Verbal and adjectival participles in imperative and declarative root configurations

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

(1) a. (HSV-Fans) Aufgepasst!   b. (Ajax-fans) Opgepast!
    (HSV-fans) out.watched!   (Ajax-fans) out.watched!
         -fans   -

(2) a. Versprochen! b. Beloofd!   (3) a. *Gegrüßt! b. Gegroet!   (4) a. Erledigt! b. Gedaan!
    promised   promised   greeted   greeted   done   done
              13r T4H6V4H8jV4Htive TQ   Done!   Done!

As the contrast in (3) and the fact that (1) to (3) cannot be translated with a participle in English show, the use of participles as roots is subject to parameterisation: English shares with the North Germanic languages that only the type in (4) is permitted, whereas German additionally allows (1) and (2) and Dutch even permits the additional type in (3). While previous work mostly investigated the properties of the directive type (see Rooryck & Postma 2007; Coussé & Oosterhof 2012; Heinold 2014), recent work also considered non-directive performative participles (see Ørsnes 2020). By contrasting their argument structural and aspectual properties, the present paper argues that root participles with declarative force