjectival passive in the subjunctive, while adjectival passives in the indicative also allow performative readings.

There are also verbs, such as *erinnern* 'remind' in 41, that can form adjectival passives with a performative reading, as in 41a, but fail to occur as PfPs, as shown in 41b. This is unexpected on an analysis of the PfP as an ellipsis, since ellipsis would have to be lexically restricted in these cases.²⁹

²⁹ The adjectival passive and the PfP also seem to have different distributions in monological texts. The adjectival passive can occur interpolated, while the PfP is marginal in this position.

- (i) a. Fischliebhaber, das ist versprochen, werden in Apulien glücklich.
 fish lovers that is promised become in Apulia happy
 'It is promised that fish lovers will be happy in Apulia.'
 (NUN08/JUN.03328)
- b. ??#Fischliebhaber, versprochen, werden in Apulien glücklich.
 fish lovers promised(PTCP) become in Apulia happy

(41) a. Der Teufel steckt halt im kleinsten Detail,
 the devil lies PART in.the smallest detail

daran sei erinnert.
 thereof be.PRS.SBJV reminded

‘I remind you, the devil lies in the smallest detail.’

(P02/JAN.03397)

b. #Der Teufel steckt halt im kleinsten Detail,
 the devil lies PART in.the smallest detail

erinnert.
 reminded(PTCP)

‘I remind you, the devil lies in the smallest detail.’

Another important difference between the adjectival passive and the PfP is that they do not have the same range of interpretations. The full copula clause in 42 allows for both an assertive and a performative reading. In 42a, the adjectival passive serves as an answer to A’s polar question by asserting that the chancellor’s visit to the opening has been settled. Note that *hiermit* is excluded here. In 42b, the adjectival passive is used performatively and it serves as an acceptance of an agreement reached by A and B (provided that B is in a position to make arrangements for the chancellor). Here *hiermit* is possible.

‘Fish lovers, I promise, will be happy in Apulia.’

This argument is contested by examples like the following, where the PfP does occur interpolated:

(ii) Und das, versprochen, ohne den Punkt Asyl/Migration
 and that promised(PTCP) without the topic Asyl/migration

auch nur anzutasten.
 only even mention

‘And this, I promise, without even mentioning the topic of
 asylum/migration.’

(<http://kskjena.blogspot.de/2016/03/10/keine-wahlempfehlung/>,
 accessed on March 11, 2020)

- (42) a. A: Kommt die Kanzlerin denn überhaupt heute?
 ‘Will the chancellor be here today at all?’
 B: Das ist (#hiermit) abgemacht.
 that is hereby agreed
 ‘So it has been agreed.’
- b. A: Die Kanzlerin kommt dann heute.
 ‘So the chancellor will be here today.’
 B: Das ist (hiermit) abgemacht!
 that is hereby agreed
 ‘That is a deal!’

In contrast, the PfP does not allow for an assertive reading in the context of a polar question, as in 43a. It can only receive a performative reading, as in 43b. If the PfP were an ellipsis of the adjectival passive, the two ought to exhibit the same range of readings.

- (43) a. A: Kommt die Kanzlerin denn überhaupt heute?
 ‘Will the chancellor be here today at all?’
 B: #Abgemacht.
 agreed(PTCP)
 Intended: ‘So it has been agreed.’
- b. A: Die Kanzlerin kommt dann heute.
 ‘So the chancellor will be here today.’
 B: Abgemacht!
 agreed(PTCP)
 ‘That is a deal!’

Another semantic difference between the adjectival passive and the PfP follows from this distribution of assertive and performative readings. The adjectival passive is ambiguous between having the speaker as the agent on a performative reading or a third party on an assertive reading, as shown in B1’s response in 44, where the third party can be the chancellor herself or her office. The PfP in B2’s response, in turn, is unambiguous. Only the speaker can be the agent, since the sentence only has a performative reading.

- (44) A: Die Kanzlerin kommt dann heute.
 ‘So the chancellor will be here today.’
- B1: Das ist versprochen.
 that is promised
 ‘That’s the promise.’ (I promise that/She has promised that.)
- B2: Versprochen!
 promised(PTCP)
 ‘That’s the promise!’ (I promise that./#She has promised that.)

This ambiguity of 44B1 is also found when an adjectival passive is used in reported speech, as mentioned in section 3. The adjectival passive in 45a is ambiguous: It can either mean that someone else has promised Peter a compensation or that Peter has promised the hearer that he, Peter, would get a compensation. The PfP in 45b cannot mean that some third party has promised Peter a compensation. The speaker may utter this sentence to assure the hearer that Peter said so; it could also mean, albeit only marginally, that Peter promised the hearer that he would get a compensation.³⁰ As an elliptical variant of an adjectival passive with a subjunctive, one should expect the response in 45b to be ambiguous as well, but it is not.³¹

³⁰ As mentioned in section 3, some informants find the use of the PfP in reported speech deviant, exactly because it is understood as a performative and even with speaker-orientation rather than figure-orientation.

³¹ For some informants there is a pragmatic difference between the adjectival passive and the PfP as well. While the adjectival passive can be used to issue a threat, as in ia, some informants find the PfP odd in such contexts, as in ib.

- (i) a. Ich bringe dich um. Das sei hiermit versprochen!
 I kill you PART that is.PRS.SBJV hereby promised(PTCP)
 ‘I am gonna kill you, I promise!’
- b. ?#Ich bringe dich um. Versprochen!
 I kill you PART promised(PTCP)
 ‘I am gonna kill you. I promise!’

For some informants, *versprochen* ‘promised’ in ib seems to suggest that the speaker is doing the hearer a favor. This intuition is not shared by all informants

(45) a. Peter sagte, er werde eine Entschädigung bekommen.
 Peter said he would a compensation get
 Das sei versprochen.
 that be.PRS.SBJV promised.
 ‘Peter said he would get a compensation. That was a promise.’
 (Someone had promised Peter/Peter promised)

b. Peter sagte, er werde eine Entschädigung bekommen.
 Peter said he would a compensation get
 Versprochen.
 promised(PTCP)
 ‘Peter said he would get a compensation. I promise/He
 promised.’
 (≠‘Someone had promised Peter.’)

Thus, the PfP and the adjectival passive have distinct syntactic and semantic properties which may not be explained if the former is an ellipsis of the latter.³²

Note that the PfP is also different from evaluative adjective phrases occurring in root positions, discussed by Günthner (2009). Consider example 46.

(46) A: Ich hole das Auto aus der Werkstatt.
 ‘I will get the car from the service station.’
 B: Super!
 ‘Great!’

though, and a reviewer points out that judgments may be influenced by prosody, facial expressions, etc.

³² Moreover, the PfP appears to be much more frequent than the adjectival passive. The DeReKo corpus of the Institute für deutsche Sprache in Mannheim contains 35 occurrences of *sei+versprochen* ‘be-PRS.SBJV+promised(PTCP)’ used performatively, but there are more than 1,000 instances of the PfP *Versprochen!* ‘I promise!’. This is unexpected if the PfP is a derived structure.

The PfP appears to share many properties with this construction: The evaluative adjective can occur alone leaving the clausal complement (what is considered great in 46) to be resolved contextually; the adjective shows speaker orientation, that is, the evaluator is understood to be the speaker (even though the adjective has no agent argument). However, the evaluative adjective in 46 is interpreted assertively, while the PfP does not allow for an assertive reading. Also, the evaluative construction allows for evaluative expression of various categories (Günthner 2009:178–179), as in 47a.³³ In contrast, the PfP does not seem to alternate with performative expressions of other categories, as shown in 47b.

(47) a. A: Ich habe es geschafft!

‘I made it!’

B: Hammer!

hammer(NOUN)

‘Great!’

b. A: Du sagst also nichts zu Papi.

‘You are not going to tell dad.’

B: ??#Ein Versprechen!

a promise

Intended: ‘That’s a promise!’

Günthner (2009) argues that the *adj+dass*-clause construction is not a reduced clausal structure. Neither is the PfP, but they are different constructions.

5. The Syntax of the PfP.

5.1. The Argument Structure of PfP Verbs.

Two questions present themselves concerning the syntax of the PfP: How are the arguments of the input verb expressed and what is the constituent structure of the PfP? The verbs occurring as PfPs do not form a homogeneous group from a syntactic point of view. The only common property appears to be that they are at least two-place predicates. As a

³³ In Müller 2016:88, the *adj+dass*-clause is analyzed as a clause lacking a copula where the adjective is in the prefield (*Vorfeld*).

minimum, the verbs select an agent (the speaker) and allow a propositional argument, namely, what is communicated in the denoted speech act: what is promised, admitted or agreed upon.³⁴ The attested verbs occurring in PfPs all allow for a complement clause with the complementizer *dass* ‘that’. Verbs selecting a complement clause with the complementizer *ob* ‘if/whether’ appear to be excluded from the PfP. The restriction to the complementizer *dass* follows from the fact that the speaker commits to the truth of a proposition, while the complementizer *ob* is used for embedded clauses with an unresolved truth value (Zifonun et al. 1997:2258). This contrast is illustrated in 48a,b versus 48c,d.

- (48) a. Versprochen!
 promised(PTCP)
 ‘I promise!’
- b. Ich verspreche, dass (/ *ob) ich dich abhole.
 I promise that if I you pick-up
 ‘I promise that I will pick you up.’
- c. #Erkundigt!
 inquired(PTCP)
 Intended: ‘I inquire!’
- d. Ich erkundige mich, (*dass)/ob das stimmt.
 I inquire REFL that if that is.true
 ‘I am inquiring if that is true.’

³⁴ Verbs selecting nonpropositional objects do not seem to allow the PfP even though they are semantically eligible inasmuch as they express or establish consent, for instance, by complying with a request from the hearer. The verb *jmdm. etw. zuerkennen* ‘to grant sb. sth.’ does not allow a propositional object and does not occur as a PfP:

- (i) A: Ich bekomme also den Professorentitel.
 ‘So I will get the professor title.’
- B: Versprochen /#Zuerkannt
 promised(PTCP) granted(PTCP)
 ‘I promise!’/Intended: ‘I grant you the professorship title!’

Otherwise, a variety of complementation patterns is observed for the verbs occurring as PFPs:

- (i) NP_{ACC}+NP_{DAT}: *jmdm. etw. bestätigen* ‘to confirm sth. for sb.’, *gestehen* ‘to confess’, *schenken* ‘to grant’, *versichern* ‘to assure’, *versprechen* ‘to promise’, *zugeben* ‘to admit’
- (ii) NP_{DAT}/NP_{DAT}+PP: *etw.D zustimmen* ‘to agree to sth.’, *jmdm. (darin) zustimmen, dass ...* ‘to agree with sbd. in sth.’
- (iii) NP_{ACC}: *akzeptieren* ‘to accept’, *verstehen* ‘to understand’, *kapieren* ‘to understand’
- (iv) NP_{ACC}+(comitative) PP: *etw. (mit jmdm.) abmachen* ‘to agree’, *etw. (mit jmdm.) vereinbaren* ‘to agree on sth.’
- (v) NP_{REFL}+NP_{DAT}/NP_{REFL}+NP_{DAT}+*dass*-clause: *sich etw.D anschließen* ‘to subscribe to sth.’, *sich jmdm. anschließen, dass ...* ‘to accord with sb. that ...’
- (vii) NP_{REFL}+PP+(comitative PP): *sich (mit jmdm.) über etw. einigen* ‘to agree on sth.’

It is striking that some of these verbs—for example, *abmachen* ‘to agree’ and *sich einigen* ‘to agree’—alternate between taking a plural subject and occurring with a comitative *mit* ‘with’-phrase. This accords well with the generalization that the PFP is used to express consent.

5.2. Expression of the Agent.

Past participles occur in both active and passive constructions. Müller (2002:146–148), building on a proposal by Haider (1986), suggests that past participles block the designated argument of the verb (the argument with subject properties). An auxiliary such as *haben* ‘to have’ deblocks the designated argument to form a composite active tense, as in 49a, while an auxiliary such as *werden* lit. ‘to become’ realizes the second most prominent argument (in the accusative case in 49a) as the subject of a passive, as in 49b. The blocked external argument can be realized as an oblique *by*-phrase.

- (49) a. Peter hat den Roman gelesen.
 Peter has the-ACC novel read
 'Peter has read the novel.'
- b. Der Roman wurde von Peter gelesen.
 the-NOM novel was by Peter read
 'The novel was read by Peter.'

Unlike directive participles, which allow (quantificational) subjects (Fries 1983:52, Rapp & Wöllstein 2009:168, Gärtner 2013:204, Heinold 2013:316; see 8a above), PfPs do not allow the agent to be realized as a nominative subject, as shown in 50a. Even more puzzling is that the PfP does not seem to occur with an oblique *by*-phrase either, as illustrated in 50b. An oblique *by*-phrase appears to be better than a nominative subject, but no authentic examples have been found.

- (50) a. *Wir hiermit vereinbart!
 we hereby agreed(PTCP)
 Intended: 'We hereby agree!'
- b. ?Von uns hiermit vereinbart!
 by us hereby agreed(PTCP)
 Intended: 'We hereby agree!'

As discussed in section 3, speaker restriction is a defining characteristic of performatives. In an active performative, the subject is a 1st person pronoun (or a DP denoting the speaker, such as *der Unterzeichnete* 'the undersigned').³⁵ In a passive performative, the (unexpressed) agent is understood to be the speaker, as in 51 (from Brandt et al. 1990:4).

- (51) Passagiere werden gebeten, unter Deck nicht zu rauchen.
 passengers become requested below deck not to smoke
 'Passengers are requested not to smoke below deck.'

³⁵ I am grateful to a reviewer for pointing out the possibility of having speaker-denoting DP subjects in the 3rd person in performatives.

Given that performatives are speaker-oriented, any overt realization of the agent appears to be redundant unless it is independently required by the syntax, for example, when an active verb requires a subject. Still, avoidance of redundancy cannot be the explanation for why agent phrases are hardly ever seen in the PfP. Syntactically, overt agents are possible in performative adjectival passives, as in 52, even though they are syntactically optional. The *by*-phrase in 52 is redundant and is not required by the syntax.

- (52) Und das ist hiermit von mir bestätigt!³⁶
 and that is hereby by me confirmed
 ‘And that is hereby confirmed by me!’

Moreover, the agent would not be redundant in delegated speech, where the speaker has been authorized to perform the speech act on behalf of someone else. Yet agent phrases, as in the constructed example 53, are hardly ever found in the PfP.

- (53) A: Wir verlangen, dass die Opfer der Krawalle eine Entschädigung bekommen.
 ‘We demand that the victims of the riots receive a compensation.’
 B: ?Von der Kanzlerin versprochen!
 by the chancellor promised(PTCP)
 ‘This is promised by the chancellor.’

Still, given the fact that an oblique *by*-phrase is much better with the PfP than DP subjects and even appears to be accepted by some speakers, I assume that the PfP has a passive argument structure and that the agent is linked to an oblique *by*-phrase.³⁷ Since the oblique *by*-phrase (the agent) in the canonical use of the PfP is fully interpretable as the speaker, I suggest that this *by*-phrase is restricted to be a null pronominal in the 1st person (ignoring delegated speech, as in 53B). The presence of a null

³⁶ <https://www.harmony-remote-forum.de/viewtopic.php?t=8743&start=30>, accessed on July 27, 2017.

³⁷ I am grateful to a reviewer for pointing this out to me. This reviewer does accept oblique *by*-phrases with PfPs.

pronominal excludes overt realization of the argument. For those speakers who do accept an overt *by*-phrase, the restriction that it be a null pronominal is optional. I account for the optionality of this restriction in the analysis below.

5.3. *Expression of Internal Arguments.*

The PfP licenses only one kind of internal argument, namely, the recipient argument. Though rarely seen, internal recipient arguments are typically realized as dative objects, as was already shown in section 4.1. The relevant examples are repeated in 54.

- (54) a. Nicht nur allen Subaru-Freunden hiermit versprochen!³⁸
 not only all-DAT Subaru-friends hereby promised(PTCP)
 ‘I hereby promise not only to all Subaru-friends!’
- b. Den Vorrednern hiermit angeschlossen:
 the-DAT previous.speakers hereby subscribed.to(PTCP)
 Wahnsinns Arbeit³⁹
 incredible work
 ‘I hereby agree with the previous speakers: Incredible work’
- c. Allen hiermit zugestimmt.⁴⁰
 all-DAT hereby agreed(PTCP)
 ‘I hereby agree with everyone else.’

Reflexive objects are barred from occurring (see examples 36 and 37), as also observed for directive infinitives and participles in Fries 1983:53–54, Gärtner 2013:206, and Heinold 2013:321.

³⁸ <https://www.subaru-community.com/subaru-foren/scooby-multimedia/1573-sti-gegen-porsche-in-ntv/index2.html>, accessed on December 8, 2014.

³⁹ <http://www.opel66-72.de/viewtopic.php?t=5891&start=270>, accessed on September 18, 2016.

⁴⁰ <http://meedia.de/2016/12/09/sat-1-bringt-genial-daneben-mit-hugo-egon-balder-im-fruehjahr-2017-zurueck/>, accessed on September 23, 2017.

What is more puzzling is why the PfP does not license internal propositional arguments as overt anaphors, as in 55a,b, or as pronominal adverbs, as in 55c.

- (55) a. ??Das versprochen!
 that promised(PTCP)
 Intended: 'I promise that!'
- b. ??Dem zugestimmt!
 that agreed(PTCP)
 Intended: 'I agree to that!'
- c. ??Darüber geeinigt!
 thereupon agreed(PTCP)
 Intended: 'We agree upon that!'

From a syntactic point of view, it is not clear why the PfPs in 55 are ruled out. In general, participles do license internal arguments either as complements inside the VP or as accusatives in a small clause, the so-called absolute accusative with the accusative corresponding to a passive or unaccusative subject (Fabricius-Hansen et al. 2012:80ff., Zifonun et al. 1997:2225). In the discussion of the expression of the agent in section 5.2 it was suggested that the PfP has a passive argument structure. Thus, the structure in 56 ought to be available for the PfP with an internal argument linked to the subject (a passive subject) but it is not, as 55a shows.⁴¹

(56) [_{SC} DP [_{VP} [_{V_{PST}PTCP}]]]

⁴¹ Dal (1966:120) and Zifonun et al. (1997:2227) give examples of absolute accusatives with propositional anaphors. The example in i from Zifonun et al. 1997 receives a temporal interpretation. Note that *dies* 'this' is an unaccusative subject and not a passive subject.

- (i) Dies geschehen, wandte er sich neuen Aufgaben zu.
 this happened(PTCP) turned he REFL new duties to
 'After this had happened, he turned to other duties.'

Even if the small clause structure in 56 were available for PfPs with passive subjects (that is, for PfPs derived from verbs that take objects with accusative case), it would not be available for the PfPs derived from verbs with dative-marked objects and prepositional objects, as in 55b and 55c, respectively, since dative and prepositional objects cannot be construed as passive subjects. However, dative and prepositional objects should be able to occur VP-internally, as in the structure in 57, but they cannot, as 55b,c show.

(57) [_{VP} DP/PP/ADVP V_{PST}PTCP]

It should be noted that past participles with internal arguments expressed as nominative subjects are observed in root position in small clause structures, like the ones in 58 (see also Fries 1983:52). These clauses appear to be instances of the so-called absolute nominative construction as the adjective ending in 58c shows (case cannot be determined for 58a and 58b). This construction is only possible with verbs selecting accusative complements.

(58) a. Berichte hiermit versprochen!⁴²
 reports hereby promised(PTCP)
 'Reports will be delivered, that is a promise!'

b. Erlaubnis hiermit verweigert!⁴³
 permission hereby denied(PTCP)
 'Permission is hereby denied!'

c. Neu-er Tarifvertrag vereinbart.

[new-NOM labor.agreement] agreed(PTCP)

'A new labor agreement has been adopted.'

(Prekär: Gewerkschaft Erziehung und Wissenschaft 2013:11)

⁴² <https://www.betabikes.de/index.php/kunena/al/1692-rr-350-efi-erste-er-fahrungen>, accessed on June 20, 2017.

⁴³ <http://noresstoday75.bboard.de/board/ftopic-86100696nx50426-12-225.html>, accessed on July 27, 2017.

I do not consider these examples instances of the PfP though. Fries (1983:236) and Fabricius-Hansen et al. (2012:84) suggest that absolute nominatives are clausal; more specifically, the nominative is the subject of an elliptical finite verb. More importantly, the absolute nominatives shown in 58 are special in that they lack a determiner (see Fries 1983:53, who speaks of determiner ellipsis in conjunction with directive participles). As illustrated in 59, if the nominative subject is a definite DP, the acceptability of such examples decreases.

- (59) a. ??Die Berichte hiermit versprochen.
 The reports hereby promised(PTCP)
 ‘The reports are hereby promised.’
- b. ??Die Erlaubnis hiermit verweigert.
 the permission hereby denied(PTCP)
 ‘The permission is hereby denied.’
- c. ??Der neue Tarifvertrag vereinbart.
 the new labor.agreement agreed(PTCP)
 ‘A new labor agreement has been adopted.’

The impossibility of a definite DP is incompatible with the very nature of the PfP: In the PfP, what is promised or agreed on is contextually resolved, so it must be represented by a propositional anaphor such as *das* ‘that’ or *dies* ‘this’ and not a determinerless NP. Also, the analysis of the PfP as an ellipsis of the absolute nominative would not explain why PfPs can be derived from verbs with dative and prepositional objects. As mentioned, only verbs with accusative objects occur in constructions such as 58.

Since the propositional argument in the PfP is fully interpretable but cannot be overtly realized, I suggest that it is a (propositional) null pronominal, which is left to anaphoric resolution. This view of the propositional argument still leaves a problem, though. Occasionally the PfP allows for an extraposed complement clause, as in 60.

- (60) Geschenkt, dass Clinton sich nicht zu schade ist zu berichten,
 granted(PTCP) that Clinton REFL not too aloof is to describe

wie sie nach der verlorenen Präsidentschaftswahl
 how she after the lost presidential elections
 in Yoga-Pants auf ihrem Sofa ins Chardonnay-Glas weint
 in yoga pants on her couch into the Chardonnay-glass cries
 und TV-Serien guckt, als hätte sie Liebeskummer.⁴⁴
 and TV series watches as if had she broken heart

‘Granted, Clinton is not too aloof to describe how she, after having lost the election, sits on her couch in her yoga pants crying into her Chardonnay and watching soaps as if she were suffering from a broken heart.’

One way of explaining the data in 60 is to propose that the PfP does not allow overt definite complements. The clause in 60 is licensed because it is not marked for definiteness. However, this would require one to explain why complements marked for definiteness are barred from occurring. Verbs selecting complement clauses usually also allow propositional anaphors such as *das* ‘that’ or *dies* ‘this’ to replace the clause.

As an alternative analysis, I suggest that the internal argument of the PfP in 60 is also a null pronominal and that the extraposed *dass*-clause restricts the interpretation of the null pronominal as in the analysis of correlative *es* in German in Berman et al. 1998. An argument in favor of this analysis of 60 is that a null pronominal (just like an overt pronominal) is anaphorically dependent on an antecedent. The extraposed *dass*-clause restricts the interpretation of the null pronominal to an already given discourse entity; in other words, the *dass*-clause provides background, or discourse-old information, as argued for *dass*-clauses with an overt pronominal *es* ‘it’ in Berman et al. 1998:13. Since the PfP is typically used to express consent, what is agreed upon is expected (or presupposed) to be present in the discourse, as also observed for the evaluative *adj+dass*-clause construction (Günthner 2009:159). This analysis is further supported by the fact that in dialogical contexts, PfPs are infelicitous with discourse-new propositional content in the *dass*-clause, as shown in 61B2.

⁴⁴ <http://www.zeit.de/2017/39/hillary-clinton-buch-analyse-what-happened>, accessed on September 26, 2017. The example is also available under: Z17/SEP.00282.

(61) A: Du machst mir überhaupt keine Versprechen über irgendetwas.
 ‘You don’t promise me anything at all.’

B1: Ich verspreche dir,
 I promise you
 dass ich erst in zwei Wochen wiederkomme.
 that I only in two weeks return
 ‘I promise you that I won’t be back for two weeks.’

B2: ??#Versprochen, dass ich erst in zwei Wochen
 promised(PTCP) that I only in two weeks
 wiederkomme.
 return
 ‘I promise that I won’t be back for two weeks.’

In a monological use such as the one in 60, the content of the *dass*-clause does not belong to old discourse strictly speaking; but still the PfP can be replaced with *Stimmt!* ‘That’s right!’, as if the speaker is reacting to an anticipated objection from the hearer.⁴⁵ I return to this effect of PfPs in section 9.

The construction with a PfP and an extraposed *dass*-clause in 60 behaves just like clausal structures with an overt pronoun *es*, as in 62.

(62) Sei es geschenkt,
 be.PRS.SBJV it granted(PTCP)
 dass sein Vergleich mit 1929–1933 gewaltig hinkt.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Günthner (2009:161) also observes that the evaluative adj+*dass*-clause construction is found in headlines and text-initially, even though the *dass*-clause in this construction counts as discourse-old information (ibid.:159).

(i) Super dass es das Forum gibt!!!!!!!!!!!!
 great that it this forum is
 ‘Great that we have this forum!!!!!!!!!!!!’ (Günthner 2009:162, my translation)

⁴⁶ <https://community.eintracht.de/forum/diskussionen/122515?page=55#4335525>, accessed on July 12, 2018.

that his comparison with 1929–1933 terribly limps

‘Let it be granted that his comparison with 1929–1933 is terribly off.’

The construction in 62 is an instance of the so-called correlative *es* construction in German (see, among others, Cardinaletti 1990; Berman et al. 1998; Sudhoff 2003, 2016), where a sentence-internal nominal proform *es* ‘it’ is coreferential with a complement clause in the extraposition. The PfP construction behaves just like the correlative construction. The correlative construction does not allow the clause to appear preverbally, as 63a shows (Berman et al. 1998:5–6, Sudhoff 2003:55, Sudhoff 2016:24), which is also observed in the PfP construction in 63b. This restriction is explained if the PfP contains a correlative null pronominal.

- (63) a. *Dass ich erst in zwei Wochen wiederkomme,
 that I only in two weeks return
 sei es versprochen.
 be.PRS.SBJV it promised(PTCP)

‘That I won’t be back for 2 weeks, let this be a promise.’

- b. *Dass ich erst in zwei Wochen wiederkomme, versprochen!
 that I only in two weeks return promised(PTCP)

On the analysis of the extraposed clause as restricting the interpretation of a null pronominal it is unexpected that PfPs also occur with V2-clauses, as in 64.⁴⁷ Correlative *es* does not occur with extraposed V2-clauses (Sudhoff 2016:35).

- (64) Zugegeben, die ungewohnte Ruhe war eigentlich ein ganz
 admitted(PTCP) the unusual peace was actually a rather
 angenehmer Einstieg in den frühen Freitagmorgen.
 pleasant beginning of the early Friday.morning

⁴⁷ I am grateful to a reviewer for pointing out the problem with PfPs occurring with V2-clauses.

‘Admittedly, the unusual peacefulness was actually a rather pleasant beginning of the early Friday morning.’ (A97/AUG.21218)

However, verbs occurring with correlative *es* also occur in a construction with an anticipatory pronominal *es* and a V2-clause that is not syntactically subordinate to the main verb, as in 65. In these examples, there is an intonational break before the V2-clause, and sometimes a colon is used, as in 65b, instead of a comma, as in 65a.

- (65) a. Aber die Ignoranz der Politiker und Gerichte haben
 but the ignorance the-GEN politicians and courts have
es bewiesen, bei ihnen spielen Menschenleben keine Rolle,
 it proven for them play human.lives no role
 sonst hätte man dieses größte Atomklo von ganz
 otherwise had one this biggest nuclear.loo in entire
 Europa nicht in einer Stadt mit über 100,000 Einwohnern
 Europe not in a city with over 100,000 inhabitants
 genehmigt.
 allowed

‘But the ignorance of the politicians and courts have proven it, they don’t care about human lives at all, otherwise they would not have allowed the biggest nuclear loo in all of Europe in a city with more than 100,000 inhabitants.’

(BRZ08/JUL.13441, emphasis added)

- b. Hier sei es gestanden: Ich stehe auf
 here be.PRS.SBJV it admitted I stand at
 Kriegsfuß mit dem Wort Utopie,
 war with the word Utopia
 seit wann, kann ich genau sagen.
 since when can I exactly tell

‘Let it be admitted: I am at war with the word Utopia, I know exactly since when.’ (T06/DEZ.02509)

Whatever the analysis of these constructions, the PfP behaves exactly like verbs with an anticipatory *es*, which lends support to positing a null pronominal in PfPs, including constructions where the PfP is followed by a subordinate *dass*-clause as in 60 or a V2-clause as in 64.

To sum up the discussion in this section, the PfP licenses only internal recipient arguments. As for the impossibility of realizing the agent and the internal propositional argument, I suggest that they are constructionally restricted to null pronominals.

5.4. The Constituent Structure of the PfP.

As far as the constituent structure of the PfP is concerned, there is very little to go by. There is evidence that the PfP projects a VP: As shown in sections 4.1 and 5.3, the PfP licenses VP-internal recipient arguments, possibly oblique *by*-phrases, and manner adverbials (following Pittner 2004:260, manner adverbials are adjoined to the verbal complex, that is, they are VP-internal).

However, there is also evidence that the PfP contains an IP above the VP. For example, the PfP allows for (evaluative) sentential adverbials such as *leider* ‘sadly’ or *selbstverständlich* ‘naturally’, as in 66.

- (66) a. Und, **leider** zugegeben— es hätten noch
 and sadly admitted(PTCP) it had yet
 viel mehr Karten verkauft werden können.⁴⁸
 many more tickets sold become could
 ‘And—I am sorry to say—even many more tickets could still
 have been sold.’
- b. Aber **selbstverständlich** versprochen, Herr Rrr,
 but naturally promised(PTCP) Mr. Rrr
 ich werde mich ganz fest zusammenreißen.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ <https://m.mainpost.de/regional/schweinfurt/Moliere-im-Theater-Ein-Edelmann-als-tuerkischer-Derwisch;art742,7791385>, accessed on May 25, 2018 (emphasis added).

⁴⁹ <https://blog.tagesanzeiger.ch/zumrundenleder/blog/2009/04/14/london-calling-1/>, accessed on September 20, 2017 (emphasis added).

I will myself quite firmly pull.together

‘But, of course, I promise that, Mr. Rrr, I will pull myself together.’

There are reasons for believing that these sentential adverbials adjoin to IP. If they could adjoin to VP, they would be expected to occur in small clauses, such as absolute accusatives, as in 67, but they cannot. The marginality of 67 is explained if the absolute accusative contains a VP and not an IP.

(67) ??[_{sc} Den Kopf selbstverständlich zugedeckt]
 the-ACC head naturally covered(PTCP)
 stand Peter vor der Tür.
 stood Peter by the door

‘Peter was standing by the door, with the head, of course, covered.’

Note that in addition to supporting the existence of an IP projection in PfPs, evaluative sentential adverbials also provide further evidence that the PfP cannot be a small clause occurring in root position with an empty DP (see discussion in section 5.3). The structure would be that of an absolute accusative, as in 68a, but with an empty DP, as shown in 68b.

(68) a. [_{sc} [_{DP} Den Kopf] [_{VP} zugedeckt]] stand Peter vor der Tür
 the head covered(PTCP) stood Peter by the door

b. [_{sc} [_{DP} e] [_{VP} versprochen]]
 promised(PTCP)

Thus, the occurrence of sentential adverbials provides evidence that the PfP is not a small clause and, furthermore, that it is an IP. If sentential adverbials adjoin to IP or I', a PfP with a sentential adverbial has the structure in 69.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ The example in (i) shows that sentential adverbials such as *leider* ‘sadly’ also adjoin to a full clause (an IP):

- (71) a. [_{IProot} [_{VP} versprochen]]
 promised(PTCP)
 ‘That is a promise!’
- b. [_{IProot} [_{VP} Nicht nur allen Subaru-Freunden versprochen]]
 not only all-DAT Subaru-friends promised(PTCP)
 ‘That is a promise—not only to all Subaru friends!’
- c. [_{IProot} [_{VP} hoch und heilig versprochen]]
 high and holy promised(PTCP)
 ‘Promised, high and holy!’

To sum up, the PfP is proposed to have the following syntactic properties: It is an *IProot* dominating a *VP*; the agent of the past participle is (canonically) a 1st person null pronominal, and the internal propositional argument a null pronominal to be resolved contextually.

6. An Account Within Lexical-Functional Grammar.

LFG posits two levels of syntactic representation: a c(onstituent)-structure and a f(unctional)-structure (Bresnan 2001, Dalrymple 2001). The c-structure represents the constituent structure with hierarchical relations and linear precedence. The f-structure represents—among other things—the grammatical relations between the syntactic constituents, that is, the predicate-argument relationships. There is no one-to-one relationship between the c-structure and the f-structure. The f-structure can contain elements that are not explicitly represented in the c-structure. For example, null pronominals are present as elements in the f-structure but have no formal expression in the c-structure. This is exactly what can be claimed to hold for the PfP. There are no nodes in the c-structure corresponding to the agent or the propositional argument of the PfP *Versprochen!* ‘I promise!’. Still, the oblique *by*-phrase and the propositional argument are present in the f-structure as selected grammatical functions with a semantic representation as pronominals. The attribute PRED represents the semantic form, and [PRED ‘PRO’] means that the grammatical functions in question are interpreted as pronominals that are resolved contextually. Since they have no expression in the c-structure, the PRED-specifications have to be added

constructionally.⁵¹ For the PfP *Versprochen!* ‘I promise!’ I propose the following c- and f-structures:

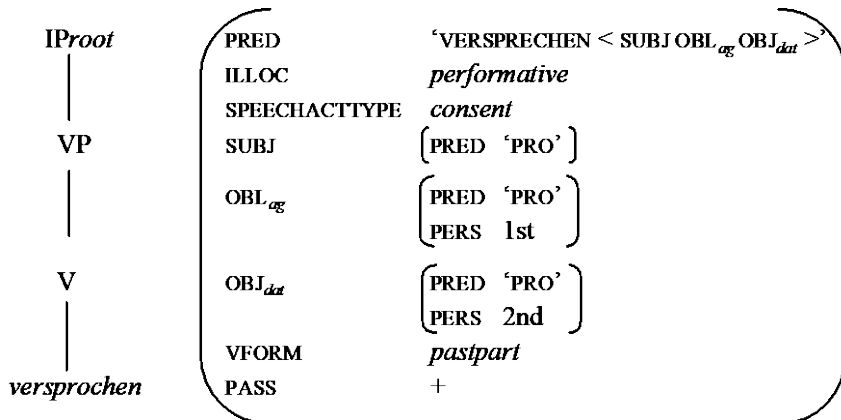


Figure 1. C- and f-structures of the PfP *Versprochen!* ‘I promise!’.

The c-structure is very simple: It is merely an *IProot* dominating a *VP*. The f-structure shows that the main predicate is *versprechen* ‘to promise’, which selects a (passive) subject, an oblique *by*-phrase, and a dative object. All selected grammatical functions are pronominals, with the *by*-phrase restricted to the 1st person. As for the dative object of *versprechen* ‘to promise’, I assume that it is always restricted to the 2nd person when omitted in a performative sentence (as in *Ich verspreche (dir), dass ich komme* ‘I promise (you) that I will come’). The f-structure further shows that the clause is a performative and that the specific speech act denoted by the verb belongs to a type of speech act expressing consent. The distinction between illocution and speech act type is intended to account for the fact that a performative utterance such as *Versprochen!* ‘Promised!’ creates a linguistic fact, which is, in itself, a speech act (Searle 1989:549). I return to the pragmatics of PfPs in section 7 and further justify the view that PfPs are pragmatically restricted.

⁵¹ Alternatively, the agent and the propositional argument could be represented by empty categories in c-structure.

The c- and f-structures are licensed by the (simplified) c-structure rule with functional annotations in figure 2.⁵² This rule, in combination with the lexical entry for the passive past participle *versprochen* ‘promised’ in figure 3 and a VP-rule, which is not given, license the c- and f-structures above.⁵³

In figure 2, the f-structure associated with *IProot* is the same as the one associated with VP. The speech act type is constrained to express consent,⁵⁴ while the illocutionary force of the speech act is performative. The oblique agent is in the 1st person (that is, the speaker). Brackets indicate optionality: The oblique agent is identified as a (null) pronominal, unless an overt pronominal has contributed the specification [PRED ‘PRO’] (*von mir bestätigt*). Curly brackets indicate disjunction with | separating the disjuncts: The propositional argument of the consent verb is a pronominal linked to a (passive) subject, a dative object or an oblique object (a prepositional object) of the participle. The verbal head is a past participle, and the verbal head is passive.

⁵² The rule ought to prevent realization of a reflexive object. For ease of exposition, this complication is left out.

⁵³ The proposed rule does not account for the fact that the omitted dative object is restricted to the 2nd person. I assume that this restriction applies to all performative utterances with an omitted recipient argument and not just to the PfP so it calls for a more principled treatment.

⁵⁴ Technically, this is a so-called constraining equation. This means that the VP must carry the specification [SPEECHACTTYPE *consent*], which is contributed by the V as the head of the VP. If this were not a constraining equation, the relevant information would be added to the VP in the absence of a specification for SPEECHACTTYPE. The use of a constraining equation avoids having to provide all verbs with a lexical specification for SPEECHACTTYPE, which would not make sense for all the non-speech-act-denoting verbs.

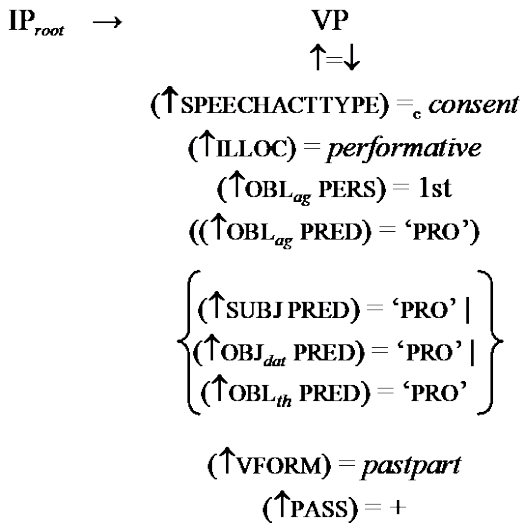


Figure 2. C-structure rule with functional annotations for the PfP.

versprochen ‘promised’:

(\uparrow PRED) = ‘VERSPRECHEN<SUBJ OBL_{ag} OBJ_{dat}>’
 (\uparrow SPEECHACTTYPE) = *consent*
 (\uparrow VFORM) = *pastpart*
 (\uparrow PASS) = +

Figure 3. Lexical entry for the (passive) past participle of *versprochen* ‘promised’.

The crucial point in the LFG account presented here is that this particular configuration of an IP_{root} dominating a VP headed by a past participle of a verb semantically typed to denote a speech act expressing consent (in a broad sense) allows one to constructionally specify the pronominal elements and the illocutionary force. The result is the clausal f-structure given in figure 1.

7. The PfP as an Expression of Consent.

In a performative utterance, the type of speech act performed—that is, a promise, an order, a request etc.—is determined by the performative verb. The PfP allows for a variety of different verbs, but they can all be subsumed under the heading of consent. They confirm a statement, for

example, *einräumen/zugeben* ‘to admit’, *gestehen* ‘to confess’, *schenken* ‘to grant’, and *zustimmen* ‘to agree on’, or agree to comply with a request, for example, *abmachen* ‘to agree’, *akzeptieren* ‘to accept’, *kapieren* ‘to understand’, *vereinbaren* ‘to agree on’, *versprechen* ‘to promise’ or *verstehen* ‘to understand’. In this section, I elaborate on this characterization of the PFPs; I show that they are used as supporting responding speech acts and that this explains why they alternate with the response particle *Yes!* (or *No!* as a response to a negative statement). At the same time, they are only felicitous if the hearer is committed to the content under discussion, either by claiming it to be true or by wanting it to be true. I suggest that these properties serve as a characterization of consent. Finally, I briefly demonstrate how PFPs —just like response particles—are found in monological uses for special rhetorical purposes.

7.1. The PFP and Responding Supporting Speech Acts.

Egins & Slade (1997:183) present the following classification of speech acts adapted from Halliday 1994.⁵⁵ The grey-shaded cells indicate contexts, where the PFP is found, as I show in the following.

Initiating speech acts	Responding speech acts	
	Supporting	Confronting
Offer	Acceptance	Rejection
Command	Compliance	Refusal
Statement	Acknowledgement	Contradiction
Question	Answer	Disclaimer

Table 2. Speech act pairs (Egins & Slade 1997:183).⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Egins & Slade (1997) speak of “speech functions” in stead of “speech acts”. I do not adopt this terminology and I am using table 2 from Egins & Slade descriptively, as a classification of speech acts.

⁵⁶ I do not discuss compliance specifically here. Condoravdi & Lauer (2012:39) show that offers can be expressed with imperatives, so they can possibly be analyzed just like requests within the framework of Farkas & Bruce 2010. Also, PFPs appear to be rare as expressions of compliance with an offer, but this may also be due to politeness restrictions. For example, *i* appears somewhat rude in not expressing any kind of gratitude.

Eggins & Slade (1997) distinguish between initiating speech acts and responding speech acts. As the examples in 72a,c,e illustrate, performative verbs that denote initiating speech acts—here *mitteilen* ‘to tell’, *befehlen* ‘to give orders’, and *fragen* ‘to ask’—are possible in finite performative utterances. However, these verbs are problematic as PFPs, as shown in 72b,d,f.⁵⁷

(72) a. Ich **teile mit**, dass wir Ihr Angebot ablehnen. (Statement)
I tell PART that we your offer decline

(i) A: Nimm eine Tasse Kaffee!
‘Have a cup of coffee!’

B: Angenommen!
accepted(PTCP)
‘I’ll accept!’

As a reviewer shows with the example in ii, a PFP can be a valid response to an offer though, if compliance with the offer is understood as a favor to the interlocutor.

(ii) A: Kann ich Sie wenigstens zu einem Glas Wein überreden?
‘Could I persuade you to have a glass of wine at least?’

B: (Na gut, meinetwegen) Angenommen!
well good for.my.part accepted(PTCP)
‘Well yes, why not. I’ll accept!’

In Dutch, the PFP *Bedankt!* lit. ‘thanked!’ is an example of compliance. This is not possible in German: *#Gedankt!* I have no explanation for this difference.

⁵⁷ A reviewer observes that some verbs denoting the initiation of speech acts can occur as what seems to be PFPs if they precede the complement clause (see also Zifonun et al. 1997:2226–2227).

(i) Mal angenommen, friedliches Zusammenleben ist möglich.
well assumed(PTCP) peaceful coexistence is possible
‘Well, lets assume that it is possible to live peacefully together.’

Other examples are *vorausgesetzt* ‘provided that’ and *gesetzt den Fall* ‘in the case that’. Precisely these participles are sometimes classified as subjunctors when they occur with *dass* ‘that’ (Zifonun et al. 1997:2240, 2281); they appear to form a closed class. I leave the question open whether or not they should indeed be interpreted as PFPs.

‘I am telling you that we decline your offer.’

- b. Wir lehnen Ihr Angebot ab. ??#**Mitgeteilt**.
 we decline your offer PART told(PTCP)
 Intended: ‘We decline your offer. I (hereby) tell you.’
- c. Ich **befehle** dir, das Haus zu verlassen. (Command)
 I order you the house to leave
 ‘I am ordering you to leave the house.’
- d. Du musst das Haus verlassen. ?#**Befohlen!**⁵⁸
 you must the house leave ordered(PTCP)
 Intended: ‘You have to leave the house. It’s an order!’
- e. Ich **frage**, ob der Auftrag schon eingegangen ist. (Question)
 I ask if the order already received is
 ‘I am asking if the order has been received.’
- f. Ist der Auftrag schon eingegangen? #**Gefragt!**
 is the order already received asked(PTCP)
 Intended: ‘Has the order been received? I am asking you!’

As mentioned in section 2, participles that denote initiating speech acts only seem to be possible if accompanied by *hiermit* ‘hereby’ or with the right prosody (and gesture) forcing a performative reading, as in 73a.⁵⁹ In

⁵⁸ A reviewer notes that *Befohlen!* lit. ‘ordered’ is more acceptable in cross-speaker cases.

(i) A: Soll ich nun den Rasen mähen?
 ‘Should I mow the lawn then?’

B: Befohlen!
 ordered(PTCP)
 ‘It’s an order!’

As the reviewer notes, *Befohlen!* rather is used here as a responding speech act.

⁵⁹ An exception is the participle *dahingestellt* ‘I cannot tell’ lit. ‘put aside’.

(i) Es eilig zu haben impliziert schliesslich die eigene Wichtigkeit—
 it hurry to have implies ultimately the own importance

the absence of *hiermit*, the addition of an adjunct, as in 73b, or an internal argument, as in 73c, improves a PfP that denotes an initiating speech act considerably, but why such improvement is possible is unclear (in fact, the participle can be left out in 73b).

- (73) a. Und wehe der Tobi verschwindet hier. Du bleibst!!!
and woe the Tobi disappears here you stay

Hiermit befohlen!!!⁶⁰
hereby ordered(PTCP)

‘And woe Tobi is going to escape here. You are staying! It’s an order!’

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|
| b. Was aber, | nochmal | gefragt, |
| What then | again | asked(PTCP) |
| könnte der | Begriff | "Leitkultur" |
| could the | concept | leading.culture |
| denn inhaltlich | bedeuten? ⁶¹ | |
| part from.content | mean | |

‘What then, I ask again, could be meant by the concept leading culture’ (U00/OKT.06293)

- c. **Für Sie** empfohlen!⁶²

oder war es Impertinenz? Dahingestellt.
or was it impertinence put aside(PTCP)

‘After all, to be in a hurry implies your own significance—or is it impertinence? I can’t tell.’ (SOZ13/JUN.03158)

⁶⁰ <https://www.golfv.de/thread/46633-meiner-einer/?pageNo=20>, accessed on September 21, 2017 (emphasis added).

⁶¹ Another example is *nochmal nachgefragt* (lit.) ‘again inquired’.

⁶² <https://www.ikastetikett.de>, accessed on September 19, 2017 (emphasis added). In this particular case, the specific text genre, namely, advertisement, could play a role, since it aims at establishing customer contact. I am grateful to a reviewer for this suggestion. *Empfohlen* appears to be special in more respects: It most likely selects a nonpropositional argument here (as noted by another

for you recommended(PTCP)
‘Our recommendation for you!’

The canonical PfPs, as in 74B, are used to perform responding speech acts, and as such they belong to the inventory of linguistic feedback. This is the reason why they alternate with *Ja!*, which is used as a response to utterances that perform initiating speech acts (among many other functions of *Ja!*; see, for example, Hoffmann 2008).

(74) A: Die Idee ist hervorragend!
‘The idea is brilliant!’

B: Zugegeben! / Geschenk! / Ja!
admitted(PTCP) granted(PTCP) yes
‘I admit!/Granted!/Yes!’

As the PFP is used in a responding speech act, it needs a supporting context for its interpretation. This requirement is not unique to PfPs but applies to other response expressions as well. For example, the response particle *Ja!* is inherently anaphoric (Krifka 2014). Similarly, Holmberg (2013:31) proposes in his analysis of English and Swedish that answers to polar questions are sentential structures, where the IP (the propositional content) is inherited from the question and then elided. This is parallel to the PFP, where the argument of the speech act verb is also missing. I do not assume any deletion though. The argument is analyzed as a pronominal, as detailed in section 5.3.

As shown in table 2, responding speech acts are either supporting or confronting. Through supporting speech acts the speaker acknowledges statements, agrees to comply with requests or provides answers to questions. Through confronting speech acts the speaker contradicts statements, refuses to comply with requests or provide answers to questions. Examples of speech act verbs used to perform confronting speech acts are *bestreiten* ‘to dispute’, *widersprechen* ‘to contradict’, *leugnen* ‘to deny’, *sich weigern* ‘to refuse’ or *sich wehren* ‘to resist’.

reviewer) and—what is more puzzling—it does not seem to occur with *hiermit* ‘hereby’. A Google-search for *Hiermit für Sie empfohlen/Für Sie hiermit empfohlen* does not yield any results (April 4, 2019).

These verbs do not occur as PfPs, at least not without a supporting *hiermit*.⁶³ In 75a and 75b, speaker B expresses disagreement and refusal, respectively. Note that the response particle *Nein!* ‘No!’ is acceptable in these examples.

(75) a. A: Das ist eine gute Idee.
‘That is a good idea.’

B: Nein! /??#Bestritten! /??#Widersprochen! /??#Geleugnet!
no disputed(PTCP) contradicted(PTCP) denied(PTCP)
Intended: ‘No!/I disagree!’

b. A: Holst du das Auto aus der Werkstatt?
‘Will you get the car from the garage?’

B: Nein! /??#Geweigert! /#Gewehrt!⁶⁴
no refused(PTCP) resisted(PTCP)
Intended: ‘No!/I refuse!’

⁶³ A search conducted on July 16, 2017 yielded the following results.

- (i) *Hiermit geleugnet* ‘hereby denied’: Google: 0, Cosmas: *Geleugnet* (clause final) 0 (as PfP);
- (ii) *hiermit abgeleugnet* ‘hereby denied’: Google: 0 / Cosmas: *Abgeleugnet* (clause final) 0 (as PfP);
- (iii) *hiermit bestritten* ‘hereby disputed’: Google: 1 / Cosmas: *Bestritten* (clause final): 0 (as PfP);
- (iv) *hiermit ausgeschlagen* ‘hereby rejected’: Google: 0, Cosmas: *Ausgeschlagen* (clause final): 0 (as PfP);
- (v) *Hiermit verweigert* ‘hereby refused’: Google: 1, Cosmas: *Verweigert* (clause final): 0 (as PfP).

The single example for *hiermit verweigert* ‘hereby refused’ is difficult to interpret. It serves as a headline, and it is not clear what it is referring to: <http://www.spiegel.de/forum/wirtschaft/sollten-aerzte-mehr-geld-verdienen-thread-13527-79.html>, accessed on September 25, 2017.

⁶⁴ In the sense: *ich wehre mich dagegen* ‘I resist it’.

Of course, whenever a PfP alternates with *Ja!*, it is used to perform a responding supporting speech act. Note that the PfP can alternate with the negative response particle *Nein!* if the latter is used to indicate agreement with a negative statement, as in 76a. The examples in 76 illustrate that the response particle is polarity based (Holmberg 2013:32), while the PfP is truth based.

(76) a. A: Das ist keine gute Idee.

‘That is no good idea!’

B: Nein! /Zugestimmt!

no agreed(PTCP)

‘No!/I agree!’

b. A: Das ist eine gute Idee.

‘That is a good idea.’

B: Ja! / Zugestimmt!

yes agreed(PTCP)

‘Yes!/I agree!’

The PfP is not only used to perform supporting speech acts; given that agreement or consent is generally assumed to be a preferred next action (Pomerantz 1984:63–64), the PfP also represents a preferred conversational move.

As mentioned in note 10 (section 2), the PfP *Abgelehnt!* ‘Denied!’ is a notable counterexample to the claim that PfPs can only be derived from verbs of support or approval, which are associated with the supporting speech acts. This PfP is found in legal language but also in informal discourse to reject a proposal, as noted by a reviewer. I propose the following explanation. Verbs of approval such as *stattgeben/ genehmigen* ‘to approve’ can occur negated in performative contexts: *Nicht stattgegeben!* ‘Not approved!’ The verb *ablehnen* ‘to deny’ is synonymous with such negated uses. This semantic similarity could have paved the way for the verb expressing refusal (that is, the verb associated with the confronting speech act) to be used as a PfP. This counterexample, however, should not overshadow the rather striking generalizations that can be made about the use of PfPs as expressions of consent.

Note, however, that PfPs do not occur in all instances of supporting speech. While PfPs do occur as responses to statements and requests, they do not occur as answers to polar questions. German has two verbs meaning ‘to affirm’ and ‘to deny’, namely, *bejahen* and *verneinen*. These verbs cannot occur as PfPs in answers to polar questions, just like the verb *bestätigen* ‘to confirm’.⁶⁵

(77) A: Ist der Vorschlag gut?
‘Is it a good proposal?’

B: Ja! /??#Bejaht! /??#Bestätigt! /??#Verneint!
yes affirmed(PTCP) confirmed(PTCP) negated(PTCP)
Intended: ‘Yes!/I confirm!/No!’

The difference between statements and requests on the one hand and questions on the other lies in the expected response. Statements and requests create a positive bias on the part of the hearer, who knows that the speaker anticipates agreement. In contrast, although questions imply an answer, they do not create a positive bias toward a particular answer (Farkas & Bruce 2010:96).⁶⁶ A statement or a request commits the speaker in a way that a question does not. By making a statement the speaker commits to the truth of the statement, and by making a request the speaker commits to an interest (in a broad sense) in having the hearer comply with the request (Condoravdi & Lauer 2012:41ff.). This commitment is a prerequisite for confirmation: The hearer must confirm something that the speaker has already committed to herself. In contrast,

⁶⁵ A PfP as a response to a polar question would only be possible in a (rare) context where a speaker has to approve a question before answering it. As a reviewer notes, this illustrates the difference between PfPs as responses and answers. In the example below, speaker B accepts the question.

(i) A: Ist der Vorschlag gut?
‘Is it a good proposal?’

B: Akzeptiert! Die Antwort ist ja!
accepted(PTCP) the answer is yes
‘The question is accepted! The answer is yes!’

⁶⁶ This pertains to neutral questions and not to the class of biased questions; see, among others, Romero & Han 2004.

it is not possible to confirm a question, only to provide an answer. For the response PfP(*p*) to be successful, the hearer must have committed herself to *p*.

To sum up, the PfP is a supporting response to an assertion or a request, where the hearer is already committed to *p*. *p* is eventually added to CG. I take this to be a characterization of consent.

7.2. The PfP as Confirmation of an Assertion.

In 78, speaker B confirms the statement made by speaker A. This is the prototypical instance of consent, where A and B both commit themselves to the same assertion.

- (78) A: Die Sitzung war sehr gelungen.
 ‘The meeting was very successful’
 B: Zugegeben! /Bestätigt!
 admitted(PTCP) confirmed(PTCP)
 ‘Granted!/I confirm that!’

Verbs found in this context include *bestätigen* ‘to confirm’, *zugeben/einräumen* ‘to admit’, *sich einigen/zustimmen* ‘to agree’, *sich anschließen* ‘to subscribe to’, *garantieren* ‘to guarantee’, *schenken* ‘to grant’, and *gestehen/ingestehen* ‘to confess’. On the analysis in Farkas & Bruce 2010, speaker A publically commits to the truth of the proposition: *The meeting was very successful*. Speaker B confirms the truth of this proposition and publically commits herself to its truth as well. Eventually the proposition is added to CG. As confirmation of a statement, the PfP alternates with the expression *Stimmt!* ‘That’s right!’, which presupposes that speaker A has already committed to the truth of the proposition. Therefore, *Stimmt!* has a more restricted use than *Ja!*: *Stimmt!* does not occur as an answer to polar questions, as shown in 79b.

- (79) a. A: Die Sitzung war sehr gelungen.
 ‘The meeting was very successful.’
 B: Ja! /Zugegeben! /Stimmt!
 yes admitted(PTCP) right
 ‘Yes!/Granted!/That’s right!’

b. A: Ist die Sitzung sehr gelungen gewesen?
 ‘Was it a successful meeting?’

B: Ja! /#Bejaht! /#Stimmt!
 yes affirmed(PTCP) right
 ‘Yes!’/Intended: ‘I confirm!/That’s right!’

There is a difference between the response expression *Stimmt!* and the PfP though. The expression *Stimmt!* can be used as an answer to a question about an observable fact with the paraphrase ‘I know’, as in 80a. In contrast, the PfP is only felicitous in a context where a diverging opinion is easier to imagine as, for example, in the response to the assessment in 80b, or where an observable fact is somehow unexpected, as in 80c.

(80) a. A: Es regnet.
 ‘It’s raining.’

B: Ja! /Stimmt! /??#Zugegeben! /#Zugestimmt!
 yes right admitted(PTCP) agreed(PTCP)
 ‘Yes!/That’s right!’/Intended: ‘Granted!/I agree!’

b. A: Diese Lösung ist gut!
 ‘This is a good solution!’

B: Ja! /Stimmt! /Zugegeben! /Zugestimmt!
 yes right admitted(PTCP) agreed(PTCP)
 ‘Yes!/That’s right!/Granted!/I agree!’

c. B: Es regnet nie im August.
 ‘It never rains in August’

A: Es regnet aber im Augenblick.
 ‘It’s raining right now.’

B: Ja! /Stimmt! /Zugegeben! /?#Zugestimmt!
 yes right admitted(PTCP) agreed(PTCP)
 ‘Yes!/That’s right!/Granted!’/Intended: ‘I agree!’

Farkas & Bruce (2010) only consider assertions expressed by declarative sentences. They do not account for nondeclarative sentences denoting—

or presupposing—propositions. In the canonical case, a PfP occurs as a response to a declarative clause, as in 80b. However, a PfP can also serve as a response to other sentence types provided they introduce a proposition belonging to speaker A's discourse commitments. In 81, the PfP is a response to an exclamative clause.

(81) A: Hast du aber viel gegessen!

'You have eaten quite a bit!'

B: Zugegeben! /Eingeräumt! /Geschenkt!

admitted(PTCP) admitted(PTCP) granted(PTCP)

'I agree!'

Exclamative clauses express the speaker's attitude to a particular proposition, for example, that something is surprising or noteworthy (Zanuttini & Portner 2003). In 81, the exclamative clause presupposes that B has (in A's opinion) indeed eaten a lot (Michaelis 2001, Zanuttini & Portner 2003). In uttering an exclamative, speaker A publically commits to the proposition that is considered noteworthy. Speaker B can confirm this proposition thereby making it a member of CG. The crucial condition for the use of the PfP is that *p* already belongs to speaker A's discourse commitments. Speaker B subsequently confirms *p*.

In addition to this canonical use of the PfP—that is, as a positive response to an assertion—there are (at least) two other uses in which the PfP does not alternate with the expression *Stimmt!* The first one concerns the commitment of speaker B to *p* expressed by speaker A. Farkas & Bruce (2010) only consider confirmation and rejection as possible reactions to an assertion (the answers *Yes!* and *No!*). There is also a third possibility, namely, that B neither confirms nor contradicts a statement by A but simply acknowledges a statement or the fact that A is uttering a particular statement (see also Allwood et al. 1992:17). Linguistically such a response is signaled by the feedback items *Ach so!* 'Really!', *Aha!* or *Verstehe!* 'I understand!'. The PfP is also found in this context, as shown in 82, which contains the complex verb *zur Kenntnis nehmen* 'to take note of something'.

(82) A: Ich halte es für eine schlechte Idee.

'I think it is a bad idea.'

B: Zur Kenntnis genommen!
 to knowledge taken(PTCP)
 ‘I take note of that!’

This use of the PfP differs from the canonical confirmation of an assertion in not being supporting. The speaker does not confirm *p*, and *p* cannot be added to CG. Only the fact that A holds this opinion can be added to CG.

Second, the PfP can also be used in a situation when *p* is part of B’s discourse commitments and A asks whether *p* can indeed be added to CG—or, if *p* is already part of CG, whether it should be kept in CG. In this case, the PfP is a response to an incredulous question biased toward a particular answer. PfPs that appear in this context include *Versprochen!* ‘I promise!’, *Geschworen!* ‘I swear!’ or *Versichert!* ‘For sure!’:

(83) a. A: Ist das wirklich ein wirksames Mittel?
 ‘Is this really an effective medicine?’

B: Versprochen!
 promised(PTCP)
 ‘I promise!’

b. A: Hat er das wirklich gesagt?
 ‘Did he really say that?’

B: Geschworen!
 sworn(PTCP)
 ‘I swear!’

This use of the PfP is similar to the confirmation use discussed above, but A does not make a public discourse commitment.

7.3. The PfP as Agreement to Comply with a Request.

PfPs are also formed from verbs that express agreement/readiness to comply with a request (in a broad sense) made by the hearer. These are verbs such as *abmachen/vereinbaren* ‘to agree’, *akzeptieren/annehmen* ‘to accept’, *verstehen/kapieren* ‘to understand’, *versprechen* ‘to promise’, as shown in 84 where B confirms the agreement.

(84) A: Wir sehen uns dann morgen!
 ‘We’ll meet tomorrow then!’

B: Ja! /Abgemacht! /Kapiert!
 yes agreed(PTCP) understood(PTCP)
 ‘Yes!/It is settled!/Got it!’

Just like the PfP that confirms a statement, the PfPs in 84 perform a responding supporting speech act; they are also positively biased as speaker A has an interest in speaker B’s fulfilling the request. On the face of it, this use is much like the confirmation of a statement: B confirms a statement made by A. However, there is a difference: B commits herself (and sometimes also A) to some future action. This difference is reflected in the range of possible response particles alternating with the PfP. The PfP alternates with *Ja!* as expected, but it does not alternate with *Stimmt!* Instead, it alternates with the particle *Okay!* or *Jawohl!* ‘Yes, Sir!’ depending on B’s evaluation of the strength of the request:

(85) A: Wir sehen uns dann morgen!
 ‘We’ll meet tomorrow then!’

B: Ja! /??#Stimmt!⁶⁷/Okay! /Abgemacht!
 yes right okay agreed(PTCP)
 ‘Yes!/That’s right!/Okay!/It is settled!’

This use also shows a clear bias toward a positive response. By making a request A performs a directive speech act wishing for the proposition expressed by the directive sentence to come true (Searle 1976:11, Condoravdi & Lauer 2012:41ff.). By uttering a PfP such as *Abgemacht!* ‘Agreed!’ or *Versprochen!* ‘I promise!’, B commits to making a particular state of affairs a reality, which results in A and B sharing a goal. Similarly, the confirmation of an assertion results in A and B sharing an assumption.

⁶⁷ *Stimmt!* is only possible if the clause is intended or understood as a confirmation of an already existing agreement.

Requests can be made in a variety of ways: Declarative clauses, questions, imperative clauses, and cohortatives can all be used to perform directive speech acts. The example in 85 and the example in 86 below (repeated from 15) illustrate declaratives understood as requests.

(86) A: Du sagst also nichts zu Papa.
‘So you are not going to tell dad.’

B: Versprochen!
promised(PTCP)
‘I promise!’

Interestingly, PfPs are also possible as answers to polar questions, if a polar question is interpreted as a request, as in 87, and not as a polar (information seeking) question.

(87) A: Holst du das Auto aus der Werkstatt?
‘Will you pick up the car from the garage?’

B: Versprochen! /Abgemacht!
promised(PTCP) agreed(PTCP)
‘I promise!/It is settled!’

Taken out of context, speaker A’s question in 87 can be interpreted either as a polar question or as a request. The response shows that speaker B chooses to interpret it as a request and to commit to the goal suggested by A. The PfP is also felicitous as an answer to polar questions where A explicitly asks B to make a commitment by including the performative verb in the question, as in 88.

(88) A: Versprichst du mir, dass du das Auto aus der Werkstatt holst?
‘Do you promise to go and pick up the car from the garage?’

B: Ja! /Versprochen!
yes promised(PTCP)
‘Yes!/I promise!’

As expected, however, PfPs are not possible as answers to true information seeking questions, as mentioned earlier. In the following

examples, the modal particle *denn*, which only occurs in syntactically interrogative clauses (Reis 2003:165), and the adverb *überhaupt* ‘at all’ invite an interpretation as a polar question rather than as a request.

- (89) a. A: Holst du mich **denn überhaupt** morgen ab?
 pick you me PART at.all tomorrow up
 ‘Are you really going to pick me up tomorrow then?’
 B: Ja! /#Abgemacht! /#Akzeptiert! /#Versprochen!
 yes agreed(PTCP) accepted(PTCP) promised(PTCP)
 ‘Yes!/ Intended: It is settled!/Accepted!/I promise!’

The PfP is also felicitous as a response to a declarative clause interpreted as a question, usually due to a rising intonation (Niebuhr et al. 2010), as in 90a. Here the answer does not provide new information, but rather confirms a commitment that has already been under discussion, the so-called question of confirmation (*Nachfrage* or *Bestätigungsfrage*, Zifonun et al. 1997:643). The PfP is also felicitous in cohortatives asking for mutual agreement, as in 90b. Here both A and B commit to (common) future action. Finally, as a response to an imperative, the verbs *verstehen* and *kapieren* ‘to understand’ are possible, as in 90c.

- (90) a. A: Du holst mich dann morgen ab?
 ‘You will pick up tomorrow then?’
 B: Ja! /Abgemacht!
 yes agreed(PTCP)
 ‘Yes!/It is settled!’
 b. A: Lassen wir es so richtig krachen!
 ‘Let’s catch that beat!’
 B: Ja! /Abgemacht! /Kapiert!
 yes agreed(PTCP) understood(PTCP)
 ‘Yes!/It is settled!/Got it!’
 c. A: Halten Sie sich bereit!
 ‘Be ready!’

B: Verstanden!/Kapiert!
 understood(PTCP)
 ‘Got it!’

Verstehen and *kapieren* are not, strictly speaking, performative verbs. They are only used as performative verbs as past participles, as mentioned in section 2.

8. An Account Within the Framework of Farkas & Bruce 2010.

In this section, I propose an account of the essential features of the pragmatics of the PfP, namely, that it is used to perform a responding supporting speech act, which presupposes a positive bias on part of the hearer. The account is modelled in the conversational framework proposed by Farkas & Bruce (2010) in their analysis of responses to assertions and polar questions.

8.1. The PfP as Response to Assertions.

Table 3 depicts the conversational state after A has uttered the sentence *Die Sitzung war sehr gelungen* ‘The meeting was very successful’, in the framework of Farkas & Bruce 2010. By making this assertion, interlocutor A places a syntactic object in the form of a declarative sentence (D), paired with its denotation p , on *the Table* that contains what is referred to as *the question under discussion* in other frameworks (Farkas & Bruce 2010:86). At the same time, A publically commits to the truth of the assertion. This is shown by including denotation p among A’s Discourse Commitments (the cell right under A). At this point, p is not yet a mutual assumption and therefore not yet a member of CG.⁶⁸ Every move to put an item on the Table is associated with a preferred reaction, represented in the projected set, that removes this item and thus empties the Table. For example, an assertion made by A can be confirmed, rejected, elaborated or questioned. The projected set, however, shows that the preferred responding move is to confirm the assertion and add it to CG.

⁶⁸ The separation of individual discourse commitments and CG allows the model to show when A and B agree to disagree on a proposition. In that case, the denotation p is a member of A’s discourse commitments, while $\sim p$ belongs to B’s discourse commitments. p is not a member of CG. Another possibility would be to add to CG that A believes that p .

A	Table	B
p	<meeting-was-successful[D];{p}>	
Common Ground cg_1		Projected Set $cg_1 \cup \{p\}$

Table 3. Conversational state after A has uttered an assertion.

By responding with a PfP such as *Zugestimmt!* ‘I agree!’ or *Zugegeben!* ‘Granted!’ at this point of the conversation, B maps the context in table 3 to the output context depicted in table 4.

A	Table	B
p	<meeting-was-successful[D];{p}>	p
Common Ground cg_1		Projected Set $cg_1 \cup \{p\}$

Table 4. Conversational state after B has confirmed A’s assertion.

In the output context, B confirms the proposition and p is added to B’s discourse commitments, in accordance with the preferred move. Consent is obtained since the proposition p belongs to the discourse commitments of both interlocutors. Farkas & Bruce further assume a common ground increasing operation (Farkas & Bruce 2010:99), which moves a proposition on the discourse commitment list of both interlocutors to CG. The resulting conversational state is depicted below:

A	Table	B
Common Ground $cg_1 \cup \{p\}$		Projected Set

Table 5. Conversational state after p has been added to CG.

The conversational states illustrate the three crucial features of the Pfp: First, the Pfp is responding in that it targets the top-most element on the Table; second, the Pfp is supporting in that it confirms A’s discourse commitment, that is, it represents the preferred conversational move in the projected set; and third, the Pfp expresses p that belongs to A’s discourse commitments.

8.2. PFPs as Response to Directives.

Farkas & Bruce (2010) deal with *Yes!* only as a response to assertions and polar questions, not as a response to requests. In this section, I show how the PFP as a response to a request can be accommodated within the conversational framework of Farkas & Bruce. An elaborate discussion of the representation of imperatives or directives in general is beyond the scope of this paper, and many problems are sidestepped. The goal is to show what it means, within this conversational framework, to reach a consensus and to illustrate why PFPs cannot serve as responses to (information seeking) polar questions. For ease of exposition, I restrict myself to directives expressed by imperatives. I do not try to account for indirect speech acts, where a directive is expressed by a V2-clause, a V1-question or a V2-question, as in 86, 87, and 90a, respectively.

An approach to directives that requires no major extensions to the framework of Farkas & Bruce 2010 is to follow the analysis of imperatives in Kaufmann 2012 and treat directives as (modalized) propositions. Kaufmann (2012:59ff.) proposes that an imperative sentence such as *Go home!* can be semantically represented as the (deontically) modalized proposition *You should go home*, where the modal verb is understood as a performative modal (in contrast to a descriptive modal). The imperative in 91a has the semantic paraphrase in 91b on this approach.

- (91) a. Halten Sie sich bereit!
 keep you REFL ready
 ‘Please, be ready!’
- b. Sie sollen sich bereit halten!
 you shall REFL ready keep
 ‘You should be ready!’

The paraphrase in 91b is represented as *H-should-P*, where *P* is the property of being ready and *H* is the hearer.

By treating imperatives as modalized propositions, one can treat directives along the lines of assertions in the framework of Farkas & Bruce 2010. By uttering a directive such as *Halten Sie sich bereit!* ‘Please, be ready!’ in 92, speaker A makes a public commitment to the modalized proposition: The hearer should be ready. This formally

captures the speaker’s endorsement, as in Condoravdi & Lauer 2012, namely, that the speaker has an interest (in a broad sense) in the coming about of what is denoted by the imperative clause. The imperative sentence and its denotation are added to the Table along with the projected set, that is, the preferred conversational move, namely, that speaker B confirms this proposition so that its denotation is added to CG. By confirming a modalized proposition with a PFP such as *Verstanden!* ‘Got it!’, speaker B agrees to comply with the request denoted by the imperative sentence, as shown in table 7. This is the only difference between confirming an assertion and responding positively to a request: The latter commits the speaker to future action.

- (92) A: Halten Sie sich Bereit!
 ‘Please, be ready!’
 B: Verstanden!
 understood(PTCP)
 ‘Got it!’

A	Table	B
<i>H-should-P</i>	$\langle be-ready[IMP]; \{H-should-P\} \rangle$	
Common Ground cg_1	Projected Set $cg_1 \cup \{H-should-P\}$	

Table 6. Conversational state after A has uttered a request.

A	Table	B
<i>H-should-P</i>	$\langle be-ready[IMP]; \{H-should-P\} \rangle$	$H^{69}-should-P$
Common Ground cg_1	Projected Set $cg_1 \cup \{H-should-P\}$	

Table 7. Conversational state after B has responded with a Pfp.

⁶⁹ I assume that *H* represents the conversational participant B on both discourse commitment lists.

A	Table	B
Common Ground $cg_1 \cup \{H\text{-should-}P\}$		Projected Set

Table 8. Conversational state
after request has been accepted by B and added to CG.

This account requires no extension of the framework of Farkas & Bruce 2010 as compared to the account in Portner 2004. Portner (2004) proposes a more elaborate discourse structure where assertions are added to CG, questions to a question set, and commands to a to-do list (TDL) of the hearer. He also proposes that the semantic value of an imperative is a property of the hearer rather than a modalized proposition. Thus, the imperative *Go home!* denotes the property of going home. On this account, a confirmation of an imperative ensures that the property denoted by the imperative sentence is added to the TDL of the hearer. This approach does not explicitly represent the attitude of the speaker, namely, that the speaker in canonical directives wishes for the hearer to comply with the directive (Condoravdi & Lauer 2012:55). It is therefore difficult to show in this framework that the PfP is used to express consent and that the two conversational agents agree. By contrast, the account presented here explicitly spells out the commonalities between assertions and requests: The PfP serves as a supporting response and A has a positive bias toward the so confirmed proposition inasmuch as the proposition belongs to the discourse commitments of A.

8.3. Why the PfP Cannot Be Used as Response to Polar Questions.

At this point it can be shown why the PfP cannot be used as a response to a polar question, as shown in 93.

(93) a. A: War die Sitzung denn erfolgreich?

‘So was the meeting successful?’

B: Ja! /#Bejaht!

yes affirmed(PTCP)

‘Yes!’/Intended: ‘I affirm that!’

b. A: Sind Sie in der Lage, das Problem zu lösen?⁷⁰
 ‘Are you capable of solving the problem?’

B: Ja! /#Geschworen!
 yes sworn(PTCP)
 ‘Yes!’/Intended: ‘I swear!’

The conversational state after A has uttered the polar question looks like this:

A	Table	B
	<meeting-was-successfull [INT];{p,~p}>	
Common Ground cg_I	Projected Set $cg_I \cup \{p\} \vee cg_I \cup \{\sim p\}$	

Table 9. Conversational state after A has uttered a polar question.

A polar question is added to the Table with the possible denotations p or $\sim p$ (corresponding to the answers *Yes!* or *No!*). The projected set shows no bias toward a particular answer: Either p or $\sim p$ will be added to CG. The crucial difference from the two previous situations is that A has made no public discourse commitment as to the content of the question. The cell under A is empty. For that reason, no consent can be expressed and the PfP cannot be used felicitously.

9. The PfP in Monological Uses.

Like response particles, PfPs are also found in monological uses, as shown in 94. In 94, the PfPs can be replaced with *Ja!* ‘yes’.

⁷⁰ A reviewer observes that the following question-answer pair is possible:

(i) A: Sind Sie in der Lage, das Problem zu lösen?
 ‘Are you capable of solving the problem?’

B: Garantiert!
 guaranteed(PTCP)
 ‘I guarantee!’

This example is inconclusive since *garantiert* ‘guaranteed’ is also found as an adverb with approximately the same semantics: *Bestimmt!* ‘Certainly!’. The example is not possible with unambiguous participles such as *Bestätigt!* ‘I confirm!’ or *Geschworen!* ‘I swear!’ (as in 93b).

- (94) a. Zugestanden, eine optimale Sozialreform sieht anders aus.
 admit (PCTP) an optimal social.reform looks different PART
 'I admit, an optimal social reform looks different.'
 (PNW/W15.00009)
- b. Ich hole dich morgen ab. Versprochen!
 I pick you tomorrow up promised(PTCP)
 'I will pick you up tomorrow. I promise!'

In a monological use, the PfP serves to make explicit what kind of speech act the speaker has just performed (or is going to perform in case the PfP is used cataphorically). Thus, in a monologue the PfP is informationally redundant, and since it appears to violate Grice's maxim of quantity stating that a speaker should not make her contribution more explicit than is actually needed (Grice 1975:45), the PfP has special pragmatic effects, as have response particles in monological uses (Farkas & Bruce 2010:98).

In the following, I briefly illustrate two pragmatic effects arising from this kind of self-confirmation. In 94a, the PfP appears to concede to an (anticipated) belief or objection from the hearer. In 94b, the PfP serves to eliminate an (anticipated) doubt on the part of the hearer. These uses illustrate that PfPs in monological uses behave similarly to PfPs in dialogues: PfPs confirm the propositional content already on the Table (as in the model of Farkas & Bruce 2010). The only difference is that in monological uses the PfP confirms *p* that the speaker has placed on the table herself or which she presupposes to be on the Table. The hearer has made no public commitment to *p* herself. The speaker is assuming that the hearer holds a certain belief or a certain doubt about *p* and aims to augment CG with *p* or to keep *p* in CG by confirming *p*.

According to Couper-Kuhlen & Thompson (2000:381), concession is a recurrent morphosyntactic pattern in dialogues. The speaker concedes to a statement before presenting a contrasting statement. For example, in 95 the PfP *Zugegeben* 'Granted' is an explicit expression of a concessional element X', while X represents the statement that the speaker is conceding to. The contrasting statement Y is introduced with *trotzdem* 'nonetheless' to indicate the unexpected or contrasting conclusion. By using the concessive exchange in a monologue, the speaker concedes to an opinion that the hearer is assumed to hold or is

expected to advance as an objection to a following statement. In this way, the Pfp evokes the impression of a dialogue. The speaker is explicitly considering the expected attitudes of the target audience, and X is treated as if it already belongs to the discourse commitments of the hearer or to CG.

(95) Jeder spannt gerne zwischendurch aus und erholt sich.
'Everyone likes to relax and recover every now and then.'

X': Zugegeben.
admitted(PTCP)
'Granted.'

X: Nicht jeder macht gerne Urlaub in heissen Ländern.
'Not everyone wants to spend their holiday in hot countries.'

Y: Trotzdem, der Gedanke an Strand, Palmen und einen kühlen
Drink im heissen Sand lässt keinen kalt.

'Still, the thought of the beach, palms, and a cold drink while
lying on the warm sand is appealing to everyone.'

(A99/FEB.12434)⁷¹

The element Y can also be implicit, as in the following (constructed) discourse, where the speaker obviously anticipates a reproach from the hearer:

(96) Ich komme zu spät. Zugegeben!
I come too late. admitted(PTCP)
'I'm late. I admit!'

Askedal (2001:136) presents a similar idea for the Norwegian response particle *Nei!* 'No!' as an explicit rejection of a possible or implied/imagined alternative way of action, and Karagjosova (2006) discusses the use of *Doch!* 'Yes!' as a response to an anticipated negative statement.

The Pfp can also serve to confirm a statement in anticipation of the hearer's doubt. The Pfp patterns with particle-like clauses and fragments

⁷¹ Example 95 has been formatted for expository purposes.

serving to convince the hearer of the truth of the proposition, such as *Ich schwör's!* 'I swear!', *Ohne Schmarrn!* 'No kidding!', and *Ehrlich!* 'Really!'.

- (97) a. Garantiert: 4 Kilo pro Woche verschwinden
 guaranteed(PTCP) 4 kilos per week disappear
 von selbst⁷²
 by themselves
 'We guarantee: Four kilos a week will vanish on their own.'
- b. Aber wenn mir was auffällt, sag ich es euch zuerst.
 but if me something strikes tell I it you first
 Geschworen.
 sworn(PTCP)
 'But if I notice anything, you will be the first to know. I swear.'
 (NEW07/DEZ.00227)

PfPs derived from verbs of compliance with a request are also used for further emphasis, as shown in 98 for *Versprochen!* 'I promise!'.

- (98) Legen Sie das Kleidungsstück in die Sonne,
 put you the clothing in the sun
 sie erledigt das für Sie. Versprochen!
 it handles that for you promised(PTCP)
 'Just put the clothes out in the sun. It will take care of the rest. I promise!'
 (A11/SEP.12104)

Furthermore, in 99 the PfP is used to (reluctantly) confess that something is the case.

- (99) a. Zugegeben! Wir haben abgetrieben!
 admitted(PTCP) we have aborted
 'We admit! We had an abortion!'

⁷² <http://www.eyesaiditbefore.de/2005/04/22/nu-iss-doch-mal/>, accessed on September 26, 2017.

- b. Zugegeben. Ich habe keine Minute
 admitted(PTCP) I have no minute
 von Schweiz–Honduras gesehen.
 of Switzerland–Honduras seen
 ‘I admit it, I didn’t watch a single minute of the Switzerland-
 Honduras game.’ (A10/JUN.09075)

In 99, the speaker has reason to expect that the hearer would have difficulty believing that *p* because *p* is in some way controversial. It may describe behavior that is socially unacceptable (or possibly illegal), like having an abortion, or simply unexpected, like failure to watch a national football match. The PfP marks the utterance as the answer to an incredulous question. Thus, the examples in this section show that in monological uses, PfPs are used by the speaker to confirm the truth of his/her own statement in consideration of how the hearer may react to the statement. The core meaning of the PfP as confirmation is the same as in dialogues: *p may safely be added to or kept in CG*.

10. Conclusion.

In this article, I have shown that past participles in root position in German are not restricted to directive force. They are also used performatively in a pragmatically restricted way, namely, to express consent, or to signal that a proposition may safely be added to CG. I have also provided a basic description of this use of the past participle and shown how it can be captured in a framework such as LFG and in a conversational framework as the one developed for responses by Farkas & Bruce (2010). The discussion has also raised a number of questions for future research: What specific verbs can be used performatively as past participles and why does *hiermit* ‘hereby’ improve certain verbs used as PfPs considerably? In what contexts can a past participle of a performative verb be understood assertively? What kind of clause types can the PfP serve as a response to? What is the use of past participles as performatives from the crosslinguistic perspective? At the same time I hope to have drawn attention to yet another linguistic means for expressing consent.

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