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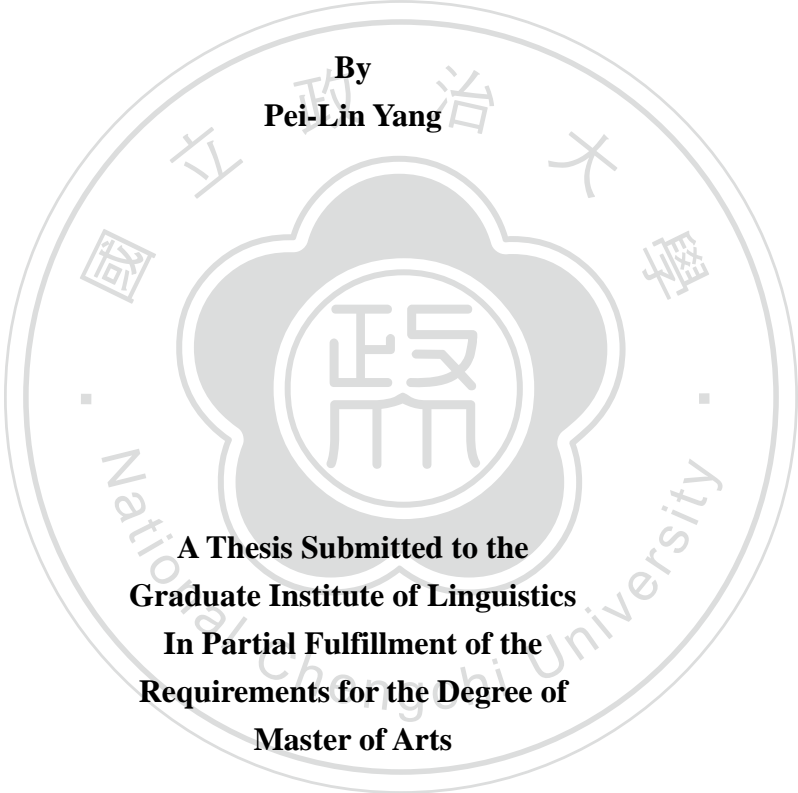
指導教授：謝妙玲 博士
何萬順 博士
Adviser: Dr. Miao-Ling Hsieh
Dr. One-Soon Her



研究生：楊佩霖
Student: Pei-Lin Yang
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Imperatives in Chinese

By
Pei-Lin Yang

The seal of National Chengchi University is a large, faint watermark in the background. It is circular with a five-petaled flower in the center. Inside the flower is a circle containing the Chinese characters '政大' (Chengchi University). The outer ring of the seal contains the university's name in Chinese characters '國立政治大學' at the top and 'National Chengchi University' at the bottom.

**A Thesis Submitted to the
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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	iv
Table of Contents	v
Chinese Abstract	vii
English Abstract.....	viii
Chapter	
1. Introduction.....	1
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 The Notion of Imperatives	1
1.2 Motivation and Purpose	3
1.3 Organization of the Thesis	8
2. Literature Review	11
2.0 Introduction.....	11
2.1 CP and Force.....	11
2.2 Imperatives as a Mood	12
2.3 Syntactic Analysis of Imperatives.....	14
2.3.1 Portner and Zanuttini (2003).....	14
2.3.2 Han (1998)	14
2.4 Previous Analyses of Imperatives in Chinese and Their problems.....	17
2.4.1 Yuan (1993) and Ramsey (1987)	17
2.4.2 Han (1998)	19
2.4.3 Chen-Main (2005).....	21
2.4.4 Problems	22
2.5 Tag Questions and Imperatives	28
2.6 Summary	35
3. Classification and Characteristics of Chinese Imperatives.....	37
3.0 Introduction.....	37
3.1. Positive Imperatives.....	37
3.1.1 Unmarked Type	37
3.1.2 Marked Type	45
3.2 Negative Imperatives	47
3.2.1 Negators in Chinese	47
3.2.2 <i>Bie</i> ¹ as a Distinctive Negative Imperative Marker.....	49
3.3 Summary	55
4. Deontic modal_{obligation} and Imperatives.....	57
4.0 Introduction.....	57
4.1 Deontic modal _{obligation}	57
4.2 <i>Bu yao</i>	61

4.3 More Tests to Differentiate Deontic Modal _{obligation} From <i>bie</i> ¹ Imperatives	67
4.3.1 <i>Lian Dou</i> Construction.....	68
4.3.2 Stacking of Modals	68
4.3.3. VP-fronting and VP-ellipsis.....	70
4.4 Summary	72
5. Syntactic Structure of Chinese imperatives.....	73
5.0 Introduction.....	73
5.1 Sentence Force and Mood.....	73
5.2 Tense Anchoring and Imperative Operator	75
5.3 Embedded Imperatives Subcategorized by Command Verbs	78
5.4 <i>Bie</i> ¹ is Neg P	79
5.5 Imperatives and <i>gei wo</i>	80
6. Subjects of Imperatives	87
6.0 Introduction.....	87
6.2 Subjects vs. Vocatives.....	88
6.3 Subject Properties vs. Topic.....	90
6.4 The Unique Properties of Imperative Subjects	93
6.4.1 Person Pronouns.....	93
6.4.2 Quantificational Subjects	94
6.4.3 Bare Noun Phrases.....	95
6.4.4 Proper Names.....	96
6.4.5 Interpretation of Null Subjects.....	97
6.5 The DP Structure of Imperative Subjects.....	99
6.6 Summary	101
7. Conclusion	103
7.1 Summary	103
7.2 Implications.....	106
References.....	107

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Imperatives in Chinese

指導教授: 謝妙齡 何萬順 教授

研究生: 楊佩霖

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韓(1999)提出祈使句是指句中主要動詞是祈使情態(imperative mood)的句子，與其他句型相較下，在其他語言中祈使句具有特別的動詞構詞或句法表現；然而，中文祈使句並無任何構詞或句法機制以表現祈使情態，因此，中文祈使句的句法表現和直述句相似。本論文動機為觀察到中文祈使句與其他語言祈使句的相異處，進而研究中文如何區別中文祈使句與其他句型的差異。同時，前人對於中文祈使句的研究多從描述性觀點出發，缺理論辯證，以致分析上產生缺失；因此，本文試從衍生句法的觀點分析中文祈使句的句法結構。

本論文主要有三個研究目的: 首先，本論文研究中文祈使句的句法特徵。其次，本論文研究如何區別中文祈使句與其他句型的差異，並發現中文的附加問句可以用來區別祈使句與直述句。並且，本論文發現中文的否定祈使句“別”字句與義務性情態詞“要/不要”在句法表現上雖有相同處，但亦表現出多方面的句法相異處。再者，本論文從衍生句法的觀點研究中文祈使句的句法結構。因為中文缺乏句法標記與構詞變化，因此無法從句法層面看出中文祈使句的話語效力(force)與情態(mood)，但藉由時制定位(tense anchoring)與祈使句的關係，本論文提出中文祈使句結構中具有祈使算子(imperative operator)。

Abstract

Han (1999) proposes imperatives are sentences whose main verbs are in the form of the imperative mood. Imperative sentences possess a distinct morphology within the verb or may be distinguished by their syntactic realization from other clause types. However, Chinese imperatives do not demonstrate verb-inflection nor do they impose morphological mechanisms to indicate mood; thus, it seems that imperatives in Chinese are similar to declaratives. This thesis observes the differences between imperatives in Chinese and in other languages, and these differences lead us to conduct a study on how Chinese distinguishes imperatives from other clause types. Moreover, this thesis finds that the previous analyses of Chinese imperatives lack theoretical grounds, as several problems and wrong prediction arise under those analyses. Thus, this study researches on the structure of Chinese imperatives from the perspective of generative grammar.

The thesis has three main goals. First, this thesis investigates the syntactic characteristics of Chinese imperatives. Second, this thesis seeks to discern how Chinese distinguishes imperatives from other clause types. This study utilizes tag questions to distinguish imperatives and declaratives. Furthermore, this study finds that the imperatives *bie*¹ and deontic Modals_{obligation} *yao* sentences are alike in some ways, but different in other ways. Third, from a generative perspective, this thesis proposes a syntactic structure of imperatives in Chinese. Although it seems difficult to find syntactic evidence of the imperative force and mood as well as a structure of imperatives because Chinese imperatives lack a morpho-syntactic strategy, this thesis proposes that Chinese possesses an imperative operator in imperatives, by examining the evidence from tense anchoring and imperatives.

1. Introduction

1.0 Introduction

This thesis is an investigation into the structure of Chinese imperatives. The thesis has three main goals. First, this thesis investigates the syntactic characteristics of Chinese imperatives. Second, this thesis seeks to discern how Chinese distinguishes imperatives from other clause types. Third, this thesis proposes a syntactic structure of imperatives in Chinese.

1.1 The Notion of Imperatives

An imperative sentence has a directive illocutionary force when the speaker imposes an obligation on the addressee to bring about the action of events denoted by the proposition of the imperative (Portner 2004). Canonically, imperatives express the directive illocutionary force associated with commands and requests. The term *imperatives* has often been used to refer to a sentence's function rather than its form. Therefore, imperatives are often defined in terms of semantics and function rather than by their syntax. For example, irrespective of syntactic form, any construction with a command illocutionary force, as illustrated in the example below, may be defined as an imperative.

(1) a. 你可以去關門嗎?

ni keyi qu guanmen ma

You can go close door Q

'Can you close the door?'

b. 門應該關起來。

men yinggai guanqilai

door should close

'The door should be closed.'

Sentence (1a) expresses an indirect speech act of command in the interrogative form, and (1b) indicates an indirect speech act of suggestion in the declarative form.

De van Wurff (2007) suggests that a whole range of sentence types that could have imperative and imperative-like functions include a straightforward command, as in (2), a tagged command as in (3), a peremptory declarative as in (4), an explicit performative as in (5), a question imperative as in (6), and the kind of non-command sentences utilizing imperative forms as in (7), (8) and (9).

(2) Behave yourself!

(3) Behave yourself, will you?

(4) You will behave yourself when mom and dad go out.

(5) I request you to behave yourself.

(6) Will you behave yourself?

From the perspective of function and semantics, all of the sentences above are imperatives because they all have approximately the same illocutionary force of order or request. Non-command sentences utilizing imperative forms are pseudo-imperatives (de van Wurff, 2007). These include the following examples from de van Wurff (2007:5): conditional use as in (7), wish use as in (8) and instruction as in (9).

(7) Say one word and I will kick you. (I dare you-S)

(8) Sleep well! (I wish-S)

(9) Shake well before using (I recommend-S)

In order to clearly define the notion of imperatives, the relations among

illocutionary forces, speech acts and sentence types need to be identified. Illocutionary force is a purely pragmatic category, that is, it is a property of utterance but not a property of sentence. Within pragmatic theory, the hearer chooses an illocutionary force among the potential illocutionary force which may be assigned to the utterance. The action performed by uttering a sentence is called a speech act (Austin, 1962; Sear, 1969). Different illocutionary forces perform different speech acts. A sentence type is identified by specifying the range of speech acts that an utterance of that sentence may be used to perform. For example, it is generally accepted that while declarative sentences perform assertive speech acts, imperative and interrogative sentences both perform directive speech acts, i.e., requesting action and information from the hearer, respectively. However, different types of sentences can be associated with the same illocutionary force, indicating the same range of speech acts that the sentences are used to perform. For instance, declarative sentences are not always used to perform assertive speech acts. Therefore, illocutionary force is not a necessary condition when defining different clause types.

In addition, the semantic and functional perspectives are insufficient in that they do not relate the command speech act to the syntax, nor do they account for the syntactic structure of imperatives. In considering the syntactic structure, the imperative should be defined as a syntactic sentential form synthesizing the illocutionary force of a command speech act. Thus, this thesis utilizes the term imperatives to refer exclusively to the syntactic form rather than the illocutionary force of command.

1.2 Motivation and Purpose

Sadock and Zwicky (1985) define clause types as a pairing of grammatical forms and conversational use. In many languages, imperatives may be identified via forms

which are particular to imperatives. Researchers studying imperatives in other languages have proposed various syntactic and semantic characteristics to define them. For example, in English, imperative sentences have bare verb stems. Potsdam (1996) defines the English imperative as a syntactic sentential form which is the canonical realization of a type of directive speech act and possesses two morphosyntactic properties. The first morphosyntactic property is lack of tense inflection, and the second the optionality of subject.

However, there is very little literature that provides a theoretical delineation to define imperatives in Chinese. Most studies (Ramsey 1987, Yuan 1993, Chen-Main 2005) examine Chinese imperatives from a descriptive point of view. None of them focuses on the syntactic structure of Chinese imperatives.

Han (1999) claims imperatives are sentences whose main verbs are in the form of the imperative mood. Imperative sentences possess a distinct morphology within the verb or may be distinguished by their syntactic realization from other clause types. For example, in Somali, a zero marking is used to contrast imperative sentences with declaratives, using 'waa' as a marker. In Korean, the sentence final particle *e-la* makes a clause imperative (Han, 1999). Moreover, in Romance and Germanic languages, there are verbal forms that are unique to imperatives, such as those found in Spanish (10a) and in Polish (10b) (Zeijlstra, 2006:406).

(10) a. Lee!

read. IMP. Sing

'Read!'

b. Nie pracuj!

neg work.2SG.IMP

'Don't work!'

In contrast, Mandarin does not demonstrate verb-inflection nor does it impose

morphological mechanisms to indicate mood; hence, the characteristics mentioned above in other languages cannot be regarded as criteria to evaluate imperatives in Mandarin.

In addition to the presence of a particular form, imperatives in other languages typically have distinct characteristics. First, subjects in imperatives often behave differently than subjects in declaratives or interrogatives. In English, subjects are obligatory, but subjects in imperatives are optional. Moreover, Beukema and Coopmans (1989) suggest that the imperative subject in English is either the pronoun *you* or the quantificational.

Second, in many European languages, imperatives have been observed to behave differently from a finite clause with respect to embedding. Previous literature on embedded imperatives is in consensus that imperatives typically cannot be embedded. Platzack and Rosengren (1998) claim that one distinctive property of imperative clauses is that they cannot be syntactically embedded, and suggest that apparent exceptions are actually quotations or some other type of verbal paradigm. Similarly, Rivero (1994) maintains that the resistance to embedding is a characteristic of imperative clauses in the imperative mood but not of imperative clauses with suppletive imperatives.

Third, in many languages, negative imperatives have special characteristics. Auwera & Lejeune (2005) and Auwera (2006) observe that the marking of negation in negative imperatives is different from the marking of negation in declaratives, such as in Greek. Sadock and Zwicky (1985) report that in their sample of imperatives in 23 languages, three quarters use either a special negator or a verb form (that is different from the one used in positive imperatives) for the negative imperatives. For example, in Romance languages, such as in Italian, the verb takes the infinitive form as in (11), and in Spanish, the verb takes the subjunctive or infinitive form as in (12) (Han 2001:

291, 292).

(11) a. *Non telefonale

Neg call.IMP-her

b. Non telefonarle

Neg call.INF-her

‘Don’t call her.’

(12) a. Lee!

read.IMP. Sing.

‘Read!’

b. *No lee!

Neg read. IMP.Sing

‘Don’t read!’

c. No leer!

Neg read INF

‘Don’t read!’

d. No leas!

Neg read PRES.SUBJ.2Sing

‘Don’t read!’

Sentences (11a) and (12b) indicate that the negators in Italian and Spanish are incompatible with verbs that have imperative forms; thus, Romance languages do not allow negative imperatives. In contrast, Germanic languages such as German and Polish allow their negators to occur with verbs taking an imperative form. Examples are (13) from Han (2001: 293) in German and (14) from Zeijlstra (2006: 406) in Polish.

(13) German

a. Schreib

write-2sg.Imp

‘Write!’

b. Schreibt nicht!

write-2pl.Imp Neg

‘Don’t write!’

(14) Polish

a. Pracuj!

Work.2sg.Imp.

‘Work!’

b. Nie pracuj!

Neg work. 2sg.Imp.

‘Don’t work’

The **motivation** of this thesis is observing the differences between imperatives in Chinese and in other languages. Compared with other languages, Chinese imperatives allow overt or covert subjects and require that the addressee be in a control relationship over the subject (Chen-main 2005). This thesis will investigate the range of subjects in Chinese imperatives in Chapter Six. In addition, Chen-Main (2005) suggests that Chinese allows imperatives to be embedded. This thesis will also research on this issue in Chapter Five.

Furthermore, Chinese, like Germanic languages, allows for negative imperatives. There are two main differences between Chinese imperatives and Germanic imperatives. The first difference is the negators used in imperatives and declaratives. Chinese uses a specific negator *bie* in imperatives, while German utilizes the same negator in imperatives as in declaratives. Another difference is that Germanic languages use morphology to indicate imperatives whereas Chinese does not. These

differences motivate us to conduct a study on how Chinese distinguishes imperatives from other clause types.

The **purpose** of this thesis is as follows. First, given that the means in other languages for verifying the status of a sentence as an imperative are not available in Chinese, this thesis investigates the syntactic characteristics of Chinese imperatives. Moreover, this thesis researches how Chinese distinguishes imperatives from other clause types and proposes a syntactic structure of imperatives in Chinese. Through exploring the syntactic structure of imperatives in Chinese, this thesis investigates the syntactic properties that give rise to the force of imperatives in Chinese.

1.3 Organization of the Thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters, and it is organized as follows: Chapter One delineates the motivation and purpose of this study. In Chapter Two, this thesis reviews some previous cross-linguistic research on general as well as on Chinese imperatives.

In Chapter Three, this thesis classifies Chinese imperatives into two main categories: positive imperatives and negative imperatives. In positive imperatives, the unmarked and marked types are distinguished by the polite verbs *qing* and the preposition phrase *gei wo*. In negative imperatives, this thesis focuses on *bie¹*, ‘don’t’; and then this thesis further examines the situational type of verb predicates, verb types, aspect markers, temporal adverbials, and sentential/adverbial adverbs in all types of imperatives to deduce the syntactic characteristics of Chinese imperatives.

In Chapter Four, this thesis differentiates Deontic modal_{obligation} from verb phrasal imperatives and *bie¹* imperatives; this thesis will demonstrate that *bie¹* imperatives and deontic modal sentences are syntactically different by using four syntactic tests.

In Chapter Five, this thesis focuses on the imperative mood, tense anchoring and imperative operator, and the syntactic status of *bie*¹. Then, this thesis proposes an imperative structure in Chinese.

In Chapter Six, this thesis focuses on subjects of imperatives with respect to vocatives and topics, and the unique properties of imperatives such as binding and interpretation of null subjects. This thesis further proposes a DP structure to account for the unique properties of imperative subjects. Finally, in Chapter Seven, this thesis summarizes the findings and their significance.



2. Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

In this chapter, this thesis reviews some previous works on imperatives, in general, and in Chinese imperatives in particular. In Section 2.1, this thesis first review Rizzi's (1997) split CP system, which is fundamental for studying imperatives as a clause type. Then, in Section 2.2, this thesis further reviews the notion of imperative mood. In Section 2.3, this thesis summarizes the different analyses of Portner and Zanuttini (2003) and Han (1999) as regards the study of imperatives cross-linguistically. In Section 2.4, this thesis reviews several previous studies on Chinese imperatives and the common problems associated with them. Then, in Section 2.5, this thesis proposes that the Chinese imperative is a specified clause type which can be distinguished by tag and rhetorical questions. Lastly, in Section 2.6, this thesis summarizes this chapter.

2.1 CP and Force

As mentioned in Section 1.1, the general concept of illocutionary force, which is a pragmatic notion, is insufficient to clearly define imperatives. Thus, this study turns to the force in the left periphery of the syntactic structure, **sentence force**, which is a syntactic notion, to distinguish different clause types and to accurately define imperatives. The major difference between illocutionary force and sentence force (syntactic force) is that while the latter can decide the clause type, the former is not sufficient to specify the clause type. Table 1 compares illocutionary force and sentence force.

Table 1 Comparison between Illocutionary Force and Sentence Force

Level	Form	Force	Relation with clause type	Relation
Pragmatics	Utterance	Illocutionary force	One to one /or more	Insufficient and not necessary
Syntax	Sentence	Sentence force	One to one	Sufficient and necessary condition

Rizzi's (1997) split CP system provides the fundamental framework for studying imperatives as a clause type.

“Complementizers express the fact that a sentence is a question, a declarative, an exclamative, a relative, a comparative, an adverbial of a certain kind, etc., and can be selected as such by a higher selector. This information is called the specification of Force [...] the C-system expresses a specification of finiteness, which in turns selects an IP system with the characteristics of finiteness: mood distinctions, subject agreement licensing nominative case, overt tense distinctions.” (Rizzi 1997: 283, 284)

The split CP system is delimited upward by Force, the head encoding “clausal typing” information and downward by Finiteness, the head differentiating finite and non-finite constructions. Topic and Focus are dedicated to topical and focal interpretations, respectively, as seen in (15) below. Force encodes “clausal typing” information, which distinguishes various sentence types: declaratives, interrogatives, and imperatives.

(15) Split CP Hypothesis (Rizzi, 1997)

[Force Topic* Focus Topic* Fin]

2.2 Imperatives as a Mood

According to Cinque (1999), mood is a grammatical category denoting modality.

Mood generally involves a small number of grammatical markers, such as affixes, which are not complete lexical items. ‘Mood’ is restricted to modal categories (categories mostly related to the speaker’s opinion or attitude toward the proposition, Lyons 1977) which are expressed in verbal morphology. Modals, instead, are typically independent words (verbs, auxiliaries, or particles). Plamer (2001) asserts that mood and modality are often treated together, which reflects the fact that the same category may be expressed via mood in one language, and a modal in another.

The imperative mood is a grammatical mood that expresses direct commands or requests. Cinque (1999) researches on speech act mood and observes the grammatical means, most often encoded as affixes on the verbs, that mark the basic illocutionary force of a sentence. Many languages distinguish declaratives from interrogatives and imperative moods. Speech act mood, when expressed via a suffix, is generally at the outermost point. Based on language allowing multiple modals, Cinque (1999) provides the order of functional categories as in (16) below, where he indicates that the speech act mood is at the highest head of IP.

(16) Mood_{speech act} > Mood_{evaluative} > Mood_{evidential} > Mood_{epistemic} > T (Past) > T (future) > Mood_{irrealis} > Mod root/T (Anterior) > Aspect_{perfect} > Aspect_{progressive} / Aspect_{completive} > Voice > V)

The imperative mood signals directive modality, especially in commands. Deontic modality is modality that connotes the speaker's requirement of the fulfillment of a desire. Thus, from the perspective of semantics and pragmatics, Han (1999) claims that imperative sentences have the modal force of deontic modal sentences, in that they contribute deontic modal force, just like deontic modal sentences do, but that there exist some differences between the two: the source of deontic modality in imperatives is the imperative mood, whereas the source of deontic modality in deontic modal sentences is the deontic modals in the indicative mood.

2.3 Syntactic Analysis of Imperatives

2.3.1 Portner and Zanuttini (2003)

The previous studies on imperatives focused on the cross-linguistic study of negative imperatives. Portner and Zanuttini (2003) point out that one can postulate a morphology or grammatical feature to represent the illocutionary force of a sentence. For example, in Chinese, a question operator represents the interrogative force of a sentence. Among various researches on imperatives, many researchers (Rivero 1994, Rivero and Terzi 1995, Zanuttini 1997, Platzack and Rosengren 1998, Han 1998) claim that imperative clauses are CP which is designated positions representing the imperative force. Hence, the imperative feature is located in the head C (or the head Force in ForceP, in Rizzi's 1997). Platzack and Rosengren (1998) suggest that the IMP feature in CP attracts the imperative verb, which has a corresponding IMP feature. In all Germanic languages, except English, the IMP feature is strong; hence, their imperative clauses are typically verb-initial, as in example (13) in Section 1.2 repeated below.

(13) German

a. Schreib

write-2sg.Imp

'Write!'

b. Schreibt nicht!

write-2pl.Imp Neg

'Don't write!'

2.3.2 Han (1998)

Han claims that any matrix sentence expresses illocutionary force, but when the

same sentence is embedded, it loses its illocutionary force. For instance, a matrix declarative which is an assertion ceases to be an assertion when embedded. Similarly, a matrix interrogative which is a question ceases to be a question when it is embedded, as illustrated in (17) and (18) from Han (1998: 111).

(17) a. John is intelligent

b. Mary thinks that John is intelligent

(18) a. Is John intelligent?

b. I don't know whether John is intelligent.

According to the cross-linguistic investigation, Han observes that imperatives cannot be embedded across language and that many languages use the subjunctive or infinitival in embedded clauses of reported directives. She proposes that it is the matrix clauses that express illocutionary force, as seen in the following (19) to (21) (Han, 1998: 112).

(19) Spanish

a. * Pido que dad-me el libro.

ask that give-2sg.Imp-me the book

'I ask that you give me the book.'

b. Pido que me deis el libro.

ask that me give-2sg.Subj the book

'I ask that you give me the book.'

(20) Italian

a. * Ti ordino che fallo subito.

you order that do-2sg.Imp-it immediately

'I order you to do it immediately.'

- b. Ti ordino che lo faccia subito.
 you order that it do-2sg.Subj immediately
 'I order you to do it immediately.'

(21) French

- a. *J'exige que tu finis.
 I-require that you finish-2sg.Imp
 'I require that you finish.'

- b. J'exige que tu finisses.
 I-require that you finish-2sg.Subj
 'I require that you finish.'

According to Han (1998), the fact that languages do not have embedded imperatives and that their matrix clauses express illocutionary force leads us to believe that the imperative operator has a feature that encodes illocutionary force.

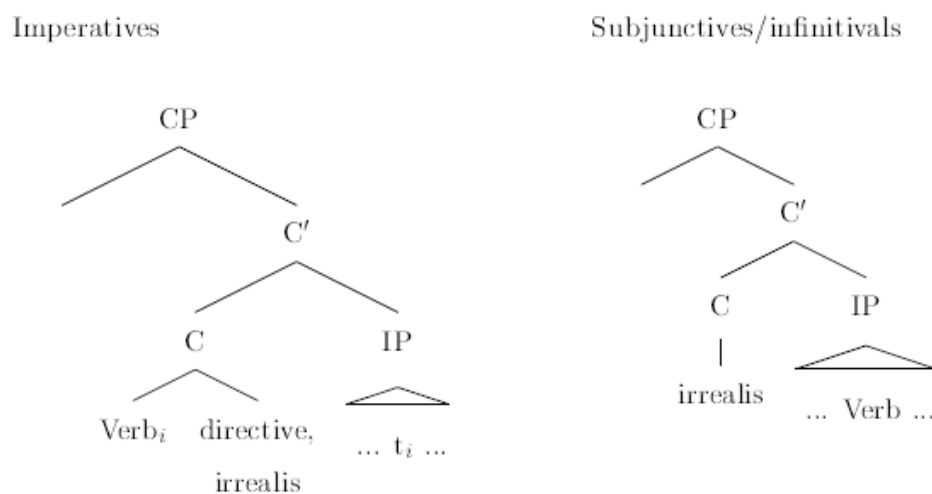
Moreover, based on the fact that languages use subjunctive or infinitives in clauses embedded under directive verbs, Han proposes that the imperative operator includes [directive] and [irrealis] features, and that the infinitival and the subjunctive operators include only the [irrealis] feature.

The imperative operator includes a [directive] feature that encodes a directive illocutionary force, and an [irrealis] feature that encodes modality, both of which contribute to the interpretation that a certain state has not been realized. In Han's proposal, the feature [directive] is responsible for driving verb movement to C in imperatives, whereas in subjunctives and infinitives, the subjunctive / infinitival operator in C does not contain [directive], thus prohibiting verb movement to C. But the operator includes the [irrealis] feature, which is responsible for selecting subjunctive or infinitive INFL.

Han further proposes that the imperative operator stands in C^0 , or in Force^0 in

Rizzi's split-CP system, as shown in (22) below from Han (1998: 120).

(22)



Han argues that while the directive force of imperatives is directly encoded, the directive force of subjunctives and infinitives are generated through inference. The directive force of imperatives is not the result of Gricean reasoning or inference, but is directly encoded in their logical form. Han contends that the logical form of imperatives contains two components: one (the feature [directive]) component encodes directive force, and the other (the feature [irrealis]) encodes modality.

2.4 Previous Analyses of Imperatives in Chinese and Their problems

2.4.1 Yuan (1993) and Ramsey (1987)

Ramsey (1987) and Yuan (1993) both study Chinese imperatives from the perspective of description. Yuan (1993) first classifies Chinese imperatives into positive and negative imperatives and then conducts research into the predicates in Chinese imperatives. From the semantic perspective, Yuan (1993) observes that the

subject must be [+human] and the verb must be [+control]. Under the category of [+control] verbs, either [+volitional] or [-volitional] verbs can function as the predicate in imperatives. Yuan summarizes the collocation between imperatives and the predicates in the following Table 2 (Yuan, 1993: 30).

Table 2 Collocation between Imperatives and Predicates

Semantics of Verb		Positive imperatives	Negative imperatives
[+ volitional]	Positive meaning	✓	
	Negative meaning		✓
	Neutral meaning	✓	✓
[- volitional]			✓

Ramsey (1987) suggests five strategies for forming a command in Chinese as in (23) below.

(23)

a. Use of a verb form or a predicate alone, with or without a second person pronoun.

你站起來!

(Ni) zhan qi lai.

You stand up

‘Stand up!’

b. Use of the sentence particle *ba*.

去打掃你的房間吧!

Qu da sao ni de fang jian ba.

Go clean your room particle

‘Clean your room!’

c. Use of the polite verb *qing*

請坐下

Qing zuo xia.

Please sit down

‘Please sit down.’

d. Use of *bu yao* in a negative command

不要大聲喧嘩

Bu yao da sheng xuan hua.

Neg modal loud speak

‘Do not speak loud!’

e. Use of *bie* in a negative command

別動!

Bie dong!

Neg move

‘Don’t move!’

Ramsey (1987) characterizes the above structures and directly links them to their pragmatic use.

2.4.2 Han (1998)

Han observes that it is difficult to determine whether imperatives exist as a grammatical category in Chinese because Chinese has no mood or tense morphology. Sentences are formed with bare verb forms and they can be assertions with present, past temporal interpretation, or command, as illustrated in (24) below from Han (1998: 145).

(24) 你走

ni zou

you walk

‘You walked’

‘You are walking’

‘You walk!’

However, Han argues that facts from negation provide evidence that the imperative is present as a grammatical category in Chinese. When the negation marker *bie* occurs in a matrix clause, it can only take 2nd person subject pronouns and the sentence can only have a directive function. This is illustrated in (25) from Han (1999:145).

(25)

a. 你别打人

ni bie daren

you Neg hit person

‘(you) Don’t hit anyone.’

b.*他别赌

ta bie du

He Neg gamble

‘He shouldn’t gamble.’

Moreover, Han notices that when *bie* occurs in an embedded clause, it can only occur if the matrix predicate is a directive predicate, as illustrated in (26) from Han (1998:145) below.

(26) a. 他命令我別打籃球

ta mingling wo bie da lanqiu
 he command I Neg play basketball

‘He commands me not to play basketball.’

b. *我知道他別打籃球

wo zhidao ta bie da lanqiu
 I know he Neg play basketball

‘*I know that he not play basketball.’

Han proposes that *bie* requires a licenser and it is licensed either by a [directive] feature in the imperative operator or a directive predicate. Thus, when *bie* occurs in a matrix context, it is licensed by a directive feature in the imperative operator, and so it can only take a 2nd person pronominal subject and the sentence in which it occurs can only have a directive function. On the other hand, when *bie* occurs in an embedded context, it is licensed by a directive predicate in the matrix clause, and since embedded clauses do not have directive illocutionary forces, they can occur with 3rd person subjects.

2.4.3 Chen-Main (2005)

Chen-Main (2005) asserts that all the five constructions which Ramsey (1987) proposed for forming commands share a set of characteristics that distinguishes them from Mandarin declaratives and interrogatives. She claims that the negative marker *bie* and the sentence final particle *ba* are unique imperative forms. Chen-Main compares negative *bie* imperatives with imperatives formed with *ba* and observes the following shared characteristics of *bie* and *ba*. First, both *bie* and *ba* require that subjects have a special relationship with the addressee. *Bie* and *ba* show restrictions against first person singular and non-quantificational third person subjects in matrix

clauses. Second, when *bie* and *ba* can both be embedded, the restriction on subjects disappears. Third, *bie* and *ba* have similar restrictions in the case of the temporal marker. Imperatives are incompatible with *-guo* but may appear with *-zhe*, *-le*, as well as *zai*.

In summary, Chen-Main (2005) proposes the following properties as the defining characteristics of Mandarin imperatives: First, Mandarin imperatives may be used as an order, and they are not allowed to be used for making assertions or posing questions. Second, Mandarin imperatives allow overt or covert subjects and require that the addressee be in a control relationship over the subject. Third, Mandarin imperatives may not co-occur with the temporal marker *-guo*. Fourth, Mandarin imperatives may be embedded.

2.4.4 Problems

There are several problems in the argumentation of the previous studies on Chinese imperatives. First, the constructions which Chen-Main (2005) and Ramsey (1987) identify as imperatives are not unique to imperatives, but can also be applied to other clause types. Thus, we cannot distinguish imperatives from other clause types simply because of their five construction patterns, which might be utilized in other clause types. For example, *buyao* can be used in declaratives, as in (27) below.

(27) 我希望你不要坐下

Wo xiwang ni bu yao zuoxia

I hope You Neg modal sit down

‘I hope that you do not sit down.’

Moreover, according to Li (2006), the sentence final particle *ba* is not used in imperatives exclusively, as demonstrated in the following sentences. *Ba* can occur in declaratives, yes/no questions, imperatives, wh-questions and A-not-A questions. The

following examples are from Li (2006: 30, 31).

(28)

- a. Honggjian zai bangongshi ba Declaratives
 Honggjian at office particle
 ‘(Probably) Honggjian is in his office.’
- b. Honggjian zai bangongshi ba Yes/no questiona
 Honggjian at office particle
 ‘Honggjian is in his office, right?’
- c. Jin lai ba! Imperatives
 enter come particle
 ‘(I suggest you) come in!’
- d. Xiaofu weishenme bu lai ba Wh-question
 Xiaofu why Neg come particle
 ‘(I suggest you tell me) why Xiaofu isn’t coming!’
- e. Honggjian qu-meì-qu xuexiao ba A-not-A
 Honggjian go- Neg-go school particle
 ‘(I suggest you tell me) whether Honggjian went to school!’

Li (2006) claims that *ba* is a degree marker — it marks a low degree of the speaker’s commitment when occurring in declaratives. He suggests that in imperatives *ba* indicates different degrees of the strength of the speaker’s intention to have the action carried out. Thus, when *ba* marks a low degree of strength, it implies that the speaker is more flexible in terms of whether he or she wishes the action to be actually carried out or not. The following Table 3 from Li (2006: 35) summarizes the parallel performance of *ba* and *ma* in different sentence types.

Table 3 Parallel Performance of *ba* and *ma* in Different Sentence Types

	Declaratives		Imperatives		Wh-, Yes/no questions	A-not-A,
<i>ba</i>	low degree	of 'the speaker's commitment to the assertion'	low degree	of 'the speaker's intention to have an action carried out'	low degree	of 'the speaker's intention to have the hearer provide the answer'
<i>ma</i>	high degree		high degree		high degree	

In addition, although Han (1998) claims that facts from negation *bie* provide evidence that Chinese does have the imperative as a grammatical category, she suggests that *bie* can only take 2nd person pronouns as subjects and that the sentences can only have directive functions. However, this study argues that *bie* is not specific to imperatives, as illustrated in (29) below.

(29) 颱風今晚登陸台灣東部, 他可別已經去了花蓮

Taifeng jinwan denglu Taiwan dongbu

Typhoon tonight land Taiwan east

Ta bie yijing qu-le Hualian

He Neg already go-ed Hualian

'Tonight a typhoon will strike the east of Taiwan, I hope that he hasn't gone to Hualian yet.'

In (29), *bie* is not specific to imperatives, but it is also used in declaratives, which suggests that Chinese does not possess any particular form to mark a sentence imperative. This study argues that *bie* is a polysemy with two different meanings and functions; *bie*¹ is specific to imperatives and acts to prohibit something from happening in the present and future, and *bie*² is used in declaratives to express an assumption or a counter-factual proposition expressing the speaker's wish as in (29) above.

Therefore, this study argues that it is necessary to postulate a syntactic structure to interpret Chinese imperatives and to syntactically denote the illocutionary force of imperatives in Chinese.

Secondly, Chen-Main (2005) indicates that *bie* and *ba* may be compatible with *-zhe*, *-le*, as well as *zai*. Nevertheless, in Chapter Three, this study observes that verb phrasal imperatives are incompatible with the perfective marker *-le*, which indicates the termination of a bounded event, as demonstrated in (30) below.

- (30) *跌了倒
 die- le dao
 fall -phase down
 ‘*Finish falling down.’

Semantically, imperatives act as commands which encourage or prevent a particular event or situation from coming into being. Hence, the aspect marker *-le* and *-guo*, which suggest a past bound event, are not compatible with imperatives. Imperatives cannot denote a past aspect; instead they have a future orientation. Moreover, imperatives cannot collocate with *-zai*, which is a pre-verbal marker indicating durativity, as illustrated in (31) below, because they cannot command an event which is already underway.

- (31) *在唱歌!
 zai-changge
 Asp sing
 ‘*Be singing!’

Third, both Chen-Main (2005) and Ramsey (1987) claim that deontic Modal_{obligation} *yao* sentences are equated to imperatives with *bie*¹, whereas this study argues that there are some differences between imperatives with *bie*¹ and deontic modal_{obligation} sentences which suggests that we cannot simply equate imperatives with

*bie*¹ with deontic modal_{obligation} sentences, as shown in (32) below. For example, deontic Modal_{obligation} is grammatical under VP-ellipsis whereas *bie*¹ is not.

(32)

a. 張三不要去，李四也不要

Zhangsan buyao qu Lisi ye buyao

Zhangsan Neg must go Lisi also Neg must

‘John must not go, and Bill also’

b. *張三別去，李四也別

Zhangsan bie qu Lisi ye bie

Zhangsan Neg go Lisi also Neg

‘John must not go, and neither must Bill’

Fourth, Han (1998) observes that it is difficult to determine whether imperatives exist as a grammatical category in Chinese because the latter have no mood or tense morphology on the verb. She claims that facts from negation provide evidence that Chinese does have the imperative as a grammatical category. However, the claim has been proved invalid, as this study has mentioned, *bie* is not used exclusively in imperatives. This study finds that tag questions and rhetorical questions serve as the supporting evidence to prove that imperatives are syntactically different from other clause types.

(33)

a. 你明天來,是不是/對不對/好不好/行不行?

ni mingtian lai

you tomorrow come

shi-bu-shi / dui-bu-dui / hao-bu-hao /xing-bu-xing

yes-not-yes/ correct-not-correct/ right-not-right /feasible-not-feasible

‘Come here tomorrow, will you?’

‘You will come here tomorrow, won’t you?’

b. 這台車壞了, 是不是/對不對/*好不好¹/*行不行?

zhe- tai che huai-le

this-CL car breakdown

shi-bu-shi / dui-bu-dui / *hao-bu-hao / *xing-bu-xing

yes-not-yes/ correct-not-correct/ *right-not-right / *feasible-not-feasible

‘This car has broken down, hasn’t it?’

c. 請坐下, *是不是/*對不對/好不好/行不行?

Qing zuoxia

please sit down

*shi-bu-shi / *dui-bu-dui / hao-bu-hao /xing-bu-xing

*yes-not-yes/ *correct-not-correct/ right-not-right /feasible-not-feasible

‘Please sit down, will you?’

It seems that declaratives and imperatives are compatible with the same tag questions in (33a) above. However, due to the fact that (33a) is ambiguous, it can take a wider range of tag questions. One possible interpretation of (33a) is the fact that it is

¹ In Taiwan Mandarin, *hao-bu-hao* is pragmatically used in both truth confirming-tag and command-complying tag. Thus, sentence (33b), ‘*zhe- tai che huai-le, hao-bu-hao*’, is grammatical in Taiwan Mandarin.

a declarative, meaning that it can take tag questions such as *shi-bu-shi* and *dui-bu-dui*. For instance, if we substitute future time adverbs with the past time adverb, such as *zuotian* ‘yesterday’, the sentence is only declarative in nature. The other interpretation is that (33a) is an imperative, and thus can take tag questions such as *hao-bu-hao* and *xing-bu-xing*.

Furthermore, by comparing the declarative (33b) and imperative (33c) above, this study argues that the distribution of tag questions in declaratives and imperatives seems to be mutually exclusive. This thesis further demonstrates in the following section that tag questions distinguish imperatives from declaratives.

2.5 Tag Questions and Imperatives

Tag questions are questions that take the form of yes-no questions, attached to the end of a clause. In English, tag questions take many forms as shown in the following examples in (34) below.

(34)

A. Declarative Tags

- a. You have watched the movie, haven't you?
- b. John has left, hasn't he?

B. Exclamative Tags

What a wonderful place, isn't it?

C. Imperative Tags

- a. Close the window, won't you?
- b. Close the window, can't you?
- c. Close the window, won't somebody/anybody?
- d. Close the window, can't somebody/anybody?

In declarative tags, the auxiliary is a repetition of the stem clause and the subject is the pronoun referring to the subject of the stem clause. In contrast, in imperative tags, the auxiliary is not a repetition of the stem clause and the subject is not necessarily the pronoun referring to the subject of the stem clause (Li 1998). Consequently, this study observes that tag questions in English can be utilized to differentiate different clause types.

Klima (1964) proposes that tag questions derive from the correspondence of yes-no questions to their preceding statements. Thus, tag questions share the same deep structure as that of their preceding clause, as in (35a) and (35b), whereas (35c) and (35d) are ungrammatical.

(35)

- a. John must come here, mustn't he?
- b. You went to the train station, didn't you?
- c. *Come here, did you?
- d. *Come here, must you?

Arbini (1969) claims that imperative tags, as in sentence (36a), are derived from (36b).

(36) a. Come early, will you?

b. You will come early.

Huddleston (1970) proposes a compound sentence approach to the study of tag questions, asserting that both the preceding statement and the tag are each derived from a full sentence, and that the tag is then reduced under partial identity with the preceding statement. Thus, (36a) is derived from (37).

(37) Come early, will you come early?

The above analysis implies that different tag questions reflect different underlying structures of the preceding clause. That is, imperative tags have a

fundamentally different kind of underlying structure from declaratives and exclamatives. If this claim is also valid in Chinese, we can infer that tag questions in Chinese may also serve as a test to distinguish different clause types.

In Chinese, tag questions include *shi-bu-shi* ‘yes not yes’, *xing-bu-xing* ‘feasible not feasible’, *dui-bu-dui* ‘correct not correct’, *hao-bu-hao* ‘right not right’, and along with their variations *shi-ma*, *xing-ma*, *dui-ma*, *hao-ma*, respectively (Li, 1998).

Li (1998) follows the classification of tag questions introduced by Wu (1979), and divides tags into two groups based on semantic functions. One is that of the truth-confirming tags such as *shi-bu-shi* and *dui-bu-dui*, and the other is that of the command-complying tags such as *xing-bu-xing* and *hao-bu-hao*. The illocutionary meaning of these two types of tag questions is different: the truth-confirming tags are used to solicit the addressee’s agreement to the proposition, whereas the command-complying tags are used to solicit the addressee’s compliance with the proposition.

(38) Declaratives

你去過那邊了，是不是/是嗎/ *好不好²/ *好嗎?

ni qu-guo nabian -le, shi-bu-shi / shi-ma /*hao-bu-hao /*hao-ma

you go Asp there yes-not-yes / yes-Q /right-not-right / right-Q

‘You’ve been there, haven’t you?’

² In Taiwan Mandarin, sentence (38), ‘*ni qu-guo nabian le, hao-bu-hao?*’, is grammatical because *hao-bu-hao* possesses the pragmatic functions of both truth-confirming tag and command-complying tag.

(39) Imperatives

a. 不准動!

bu zhun dong

Neg allow move

'Don't move!'

b. 不准動, *是不是/*好不好/*行不行/*對不對?

bu zhun dong, * shi-bu-shi /*xing-bu-xing/*dui-bu-dui/ *hao-bu-hao

Neg allow move yes-not-yes/ feasible-not-feasible/correct-not-correct/right-not-right

'Don't move, will you?'

c. 不准動, 行嗎/好嗎/ *是嗎/*對嗎?

bu zhun dong, xing-ma/ hao-ma/*shi-ma /*dui-ma

Neg allow move feasible-Q/ right-Q/ yes-Q/ correct-Q

'Don't move, will you?'

Declaratives are compatible with the truth-confirming tags such as *shi-bu-shi* and *dui-bu-dui* but incompatible with the command-complying tags as illustrated in (38). And, in contrast, imperatives are found to be incompatible with A-not-A tag questions, as in (39b), and also with the truth-confirming tags such as *shi-ma* and *dui-ma*. They are only compatible with the command-complying tags such as *xing-ma* and *hao-ma* as in (39c).

In addition, tag questions also differentiate episodic modal sentences from deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences. Epistemic modal sentences can collocate with the truth-confirming tags such as *shi-bu-shi* and *dui-bu-dui* but are incompatible with the command-complying tags as illustrated in (40). Compared with epistemic modal sentences and imperatives, deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences can collocate with both the truth-confirming tags and the command-complying tags as illustrated in (41).

(40) Epistemic modal

這樣處理應該是正確的,

zhe yang chuli yinggai shi zhengquede

this way deal with might copula accurate

是不是/對不對/*好不好³/*行不行?

shi-bu-shi / dui-bu-dui / *hao-bu-hao /*xing-bu-xing

yes-not-yes/ correct-not-correct/ right-not-right /feasible-not-feasible

‘It might be the right way to deal with this matter.’

(41) Deontic Modal_{obligation}

a. 你要去, 張三也要去, 是不是/對不對/好不好/行不行?

ni yao qu Zhangsan ye yao qu

you have to go Zhangsan also have to go

shi-bu-shi / dui-bu-dui / hao-bu-hao /xing-bu-xing

yes-not-yes/ correct-not-correct/ right-not-right /feasible-not-feasible

‘You have to go and so does Zhangsan, don’t you?’

b. 你要去, 張三也要去, 是嗎/對嗎/好嗎/行嗎?

ni yao qu Zhangsan ye yao qu

you have to go Zhangsan also have to go

shi-ma/ dui-ma / hao-ma/ xing-ma

yes-Q / correct-Q/ right-Q/ feasible-Q

‘You have to go and so does Zhang San, don’t you?’

Furthermore, following Li (1998: 72), there are three kinds of illocutionary act in Chinese tag questions: asking for judgement, requesting for confirmation and requesting for action. This study observes that illocutionary acts can further

³ In sentence (40), *hao-bu-hao* is grammatical in Taiwan Mandarin since it is also pragmatically a truth-confirming tag.

distinguish imperatives from deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences. The illocutionary force of tag questions in imperatives is to request for an action, whereas the illocutionary acts of tag questions in deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences can be to seek confirmation.

Table 4 demonstrates the collocations between clause types and tag questions.

Table 4 Collocations between Clause Types and Tag Questions

Clause Types	Tag Questions	Illocutionary Acts
Declaratives	Truth-confirming tags: <i>shi-bu-shi / dui-bu-dui</i>	Seeking affirmation
Epistemic modal sentences	Truth-confirming tags: <i>shi-bu-shi / dui-bu-dui</i>	Seeking affirmation
Deontic Modal _{obligation} sentences	Truth-confirming tags: <i>shi-bu-shi / dui-bu-dui</i>	Seeking affirmation
	Command-complying tags: <i>hao-bu-hao / xing-bu-xing</i>	Seeking for confirmation
Imperatives	Command-complying tags: <i>hao-bu-hao / xing-bu-xing</i>	Request for action

If the analysis of tag questions in Chinese is identical to that of English, then the syntactic analysis of tag questions in Chinese is related to the preceding clause types. Li (1998) proposes that the underlying structure of Mandarin tag questions is divided into two sub-parts, one being the structure of simple A-not-A or yes-no questions with sentential subjects or topics, and the other being the construction of co-ordination, as illustrated in (42).

(42)

a. [[那台電腦故障了]_S]_{NP} [是不是]_{VP}?

na-tai2 diannaο guzhang-le shi-bu-shi

that-CL computer crashed yes-not-yes

‘That computer *has crashed, hasn’t it?*’b. [[坐下來]_{S1} (和) [(坐下來)_{S2} 好嗎]_{S0}?

zuoxia-lai he (zuoxia-lai) hao-ma

sit down and sit down right-Q

‘Sit down, will you?’

Based on the illocutionary force, Li further divides tag questions into ‘Question’ and ‘Request’. The illocutionary act of asking a question using tag question is a direct act, whereas the illocutionary act of a request is an indirect one. She claims that it is grammatical to form complex sentences by means of tag questions which are used to perform a direct illocutionary act of question, but ungrammatical for an indirect illocutionary act of request to appear as a subject or a direct object of a verb in complex sentences. This implies that tag questions performing question acts have an underlying structure of simple A-not-A or yes-no question with sentential subjects or topics, and that tag questions performing requests possess the underlying structure of the co-ordination of two main clauses. Accordingly, the tag questions request an action in imperatives, thus they possess the underlying structure of the co-ordination of two main clauses, as in (42b).

Furthermore, declaratives can take a rhetorical question, as in (43) below whereas imperatives cannot, as in (44).

(43) Declaratives

你去過那邊了，不是嗎？

ni qu-guo naban-le , bu-shi-ma

you go Asp there-perfective , not-yes-Q

You have been there, haven't you?

(44) Imperatives

不准動，*不行嗎/*不好嗎？

bu zhun dong bu-xing-ma / bu-hao-ma

Neg allow move not-feasible-Q / not-right-Q

'Don't you move, won't you?'

In summary, the imperative is in fact a clause type in Chinese which can be distinguished by tag questions and rhetorical questions.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter, this thesis has reviewed some previous work on imperatives in Chinese. Under scrutiny, this thesis found that the previous analyses of Chinese imperatives lack theoretical grounds, as several problems and wrong prediction arise under those analyses.

In Chapter Three, this thesis will classify Chinese imperatives and further examine the situational type of verb predicates, verb types, aspect markers, temporal adverbials, and sentential /adverbial adverbs for all types of imperatives to generalize the syntactic characteristics of Chinese imperatives in the course of the argumentation.

3. Classification and Characteristics of Chinese Imperatives

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter, this thesis first classifies Chinese imperatives into two main categories: positive imperatives and negative imperatives (Yuan, 1993). In positive imperatives, the unmarked type and marked type are distinguished by the polite verbs *qing* and preposition phrase *gei wo*. Then, this thesis examines the situational type of verb predicates, verb types, aspect markers, temporal adverbials, and sentential /adverbial adverbs for all types of imperatives. The characteristics of Chinese imperatives will be manifested throughout the course of the following argumentation.

3.1. Positive Imperatives

3.1.1 Unmarked Type

The most commonly used positive imperatives are sentences with verb phrases or predicates alone as (45) to (51) below.

(45) 坐下來! Activity/stage level predicate

zuo xialai

Sit down

‘Sit down!’

(46) a. *高興! State/stage level predicate

gaoxing

happy

‘Be happy!’

b. 高興點!

gaoxing -dian

happy diminutive

'Be more happy!'

(47)*流血!

State

liuxie

bleed

'Bleed!'

(48) 畫一幅畫!

Accomplishment

hua yi-fu hua!

paint one -CL picture

'Paint a picture!'

(49) 贏那場比賽!

Achievement

ying na-chang bisai!

Win that -CL game

'Win that game!'

(50) *聰明!

Individual level predicate

congming

smart

'Be smart!'

(51) *漂亮!

Individual level predicate

piaoliang

beautiful

'Be beautiful!'

As shown in the sentences above, this thesis notes that not all verbs or predicates can form imperatives. Activity verbs, as in (45), are able to form imperatives, whereas

state verbs, such as *gaoxing* ‘happy’ or *liuxie* ‘bleed’, are not permitted to be expressed as imperatives. In (48) and (49), stage level predicates, such as accomplishments and achievements, grammatically form imperatives. In contrast, individual level predicates in (50) and (51) are ungrammatical in the imperative form. The above sentences imply that imperatives require active verbs and semantic agents as their subjects. That is, the imperative is restricted to a situation in which there is an agent.

In (46a), the state verb *gaoxing* ‘happy’ is unable to form an imperative, but *dian* ‘diminutive’ indicating the change of state makes the (46b) grammatical. The collocation between imperatives and verb types is summarized in Table 5 below.

Table 5 Collocation between Imperatives and Verb Types

	Verb Type	Example	Collocation with imperative
Stage level predicate	State	<i>liuxie</i>	X
	Active	<i>zuo xialai</i>	✓
	Accomplishment	<i>hua yi-fu hua!</i>	✓
	Achievement	<i>ying na-chang bisai!</i>	✓
Individual level predicate	State	<i>congming</i>	X

That fact that imperatives require semantic agents is further supported by the collocation of verb types and imperatives. An unaccusative verb is an intransitive verb whose syntactic subject is not a semantic agent, but a theme. In contrast, an

unergative verb is an intransitive verb whose syntactic subject is a semantic agent. A transitive verb is a verb whose syntactic subject is a semantic agent and whose syntactic object is a semantic theme/patient. A causative verb is a verb whose syntactic subject is a causer and whose syntactic object is a theme/patient. The following, (52) to (55), below illustrate the four different verb types as well as their argument structures.

(52) Unergative {Agent verb}

你笑

ni xiao

you smile

‘You smile!’

(53) Unaccusative {Theme_i verb_i}

a.*你死

ni si

you die

‘You go die.’

b.*冰溶化

bing ronghua⁴

Ice melt

‘Ice melt!’

c.*房子倒

fangzi dao

house collapse

‘*House collapse!’



(54) Transitive {Agent verb Theme}

你說實話！

ni shuo shihua

You say truth

‘You tell me the truth !’

(55) Causative {Causer verb Theme}

你關上門

ni guan-shang men

you close up door

‘You close the door !’

In observing the above positive imperative sentences, this thesis finds that the unaccuastive verb, whose syntactic subject is not a semantic agent, cannot appear in the imperative form. This indicates that Chinese imperatives require semantic agents as syntactic subjects.

As mentioned in the literature review, the cross-linguistic investigation of imperatives indicates that imperatives possess a distinct morphology within the verb, or distinct syntax from other clause types in other languages. On the contrary, Chinese does not utilize any verb affixes or other morphosyntactic mechanisms to indicate mood; hence, on the surface, imperatives in Chinese are similar to declaratives. Given that the means in other languages for verifying the status of a sentence as an imperative are not available in Chinese, it is necessary to employ other means to do so; such means can be viewed as a language-specific parameter. Apart from illocutionary force and imperative mood, this study proposes that imperatives can be distinguished from other clause types in Chinese, and that this can be done so by the regulation of

the argument structure of verbs. That is, Chinese imperatives require semantic agents⁴ as syntactic subjects.

The following (56) to (59) show the collocation between aspect markers and imperatives.

(56) a. *跑了

pao le

Run -le

‘*Ran!’

b. *看了電影

kan le dianying

see -le movie

‘*Saw the movie!’

c. 吃了午餐!

chi- le wucan

eat -phase lunch

‘Finish eating lunch!’

d. *跌了倒

die- le dao

fall -phase down

‘Finish falling down.’

⁴ The proto-typical imperative subject is agent, while in some occasion, theme is also grammatical as the imperative subject as the following sentence (53’) with the psychological verb.

(53’) 你別傷心 { Theme verb }

ni bie changxin

you don’t sad

“Don’t be sad.”

e.*眨了眼!

zha- le yan

blink -phase eye

‘*Finish blinking your eyes.’

(57) *看過那部電影!

kan-guo na- chang dianying

Watch Asp that- CL movie

‘*Watched that movie!’

(58) 看著我的眼睛!

kan- zhe wo- de yanjing

look -Asp 1st possessive eye

‘Keep looking at my eyes!’

(59) *在唱歌!

zai- changge

Asp sing

‘*Be singing!’

Generally, *-le* is unable to occur in imperatives which denote an imperfective event, as illustrated in (56a) and (56b). In (56d) and (56e), verbs such as *zha* ‘blink’ and *diedao* ‘fall down’ are unable to form imperatives with the perfective marker *-le*, whereas (56c) *chi-le wucan* is considered grammatical. This leads us to conclude that the lexicon plays a crucial role in determining whether the verb can occur with *-le* and grammatically form imperatives. If the lexicon denotes an event which is a durative process such as *chi wucan* ‘eat lunch’ in (56c), *-le* is grammatical in the imperatives. On the other hand, if the lexicon denotes a punctual event, then *-le* cannot occur with the lexicon to form an imperative.

In (57) above, the experiential marker *-guo*, which suggests that something happened in the past, is also found to be incompatible with imperatives. The incompatibility between verbs and *-guo* can be understood by taking the semantic perspective into consideration. Semantically, imperatives act as commands which encourage or prevent a particular event from happening. Hence, the aspect marker *-guo*, suggesting a past bound event, is not compatible with imperatives. The above sentences also indicate that verb phrasal imperatives cannot denote a perfective aspect; instead, they must be an unbounded event and denote a future orientation.

On the contrary, in (58) above, imperatives are found to be compatible with *-zhe*, which is a post verbal marker indicating continuous durativity. A continuous durativity event is unbounded and imperfective; and therefore, grammatical in imperatives. On the other hand, as seen as in (59) above, given imperatives cannot command an event which is already underway; they cannot collocate with *-zai*, which is a pre-verbal marker indicating progressive durativity.

The above examples indicate that imperatives are unbounded and future-oriented; that fact can be further supported by the collocation of time adverbials as in the following (60) below.

(60) a. 明天練習!

Mingtian liansi
tomorrow practice
'Practice tomorrow!

b. *昨天練習!

Zuotian liansi
yesterday practice
'Practice yesterday!'

Imperatives with activity predicates are compatible with future adverbials such

as *mingtian* ‘tomorrow’, but not with past adverbials such as *zuotian* ‘yesterday’. Thus, the above indicates imperatives are unbounded and future-oriented.

Now consider (61) below, which examines imperatives with manner and sentential adverbs.

(61) a. 你慢慢地走 manner adverb

Ni manmandi zou

you slowly walk

‘You walk slowly’

b.*你一定犯錯! sentential adverb

Ni3 yiding fancuo

you definitely make mistake

‘You definitely make mistakes.’

In (61) above, verb phrasal imperatives can take a manner adverbial, but cannot take a sentential adverbial.

In summary, verb phrasal imperatives are syntactically quite similar to Chinese declaratives on the surface, but their peculiarity lies in the fact that they impose the above semantic and syntactic constraints on the verb predicates.

3.1.2 Marked Type

Qing is a polite verb used in imperatives to soften a command and show politeness, as in (62) below. *Qing* can occur in the initial position in a sentence or after the subject.

(62) a. 請你喝杯水

Qing ni he-bei shui

Please you drink-CL water

‘Please drink (some) water.’

b.請坐下

Qing zuoxia

please sit down

‘Please sit down.’

There are two other forms, *ba* and *gei wo*, which can soften or strengthen the command. As mentioned in Section 2.5, Li (2006) claims that *ba* marks a low degree of strength, implying that the speaker is more flexible in terms of whether the action is actually carried out or not. Thus, if a speaker would like to turn a command imperative into a suggestion, he or she can add the sentence particle *ba* to the end of the sentence, as in (63) below.

(63) 去打掃你的房間吧!

Qu dasao ni-de fangjian ba
go clean your-possessive room particle

‘Clean your room!’

On the other hand, if the speaker would like to strengthen the degree of command, he or she can add the preposition phrase *gei wo* to the imperatives, as in (64) below.

(64) 你給我坐下

ni gei wo zuoxia
you give I sit down

‘You sit down on me.’

However, both *ba* and *gei wo* are not used exclusively in Chinese imperatives. Since they cannot be treated as imperative markers in Chinese, this thesis will further discuss *gei wo* in Chapter Five.

3.2 Negative Imperatives

3.2.1 Negators in Chinese

The two most common negators in Chinese are *bu*, *mei* (*meiyou*), as in (65) below.

(65)

a. 他不念書

ta1 bu nianshu

3SG NEG study

‘He does not study.’

b. 他沒有開門

ta meiyou kaimen

3SG NEG open door

‘He didn’t open the door.’

(Li & Thompson 1981: 417, 418)

Neither *bu* nor *mei you* are able to form imperatives by themselves. Hence, (66a) and (66b) below are acceptable only in the declarative form.

(66). a. 你不動

ni bu dong!

you neg move

‘You don’t move.’

b. 你沒有忘記中飯

ni meiyou wangji zhongfan!

you Neg forget lunch

‘You didn’t forget your lunch!’

Bie is a polysemy with two different meanings and functions. *Bie*¹ is specific to

imperatives and acts to prohibit a particular event from happening in the present and future, as in (67a) below. On the other hand, *bie*² is used in declaratives and functions to express an assumption or a counter-factual proposition expressing the speaker's wish, as in (67b) below.

(67) a. 你別動!

ni bie dong
 You Neg move
 'Don't you move.'

b. 颱風今晚登陸台灣東部，他別已經去了花蓮

taifeng jinwan denglu4 Taiwan dongbu
 Typhoon tonight land Taiwan east
 ta bie yijing qu- le5 Hualian
 He Neg already go-perfective Hualian

'Tonight, the typhoon will strike eastern Taiwan. I hope that he hasn't gone to Hualian yet.'

Bu can appear in imperatives and it expresses prohibition. When *bu* appears in a *bie*¹ imperative, it always appears after *bie*¹, as in (68) below.

(68) 別不理人

bie bu liren!
 Neg Neg notice
 'Don't ignore people'

Although *bu* may appear in imperatives, it seems that it falls within the scope of *bie*¹ and does not contribute to the imperative force. In contrast, *bie*¹ is conventionally associated with imperatives, and cannot be used in declaratives or interrogatives. *Bie*¹ is incompatible with the sentence final *ma*, *wh*-words, and A-not-A interrogative forms, as seen in (69) and (70) below.

(69) 你別站在那裡

ni bie zhan zai nali.

you Neg stand at there

‘Don’t stand there.’

‘*You don’t stand there.’

(70) a. *你別動嗎?

ni bie dong ma?

you Neg move Q-particle

b. *別把書給誰?

bie ba shu ge shei?

Neg ba book give who

c. * 別在床上跑不跑?

bie zai chuanghaiang pao-bu- pao ?

Neg at bed on jump neg jump

In summary, the fact that *bie*¹ behaves differently from the negation used in declaratives and interrogatives further confirms that *bie*¹ is a special imperative negator and that it contributes to both the imperative force and negation.

3.2.2 *Bie*¹ as a Distinctive Negative Imperative Marker

*Bie*¹ is considered to be historically derived from *bu yao*, but it no longer possesses the meaning ‘don’t want’ that *bu yao* does. The context in which *bie*¹ appears is a subset of the context in which *bu yao* appears (Chen-Main, 2005). Thus, there is a parallel between *bie*¹ and *bu yao* with respect to the compatibility between situational types, verb types, aspect markers, temporal adverbs, and manner/sentential adverbs. In this section, this study examines the situational types, verb types, aspect markers, temporal adverbs, and manner/sentential adverbs in negative imperatives

with *bie*¹, and in Chapter Four this study will further compare *bie*¹ and *buyao*.

First, the predicates in sentences (45) to (51) are repeated in the following (71), and the situational types of verbs demonstrate different ranges of grammaticality in negative imperatives with *bie*¹.

(71) a. 別樂觀

bie leguan

Neg optimistic

‘Don’t be optimistic!’

b. 別跑

bie pao.

Neg run

‘Don’t run.’

c. 別畫一幅畫

bie hua yi-fu hua.

Neg paint one-CL paint

‘Don’t paint a picture.’

d. 別贏那場比賽

bie ying na-chang bisai.

Neg win that CL game

‘Don’t win that game.’

As shown in (71) above, *bie*¹ imperatives with activity, accomplishment, and achievement predicates, which refer to an event that can be brought about by an individual, are grammatical. In contrast, those with individual-level state and stage-level state predicates, which refer to the inherent properties of an individual that cannot be changed, are anomalous. The above indicate that negative imperatives require semantic agents as syntactic subjects and an active verb as predicate.

Secondly, verb types in the preceding sentence (52) to (55) is repeated again in the following, (72) to (75), to examine the compatibility between verb types and negative imperatives with *bie*¹.

(72) Unergative { Agent verb }

你別笑

ni bie xiao

you neg smile

'Don't you smile!'

(73) Unaccusative { Theme_i verb_i }

a. 你別死

ni bie si

you neg die

'Don't you die on me!'

b. 冰別溶化

bing bie ronghua

Ice neg melt

'The ice must not melt!'

c. 房子別倒

fangzi bie dao

house neg collapse

'The house must not collapse!'

(74) Transitive { Agent verb Theme }

你別說實話！

ni bie shuo shihua

You neg say truth

'Don't you tell the truth!'

(75) Causative {Causer verb Theme}

你別關上門

ni bie guan-shang men

you Neg close up door

‘Don’t you close the door!’

The syntactic subjects in (72), (74), and (75) above are all semantic agents, which further confirms the analysis that the syntactic subjects in imperatives must be semantic agents. However, to indicate that grammatically speaking unaccusative verbs can appear in negative imperatives, as in (73), is not reasonable. One possibility is that examples in (73) above are not imperatives at all, but rather are declaratives; in fact the sentences feature the negator *bie*², which functions to express an assumption or a counter-factual proposition expressing the speaker’s wish, as in (29) mentioned in Section 2.3.4.

Third, the compatibility of aspect marker and negative imperatives with *bie*¹ is examined in the following (76) and (77) whose predicates are repeated from the preceding sentences (52) to (59). The collocation of aspect markers and *bie*¹ is the same as verb phrasal imperatives. The incompatibility between *bie*¹ and aspect markers can be interpreted by taking the semantic perspective into consideration.

(76) a. 別看電視

bie kan dianshi.

Neg watch TV

‘Don’t watch TV.’

b. 別看著電視

bie kan-zhe dianshi.

Neg watch-Asp TV

‘Don’t keep watching TV.’

c. *別在看電視

*bie zai-kan dianshi.

Neg Asp- watch TV

d. *別看過電視

bie kan-guo dianshi.

Neg watch- Asp TV

‘Don’t watch TV’

Semantically, *bie*¹ in imperative sentences serves to prevent particular events from coming into being. From (76c) above, this thesis finds that *bie*¹ imperatives cannot collocate with *-zai*, a pre-verbal marker indicating progressive durativity, as they cannot command an event which is already underway. Nor is the experiential marker *-guo* suggesting a past bound event compatible with *bie*¹ imperatives, as in (76d) above. From (76b), this study finds that *bie*¹ imperatives are compatible with the marker *-zhe*, which is a post verbal marker indicating continuous durativity. A continuous durativity event is unbounded and imperfective; therefore, it is grammatical in *bie*¹ imperatives.

(77) a. 別跑了操場

Bie pao le caochang

Neg run -le playground

‘*Don’t you ran the playground.’

b 別吃了午餐!

bie chi-le wucan

Neg eat- phase lunch

‘Don’t finish eating lunch!’

c.* 別跌了倒⁵

bie die-le-dao

Neg fall-phase down

‘*Don’t finish falling down.’

d.* 別眨了眼!

Bie zha-le-yan

Neg wink-phase-eye

‘* Don’t finish blinking your eyes.’

Generally, the perfective marker *-le* is unable to occur in imperatives which denote an imperfective event, as illustrated in (77a). In (77c) and (77d), verbs denoting a punctual event such as *zha* ‘wink’ and *diedao3* ‘fall down’ are unable to form *bie*¹ imperatives with the perfective marker *-le* indicating the termination of a bounded event. In (77b), *chi wucan* ‘eat lunch’ denotes an event which is a durative process; when used in this way is grammatical to occur with the perfective marker *-le* may be used to form *bie*¹ imperatives. The above sentences also demonstrate that *bie*¹ imperatives cannot denote a perfective aspect, but rather have a future orientation⁶.

Furthermore, imperatives with *bie*¹ are unbounded and future-oriented, which is further confirmed by the fact that imperatives are compatible with future adverbials, as in (78a) below, but not with past oriented adverbs, as seen in (78b) below.

⁵ Since there is *bie*², sentence (77c) is ambiguous. Therefore, sentence (77c) is grammatical under the reading of *bie*² and (77c) is a declarative sentence. That is, the ungrammatical sentences in imperatives might be grammatical declarative sentences under the reading of *bie*².

⁶ It can also be some internal situation as long as it is not a bounded event, thus, in sentence (71), accomplishment predicate is grammatical in imperatives.

(78)a. 明天別去台北

mingtian bie qu Taibei
 tomorrow Neg go Taipei
 ‘Don’t go to Taipei tomorrow!’

b. *昨天別去台北

zuotian bie qu Taibei
 yesterday Neg go Taipei
 ‘Don’t go to Taipei yesterday.’

Lastly, imperatives with *bie*¹ can take both manner adverbs and sentential adverbs, as in (79) below.

(79) a. 你(*慢慢地)別(慢慢地)走 manner adverb

ni (manmande) bie (manmande) zou
 you slowly Neg slowly walk
 ‘Don’t you walk slowly!’

b. 你(一定)別(*一定)犯錯 sentential adverb

ni3 (yiding) bie (yiding) fancuo
 you definitely Neg definitely make mistakes
 ‘Don’t you definitely make mistakes.’

3.3 Summary

After examining the situational types of verb predicates, verb types, aspect markers, temporal adverbials, and sentential/adverbial adverbs for all types of imperatives, this thesis identifies two syntactic characteristics of Chinese imperatives: First, imperatives require semantic agents and active verbs. Second, imperatives must be unbounded and future oriented.

In Chapter Four, this thesis will compare deontic modal_{obligation} sentences and *bie*¹ imperatives to demonstrate that deontic modal_{obligation} sentences and imperatives with *bie*¹ are actually two different syntactic structures in Chinese.



4. Deontic modal_{obligation} and Imperatives

4.0 Introduction

In the preceding chapter, this thesis laid out the characteristics of Chinese imperatives. In this chapter, this thesis compares the deontic modal_{obligation} sentence, and *bie*¹ imperatives to demonstrate that deontic modal_{obligation} sentences and imperatives with *bie*¹ are actually two different syntactic structures in Chinese. This thesis does this by examining the compatibility of imperatives with the situational type of verbs, verb types, time adverbials, and manner/ sentential adverbials.

This chapter is organized as follows. In Section 4.1, this thesis presents previous analyses of deontic modal_{obligation}. Then this thesis focuses on *buyao* and compares it with verb phrase imperatives with respect to its compatibility with the situational type of verb, verb types, time adverbials, and manner/ sentential adverbials. In Section 4.3, this thesis further differentiates negative imperatives with *bie*¹ from the deontic modal_{obligation} *buyao*. Moreover, in Section 4.4, this thesis utilizes four syntactic tests to distinguish deontic modal_{obligation} *buyao* from negator *bie*¹, which indicates that deontic modal_{obligation} *bu yao* and *bie*¹ are actually different with respect to their syntactic status.

4.1 Deontic modal_{obligation}

Generally speaking, deontic modals are related to obligation, permission, volition, and ability. Among them, deontic modals expressing obligation, such as *bixu* ‘must’, *yinggai* ‘should’, *dei / de* ‘have to’, and *yao* ‘have to’, are the focus of this chapter since semantically they function as imperatives to impose a sense of command and

obligation.

Based on the ordering source, Tsai and Portner (2008) further divide deontic modals into two types: subject/situational-oriented ‘ought to do’ modals and addressee/ speaker-orientation ‘ought to be’ modals. Subject/situational-oriented ‘ought to be’ modals, featuring an obligation or a permission issued by an unspecified authority, form a declarative sentence. In contrast, the addressee/ speaker-orientation ‘ought to be’ modal, featuring an obligation or permission issued by the speaker in communicating directly to the addressee, forms an imperative sentence. *bixu* ‘must’, *yinggai* ‘should’, *dei / de* ‘have to’, and *yao* ‘have to’ are all ambiguous with respect to their orientation as shown in (80) to (82) below. Following Tsai and Porter’s classification, this thesis narrows the scope of this study to the addressee/ speaker-orientation ‘ought to be modal’.

In (80) below, *bixu* ‘must’ indicates obligation. If the obligation is expressed by an unspecified authority, then it should be treated as a subject-oriented ‘ought to do’ modal, as defined by Tsai and Portner (2008). However, it is possible that the speaker is the one who expresses the obligation to the addressee, in which case *bixu* ‘must’ should be interpreted as an addressee-oriented ‘ought to be’ modal.

(80) 你必須寫完作業!

Ni bixu xie- wan zuoye
 you have to write-perfective assignments

‘I require that you have to finish your study assignment.’ ***addressee-oriented***

‘You are required to finish your assignment.’ ***situation-oriented***

In (81) below, *yinggai* ‘should’ expresses either epistemic necessity or obligation.

(81) 你應該跑快一點!

ni yinggai pao kuai-yidian

you should run fast

‘You should run quickly!’

‘It should be the case that you run fast.’ *epistemic*

‘You are required to run fast.’ *situation-oriented*

‘I command that you run fast.’ *addressee-oriented*

Similarly, in (82), *dei / de* ‘have to’ marks obligation and possesses ambiguous meanings.

(82) 你得在十點前回家

ni de zai-shidian qian huijia

you have to ten o'clock before go home

‘You are required to go home before ten.’ *situation-oriented*

‘I command that you have to go home before ten.’ *addressee-oriented*

The polysemous modal *yao* has four modal senses: volition, directive, commissive, and judgmental (Wu 2009). Only the directive sense, *yao* ‘have to’, is included in this study. *Yao* modifies the proposition and turns it into an obligatory action which must be carried out by the hearer. Just like *yinggai* ‘should’ and *dei / de* ‘have to’, *yao* ‘have to’ is ambiguous with respect to its orientation; at times the deontic source of obligation does not originate from the speaker but from laws or social customs. For example, *yao* in (83a) below indicates the obligatory action carried out by the subject according to moral principles and social customs.

(83) a. 學生要尊敬老師

xuesheng yao zunjing laoshi

student have-to respect teacher

‘Students have to respect their teachers.’ *situation-oriented*

b. 你要關門窗

ni yao guan menchuang

You have to close door window

‘I command that you have to close the doors and windows!’ *addressee-oriented*

‘You are required to close the doors and windows!’ *situation-oriented*

Normally, speaker-oriented elements with illocutionary force are situated rather high in the syntactic structure, most likely in the high projection in the left periphery, at ForceP (Rizzi 1997), but this does not seem to be the case in Chinese as shown in (84) below from Tsai and Portner.

(84) Epistemic adverb > Epistemic /Future modal> Deontic Adverb> Ought to be Modal> Subject> frequent Adverb> Ought to do Modal> Dynamic Modal

(Tsai and Portner 2008:4)

In the above discussion another problem arises. Since the addressee-orientation deontic modal_{obligation} is related to imperatives, could we simply equate *bie*¹ imperatives with deontic modal_{obligation} sentences? If this is the case, we might hypothesize that there is an implicit addressee-orientation deontic Modal_{obligation} in unmarked verb phrasal imperatives, which implies that deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences and verb phrasal unmarked imperatives should show a parallel grammaticality in line with the situational types of the verb predicates, aspect markers, temporal adverbials, and sentential/adverbial adverbs. That is, the addressee-orientation deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences should have the same semantic and syntactic constraints on verb predicates and identical characteristics as those of verb phrasal unmarked imperatives. Moreover, if this assumption proves to be correct, and verb phrasal unmarked imperatives can be treated as deontic modal_{obligation} sentences, then we can assume that adding deontic Modal_{obligation} to unmarked verb phrasal imperatives will form grammatical imperatives.

In Section 4.3, this thesis will test the above hypothesis. Here, this thesis discusses positive imperatives featuring *yao* and negative imperatives featuring *bu yao* together since the negator *bu* does not affect the syntax of deontic modal_{obligation} sentences.

4.2 *Bu yao*

Among the four aforementioned deontic modals_{obligation}, only *yao* and *yinggai* form grammatical negative deontic modal_{obligation} sentences. In this section, this thesis focuses on *bu yao* and compares verb phrasal imperatives with *bu yao* to test the hypotheses which were proposed at the beginning of Section 4.1.

Although *bu yao* is composed of the negator *bu* and the modal *yao* on the surface, *bu yao* has already been grammaticalized in its historical development and encodes two polysemous forms, one of which is a negated verb ‘not want’, the other is a form used to make negative imperatives ‘do not’. The grammaticalized *buyao* cannot be decomposed into the negator *bu* and the modal *yao*, instead, we have to treat *buyao* as a unified form featuring directive meaning.

(85) a. 不要吃了午餐!

buyao chi-le wucan
Neg modal eat-Asp lunch

‘Don’t finish eating lunch!’

b. *不要看過那部電影!

buyao4 kan-guo na- bu dianying
Neg modal Watch that-CL movie

‘*Don’t watched that movie!’

c. 不要看著我的眼睛!

buyao kan-zhe wo-de yanjing

Neg modal look 1st- possessive eye

‘Don’t keep looking at my eyes!’

d. *不要在唱歌!

bu yao zai- changge

Neg modal durative sing

‘Don’t be singing!’

The interaction between aspect and deontic Modal_{obligation} *buyao* behaves similarly as in unmarked verb phrasal imperatives. The aspect marker *-guo* is not compatible with the deontic Modal_{obligation} as shown in (85b) above. In (85d), the deontic Modal_{obligation} cannot collocate with *-zai*. The deontic Modal_{obligation} is compatible with the marker *-zhe* as in (85c). In (85a), *chi wucan* ‘eat lunch’ denotes an event which is a durative process and grammatically collocates with the perfective marker *-le* to form deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences. Similar to the preceding test in sentence (56) to (59), the above sentences indicate that the deontic Modal_{obligation} cannot denote past aspects; instead they be future oriented and unbounded as shown in (86) below.

(86)a. 明天不要練習!

mingtian buyao liansi

tomorrow Neg modal practice

‘Don’t practice tomorrow!’

b. *昨天不要練習!

zuotian buyao liansi

yesterday Neg modal practice

‘*Don’t practice yesterday!’

Just like verb phrasal imperatives, the above deontic Modal_{obligation} with activity predicates are not compatible with past oriented adverbials.

The predicate in sentences (45) to (51) is repeated in the following sentences (87) to compare the situational type of verb in verb phrasal imperatives and deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences.

(87) a. 不要坐下來! Activity/ Stage level predicate

buyao zuoxialai

Neg modal sit down

‘Don’t sit down!’

b. 不要生氣! State/ stage level predicate

buyao shengqi

Neg modal angry

‘Don’t be angry!’

c.*不要流血! State

buyao liuxie

Neg modal bleed

‘Don’t bleed’

d. 不要畫一幅畫! Accomplishment

bu yao hua yi-fu hua!

Neg modal paint one-CL picture

‘Don’t paint one picture!’

e. 不要贏那場比賽! Achievement

buyao ying na-chang bisai!

Neg modal win that-CL game

‘Don’t win that game!’

f *不要聰明!

Individual level predicate

buyao congming

Neg modal smart

‘Don’t be smart!’

g. *不要漂亮!

Individual level predicate

buyao piaoliang

Neg modal beautiful

‘Don’t be beautiful!’

The lexical aspect of the predicate explains for the grammaticality of the deontic modal sentences. Compared with verb phrasal imperatives, activity verbs and stage level predicates such as accomplishment and achievement can grammatically form deontic modal_{obligation} sentences; whereas state verbs *liou xie* ‘bleed’ in (87c) above and the individual level predicates in (87f) and (87g) above are unable to form deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences.

(88) a. *樂觀!

leguan

optimistic

‘Be optimistic!’

b. 要樂觀!

yao leguan

modal optimistic

‘(You) have to be optimistic!’

c. 不要樂觀!

Buyao leguan

Neg-modal optimistic

‘Don’t be optimistic!’

The major difference between verb phrasal imperative and deontic modal sentences is illustrated in (87b) is that while the state verb *shengqi* ‘angry’ cannot form a grammatical verb phrasal imperative on its own, it can grammatically form imperatives in collocation with *bu yao*. In (88a), the verb *leguan* is too anomalous to form imperatives but by adding deontic modal_{obligation} the sentences become grammatical, as in (88b) and (88c)⁷.

The following (89) to (92) illustrate the four different verb types occurring in deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences.

(89) Unergative {Agent verb}

你不要笑

ni buyao xiao
you Neg modal smile

‘Don’t you smile!’

(90) Unaccusative { Theme_i verb_i}

a.*你不要死

ni buyao si
you Neg modal die

‘Don’t you die.’

b.*冰不要溶化

bing buyao ronghua
Ice Neg modal melt

‘The ice must not melt.’

⁷ Both *shengqi* and *leguan* are psychological verb and their subjects are theme, which is considered as exceptions as what we observed that imperatives require a semantic agent as a syntactic subject.

c.*房子不要倒

fangzi buyao dao

house Neg modal collapse

‘The house must not collapse!’

(91) Transitive {Agent verb Theme}

你不要說實話！

ni buyao shuo shihua

You Neg modal say truth

‘Don’t you tell me the truth!’

(92) Causative {Causer verb Theme}

你不要關上門

ni buyao guan-shang men

you Neg modal close up door

‘Don’t you close the door!’

As mentioned in Chapter Three, Chinese imperatives require a semantic agent as a syntactic subject. In observing the above sentences, this thesis argues that the unaccuastive verb whose syntactic subject is not a semantic agent cannot appear in deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences.

Moreover, in contrast with verb phrasal imperatives which can take a manner adverbial but cannot take a sentential adverbial, the deontic modal_{obligation} can take both manner adverbs and sentential adverbs, as seen in (93) below.

(93) a.你(*慢慢地)不要 (慢慢地)走 **manner adverb**

Ni (*manmandi) buyao (manmandi) zou

You slowly neg-modal slowly walk

‘You must not walk slowly.’

b.你(一定)不要 (*一定)犯錯 **sentential adverb**

Ni3 (yiding) buyao (*yiding) fancuo

You (definitely) neg- modal (definitely) make mistakes

‘You definitely must not make mistakes.’

The above distinction between verb phrasal imperatives and deontic modals_{obligation} may suggest that we cannot simply equate verb phrasal imperatives with deontic modal_{obligation} sentences. If verb phrasal imperatives syntactically conform to deontic modal_{obligation} sentences, adding deontic modal_{obligation} to all verb phrasal imperatives will result in grammatical imperatives. However, (46a) and (88a) above illustrate that state verbs or predicates cannot form grammatical imperatives, but can grammatically form deontic modal_{obligation} sentences, as seen in (87b) and (88b), which implies that verb phrasal imperatives and deontic modal_{obligation} sentences are not syntactically equal to each other. Therefore, the assumption that there is an implicit deontic Modal_{obligation} in unmarked verb phrasal imperatives is not valid.

4.3 More Tests to Differentiate Deontic Modal_{obligation} From *bie*¹ Imperatives

There is a parallel between *bie*¹ and *buyao* with respect to compatibility with verb types, aspects, situation types, temporal adverbials, and manner/sentential adverbials. However, there are some differences which indicate that they belong to different syntactic categories. This study observes that there is a discrepancy between the syntactic properties of *bie*¹ imperatives and deontic modal_{obligation} *yao* sentences. Given the above discrepancies between *bie*¹ and *buyao*, it is necessary to further differentiate them on a syntactic level. In this section, this thesis utilizes more tests to analyze deontic modal_{obligatory} *yao* sentences and imperatives with *bie*¹.

4.3.1 *Lian Dou* Construction

In a *lian dou* construction, the subject is moved from the embedded subject to the matrix subject position and leaves a trace which should be properly governed. According to Lin and Tang (1995), the trace is not head governed because *lian* can not be a proper head governor. They claim that control modals are acceptable in the *lian duo* construction, because they are control verbs and the fronting PRO is not subject to the ECP.

(94)

a. 連借給王五一百元 你都不要

lian jiegei Wangwu yi-bai yuan ni dou buyao
 even lend give Wangwu one-hundred dollar you neg modal

‘Even just one hundred dollars, you must not lend to Wangwu.’

b. *連借給王五一百元 你都別

lian jiegei Wangwu yi-bai yuan ni dou bie
 even lend give Wangwu one-hundred dollar you neg

‘Even just one hundred dollars, you must not lend to Wangwu.’

According to the above sentences, *yao* is grammatical under the *lian dou* construction. In contrast to *yao*, *bie*¹ is ungrammatical under the *lian dou* construction, as in (94b).

4.3.2 Stacking of Modals

Lin (2006) indicates that obligation modals may occur simultaneously in Chinese, but that they must obey a strict ordering restriction. The necessity modal *yinggai* ‘should’ must precede the obligation modal *bixu* ‘must’ and the obligation modal *bixu* ‘must’ precedes *dei*. Moreover *dei* must precede *yao* and the reverse order is

ungrammatical, thus the hierarchy is arranged: *yinggai* > *bixu* > *dei* > *yao*. Following Tsai (2009a), in order to better reflect the ordering restriction of deontic Modal_{obligation}, this study analyzes deontic Modal_{obligation} as a functional category. Tsai suggests that *yinggai* and *yao* are modal auxiliaries whereas *bixu* and *dei* are modal adverbs.

(95) a. 你應該必須得不要借給王五錢

ni yinggai bixu de buyao jiegei Wangwu qian

You should must must neg modal lend give Wangwu money

‘You must not lend money to Wangwu.’

(declarative sentence expressing obligation)

b.*你應該必須得別借給王五錢

ni yinggai bixu de bie jiegei Wangwu qian

You should must must neg lend give Wangwu money

‘You must not lend money to Wangwu.’

(96) a. 你不應該不可以不要借給王五錢

ni bu yinggai bu keyi buyao jiegei Wangwu qian

You neg must neg can neg must lend give Wangwu money

‘You must lend money to Wangwu.’

(declarative sentence expressing obligation)

b.*你不應該不可以別借給王五錢

ni bu yinggai bu4 keyi bie jiegei Wangwu qian

You neg must neg can neg lend give Wangwu money

‘You must lend money to Wangwu.’

As illustrated in (95) and (96) above, the hierarchical test demonstrates that, unlike *yao*, *bie*¹ is not permitted to collocate with the stacking of modals.

4.3.3. VP-fronting and VP-ellipsis

Tsai (2009a) provides two tests to distinguish modal auxiliaries from modal adverbs. He contends that VP-fronting and VP-ellipsis can only be licensed by modal auxiliaries but not by modal adverbs.

(97)

a. 出現，你必須要

chuxian ni bixu yao

appear you must must

‘You must appear!’

b. *出現，你(必須)別

chuxian ni bixu bie

appear you must not

‘You must not appear!’

(98)

a. 張三不要去，李四也不要

Zhangsan buyao qu Lisi ye buyao

Zhangsan neg must go Lisi also neg must

‘John must not go, and neither must Bill.’

b. *張三別去，李四也別

Zhangsan bie qu Lisi ye bie

Zhangsan neg go Lisi also neg

‘John must not go, and neither must Bill.’

In (97) and (98) above, the deontic Modal_{obligation} is grammatical under VP-fronting and VP-ellipsis. Accordingly, deontic Modal_{obligation} may belong to modal

auxiliaries. On the contrary, *bie*¹ fails both tests, and more supporting evidence is required to clarify its syntactic status.

According to the results of the above four tests, this study concludes that the deontic Modal_{obligation} *buyao* and *bie*¹ are different with respect to their syntactic status, as summarized in Table 6.

Table 6 Syntactic Differences between *bie*¹ and Deontic Modal_{obligation}

	Negative Imperative <i>bie</i> ¹	Deontic Modal _{obligation} <i>yao/buyao</i>
<i>lian dou</i> construction	Ungrammatical	Grammatical
Stacking of modals	Not permitted to occur with the stacking of modals	<i>yinggai</i> > <i>bixu</i> > <i>dei</i> > <i>yao</i> .
VP-fronting	Ungrammatical	Grammatical under VP-fronting
VP-ellipsis	Ungrammatical	Grammatical under VP-ellipsis

The imperatives *bie*¹ and deontic Modal_{obligation} *yao* sentences are alike in some ways but different in others. Thus, the above four tests demonstrate their syntactic differences. First, the deontic Modal_{obligation} *yao* is grammatical under *lian duo* construction, whereas *bie*¹ is ungrammatical. Second, in terms of the stacking of modals, *bie*¹ is not permitted to occur with the stacking of modals. Third, the deontic Modal_{obligation} *yao* is grammatical under VP-fronting and VP-ellipsis, but *bie*¹ is not.

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, this thesis has argued that one cannot simply equate deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences with imperatives with *bie*¹. With the help of facts from the *lian duo* construction, the stacking of modals, VP-fronting and VP-ellipsis, this thesis has argued that imperative sentences and deontic modal sentences are alike in that they both have the force of deontic modality, but that they are different syntactically⁸. Therefore, if the preceding discussions and analyses are on the right track, it follows that the deontic modal_{obligation} sentences and imperatives with *bie*¹ are actually two different syntactic structures in Chinese. In the next chapter, this thesis will propose the structure of Chinese imperatives.

⁸ With so many parallel properties between *bie*¹ and *buyao* in negative imperatives and negative modal sentences, it is reasonable to assume that there is *buyao*¹ and *buyao*² just like *bie*¹ and *bie*², which is worth to further study.

5. Syntactic Structure of Chinese Imperatives

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, this study turns to examine imperatives from a generative perspective. In the literature review, this study portrayed the fact that Chinese imperatives lack a morpho-syntactic strategy. Hence, it seems difficult to find syntactic evidence of the imperative force and mood as well as a structure of imperatives. In Section 5.1, this study first re-examines the CP system established by Rizzi (1997), then this study focuses on two functional projections, force and mood, which are crucial to the present discussion. In Section 5.2, this study examines the evidence from tense anchoring and imperatives and claims that Chinese also possesses an imperative operator in imperatives. In Section 5.3, this study demonstrates that matrix imperatives have an imperative operator encoding force, whereas embedded clauses do not. In Section 5.4, this study analyzes the syntactic status of *bie*¹. In Section 5.5, this study reviews Tsai (2010) and discusses the syntactic position of *gei wo*. Lastly, in Section 5.6, this study proposes the structure of imperatives in Chinese, and ends the chapter with a summary of the whole content.

5.1 Sentence Force and Mood

Rizzi's (1997) split CP hypothesis provides a framework for mood. The system is delimited upward by Force, the head encoding "clausal typing" information; downward by Finiteness, the head differentiating finite and non-finite constructions. Topic and Focus are dedicated to topical and focal interpretations respectively, as seen in (99) below. Rizzi suggests that Force encodes "clausal typing" information which

distinguishes various sentence types: declarative, interrogative, and imperative.

(99) Split CP Hypothesis (Rizzi, 1997)

[Force Topic* Focus Topic* Fin]

However, Li (2006) argues that Force and Mood are not identical. He goes on to explain that the clausal typing information is not carried by force but mood. That is, mood is the functional head which expresses the semantic and syntactic information that identifies different sentence types. Li (2006) considers force and mood are correlated. The former represents a more abstract concept, whereas the latter conveys a more specific information and displays more variation.

Li (2006) suggests that clause-type markers do not always occupy the highest position in the CP layer. For instance, Haegeman (2002) provides evidence that 'Force', which she assumes to host clausal typing elements, occupies a lower position than other functional heads like subordinator, topic and focus. This seems to diverge from Rizzi's original intention. He proposes that force occupy the outermost position so that it can interact with the articulation of discourse. Li (2006) claims that if we make a distinction between force and mood, we can maintain the assumption that force is in a very high position, whereas it is mood that occupies a lower position. Due to these considerations, Li (2006) proposes that the complementizer system contains at least three functional heads, i.e., force, mood, and finiteness, which is schematized as follows:

(100) Force > Mood > Fin

Moreover, the evidence indicating that clause type elements may occupy a lower position comes from Rizzi (1999), in which he observes that the complementizer introducing embedded yes/ no questions, *se*, in Italian, fills a position in the CP domain which is lower than force.

Li (2006) suggests that in the case of Mandarin there exist at least two types of

force, i.e., assertives and declaratives. He further proposes the correlation between force and mood as follows: except for declaratives, which are associated with the assertive force, various interrogatives and imperatives are all associated with a directive force, as illustrated in the following (101).

(101) Correlation between Force and Mood: Li (2006: 59)

Force	>	Mood
Assertives		Declaratives
Directives (request for information)		Interrogatives: Y/N, WH, A-not-A
Directives (request for action)		Imperatives

If Li's proposal is right, then we can maintain Rizzi's assumption that force is in the highest position and it is mood that occupies the lower position.

Rizzi (1997)'s split CP system and Li's three functional hierarchies as demonstrated in (100) provide us with a fundamental framework for studying the structure of Chinese imperatives. However, according to what we have seen so far, neither force nor mood is overtly marked in Chinese, thus this study needs more evidence to study the syntactic structure of Chinese imperatives.

5.2 Tense Anchoring and Imperative Operator

Tang and Lee (2000) observe that incompleteness effects appear in sentences without any inflection. For instance, in (102) from Tsai (2008: 678), he asserts that (102a) sounds quite odd, and that one of the solutions to eradicate incompleteness effects is the use of an imperative sentence, such as (102b) below.

(102) a. %阿Q拿書

Akiu na shu.

Akiu take book

‘Akiu took the books.’

b. 拿書!

Na shu!

Take book

‘Take the book!’

Tang and Lee take this as an indication that anchoring can be done by resorting to imperative construals, and they therefore propose the Generalized Anchoring Principle, as stated below:

(103) Generalized Anchoring Principle:

Every sentence must be either tensed or focused at the LF interface level.

Tsai (2008), building upon S. Huang’s (2005) argument, claims tense anchoring should be understood as a process of the spelling out of an event variable in morphosyntactic terms. This variable is in turn subject to tense operator binding. Tsai (2008) claims that Chinese tense cannot bring out the event variable by itself, but must instead rely on the adverb of quantification, as in (104a); the deontic and negative operators, as in (104b); the counterfactual operator, as in (104c); and the imperative operator, as in (104d) below. Moreover, the imperative operator licenses an indefinite *wh*-word, as in (104e) below. The following examples are from Tsai (2008: 681).

(104)

a. 阿Q一直跑著

Akiu yizhi pao-zhe. (adverb of quantification)

Akiu continually run-Imp

‘Xiaoli kept running.’

b. 阿Q應該/沒 拿書

Akiu yinggai/ mei na shu. (deontic/negative operator)

Akiu should/have.not take book

‘Akiu should take/have not taken (the) books.’

c. 阿Q拿書? 不可能!

Akiu na shu? bu keneng! (counterfactual operator)

Akiu take book not possible

‘Akiu took the book? No way!’

d. 拿書!

Na shu! (imperative operator)

Take book

‘Take the book!’

e. 做什麼!

Zuo shenme! (imperative operator)

do what

‘Don’t do anything!’

Given the evidence from tense anchoring and imperatives, this thesis claims that Chinese possesses an imperative operator in imperatives. Following Tsai (2008), this thesis assumes that the imperative operator is base-generated in the spect of CP.

5.3 Embedded Imperatives Subcategorized by Command Verbs

When the verb in the matrix clause is a command verb, it can only take an imperative clause, but not an interrogative or declarative one, as in (115) below, which indicates that imperatives are different from interrogatives or declaratives.

(105)a. 我勸你_[CP Pro 別去]

Wo quan ni bie qu

I persuade you neg go

‘I persuade you out of going’

b *我勸你_[CP Pro 不去]

Wo quan ni bu qu

I persuade you neg go

‘*I persuade you don’t go’

c *我勸你_[CP Pro 去嗎]

wo quan ni qu ma

I persuade you go Q

‘*I persuade you into going?’

d.*我勸你_[CP Pro 爲什麼去]

wo quan ni weisheme qu

I persuade you why go

‘*I persuade you into going why?’

(106) a. 老闆逼員工假日要加班

Laoban bi yuangong jiari yao jiban

Boss compel employee holiday modal work overtime

‘The boss compels his employees to work overtime on holidays.’

b. 張三勸李四假日別加班

Zhangsan quan Lisi jiari bie jiaban

Zhangsan persuade Lisi holidays neg work overtime

‘John persuades Bill out of working overtime on holidays.’

As mentioned in Section 2.4.2, Han (1999) proposes that *bie* requires a licenser: when *bie* occurs in a matrix context, it is licensed by directive feature in the imperative operator and so it can only take a second person pronominal subject and the sentence in which it occurs can only have a directive function. On the other hand, when *bie* occurs in an embedded context, it is licensed by a directive predicate in the matrix clause, and since the embedded clauses do not have directive illocutionary force, *bie* can occur with a third person subject.

Given the above assumption, the command verbs take three arguments: the subject, the object, and the embedded clause in the imperative form. However, the above sentences raise a problem of whether or not the embedded imperative possesses imperative force.

According to Haegeman (2002), every clause needs to be typed, but not every clause conveys illocutionary force. For instance, while matrix clauses are almost always associated with an illocutionary force, embedded clauses are not. The matrix imperatives have an imperative operator encoding force, whereas the embedded clauses might possess subjunctive or infinitive mood but not encoding force. Thus, the embedded clauses in the imperative form, as seen in (106), are not imperatives.

5.4 *Bie*¹ is Neg P

Since Pollock (1989), many studies have claimed that clausal negation heads a NegP, whereas Iatridou (1990) and others suggest that constituent negation does not.

If *bie*¹ is a propositional negation but not a constituent negation, then it is a NegP.

(107) a. 他工作累壞了自己

ta gongzuo lei-huai-le ziji

He work fatigued-perfective self

'He works himself to death.'

b. 你別工作累壞了自己

ni bie gongzuo lei-huai-le ziji

You Neg work fatigued self

'Don't work yourself to death.'

In (107b) above, the intended meaning of the sentences is 'I command you not to do the proposition,' while the negated proposition is 'work yourself to death'. This proves that *bie*¹ is a propositional negation, and thus a NegP.

5.5 Imperatives and *gei wo*

As mentioned in Section 3.1.2, although *gei wo* is not used exclusively in imperatives, *gei wo* is added in imperatives when the speaker would like to strengthen the degree of command. According to Tsai (2009b), the affectee *wo* 'me' is marked by an applicative marker *gei*, whose construal is licensed by an evaluative adverb such as *juran* 'unexpectedly', as shown by (108) below.

(108) 他居然給我拿了錢就跑

Ta *(juran) gei wo na-le qian jiu pao.

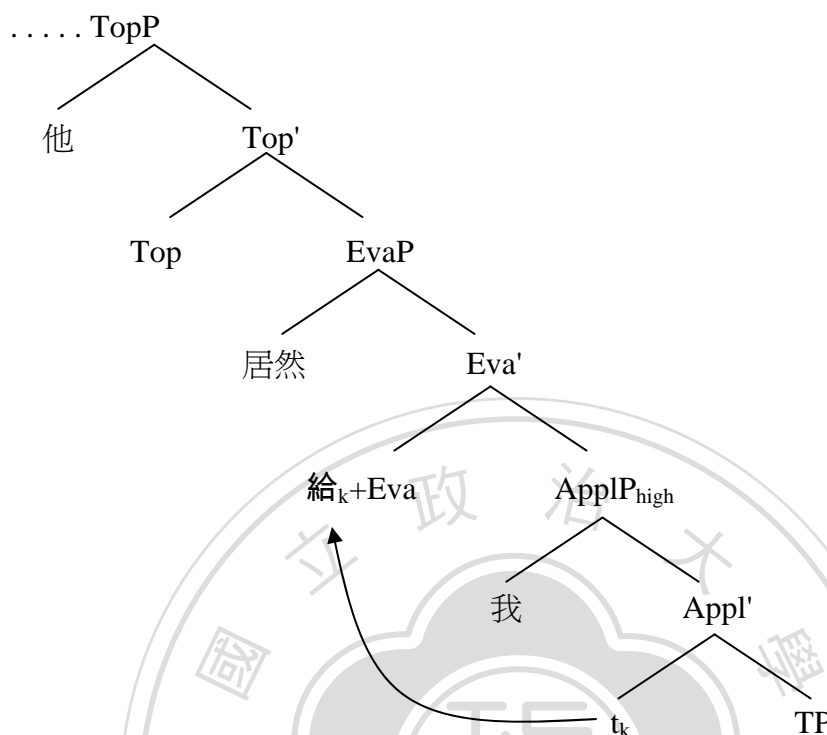
he unexpectedly AFF me run-Prf money then run

'Unexpectedly, he took the money and ran away from me.'

According to Tsai (2009b), Chinese affectives have an unusual distribution extending far beyond the boundary of the vP phase, and project an independent

Applicative Phrase in the left periphery, as in the following (109) from Tsai (2009b:5).

(109)



Moreover, Tsai (2010) suggests that the outer affective of (108) is licensed through a special kind of force. For example, the presence of the evaluative adverb *juran* ‘unexpectedly’ is obligatory, because without it the sentence becomes a declarative, and ungrammatical as in (109) from Tsai (2010:3).

(109) * 他給我喝了三瓶酒

ta gei wo he-le5 san-ping jiu
 he AFF me drink-perfective three-bottle win
 ‘Unexpectedly, he drank three bottles of wine on me.’

Tsai (2010) further notices that this type of affective construal can also be licensed by imperative and negative mood, as illustrated by (110a) and (110b) from Tsai (2010:3).

(110) a. 給我跪下!

gei wo gui-xia
AFF me kneel-down

'Kneel down for my sake!'

b. 阿Q從沒給我丟過臉!

Akiu cong-mei gei wo diu-guo lian
Akiu ever-have not AFF me lose-Experience face

'Akiu has never lost face on me!'

This shows that the speaker-oriented restriction on the affective usage of *gei wo* has a close bearing upon the force/clause-typing nature of the left periphery (Tsai, 2009b).

Tsai (2010) indicates that there seems to be a structural restriction on Mandarin outer affectives, where the external argument must appear higher than the speaker-oriented affectee, as illustrated by (111) from Tsai (2010:4).

(111) a. *居然給我阿Q拿了錢就跑

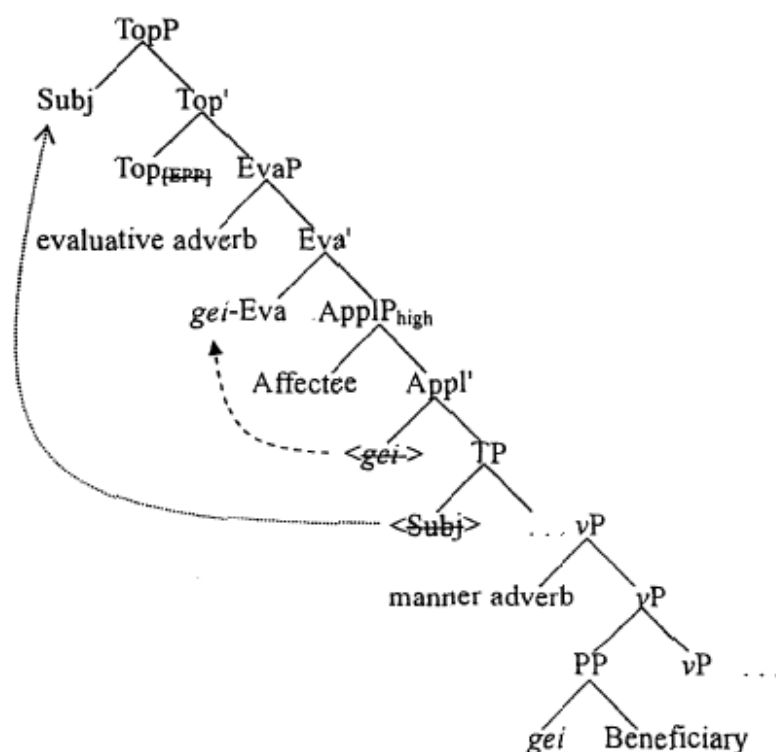
juran gei wo Akiu na-le qian jiu pao
unexpectedly AFF me Akiu take-perfective money then run

b. *給我阿Q居然拿了錢就跑

juran gei wo Akiu na-le qian jiu pao
unexpectedly AFF me Akiu take-perfective money then run

So far, one question remains: and this is the fact we cannot find evidence of subject movement in Chinese. Following Tsai (2010), and considering the affective structure and imperatives, this thesis assumes that the subject was originally in the spect of TP, but later topicalized in the outer affective construals, as illustrated in (112) from Tsai (2010: 6).

(112)

The topography of Mandarin outer affectives and benefactives

According to Tsai (2010), the affective *gei* is a high applicative head in the left periphery and the subject is obligatory to topicalize in outer affective construals.

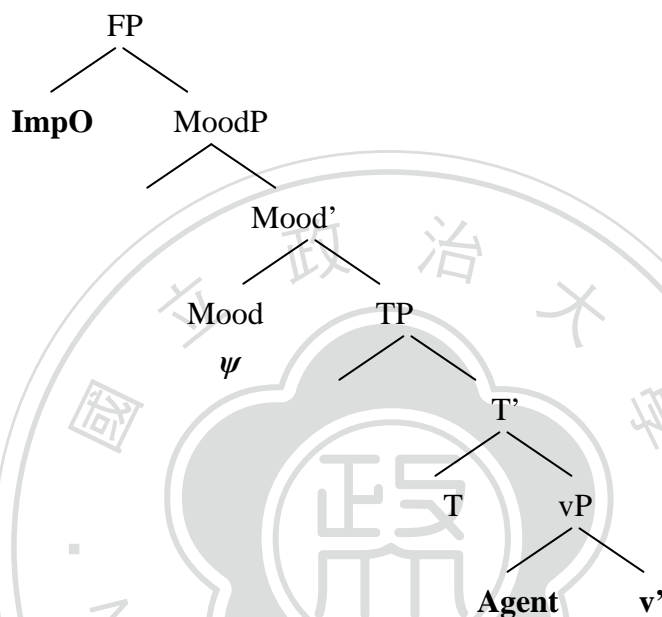
5.6 Summary: Proposal for the Structure of Imperatives in Chinese

In Section 5.1, this study reviews Li's (2006) three function hierarchy developed from Rizzi's (1997) split CP system as a fundamental of the analysis to the syntactic structure of Chinese imperatives. In Section 5.2, this study suggests that Chinese also possesses an imperative operator in imperatives by examining the evidence from tense anchoring and imperatives. In Section 5.3, this study claims that matrix imperatives have an imperative operator encoding force, whereas embedded clauses do not. In Section 5.4, this study discusses the syntactic status of *bie*¹. In Section 5.5, this study reviews Tsai's (2010) study of *gei wo* and assumes that the imperative subject was

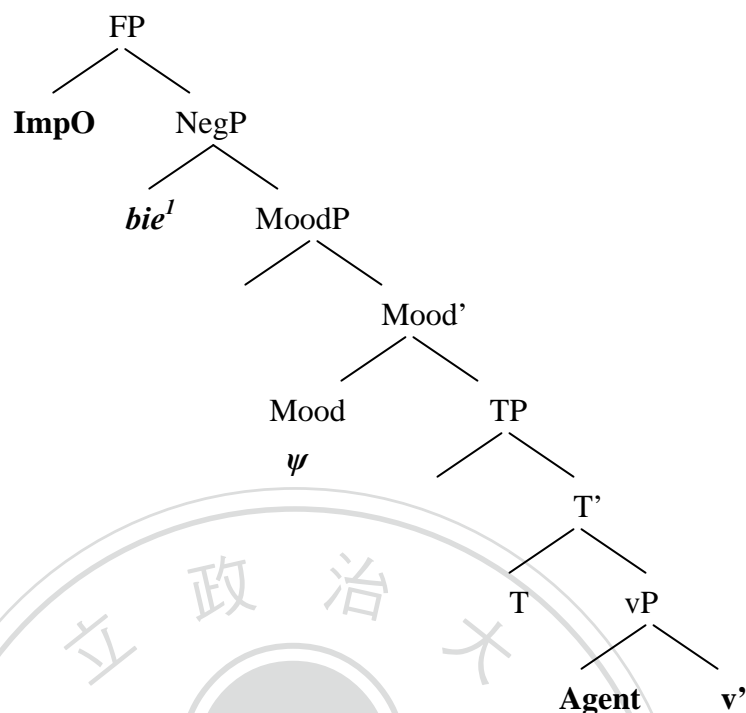
originally in the spect of TP, but later topicalized in the outer affective construals.

Given the above analysis, this thesis proposes the following structure of Chinese positive imperatives, negative imperatives with *bie*¹, and addressee-oriented Modal_{obligation} in the following (113), (114), and (115), respectively.

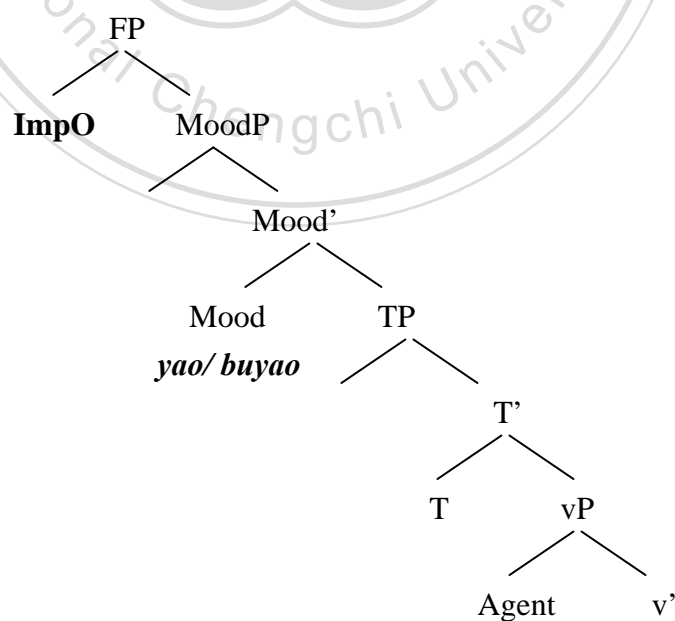
(113) Positive Imperative



In the above the *vP* domain, an imperative operator is situated high in the spect of FP, as determined in Section 5.2 (which discusses the relation between tense anchoring and imperatives, and where it is confirmed that Chinese possesses an imperative operator in imperatives). Following Li's (2006) proposal that mood is the functional head which expresses the semantic and syntactic information that identifies different sentence types, this thesis therefore assumes mood contains the semantic and syntactic information of imperatives. And since neither force nor mood is overtly marked, this thesis uses the empty ψ to represent an abstract imperative mood.

(114) Negative Imperative with *bie*¹

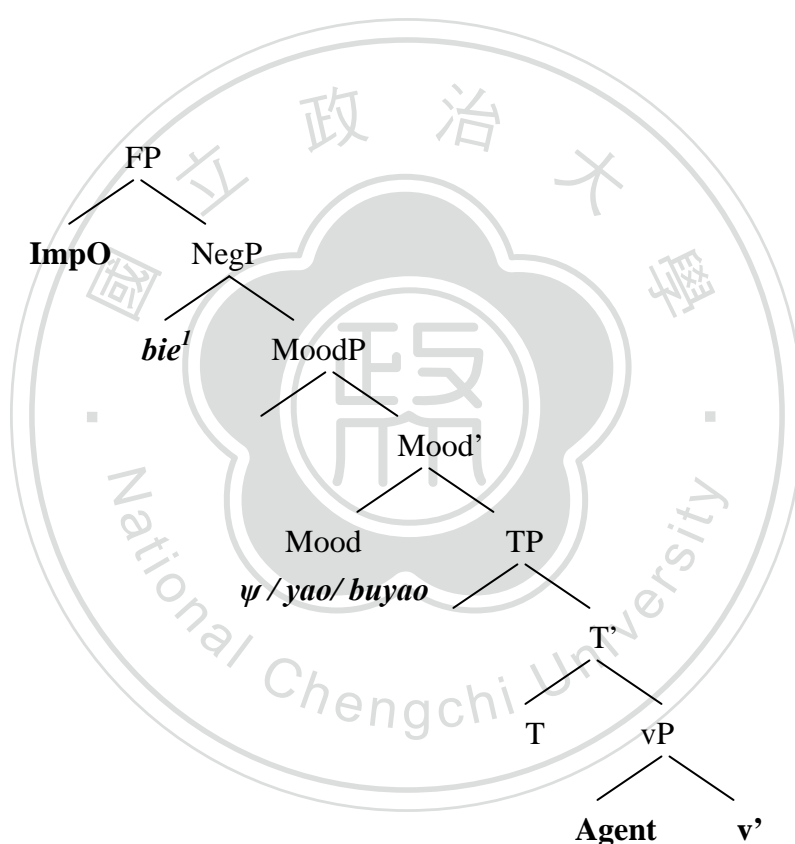
As noted in Section 5.4, this thesis proposes that *bie*¹ is a NegP. In the above structure (114), *bie*¹ is situated higher than the modal *yao/buyao*. The imperative operator head-selects *bie*¹ which in turn selects an abstract mood (which contains the semantic and syntactic information of imperatives.)

(115) Addressee oriented Modal_{obligation}

In Chapter Four, this thesis concluded that the deontic modal_{obligation} sentences and imperatives with *bie*¹ are actually two different syntactic structures in Chinese. Here, this thesis assumes that the deontic modals_{obligation} are heads of functional projection in the FP domain. The difference between (114) and (115) is that the head of mood in negative imperatives with *bie*¹ is an abstract mood, whereas the head of mood in addressee-oriented Modal_{obligation} sentences are the modals_{obligation} *yao/buyao*.

In summary, the structure of positive and negative imperatives in Chinese is as follows⁹.

(116)



⁹ According to (116), *bie*¹ and *yao/buyao* can co-occur within the same sentence as the following sentence (116').

(116') 你別不要去上學

ni bie bu you qushang xue.
 you neg neg modal go to school
 'You have to go to school.'

6. Subjects of Imperatives

6.0 Introduction

This chapter investigates the subject of imperatives in Chinese. Here, this chapter first briefly reviews previous studies on imperative subjects in English since this study observes that there are some similarities between imperative subjects of English and Chinese. Then this study turns to imperative subjects in Chinese through examining the relationship between subjects and vocatives, and subjects and topics. In Section 6.4, this study explores several peculiarities of imperative subjects in Chinese, and then proposes a DP structure to explain the unique properties in Section 6.5. This study summarizes this chapter in Section 6.6.

6.1 Imperative Subjects in English

Zanuttini (2008) observes that imperative subjects in English are different from subjects in other clause types from several perspectives. For instance, null subjects are possible with a definite interpretation, whereas null subjects in declaratives are ungrammatical. Sadock and Zwicky (1985) claim that cross-linguistically imperatives do not require an overt subject. However, it has been argued that subjectless imperatives actually do contain a covert subject, and the subject of imperatives is the second person. Similarly, Potsdam (1996) takes the null imperative subject to be a null pronominal.

Second, Beukema and Coopman (1989) restrict imperative subjects to a second person pronoun or a quantifier. However, Potsdam (1996) suggests that imperative subjects are syntactically parallel to uncontroversial subjects of other clause types. He contends that imperative subjects are not restricted in their form; they are not limited

to being quantificational or second person pronoun. Instead, definite, indefinites, bare plurals, and even names are appropriate as an imperative subject in the right circumstance. Therefore, the syntactic and semantic behavior of imperative subjects is argued not to be an exceptional feature of imperatives, but argued to follow the way an imperative is used (Potsdam, 1996).

Third, Potsdam (1996) provides an explanation as to why certain imperatives are grammatically better than others, by asserting that quantificational and second person subjects are more common and less marked in most contexts and that in most cases the imperative subject is clearly related to the addressee.

Moreover, Zanuttini (2008) observes more syntactic peculiarities of imperative subjects; for example, the quantificational subjects are often restricted to a range of addressees; subjects in imperatives exhibit a binding relation with reflexives which is not possible in declaratives and interrogatives.

In the following section, this study first differentiates three different elements: vocative, subject, and topic. After clearly distinguishing subjects from vocatives and topics, this study proposes some characteristics of imperative subjects in Chinese which demonstrates some similarities to those Zanuttini (2008) observed in English.

6.2 Subjects vs. Vocatives

According to Potsdam (1996), three criteria are used to distinguish between vocatives and imperative subjects in English. He asserts that vocatives have a separate intonation contour from the remainder of the sentence, trigger only second person coreferential pronouns, and must uniquely refer to the addressee in discourse, whereas imperative subjects are not so restricted, and they have the intonation of clausal subjects (which need not refer to the addressee), and can trigger second or third

person agreement.

However, not all these diagnoses are applicable to Chinese. The lack of an intonational break is feasible in distinguishing subjects and vocatives in Chinese. Vocatives in Chinese are typically separated from the rest of the clause by an intonational break and accompanied by a rising intonation.

(117) a. 張三，別站在那裡，李四，快過來

Zhangsan, bie zhan zai- nali , Lisi, kuai guolai

Zhangsan, neg stand at there, Lisi, quick come.

‘Zhangsan, don’t stand there, Lisi, come over quickly.’

b. 張三別站在那裡，李四快過來

Zhangsan bie zhan zai-nali, Lisi kuai guolai

Zhangsan neg stand at there, Lisi quick come.

‘Zhangsan, don’t stand there, Lisi, come over quickly.’

In (117a) above, the vocative is followed by a pause. In contrast, the subject and the predicate are not separated by a pause in (117b). Although the vocative intonation can be applied to the imperative subject, the imperative subject may be pronounced without a raise in intonation or pause between subject and predicate, as illustrated in (117b) above. This indicates that imperative subjects cannot be equated to vocatives in all situations.

Another diagnosis distinguishing subjects from vocatives is the interpretation of the referent. A vocative refers exclusively to the set of addressees; in contrast, proper names and bare noun phrases used as subjects serve to single out a certain number of individuals from the set of addressees. However, there are some imperative subjects which do not refer to the addressee and are unacceptable as vocatives, as seen in (118b) below.

(118) a. 任何人都別動

renheren dou bie dong.

anyone all neg move

‘Don’t anyone move.’

b. *任何人，都別動

renheren, dou bie dong.

anyone, all neg move

‘Anyone, don’t move’

In (118b) above, *renheren* is interpreted as ‘nobody’ (which does not serve as an addressee), since the set of people that it refers to is non-existent.

The overt subjects in the above sentences are not vocatives. A vocative in Chinese is followed by a pause. But in the sentences above, when the subjects are present, they are not necessarily followed by a pause, indicating a structural subject of the sentences in which they occur.

6.3 Subject Properties vs. Topic

McCloskey (1997) offers an overview of subject properties in (119) below. Although these are subject properties in English, subjects in Chinese share some of these properties since subjects are universal. Thus, in the analysis that follows, we use some of these properties to identify imperative subjects.

(119) Properties of Subjects (McCloskey 1997: 197-198)

- 1) Characteristic bearer of certain kinds of semantic roles, prototypically AGENT
- 2) More prominent than any other argument
 - a. control PRO in complements and adjunct.
 - b. may bind reflexive and reciprocal pronouns in other argument positions but may not themselves be bound by these argument positions.
 - c. take wider scope than an element in any other argument position

- d. may license Negative Polarity Items in another argument position but cannot themselves be licensed by an appropriate element in one of these positions
- 3) Typically formally marked, positionally or morphologically
 - 4) Overwhelmingly required in most situations
 - 5) Almost always nominal
 - 6) Derived by grammatical operation
 - a. Passive
 - b. Subject to subject raising
 - c. Unaccusative advancement
 - d. Tough movement
 - e. Floating quantifiers

The following tests include prominence nature and derived position. First, prominence nature is shown by control and binding. The subject is prominent because it asymmetrically c-commands the rest of the clause. Sentences (120) and (121) below are subject control examples.

(120) 張三_i 別企圖 *Pro*_i 干擾李四, 李四_j 別企圖 *Pro*_j 欺騙張三

Zhangsan bie qitu *Pro* gan rao Lisi, Lisi bie qitu *Pro* qipian Zhangsan.

Zhangsan neg plan disturb Lisi, Lisi neg plan cheat Zhangsan.

‘Zhangsan, don’t you plan to disturb Lisi. Lisi, don’t you plan to cheat Zhangsan.’

(121) 每個人_i 都別想 *Pro*_i 做壞事

Mei-ge-ren dou bie xiang *Pro* zuo huaiishi.

everyone all neg intend do bad thing.

‘Don’t anyone intend to do anything bad.’

With respect to binding, the sentence initial noun phrases in imperatives behave like subjects that bind anaphora. For example, in (122) and (123) below, the sentence initial noun phrases bind the anaphora and reflective. Thus, they are subjects in imperatives.

(122) 男生別離開自己的座位，女生別拿自己的課本

nansheng bie likai ziji-de zuowei, nuusheng bie na ziji-de keben.

boys neg leave your seat, girls neg take your textbook.

‘Boys don’t leave your seats. Girls don’t take away your textbooks.’

(123) 你別踩到自己的鞋

ni bie cai-dao ziji-de xie.

you neg step-on your shoes.

‘Don’t you step on your own shoes.’

Second, in passive and unaccusative sentences, as illustrated in (124) and (125) below, subjects are treated as being derived from the object position and raised to the subject position.

(124) 你別被他騙了

ni bie bei ta pian-le

you neg bei he cheat

‘Don’t let yourself be cheated by him.’

(125) 你別來

ni bie lai.

you neg come

‘Avoid coming.’

If some of the above initial sentence nouns are analyzed as topics, the sentences then become subjectless. This prompts us to consider the following question: How can a null subject bind a second person anaphora? How can a null subject control a Pro? Therefore, this study claims that the initial sentence nouns in the above sentences are subjects but not topics.

6.4 The Unique Properties of Imperative Subjects

As mentioned in Section 6.1, Zanuttini (2008) observes that imperative subjects in English are different from subjects in other clause types from several perspectives such as binding possibility and the interpretation of null imperative subjects, etc. After reviewing the peculiarities of imperative subjects in English, in this section, this study proposes that imperative subjects in Chinese also demonstrate the following characteristics which are different from subjects in other clause types.

6.4.1 Person Pronouns

In examining the following (126) to (129), this study notices that when there is an overt subject in negative imperatives, the first person plural, second person singular and plural, and quantificational subjects are all grammatical, whereas first person singular and third person singular and plural are ungrammatical.

(126) a. *我別看漫畫

* wo bie kan manhua.

I neg read comic books

‘* I, don’t read comic books.’

b. 我們別看漫畫

women bie kan manhua

I Plural neg read comic book

‘We, don’t read comic books.’

(127) 你/你們 別看漫畫

ni/ ni-men bie kan manhua.

you /you-plural neg read comic book.

‘You, don’t read comic books.’

(128) *他/他們別看漫畫

ta/ ta-men bie kan manhua.

he they neg read comic books

'*He/ they, don't read comic books.'

(129) 每個人都別看漫畫

mei-ke-ren dou bie kan manhua.

everyone all neg read comic book

'Everyone, don't read comic books.'

6.4.2 Quantificational Subjects

Zanuttini (2008) claims that the quantificational subjects in imperatives are different from those of other clause types in terms of binding possibility in English. It is observed that quantificational imperative subjects in Chinese also demonstrate the characteristics of binding possibility; quantificational subjects in imperatives can only bind a second person reflexive or anaphora, as in (130) below.

(130) 每個人 i 舉起 *他自己 i 的 / *她自己 i 的 / *他們自己 i 的 / 你自己 i 的手

mei-ge-ren juqi ta ziji de/ ta ziji de /

everyone raise herself / himself /

ta-men ziji de/ ni ziji de shou

they self / you self hand

'Everyone raise *his/ *her/ *their/ your hand.'

In contrast, quantificational subjects in declaratives and interrogatives can only bind a third person pronoun and anaphor, but not a second person one, as seen in (131) below.

(131) 每個人 i 舉起他自己 i 的/她自己 i 的/他們自己 i 的/*你的手

mei-ge-ren juqi ta ziji de/ ta ziji de /

everyone raise herself / himself /

ta-men ziji de/ ni ziji de shou

they self / you self hand

‘Everyone raise his/ her/ their/ *your hand.’

6.4.3 Bare Noun Phrases

In examining (132) and (133) below, this study observes that bare nouns as subjects of imperatives lack the generic interpretation which they may possess in declaratives and interrogatives.

(132) 男生去打籃球，女生去游泳

nansheng qu da lanqiu. nuusheng qu youyong.

Boys go play basketball. Girls go swim

‘Boys go playing basketball. Girls go swimming.’

(133) 男生喜歡踢足球女生只喜歡看足球賽

nansheng xihuan ti zuqiu. nuusheng zhi xihuan kan zuqiusai

Boys like play soccer Girls only like watch games.

‘Boys like to play soccer while girls only like to watch games.’

While the bare nouns in (133) mean that boys, in general, love playing soccer and girls, in general, merely enjoy watching the foot ball games, the bare nouns in (132) are not interpreted as the generic reading. Instead, the bare nouns, ‘boys’ and ‘girls’, in the imperatives refer to a subset of the group of addressees.

Similarly, bare plural subjects in imperatives can and only can bind a second person pronoun and anaphora as in (134) below.

(134) 男生 i 舉起你的 i 右手，女生 i 舉起你的 i 左手

nansheng juqi ni-de you shou. nuusheng juqi ni-de zuo shou.

Boys raise your right hand. Girls raise your left hand.

‘Boys raise your right hands. Girls raise your left hands.’

This is clearly in contrast with their behavior in declaratives and interrogatives, where they cannot bind a second person element, but can only bind a third person anaphora as in (135) below.

(135) 男生 i 不舉起*你 i 的/他 i 的右手

Nansheng bu juqi ni-de/ ta-de you shou

Boys neg raise your/ their right hand.

‘Boys do not raise *your/their right hand.’

6.4.4 Proper Names

Proper names acting as imperative subjects are individuals that have been selected from a set of addressees. In (136) below, they occur perfectly in coordinate structures (Potsdam 1996).

(136) 湯母坐下,約翰站起來

Tangmu zuoxia. Yuehan zhan qilai.

Tom sit down John stand up

‘Tom sit down. John stand up.’

Only in imperatives can proper names¹⁰ (as subjects) bind a second person

¹⁰ Proper names are actually third person nouns, however, in imperatives, this study considers that proper names as imperative subjects possess second person features. That is, proper names are third person noun in essence but when proper names appear in the syntactic position of imperative subjects, they are assigned the second person features. Therefore, this study proposes that proper names as imperative subjects bind

pronoun and anaphora, as seen in (137) below; in declaratives and interrogatives, proper names cannot bind a second person pronoun or anaphora, as in (138) below.

(137) 張三打掃你自己的房間

Zhangsan dasao ni-ziji-de fangjian.

Zhangsan clean your room.

‘John clean your room.’

(138) *張三 i 打掃你自己 i 的房間嗎?

Zhangsan dasao ni-ziji-de fangjian ma?

Zhangsan clean your room. Q

6.4.5 Interpretation of Null Subjects

When no overt subject is specified, the subject in imperatives can only be interpreted in a first person plural, a second person or a quantifier subject, as illustrated in (139) to (143) below. In contrast with their counterparts in declaratives and interrogatives, null subjects in declaratives and interrogatives can be interpreted as a third person pronoun.

(139) 別說謊

bie shuohuang.

neg lie

‘Don’t lie.’

(140)a. *(我)別說謊

*(Wo) bie shuohuang.

I, neg lie

‘I, don’t lie.’

second person pronouns and anaphora.

b. (我們)別說謊

(Wo men) bie shuohuang..

I plural neg lie

‘We, don’t lie.’

(141) 你/你們別說謊

(Ni /Ni men) bie shuohuang.

you /you plural neg lie

‘You, don’t lie.’

(142) (*他/*她/*他們)別說謊

(*Ta/ Ta/*Ta men) bie shuohuang..

he/ she/ they neg lie

‘He/ She/They, don’t lie.’

(143) 每個人別說謊

(mei-ke-ren) bie shuohuang.

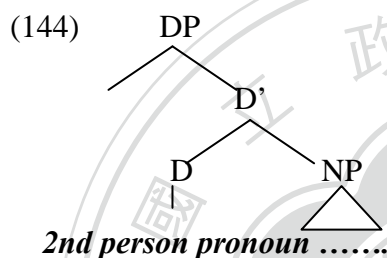
everyone neg lie

‘Everyone, don’t lie.’

In summary, the main characteristic observed from the above subjects in imperatives is that they all license or bind a second person anaphor but not a third person in the object position. It is worth noting that only in imperatives can proper names, common nouns, and quantificational subjects that are actually third person elements bind second person anaphora, which violates the binding principle, given they are not co-indexed with the second person semantically.

6.5 The DP Structure of Imperative Subjects

It seems that imperative subjects exhibit the characteristic properties of elements with second person features. To account for why third person proper names and bare nouns can bind second person anaphora, this thesis proposes a DP structure to account for the binding possibility in imperatives. In imperatives, the subject is a DP in which there is a covert second person pronoun in the D position to license the complement NP, as seen in (144) below.



In addition, the covert second person pronoun could explain why second person subjects are considered default and related to the addressee in imperatives.

Aside from the binding phenomena, the DP structure is supported by the following three arguments. First, Longobardi (1994) claims that certain proper names in Romance languages seem to always occur in D or require an article in argument position as in (145) below. In addition, it has been asserted that in Russian, the person pronouns occur in D (Longobardi 2000).

(145) Proper name in Italian (Longobardi 1994: 622)

a. La Callas/*Callas ha cantata

The Callas sang.

b. Il Gianni mi ha telefonato.

The Gianni called me up.

Furthermore, Longobardi (1994) suggests all D positions are universally generated with an abstract feature referential, which must be checked with respect to at least one

of its value. Subjects in imperatives are definite and the second person pronoun is inherently definite and thus it is reasonable to assume it is base-generated in D.

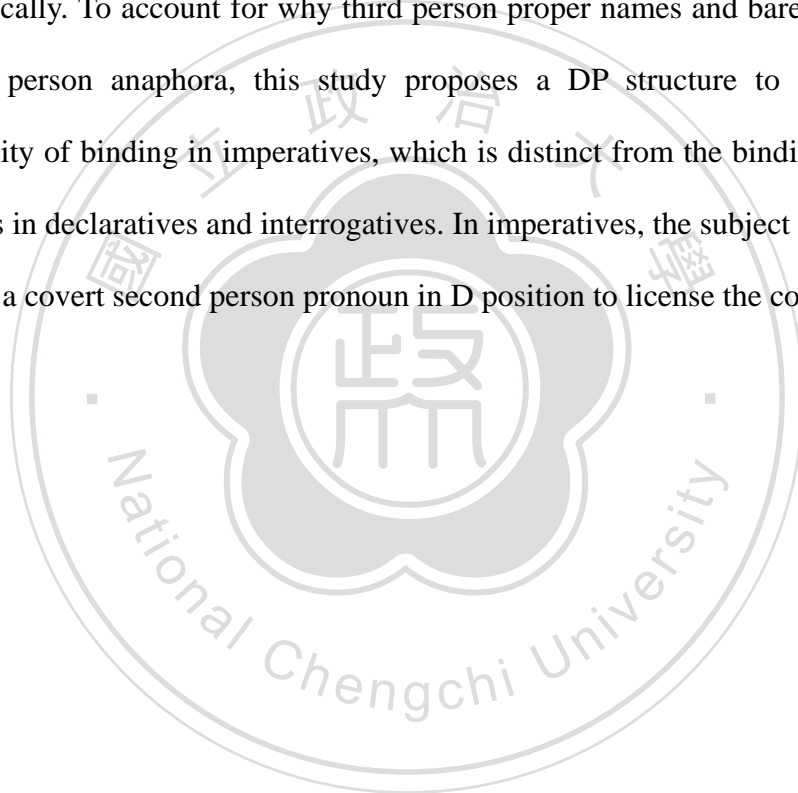
Second, Bennis (2001), in analyzing imperatives in Dutch, finds that only verbs characterized by a second feature can move to C. He proposes that the position determining the pragmatic force or sentence type contains a specific feature for second person. This assumption correlates with the pragmatic fact that imperatives are always directed toward an addressee, and thus are morphosyntactically marked for the second person. Although Chinese does not utilize morphology affixes inflecting on verb to indicate person, the DP structure containing a second person pronoun could account for why the second person is the default setting for imperatives in Chinese.

Third, subjects in Chinese sentences may be phonetically overt or covert. Since imperatives are known for their lack of subjects, an overt subject in Chinese imperatives strongly supports the availability of a subject position in imperatives. Even when there is no phonetically pronounced subject, it is suggested that there is still a subject position which is occupied. The phenomena, such as binding, control, and grammatical operations that derive subjects, require a subject noun phrase as antecedent; and, by examining such phenomena, we can infer that an antecedent must be present in all null subject imperatives.

Moreover, when null subjects appear in imperatives, the default interpretation of the null imperative subject is the second person, which also supports the hypothesis that a covert second person pronoun is in head D in the subject position of imperatives.

6.6 Summary

In this chapter, this study observes that imperative subjects license or bind a second person anaphor but not a third person in the object position. It is worth noting that only in imperatives can proper names, common nouns, and quantificational subjects (that are actually third person elements) bind second person anaphora, which violates the binding principle because they are not co-indexed with the second person semantically. To account for why third person proper names and bare nouns can bind second person anaphora, this study proposes a DP structure to account for the possibility of binding in imperatives, which is distinct from the binding possibility of subjects in declaratives and interrogatives. In imperatives, the subject is a DP in which there is a covert second person pronoun in D position to license the complement NP.



7. Conclusion

7.1 Summary

Given the preceding analyses, I conclude this thesis in this way.

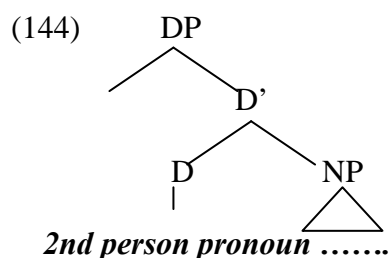
First, this study utilizes tag questions to distinguish imperatives and declaratives, as well as imperatives and deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences. Declaratives are compatible with the truth-confirming tags such as *shi bu shi*, but incompatible with command-complying tags. Imperatives, on the other hand, are not compatible with A-not-A tag questions or with truth-confirming tags. They are only compatible with the command-complying tags such as *xing ma* and *hao ma*. Deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences can take both truth-confirming tags and command-complying ones. The illocutionary act of tag questions can further distinguish imperatives from deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences. The illocutionary act of tag questions in imperatives is to request for an action, whereas the illocutionary acts of tag questions in deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences are to seek confirmation.

Second, this thesis identifies two syntactic characteristics of Chinese imperatives: first, imperatives require semantic agents and active verbs because the unaccuative verb whose syntactic subject is not a semantic agent cannot appear in imperatives; thus, Chinese imperatives require a semantic agent¹¹ as a syntactic subject. This thesis also proposes that imperatives can be distinguished from other sentence types in Chinese by the regulation of the argument structure of verbs. The second characteristic of Chinese imperatives is that imperatives must be unbounded.

¹¹ A semantic Theme is qualified as an imperative subject when the verb is a psychological verb.

Third, the imperatives *bie*¹ and deontic Modals_{obligation} *yao* sentences are alike in some ways, but different in other ways. For example, the deontic Modal_{obligation} *yao* is grammatical under the *lian duo* construction, whereas *bie*¹ is ungrammatical. Moreover, *bie*¹ is not permitted to occur with the stacking of modals. Deontic Modal_{obligation} *yao* is grammatical under VP-fronting and VP-ellipsis, but *bie*¹ is not. Imperative sentences and deontic modal sentences are different syntactically; thus, one cannot simply equate deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences with imperatives using *bie*¹.

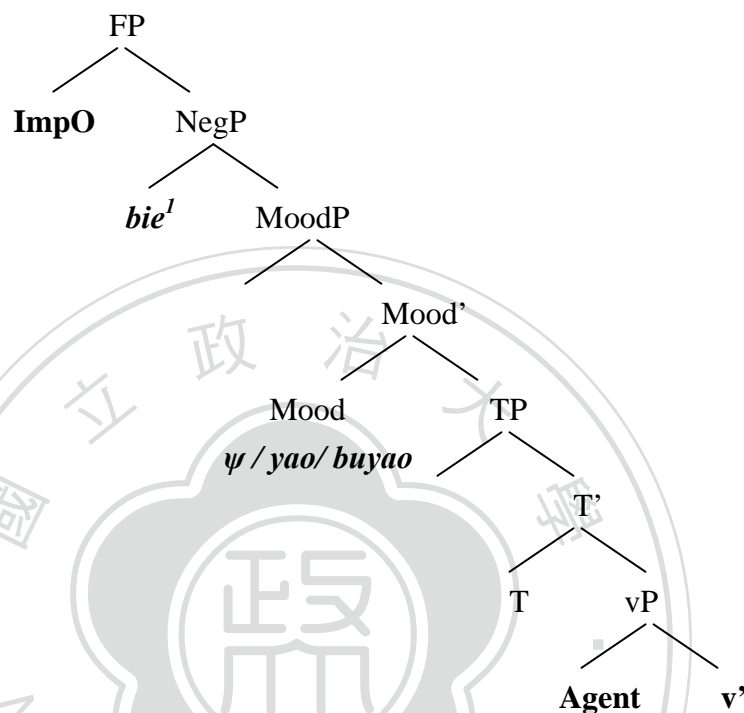
Fourth, this study observes that imperative subjects license or bind a second person anaphor but not a third person anaphor in the object position. It is worth noting that only in imperatives can proper names, common nouns, and quantificational subjects (that are actually third person elements) bind second person anaphora, which violates the binding principle because they are not co-indexed with the second person semantically. To account for why third person proper names and bare nouns can bind a second person anaphora, this thesis proposes a DP structure to account for the binding possibility in imperatives which is distinct from subjects in declaratives and interrogatives. In imperatives, the subject is a DP in which there is a covert second person pronoun in D position to license the complement NP as demonstrated in (144) below.



Fifth, this thesis examined imperatives from a generative perspective. It seems difficult to find syntactic evidence of the imperative force and mood as well as a structure of imperatives because Chinese imperatives lack a morpho-syntactic strategy.

Hence, this thesis proposes that Chinese possesses an imperative operator in imperatives, by examining the evidence from tense anchoring and imperatives. Finally, this thesis proposes the structure of imperatives in Chinese as shown in (116).

(116)



This study assumes it is the mood that contains the semantic and syntactic information of imperatives, since neither force nor mood is overtly marked. Hence, above the vP domain, an imperative operator is situated high in the spect of FP. Moreover, this study uses the empty ψ to represent an abstract imperative mood in the structure above. In negative imperatives, bie^1 is situated rather higher than the modal $yao/buyao$. Thus, the imperative operator head-selects bie^1 , and bie^1 in turn selects an abstract mood which contains the semantic and syntactic information of imperatives. Furthermore, this study assumes that the deontic modals_{obligation} are heads of functional projection in the FP domain, the mood head. The head of the mood in negative imperatives with bie^1 is an abstract mood, whereas the head of the mood in the addressee-oriented Modal_{obligation} sentence is the modal_{obligation} yao or $buyao$.

7.2 Implications

The implications of this study are summarized as the following. Unlike previous studies, the research in this thesis on Chinese imperatives has been carried out from a theoretical perspective rather than a descriptive one. This study observes several problems in the previous studies on Chinese imperatives; for example, *bie*, *ba* and *bu yao* are not utilized exclusively in imperatives. Moreover, although Han (1999) observes that it is difficult to determine whether imperatives exist as a grammatical category in Chinese because the latter has no mood or tense morphology on the verb, this study finds that tag questions serve as the supporting evidence to prove that imperatives are syntactically different from other clause types.

In addition, this study clarifies some intriguing phenomena of *bie* and *bu yao*. First, this study distinguishes two types of *bie*: *bie*¹ is specific to imperatives and acts to prohibit something from happening in the present and future, and *bie*² is used in declaratives to express an assumption or a counter-factual proposition expressing the speaker's wish. Second, this study distinguishes *bie*¹ and *bu yao* by four syntactic tests, the results of which further prove that deontic Modal_{obligation} sentences and imperatives with *bie*¹ are syntactically different.

Last, this study formulates the study of Chinese imperatives in a theoretical way and proposes a structure of imperatives in Chinese. Based on the research of Rizzi (1999) and Li (2006), this study proposes that clause-type markers in Chinese do not occupy the highest position in the CP layer; rather, it is the mood that hosts clausal typing elements, occupying a lower position than other functional heads like topic and focus.

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