

# Two grammatical categories for *please* in Mandarin imperative clauses

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## ABSTRACT

This paper develops a syntax-pragmatics interface analysis of imperative clauses overtly marked by two grammatical categories of *qing* ‘please’ in Mandarin and refines the division of labor among directive force, clause typing and deontic modality jointly computing the interpretative properties of *qing* imperatives. We present a cluster of properties to differentiate between the two categories of *qing* and observe that *qing*<sup>1</sup> denotes obligation imposed on the addressee by the speaker, while *qing*<sup>2</sup> denotes permission with which the addressee is allowed to perform an action or make true a state of affairs according to a set of norms. It is argued that *qing*<sup>1</sup> is an imperative mood head, while *qing*<sup>2</sup> is an imperative adverb, but both are endowed with a similar internal composition and extent of the phrasal hierarchies of the CP periphery, and their disparate imperative properties can be ascribed to the addressee-oriented and subject-oriented deontic modality (Tsai & Portner 2008). Following Haegeman & Hill’s (2013) version of the Speech Act Phrase, we claim that a speech act layer externally merges to the topmost position of ForceP to drive the syntax-pragmatics interface computation of the speaker-addressee relation and to mediate the imperative mood and clause typing represented in the CP layer.

## KEYWORDS

cartography, imperatives, vocative, deontic modality, speech act

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The gradual progress of treating imperatives as an independent clause type, comparable to declarative, interrogative and exclamative clauses, has reached a wider consensus in previous studies through the 1980s and 1990s (see Kruger 2012 for a comprehensive overview). A central issue that

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receives much attention is the structural composition of imperatives and a set of operations jointly contributing to the illocutionary force of directives, like commands, orders, permission, or suggestions, which are generally associated with the functions of imperatives. Two issues surrounding imperative clauses on both the empirical and theoretical fronts are (i) the optional subject of imperative clauses and (ii) the overt realization of imperative categories in verbal morphology. Mandarin clearly exhibits these two features, as shown in (1), where the subject is allowed to remain covert and the verb *gun* ‘roll’ does not inflect for imperative morphology.<sup>1</sup>

- (1) (Ni) gun chuqu!  
 you roll out  
 ‘Get out (of here)!’

Of structural interest in (1) is how the clausal structure of Mandarin imperatives diverges from that of other clause types and whether directive speech acts are visible to syntactic computation. As an example, English has four ways of forming imperatives, as shown in (2a–d). A bare verb itself can be used as an imperative (2a) or with the overt subject (2b), the light verb *go* takes the bare verb *fuck* as its complement in (2c) (see Alcázar & Saltarelli 2008 for a light verb analysis), and the adverb *please* is used in (2d).<sup>2</sup>

- (2) Four variants of the imperative in English  
 a. Fuck off!  
 b. You fuck off!  
 c. Go fuck off!  
 d. Please fuck off!

In contrast, Mandarin has two grammatical categories for *please*: *qing*<sup>1</sup> ‘(lit.) please’ and *qing*<sup>2</sup> ‘(lit.) please’ are employed to mark imperatives. As illustrated in (3a–b), two types of *qing* imperative are observed in Mandarin, the difference being whether the subject *ni* ‘you’ precedes *qing* or not.

- (3) Two types of *qing* imperatives in Mandarin  
 a. *qing*<sup>1</sup> > *you*  
 Qing ni manman chi.  
 PLEASE you slowly eat  
 ‘Please eat your meal slowly.’  
 b. *you* > *qing*<sup>2</sup>  
 Ni qing man-yong.  
 you PLEASE slow-use  
 ‘Please enjoy your meal!’

<sup>1</sup>Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: AFF: affective, BA: *ba* constructions; ASP: aspect, CL: classifier, DE: *de* marker, DEO: deontic, MOD: modal, NEG: negation, PL: plural, SFP: sentence-final particle, SING: singular.

<sup>2</sup>I thank a reviewer for calling my attention to this type of English imperatives (i.e., the imperative with the overt subject).



It is worth noting that the two types of *qing* imperatives in (3a–b) are context-sensitive. Here for concreteness, (3b) is felicitously stated in a restaurant context where the waiter talks to guests after serving the full dish. If (3a) is uttered in the restaurant context, its felicity is questioned and induces pragmatic anomalies. In contrast, (3a) is felicitous in a context where a mother asks her children to eat slowly in a warning tone. Put differently, (3b) encodes a speech act denoting permission from the speaker, whilst (3a) denotes obligation whereby the speaker has authority over the addressee and gets him/her to perform the desired action.

Previous studies say little about the contrast in (3a–b) and the grammatical category of *qing*. Yang (2010) claims that *qing* in imperatives is used to soften a command and show politeness when occurring in the sentence-initial position (cf. (3a)), with no attention paid to the category of *qing* occurring after the subject in (3b) or to the contrast between (3a) and (3b). The distinction, however, adds weight to the characterization of directive speech acts encoded by imperatives. As pointed out in Jary & Kissine (2014), two types of directive speech acts are associated with imperatives: one type represents attempts by the speaker to commit the addressee to an action or a state of affairs being true in a near future, while the other also represents attempts by the speaker to get the addressee to perform an action or a state of affairs not necessarily being true in a near future. Apparently, the first type can be successfully performed through command and request, while the second type relates to suggestion and permission.

This paper examines the internal composition and the composition of the left periphery of Mandarin imperatives marked by the two grammatical categories for *please* from a cartographic perspective (Cinque 1999). It is argued here that imperative clauses marked by the two categories of *qing* have a full-fledged CP structure comprising ForceP and a speech act layer (Haegeman & Hill 2013) that are in charge of the syntax-pragmatics interface computation of the speaker-addressee relation. To preview our syntax-pragmatics interface analysis of the *qing* imperatives, *qing*<sup>1</sup> in (3a) is the head of MoodP<sub>IMP</sub>, and the other in (3b) (henceforth *qing*<sup>2</sup>) is the imperative mood adverb base-generated at [Spec, MoodP<sub>IMP</sub>], and the two types of *qing* imperative are derived via movement operations to achieve clause typing as imperative. Furthermore, though the two categories of *qing* and the subject of the *qing* imperative are optionally covert, their interpretative effects can be taken to confirm implicit categories encoding imperative mood and illocutionary force distributed over the clausal spine of CP, very much in line with Sigurðsson & Maling's (2009) view that silence of a category does not mean that it is syntactically absent.

This paper is structured as follows. I begin in Section 2 with surveying a cluster of syntactic and pragmatic properties of *qing* in Mandarin imperatives and then provide diagnostic tests designed to distinguish the two categories of *qing*, establishing first the necessity of viewing *qing* imperative clauses as a distinct clause type. Previous works on the clausal structure of imperatives are reviewed and compared in Section 3, with the goal of bringing out the consistent lines of reasoning amongst them, alongside the advantages and disadvantages of each with respect to the observed properties of *qing*. With the necessary assumptions spelt out in Section 4.1, a syntax-pragmatics interface analysis of the two categories of *qing* is then developed in Section 4.2 and Section 4.3, with theoretical implications for the syntax of imperatives discussed in Section 4.4. Lastly, Section 5 concludes the paper.

Before proceeding to the following sections, I first provide some background on two properties of Mandarin syntax, which are essential for the understanding of the following discussion. First, as the grammatical categories of *qing* encode two different types of deontic modality, I follow Tsai & Portner's (2008) system of Mandarin modals, under which two types



of deontic modal are distinguished, the addressee-oriented ‘ought to do’ modal and the subject-oriented ‘ought to be’ modal. As shown in (4a–b), the deontic modal auxiliary *yao* is ambiguous between the two types of deontic modality.<sup>3</sup>

- (4) Ni bixu yao xie-wan zuoye.  
 you have.to MOD<sub>DEO</sub> write-complete homework
- a. The addressee-oriented deontic modality: I require that you have to finish your homework assignment.
- b. The subject-oriented deontic modality: You are required to complete your homework assignment.

According to Tsai & Portner’s (2008) analysis, the ambiguity of *yao* can be ascribed to its height in the hierarchy of modals in Mandarin, as schematized in (5), where the addressee-oriented deontic modal projects in the CP periphery, while the subject-oriented one projects in the vP periphery. It will be shown that *qing*<sup>1</sup> is compatible with the addressee-oriented deontic modal auxiliary, while *qing*<sup>2</sup> with the subject-oriented deontic modal auxiliary.

- (5) The hierarchy of modals in Mandarin (adapted from Tsai & Portner 2008, 4)
- Epistemic adverb > Epistemic/Future modal > Deontic adverb > Ought to be modal > ...
- ↓
- ADDRESSEE-ORIENTED DEONTIC
- TP > Subject > Frequency adverb > Ought to do modal > Dynamic modal > vP
- ↓
- SUBJECT-ORIENTED DEONTIC

Second, the subject of *qing* imperatives is definite and can optionally be overtly spelt out. It is necessary to pin down the designated position of the subject, as its position relative to the two categories of *qing* bears directly on the two types of directive act (see (3a–b)). When an evaluative adverb occurs (such as *jianzhi* ‘simply’, an adverb expressing straightforwardness), the subject undergoes obligatory fronting and is interpreted as definite, as shown in (6a–b). Tsai (2015a and subsequent work) recasts this obligatory topicalization as syntactic substantiation of topic prominence of Mandarin grammar and proposes that the definite subject is required to undergo topicalization to a topic position above the evaluative adverb (i.e., TopP > EvalP) in the left periphery of CP. Hence, interpreted along this analysis, the subject of the imperative is not situated at [Spec, TP].<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup>It should be noted that in Tsai & Portner’s (2008) system, *bixu* is a modal adverb licensed by the deontic modal head *yao* via the Spec-Head agreement in the same domain. The occurrence of both or one of them is permitted, as well as their absence in the clause with their deontic modal interpretation not being affected.

<sup>4</sup>We will spell out more theoretical implications from Tsai’s topic prominence account in Section 4.1, when it comes to a step-by-step derivation of the two types of *qing* imperatives.



(6) Obligatory topicalization over the evaluative mood adverb *jianzhi* ‘simply’

- a. Zhangsan [jianzhi]<sub>EVA</sub> mei ba wo fang zai yanli!  
 Zhangsan simply NEG BA me put in eye  
 ‘Zhangsan simply thinks nothing of me.’
- b. \*[jianzhi]<sub>EVA</sub> Zhangsan mei ba wo fang zai yanli!  
 simply Zhangsan NEG BA me put in eye  
 Intended: ‘Zhangsan simply thinks nothing of me.’

## 2. EMPIRICAL BASE

The politeness verb *qing* ‘please’ in Mandarin can be realized as two categories (Chen-Main 2005), as a lexical verb and a functional category. The two categories behave differently. As shown in (7a–b), the lexical verb *qing* is able to (i) occur in the A-not-A pattern, and (ii) to be suffixed with the experiential aspect marker *-guo*, both of which are indicative of verbal properties in Mandarin.<sup>5</sup> Note that the verbal category of *qing* can mean ‘invite’ (7a–b) and ‘ask’ (8).

<sup>5</sup>One of the strategies for forming Yes-No questions in Mandarin is the so-called A-not-A (or ‘V-not-V’) pattern (see Huang 1991; Huang, Li & Lee 2009 for a comprehensive survey). As shown in (i), only the first verb *xiang* ‘want’ in (i a) is permitted to occur in the A-not-A pattern to derive a Yes-No question.

- (i) a. Zhangsan xiang qu Meiguo.  
 Zhangsan want go America  
 ‘Zhangsan wants to go to America.’
- b. Zhangsan xiang-bu-xiang qu Meiguo?  
 Zhangsan want-NEG-want go America  
 ‘Does Zhangsan want to go to America?’
- c. \*Zhangsan xiang qu-bu-qu Meiguo?  
 Zhangsan want go-NEG-go America  
 Intended: ‘Does Zhangsan want to go to America?’

Moreover, the A-not-A pattern can be employed to confirm the status of a category, as a head or a phrasal element. As is evident in (ii a–b), where the aspect head denoting frequency *chang* ‘often’ (Liao 2004) is allowed to undergo the A-not-A pattern, rather than the frequency adverb *changchang* ‘often’.

- (ii) a. Zhangsan chang-bu-chang lai ne?  
 Zhangsan often-NEG-often come SFP  
 ‘Does Zhangsan come here very often or not?’
- b. \*Zhangsan changchang-bu-changchang lai ne?  
 Zhangsan often-NEG-often come SFP  
 Intended: ‘Does Zhangsan come here very often or not?’



(7) The verbal use of *qing* (literally ‘invite’)

## a. A-not-A pattern

[Zhangsan qing-bu-qing Xiaodi chi-fan] dou bu gan wode  
 Zhangsan please-NEG-please Xiaodi eat-rice all NEG relate my  
 shi.  
 business  
 ‘Whether Zhangsan wants to invite Xiaodi for a meal or not does not concern me.’

b. Co-occurrence with the experiential aspect marker *guo*

Zhangsan yijing qing-guo Xiaodi chi-fan le.  
 Zhangsan already please-ASP Xiaodi eat-rice SFP  
 ‘Zhangsan already invited Xiaodi for a meal.’

(8) The verbal use of *qing* (literally ‘ask’)

Zhangsan qing-guo gongren qingli zhe-jian yushi le.  
 Zhangsan please-ASP worker clean this-CL bathroom SFP  
 ‘Zhangsan already asked/hired some cleaner to clean this bathroom.’

In contrast, *qing* in imperative clauses like (9a–b) does not pass the above two diagnostics. The contrast can be taken to show that *qing* in (9a–b) is not a verbal element. Furthermore, the semantics of the verbal *qing* ‘please’ in (7a–b) is ‘invite’, whereas that of the non-verbal *qing* in (9a–b) is similar to the adverb *please* in English.<sup>6</sup>

(9) The non-verbal use of *qing* (literally ‘please’)

## a. Resistance to the A-not-A pattern

\*Qing-bu-qing ni lai yi xia ne?  
 please-NEG-please you come one CL SFP  
 Intended: ‘Please can you come here for a while?’

b. Resistance to the experiential aspect marker *guo*

\*Qing-guo ni lai yi xia!  
 please-ASP you come one CL  
 Intended: ‘Please (you) already came here for a while!’

<sup>6</sup>There are two reasons why the second category of *qing* cannot be the target of the A-not-A pattern. First, translated along the lines of Huang’s (1991) null operator analysis of A-not-A questions in Mandarin, *qing* in (9a) is not situated within the c-command domain of INFL<sup>0</sup>, which is the locus of the null operator. Second, as the operator only targets a head element (Tseng 2009), it follows that *qing* in (9a) is not a head. It will be proposed in Section 4 that the two categories of *qing* are situated in the CP, one being a head of MoodP<sub>IMP</sub> and the other the adverb based-generated at [Spec, MoodP<sub>IMP</sub>].



It is worth underscoring that the imperative clause marked by *qing* in the absence of the subject is two-way ambiguous when uttered out of the blue, as in (10a–b). The ambiguity disappears when the subject *ni* ‘you’ is overt in (11a–b). Interpreted along the lines of Ross’s (1970) *Performative Hypothesis*, (11a) says that I hereby command/request that you should explain it to me clearly, which imposes obligation on the addressee by the speaker to perform the explaining action, while (11b) says that I hereby permit that you explain it clearly so that I can help with your problem in the absence of the obligation from the speaker.

(10) Qing shuo qingchu!  
PLEASE say clearly

a. Context: A wife finds her husband having an affair with another woman, and angrily asks her husband:

‘(I command/request that you should) explain this to me in detail right now!’

b. Context: A police finds one girl crying on the road and tells her:

‘(I permit that you could) explain this to me in detail (so that I could help you)!’

(11) a. *qing*<sup>1</sup> > subject of the imperative clause  
(Zhangsan), qing ni shuo qingchu! [*qing*<sup>1</sup> → command, request]  
Zhangsan PLEASE<sup>1</sup> you say clearly

b. subject of the imperative clause > *qing*<sup>2</sup>  
(Meimei), ni qing shuo qingchu! [*qing*<sup>2</sup> → permission]  
sister you PLEASE<sup>2</sup> say clearly

The question is whether the two grammatical categories of *qing* represented in (11a–b) have different structural representations. In the following subsections, several pieces of evidence will be provided to illustrate structural and pragmatic differences between the two categories. To keep the discussion in the current paper at a manageable level, we will focus on the functional categories of *qing* rather than the lexical one in (7a–b) and (8). A syntax-pragmatics interface analysis developed in Section 4 shows that the two grammatical categories of *qing* represent the spectrum of the speaker’s mood in cartographic terms through deontic modality in the *vP* periphery to that in the CP periphery, lending support to Tsai’s (2015c) view that Mandarin modals exhibit a trait of retaining ‘their verbal origins while undergoing grammaticalization and leaving their cognates through syntactic projections’ all the way from VP and TP to CP (Tsai 2015c, 275).

## 2.1. The speaker-addressee relation: two types of directive force

To recap the discussion in Section 1, the two grammatical categories of *qing* receive different interpretations (cf. (3a–b)): *qing*<sup>1</sup> encodes obligation imposed by the speaker on the addressee to get him/her to do something to make a future state of affairs or action come true, whilst *qing*<sup>2</sup> encodes permission by the speaker for the addressee to make true a future state of affairs or to perform a desired action, according to a set of norms. Context plays a crucial role in distinguishing between the two categories, which are in turn represented by two types of the speaker-addressee relation.



The context in (12) shows that the manager (speaker) has authority to impose an obligation on the employees (addressees) by asking them to wear the company uniforms. In this context, only the use of *qing*<sup>1</sup> is felicitous rather than *qing*<sup>2</sup>.

(12) Context: Seeing them not wear the uniforms as required, the manager speaks to his employees:

- a. Qing      nimen      chuan      zhifu      lai      shangban!  
 PLEASE<sup>1</sup>    you        wear      uniform    come    work  
 '(I command that you should) wear the uniform in the company!'
- b. #Nimen    qing      chuan      zhifu      lai      shangban!  
       you      PLEASE<sup>2</sup>    wear      uniform    come    work  
 '(I permit that you could) wear the uniform in the company!'

Consider another context in (13), where the principal does not force the students to sit down but instead, permits them to sit down without imposing obligation on them. The use of *qing*<sup>2</sup> is hence felicitous.

(13) Context: In a morning assembly, after a group of students stand up and greet the principal with *Xiaozhang zao* 'Good morning, principal', the principal responds:

- a. #Ge-wei    tongxue    zao,      qing      nimen    zuo    xia!  
       every-CL    student    early    PLEASE<sup>1</sup>    you    sit    down  
 'Good morning, (I command that you should) please sit down!'
- b. Ge-wei    tongxue    zao,      nimen    qing      zuo    xia!  
       every-CL    student    early    you      PLEASE<sup>2</sup>    sit    down  
 'Good morning, (I permit that you could) please sit down!'

The above contrasts are taken to show that *qing*<sup>1</sup> is closely tied to the obligation imposed by the speaker upon the addressee in a given context, whereas *qing*<sup>2</sup> is devoid of this property. If this line of thinking is on the right track, the contrast between (14a) and (14b) can be understood if an angry girl asks her boyfriend to get out of the room at her request in (14a) instead of giving her boyfriend permission to decide whether to leave the room in (14b).

(14) Context: Being angry, a girl says to her boyfriend after finding that he cheated on her:

- a. Qing      ni      gun      chu      qu!  
 PLEASE<sup>1</sup>    you    get      out      go  
 '(I command that you should) get out of here!'
- b. #Ni      qing      gun      chu      qu!  
       You    PLEASE<sup>2</sup>    get      out      go  
 '(I permit that you could) get out of here!'



In this subsection, the distinction between *qing*<sup>1</sup> and *qing*<sup>2</sup> is captured by the two types of directive force, which, in turn, instantiate two kinds of the speaker-addressee relation: *qing*<sup>1</sup> represents a command where the speaker has administrative or social authority over the addressee, whereas *qing*<sup>2</sup> is used to communicate permission in a context where the speaker intends to get the addressee to perform an action which does not necessarily have to be true in a future time. It follows that the two types of the speaker-addressee relations are identified and encoded by command and permission, respectively.

## 2.2. The optional presence of vocatives

Note that the subject of the *qing* imperative situated either after *qing*<sup>1</sup> or preceding *qing*<sup>2</sup> cannot be analyzed as a vocative. First, the referent of the subject in the two types of *qing* imperatives can be syntactically identified by a vocative in the leftmost position or the rightmost position, as shown in (15a–b) and (16a–b), where the vocative agrees with the subject in number and person.

- (15) a. Vocative > *qing*<sup>1</sup> > subject  
 (Zhangsan han Xiaodi)<sub>1</sub>, qing nimen<sub>1</sub>/\*ni<sub>1</sub>/\*tamen<sub>1</sub>/\*ta<sub>1</sub> likai yi-xia!  
 Zhangsan and Xiaodi PLEASE<sup>1</sup> you.PL/you.SG/they/he leave one-CL  
 ‘Zhangsan and Xiaodi, (I command that both of you should) leave for a while!’
- b. Vocative > subject > *qing*<sup>2</sup>  
 (Zhangsan han Xiaodi)<sub>1</sub>, nimen<sub>1</sub>/\*ni<sub>1</sub>/\*tamen<sub>1</sub>/\*ta<sub>1</sub> qing likai yi-xia!  
 Zhangsan and Xiaodi you.PL/you.SG/they/he PLEASE<sup>2</sup> leave one-CL  
 ‘Zhangsan and Xiaodi, (I permit that both of you could) leave for a while!’
- (16) a. *qing*<sup>1</sup> > subject > vocative  
 Qing nimen<sub>1</sub>/\*ni<sub>1</sub>/\*tamen<sub>1</sub>/\*ta<sub>1</sub> likai yi-xia,  
 PLEASE<sup>1</sup> you.PL/you.SG/they/he leave one-CL  
 [Zhangsan han Xiaodi]<sub>1</sub>!  
 Zhangsan and Xiaodi  
 ‘(I command/request that both of you should) leave for a while, Zhangsan and Xiaodi!’
- b. subject > *qing*<sup>2</sup> > vocative  
 Nimen<sub>1</sub>/\*ni<sub>1</sub>/\*tamen<sub>1</sub>/\*ta<sub>1</sub> qing likai yi-xia,  
 you.PL/you.SG/they/he PLEASE<sup>2</sup> leave one-CL  
 [Zhangsan han Xiaodi]<sub>1</sub>!  
 Zhangsan and Xiaodi  
 ‘Zhangsan and Xiaodi, (I permit that both of you could) leave for a while!’

Moreover, vocatives are outside of the thematic grid of the verb but are related to propositional information and occupy a clause-external position (Moro 2003).<sup>7</sup> (15a–b) and (16a–b) prove

<sup>7</sup>It should be noted that a vocative phrase is a pragmatic argument licensed within the supra speech act layer under the sa\*P analysis (Speas & Tenny 2003; Haegeman & Hill 2013, among others), and its realization can be optional. A detailed discussion of the sa\*P analysis is given in Section 4.



that the vocatives are optional and their presence identifies a group of addressees or a single addressee present in the immediate discourse. The vocatives in (15a–b) and (16a–b) are, however, infelicitous, if referring to the set of addressees not in the discourse. Last, vocatives are not restricted to imperatives (Portner 2005; Alcazar & Saltarelli 2014).

### 2.3. The designated structural position of *qing*<sup>1</sup> and *qing*<sup>2</sup>

Though the two categories of *qing* under investigation can be distinguished, less discussed is their structural positions. The two categories behave differently when co-occurring with the imperative mood adverb *qianwan* ‘by all means’ (Cinque 1999; Li 2017; contra Hsiao 2012). As evident in (17a–b), *qing*<sup>1</sup> must precede the imperative adverb.<sup>8</sup>

(17) *qing*<sup>1</sup> must precede the imperative adverb *qianwan* ‘by all means’

- a. *qing*<sup>1</sup> > *qianwan*  
 Qing    ni    qianwan<sub>IMP</sub>    yao    jide    zhe-jian    shi!  
 PLEASE<sup>1</sup>    you    by.all.means    MOD<sub>DEO</sub>    remember    this-CL    matter  
 ‘(I command that) you should keep this matter in mind by all means!’
- b. \**qianwan* > *qing*<sup>1</sup>  
 Qianwan<sub>IMP</sub>    qing    ni    yao    jide    zhe-jian    shi!  
 by.all.means    PLEASE<sup>1</sup>    you    MOD<sub>DEO</sub>    remember    this-CL    matter

(18a–b), in contrast, indicate that *qing*<sup>2</sup> is blocked before or after the adverb *qianwan*. The grammaticality of (18a) is greatly improved, however, if there is a pause between the subject *nimen* ‘you’ and *qing*<sup>2</sup>, as shown in (19). It is tempting to analyze *nimen* ‘you (PL)’ under discussion as a vocative. Yet, this line of thinking is immediately challenged by (20), where the genuine vocative is able to co-occur in the sentence-initial position with the subject.

(18) *qing*<sup>2</sup> cannot co-occur with the imperative mood adverb *qianwan*

- a. ??/\**qing*<sup>2</sup> > *qianwan*  
 Nimen    qing    qianwan<sub>IMP</sub>    yao    jide    zhe-jian    shi!  
 you.PL    PLEASE<sup>2</sup>    by.all.means    MOD<sub>DEO</sub>    remember    this-CL    matter  
 Intended: ‘(I permit that) you should keep this matter in mind by all means!’

<sup>8</sup>A word of clarification is needed here. When the imperative mood adverb *qianwan* ‘by all means’ occurs, the subject of the imperative clause must undergo fronting. This structural property is reminiscent of obligatory topicalization triggered by the presence of evaluative adverbs in (6). Thus, the contrast between (18a) and (18b) does not pertain to scope differences induced by the adverb *qianwan*, as the designated position of the adverb *qianwan* is in the CP. As will be shown in Sections 4.2 and 4.2, the difference between (18a) and (18b) arises from head movement of *qing*<sup>1</sup> to check the [*uW*] feature for the purposes of clause typing. Moreover, the co-existence of the imperative mood adverb *qianwan* and *qing*<sup>2</sup> is blocked as a result of the general co-occurrence restriction on two adverbs of the same type. As will be shown in Section 4.3, *qing*<sup>2</sup> is an imperative mood adverb. I am grateful to a reviewer for urging me to clarify this point.



- b. \* *qianwan* > *qing*<sup>2</sup>  
 Qianwan<sub>IMP</sub> nimen qing yao jide zhe-jian shi!  
 by.all.means you.PL PLEASE<sup>2</sup> MOD<sub>DEO</sub> remember this-CL matter
- (19) ? Vocative > *qing*<sup>2</sup> > *qianwan*  
 Nimen#, qing qianwan<sub>IMP</sub> yao jide zhe-jian shi!  
 you<sub>VOC</sub> PLEASE<sup>2</sup> by.all.means MOD<sub>DEO</sub> remember this-CL matter
- (20) Vocative > subject<sup>ADDRESSEE</sup> > *qing*<sup>2</sup>  
 [Zaichang de mei-wei keren]<sub>1</sub>, nimen<sub>1</sub> qing yao  
 on.the.spot DE every-CL customer you.PL PLEASE<sup>2</sup> MOD<sub>DEO</sub>  
 jide xie shenqing dan!  
 remember wire application form  
 ‘Every customer here, (I permit that you could) fill out the application form!’

Two conclusions can be drawn here. First, if *qing*<sup>2</sup> is considered to be an imperative marker, it is not clear why *qing*<sup>2</sup> resists co-occurring with the imperative mood adverb *qianwan* ‘by all means’ in (18a–b). Second, *qing*<sup>1</sup> and *qing*<sup>2</sup> are not situated in the same structural position in terms of their co-occurrence with the mood adverb *qianwan*.

#### 2.4. Outer affective constructions in Mandarin

In Mandarin, outer affective constructions are interpreted as encoding a speech act of exclamation (or exclamative) associated with a speaker/addressee-oriented construal and a presupposition that goes beyond the speaker’s expectation (Tsai 2015a, 2015b). (21) says that it is beyond the speaker’s expectation that Zhangsan drank three bottles of wine upon the speaker. Crucial to our discussion here is that (21) can be interpreted as performing a speech act, such as ‘I command that Zhangsan should drink three bottles of wine upon me’. In other words, (21) can encode a degree of obligation in the sense that in the context set up in (21), Zhangsan should not perform the wine-drinking action upon the speaker.

- (21) Mandarin outer affective construction  
 Zhangsan juran gei wo he-le san-ping jiu!  
 Zhangsan unexpectedly AFF me drink-ASP three-CL wine  
 ‘Unexpectedly, Zhangsan drank three cups of wine upon me!’

Along this line of thinking, if (21) encodes directive force (obligation), it is predicted that *qing*<sup>1</sup> is compatible with the outer affective construction, because as shown in Section 2.1, *qing*<sup>1</sup> bears the directive act of *command*. The prediction is borne out in (22a), and the infelicity of *qing*<sup>2</sup> in (22b) can be explained accordingly. As the outer affective construction encodes the directive act of *command* resulting from the evaluative adverb *juran* ‘unexpectedly’, which can be recast as



obligation in the immediate context, and *qing*<sup>2</sup>, denoting permission, is not compatible with this obligation context.<sup>9</sup>

(22) Two grammatical categories of *qing* in outer affective constructions in Mandarin

- a. Qing ni gei wo gun chu qu!  
 PLEASE<sup>1</sup> you AFF me get out go  
 '(I command that you should) get out of here upon me!'
- b. #Ni qing gei wo gun chu qu!  
 you PLEASE<sup>2</sup> AFF me get out go  
 '(I permit that you could) get out of here upon me!'

## 2.5. Two types of deontic modality

Two categories of *qing* encode different types of deontic modality in Mandarin. As shown in (23a), the deontic modal auxiliary *yao* and its corresponding deontic adverb *bixu* are permitted in the *qing*<sup>1</sup> imperative clause (Tsai 2015c). The occurrence of the deontic modal auxiliary and the deontic adverb, in contrast, is not felicitous with the *qing*<sup>2</sup> imperative in (23b). The infelicity can be ascribed to the fact that *qing*<sup>2</sup> does not encode obligation imposed on the addressee, which is crucial in the context set up in (23).

(23) Context: A manager talks to his secretary in an intense and warning tone:

- a. [Obligation] *qing*<sup>1</sup>  
 Qing ni qianwan jinwan bixu yao  
 PLEASE<sup>1</sup> you by.all.means tonight obligatorily MOD<sub>DEO</sub>  
 wancheng zhe-fen baogao (fouze mingtian women mei  
 complete this-CL report otherwise tomorrow we NEG  
 banfa kai hui).  
 way hold meeting  
 'I command that you must complete this report tonight; otherwise, we won't be able to hold a meeting (due to the lack of this report).'

<sup>9</sup>Under Tsai's (2015a, 2015b) analysis of the outer affective construction, the meaning of unexpectedness arises from the evaluative mood adverb *jurán* 'unexpectedly'. Hence, the outer affective construction in (22) encodes a type of the speaker's mood (i.e., unexpectedness) and the directive act of *command*. If this line of reasoning is on the right track, *qing*<sup>1</sup> is predicted to be licensed in this construction, as *qing*<sup>1</sup> encodes the directive act of *command*. The prediction is borne out. However, this prediction does not mean that the *qing*<sup>1</sup> imperative bears the meaning of unexpectedness, as there is no mood adverb in (23a). It will be proposed that *qing*<sup>1</sup> encodes the imperative mood and is a head of MoodP<sub>IMP</sub> in Section 4. I am grateful to a reviewer for urging me to clarify this point here.



- b. [Permission] *qing*<sup>2</sup>  
 #Ni qing qianwan jinwan bixu yao wanchen  
 you PLEASE<sup>2</sup> by.all.means tonight obligatorily MOD<sub>DEO</sub> complete  
 zhe-fen baogao (fouze mingtian women mei banfa  
 this-CL report otherwise tomorrow we NEG way  
 kai hui).  
 hold meeting  
 Intended: 'You are please permitted to complete this report tonight;  
 otherwise, we won't be able to hold a meeting (due to the lack of this report).'

It should be further noted that the deontic modal auxiliary *yao* and the adverb *bixu* are permitted to co-occur in (23a), only one of them occurs in (24a–b), and both of them are covert in the *qing*<sup>1</sup> imperative in (24c) with the interpretation of obligation.

(24) Context: A manager talks to his secretary in an intense and warning tone.

- a. Qing ni qianwan jinwan yao wancheng  
 PLEASE<sup>1</sup> you by.all.means tonight MOD<sub>DEO</sub> complete  
 zhe-fen baogao (fouze mingtian women mei banfa  
 this-CL report otherwise tomorrow we NEG way  
 kai hui).  
 hold meeting  
 'I command that you must complete this report tonight; otherwise, we  
 won't be able to hold a meeting (due to the lack of this report).'
- b. Qing ni qianwan jinwan bixu wancheng  
 PLEASE<sup>1</sup> you by.all.means tonight obligatorily complete  
 zhe-fen baogao (fouze mingtian women mei banfa  
 this-CL report otherwise tomorrow we NEG way  
 kai hui).  
 hold meeting
- c. Qing ni qianwan jinwan wancheng zhe-fen baogao  
 PLEASE<sup>1</sup> you by.all.means tonight complete this-CL report  
 (fouze mingtian women mei banfa kai hui).  
 otherwise tomorrow we NEG way hold meeting

The contrast between (23a) and (23b) is taken to illustrate that *qing*<sup>1</sup> encodes the addressee-oriented deontic modality (obligation), and the encoding arises from the implicit deontic modal not present in the *qing*<sup>1</sup> imperative in (24c), which can be overtly realized as in (23a) and (24a–b).

In contrast, *qing*<sup>2</sup> encodes a type of deontic modality in which the subject of the imperative is required to perform an action, according to a set of norms in the absence of the speaker's obligation imposed on the addressee. Analyzed along the lines of Tsai & Portner's (2008) system



of Mandarin modals, the deontic modal auxiliary *yao* and its licensed adverb *bixu* encode the subject-oriented deontic modality in which the subject is permitted to perform a desired action according to a set of norms.

(25) Subject-oriented deontic modality in *qing*<sup>2</sup>

Context: A clerk shouts at all the applicants in a post office:

Zaichang de laibin, nimen qing bixu yao xian  
 on.the.spot DE guest you.PL PLEASE<sup>2</sup> obligatorily MOD<sub>DEO</sub> first  
 tianxie-wan biaoge, cai neng yizhao guiding shenqing buzhu.  
 fill-finish sheet then able according regulation apply subsidy

Intended: ‘All guests here, you must finish filling out the application form first, and then you are permitted to apply for subsidies, according to the regulations.’

2.6. Summary

Table 1 summarizes the structural properties and pragmatic effects of *qing*<sup>1</sup> and *qing*<sup>2</sup> surveyed in Section 2. The properties will be accounted for by a syntax-pragmatics analysis to be developed in Section 4.

It must be mentioned that the two types of deontic modality discussed in Section 2.5 fare well with Isac’s (2015) two types of deontic modality in the imperative context, as shown in (26a–b). In the true deontic modality in (26a), the obligation is put on the addressee, and the subject-oriented deontic modality in (26b) requires that permission is given to the subject. Interpreted along the lines of Tsai & Portner’s (2008) system, the true deontic modality and the subject-oriented deontic modality are recast respectively as the addressee-oriented and the subject-oriented deontic modality, both of which can be realized as the deontic modal head *yao* and its corresponding adverb *bixu* (see (5)). Based on the observation in Section 2.5, *qing*<sup>1</sup> encodes the addressee-oriented deontic modality, while *qing*<sup>2</sup> encodes the subject-oriented deontic modality, as they have different modal interpretations in their imperative contexts.

Table 1. A summary of the properties of *qing*<sup>1</sup> and *qing*<sup>2</sup>

Properties	<i>qing</i> <sup>1</sup>	<i>qing</i> <sup>2</sup>
1. Types of directive force (Section 2.1)	Command	Permission
2. The vocative binds the referent of the ADDRESSEE (Section 2.2)	✓	✓
3. Co-occurrence with the imperative mood adverb <i>qianwan</i> ‘by all means’ (Section 2.3)	✓	✗
4. Outer affective construction (Section 2.4)	✓	✗
5. Types of deontic modality (Section 2.5)	addressee-oriented	subject-oriented



- (26) Kitty must brush her teeth. (cited in [Isac 2015](#), 43)
- a. True deontic modality [Obligation]: (Talking to the babysitter) I (i.e., the speaker) am putting an obligation on you (i.e., addressee) to see to it that Kitty brushes her teeth.
  - b. Subject-oriented deontic modality [Permission]: According to some set of rules, Kitty must brush her teeth.

### 3. PREVIOUS ANALYSES OF IMPERATIVES

I review three structural analyses of imperatives and show that none of them can apply to the two categories of *qing* in Mandarin imperatives. Nonetheless, several similar lines of reasoning from these studies are crucial in developing a syntax-pragmatics interface analysis sketched in Section 4.<sup>10</sup>

#### 3.1. Illocutionary act phrase ([Woods 2015](#))

[Woods \(2015\)](#) argues for two types of *please* in English, according to their distributional and interpretative differences. One is an overt head of the IA<sup>0</sup> that projects the illocutionary act phrase (IAP) in the CP periphery and marks an utterance as a request, while the other is an adverbial whose use pertains to politeness determined by contextual factors. As shown in (27), (28) and (29), the clause-initial *please* is strongly restricted to imperatives and interrogatives, and expresses direct requests, and the clause-final *please* has a wider distribution and is compatible with various clause types in the b examples of (27), (28) and (29).

- (27) Interrogative clauses
- a. Please can I have a beer?
  - b. Can I please have a beer?
  - c. Can I have a beer please?
- (28) Imperative clauses
- a. Please get me a bear.
  - b. Get (\*please) me (\*please) a bear.
  - c. Get me a bear please.

<sup>10</sup>As the current work focuses on the structural properties of imperatives, readers interested in the semantic analyses of imperatives are referred to [Han \(1999\)](#), [Zanuttini & Portner \(2003\)](#) and [Cormany \(2013\)](#) for further discussion. Moreover, as verbs in Mandarin imperatives do not have morphological inflection for politeness (in contrast to Japanese) and there is no special form of courtesy pronouns to refer to the addressee (in contrast to Spanish), structural analyses of verbs and pronouns encoding politeness are not reviewed here. We refer the interested readers to [Jiménez-Fernández & Issever \(2019\)](#) for a comparative study of how politeness is encoded by verbs in Japanese and courtesy pronouns in Spanish, Middle English and Turkish, with special reference to a speech act phrase (SAP) on top of the clause.



- (29) Declarative clauses
- \*Please I'll have a beer.
  - \*I'll please have a beer.
  - I'll have a beer please.

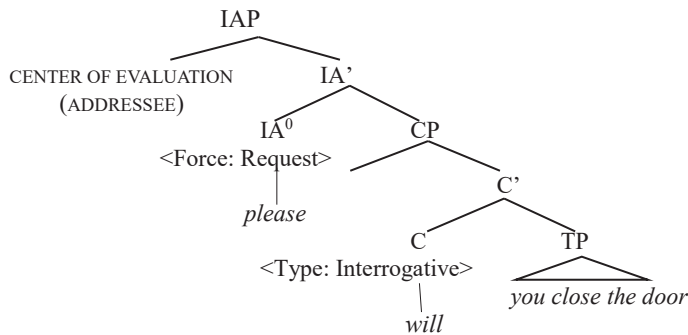
The sentence-initial *please* has two properties. First, as a request maker, the clause-initial *please* can be used in a non-polite context and seems to attenuate non-polite utterances, as is evident in (30). Second, the sentence-initial *please* in (31) introduces a conversational implicature, which can be cancelled.

- (30) Distribution of the request marker *please*
- Please fuck off.
  - Please can you fuck off?
  - ??Fuck off please.
  - ??Can you fuck off please?

- (31) Cancellability of the implicature triggered by clause-initial *please*  
Please fuck off, and don't you dare show your ugly face around here again.

Following Hill's (2007) system of the speech act layer, Woods argues that the sentence-initial *please* is an IA<sup>0</sup> (illocutionary act) dominating CP, which is the locus of marking clause types.

- (32) Woods' (2005) analysis (the amended version of Hill (2007))



(Woods 2015, 371)



By contrast, the clause-medial *please* can occur in declaratives with deontic modal force expressing necessity. As shown in (33a–b), the deontic modal auxiliaries *will* and *must* are allowed to occur with the clause-medial *please*.

- (33) a. Person anxious to write their names will please do so on this stone only.  
 b. Ladies must please remain fully dressed while bathing. (cited in Woods 2015, 374)

Similarly to the clause-initial *please*, the clause-medial *please* is used in situations in which an expression of politeness may have been forced, and is even sarcastic. Admittedly, the clause-medial *please* can be interpreted as a request in (35).

- (34) I've asked you several times to see a doctor- will you please just make an appointment.  
 (cited in Woods 2015, 375)
- (35) a. Can you open the window? [Request or information-seeking question]  
 b. Can you please open the window? [Request only]

Woods argues that the clause-medial *please* is merged to a position above  $\nu$ P, and that what makes it distinct from the clause-initial *please* is the lack of ForceP, suggesting the existence of an independent functional projection above  $\nu$ P (in the Mittelfeld/the IP-internal domain) dedicated to the encoding of discourse, for example IAP. Moreover, it modifies a predicate by marking it as a request and occurs only in declaratives that have the same modal force as a request.

While tempting at first glance, Wood's analysis cannot account for the properties in Table 1. For instance, though the IAP analysis of *please* can explain the encoding of directive force if we assume an extension of the CP layer that is responsible for syntactic substantiation of the illocutionary force, it cannot account for the distinctions between the two grammatical categories of *qing* (see Table 1). Woods's analysis is insightful in two ways, however. First, there exists an extended functional projection at the top of the CP periphery responsible for the syntax-pragmatics interface computation of directive force. Second, deontic modality plays a role in deriving the interpretation of imperatives; that is, the clause-medial *please* is base-generated in the  $\nu$ P periphery and is tied to modals expressing necessity.

### 3.2. Light verb phrase (Alcázar & Saltarelli 2008)

In English and Spanish, imperatives can be formed by means of merging 'imperative' verbs with bare verbs: *go/come* in English (36a-c) and the suffix *-ve* in Spanish (37a-b). Alcázar & Saltarelli (2008) argue for the light verb analysis of imperatives, in which a light verb projects  $\nu$ P<sup>DEMAND</sup> and the speaker-addressee relation is determined by two  $\nu$ P layers.



(36) English

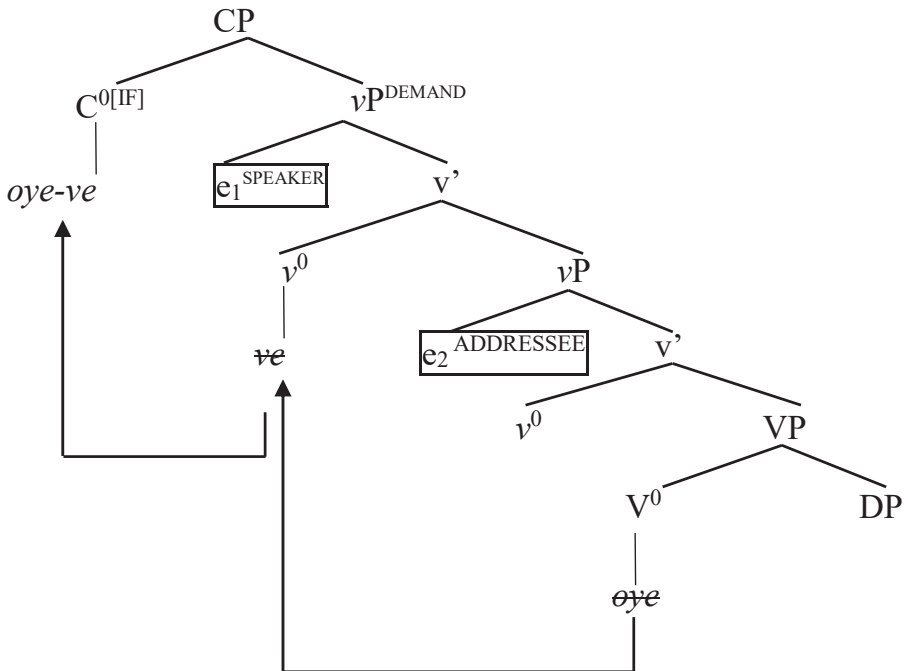
- a. Go book it!
- b. Come look at it!
- c. Go fuck yourself!

(37) Spanish

- a. ¡ Oye-ve! ‘Hear!’
- b. ¡ Anda-ve! ‘Walk!’

(38) schematizes the derivation of the verb *oyeve* in (37a), demonstrating that the speaker-addressee relation is structurally represented by  $vP^{DEMAND}$  taking  $vP$  as its c-commanded complement such that  $e_1^{SPEAKER}$  is able to perform a hearing action imposed on the  $e_2^{ADDRESSEE}$ .

(38) Alcázar & Saltarelli’s (2008) light verb analysis of (37a)



Nerveless, there are compelling reasons to believe that this analysis cannot be adopted for the two categories of *qing* in Mandarin. First, head movement as an operation to activate the speaker-addressee relation in the  $vP$  domain suffers the burden of proof in Mandarin, as verbs

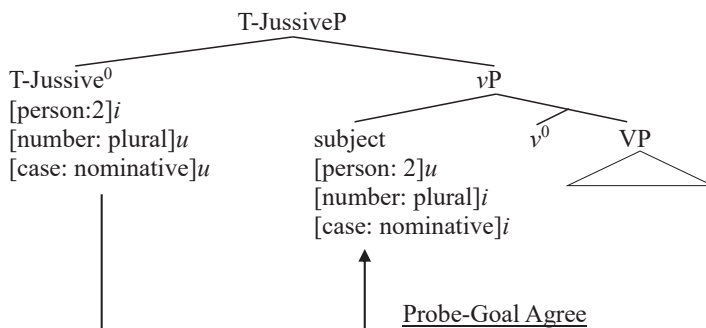


are devoid of imperative morphology in Mandarin. Second, as argued by Huang (2015), there is no strong feature (outside of the  $\nu$ P layer) triggering verb movement in modern Mandarin. It follows that verb movement as a strategy to form imperatives in Mandarin is not supported.

### 3.3. Jussive phrase (Zanuttini 2008)

Zanuttini (2008) argues for an imperative-specific projection, JussiveP, in the CP layer conveying the directive force and licensing the subject of the imperative. As shown in (39), Jussive<sup>0</sup> acts as a probe establishing a proper probe-goal Agree relation with the subject externally merged at [Spec,  $\nu$ P], accounting for the second person restriction imposed on the imperative subject.

(39) Zanuttini's (2008) JussiveP analysis



One merit of the JussiveP analysis is that it nicely captures the second person restriction imposed on the subject of the imperative, but it fails to account for the designated position of the subject of the imperative *ni* 'you' residing in the CP domain and the imperative mood adverb *qianwang* 'by all means' that is compatible with *qing*<sup>1</sup> but not *qing*<sup>2</sup>.

### 3.4. Summary

Table 2 is a summary of the analyses reviewed above and illustrates how they explain the observed properties in Section 2. It is noted that the analyses are not intended for the licensing of vocatives and the imperative mood adverb in imperative clauses. What is more, one shared view is that the speaker-addressee relation is visible to syntactic computation, encoded by functional categories projecting in the extended zones of CP (IAP in the IAP analysis and  $\nu$ P<sup>DEMAND</sup> in the light verb analysis). These analyses suggest that imperative construals are licensed in the CP periphery. None of the analyses, however, can disambiguate the two types of directive force encoded by two categories of *qing*.

## 4. A SYNTAX-PRAGMATICS INTERFACE ANALYSIS

In this section I develop a syntax-pragmatics interface analysis of the two categories of *qing* in Mandarin imperatives. In what follows, I first spell out a set of theoretical assumptions on which



**Table 2.** The summary of the previous studies

	The IAP analysis (Woods 2015)	The light verb analysis (Alcázar & Saltarelli 2008)	The Jussive Phrase analysis (Zanuttini 2008)
1. Two types of directive force (two types of <i>qing</i> ) (Section 2.1)	X	X	X
2. The licensing of vocatives (Section 2.2)	N/A	N/A	N/A
3. The incompatibility of <i>qing</i> <sup>2</sup> with the imperative mood adverb <i>qianwan</i> ‘by all means’ (Section 2.3)	N/A	N/A	N/A
4. Syntactic substantiation of the speaker-addressee relation (Section 2.1)	✓	✓	✓

the current analysis is built and subsequently I demonstrate how these assumptions capture the observed properties of the types of *qing* imperatives.

#### 4.1. Theoretical assumptions

First, I follow Cheng (1997) in assuming that  $C^0$  is the locus of clause typing information, which is recast as Force<sup>0</sup> in Rizzi’s (1997) split-CP system. Second, I adopt Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández’s (2016) view that the imperative is a mood rather than a type of illocutionary force, and is dependent on both a hidden illocutionary force activated in the matrix clause and discourse information about the speaker-addressee relation.<sup>11</sup> To represent the speaker-addressee relation in the syntax, I follow Haegeman & Hill’s (2013) adapted version of Speas & Tenny’s (2003) syntax-pragmatics system of speech act, as schematized in (40), in which a supra-subordinate speech layer merges to CP and thematic p(ragmatic)-arguments, including SPEAKER, ADDRESSEE, and UTTERANCE CONTENT, are built into the syntax and licensed within their own domains. This interface analysis is more advantageous to the JussiveP analysis (i.e., Zanuttini 2008; Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández 2021, among others) in two regards.<sup>12</sup> First, in addition to representing the speaker-addressee relation in the syntax, the sa\*P analysis captures the encoding of directive act in a way that the SPEAKER (=AGENT) in the highest position c-commands the ADDRESSEE (GOAL) and is in the qualified position to perform an action

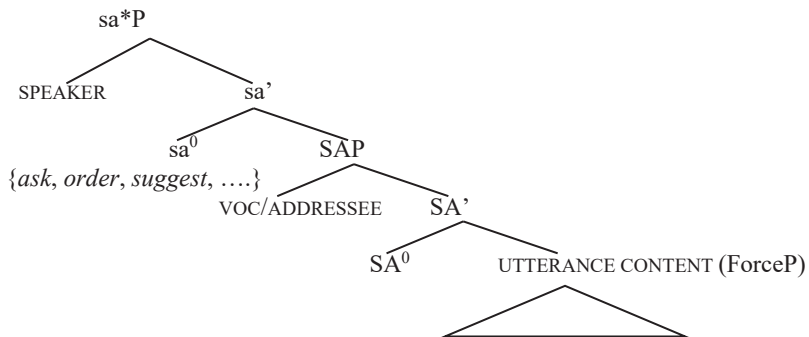
<sup>11</sup>It should be noted that Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández (2021) propose a comparative interface analysis of imperatives for two groups of languages, (i) Italian/Spanish and (ii) English, with the major difference being that in the former  $V^0$  undergoes head movement to Juss<sup>0</sup> projecting Jussive Phrase above  $vP$  to check the relevant inflectional properties, while in the latter  $V^0$  can be filled by *do* in order to check the [+IMP] feature. However, as stated in Section 4.1, there are independent reasons not to adopt their analysis, compared with the sa\*P analysis.

<sup>12</sup>I am grateful to a reviewer for urging me to evaluate the plausibility of the JussiveP analysis. As discussed above, the sa\*P is more advantageous to JussiveP analysis in representing the structural configuration of directive force derived from the speaker-addressee relation in the speech act layer.



(such as *ask, order, suggest, etc.*) by means of which the SPEAKER imposes the UTTERANCE CONTENT on the ADDRESSEE. Thus, one type of directive force encoded by *qing*<sup>1</sup> (see Section 2.1) can be structurally encoded as *I hereby order that you...*, though not overtly spelt out. This analysis fares well with the Performative Hypothesis (Ross 1970), along the lines of which root clauses are selected by higher covert predicates (i.e., *I order that...* for imperatives).<sup>13</sup> Second, it has been proposed that the core function of JussiveP is to both encode the imperative clause type and the addressee by valuing the person feature as the second person feature (see Hill 2007, Zanuttini 2008 and Zanuttini, Pak & Paul 2012). However, as discussed above, clause typing is determined by mood in Mandarin (Li 2006). Hence, granted the sa\*P analysis, SA<sup>0</sup> licenses the presence of vocatives (i.e., [Spec, SAP]) within the ADDRESSEE/HEARER domain. When bearing the [*i*PERSON<sup>2ND</sup>] feature, SA<sup>0</sup> serves as an active probe searching for a proper goal within its c-command domain to value the [*u*PERSON] feature of the subject in imperatives. Based on the above reasons, the JussiveP analysis is not motivated in the current work.

(40)



To support the above two assumptions, it is necessary to discuss how clause typing on ForceP<sup>0</sup> connects to the speech act layer, as ForceP serves as the gateway toward the syntax-pragmatics interface. Therefore, to ensure the success in activating the syntax-pragmatics interface, I implement Kellert & Lauschnus's (2016) version of the sa\*P analysis in which sa<sup>\*0</sup> creates a

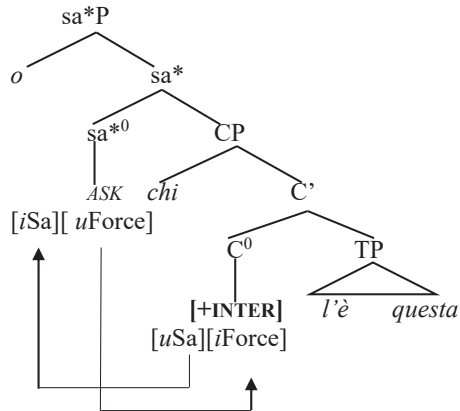
<sup>13</sup>What is more, Zanuttini, Pak & Paul (2012) argue that JussiveP is only present in imperatives and thus is rendered clause-specific (see Stockwell (2015) for a similar comment). Another empirical perspective is that JussiveP, which aims to capture the association between the addressee and the subject, is found exclusively in imperative clauses, but it is not clear how JussiveP accommodates allocutivity, a phenomenon which involves a structural representation of the addressee not necessarily restricted to imperative clauses (Kaur 2020). In contrast, the sa\*P analysis in point can account for different clause types selected by higher covert lexical predicates (i.e., *I say that...* for declaratives, *I ask that...* for interrogatives, etc.). See also Speas & Tenny (2003) for how different sentence moods are derived within the speech act layer. Moreover, as pointed out in Section 2, the two categories of *qing* encode two types of deontic modality whose interpretative effects can be detected by the overt realization of the modal auxiliary *yao* and its licensing adverb *bixu*. It is worth noting that the semantics of JussiveP can be related to deontic modality (Choi 2016 for Korean negative imperatives) or to have 'a Modality feature' ([+IMP]) (Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández 2021). In contrast, the postulation of two types of deontic modality which project ModP<sub>DEO</sub> in the periphery of CP and vP in Mandarin receives direct evidence from the overt realization of the deontic auxiliary *yao* and its licensing adverb *bixu*. In addition, the postulation adds weight to the division of labor between deontic modality and imperative mood. For these reasons, I will leave the implementation of the JussiveP analysis aside for future research.



dependency on Force<sup>0</sup> by means of probe-goal relations. Here for concreteness, SA<sup>0</sup> is endowed with an interpretable speech act feature [*iSa*] and an uninterpretable force feature [*uForce*] that can be checked by a matching clause typing feature in the interrogative clause encoding directive speech act. (41b) illustrates the derivation of (41a) under Kellert & Lauschus's (2016) analysis.<sup>14</sup> Assuming a feature mechanism of the probe-goal relation (Chomsky 2000), Sa<sup>0</sup>, as an active probe, establishes a proper Agree relation with C<sup>0</sup>, the goal, while valuing [*uSa*] on C<sup>0</sup> as encoding a directive speech act, and its unvalued [*uForce*] is in turn valued by [*iForce*] on C<sup>0</sup> to encode interrogative clause.

(41) Tuscan dialects

- a. O chi l'è questa?  
o who it is this  
'Who's that (in the picture)? (Kellert & Lauschus 2016, 90)
- b. Directive Force/Interrogative clause: *I hereby ask that you...*



One complication added to the current discussion is that I follow Baker's (2008) bidirectional approach to Agree, according to which the target (the probe or the goal) of valuation may either c-command or be c-commanded by the controller, allowing both upward or downward probing, as formulated in (42).

(42) Bidirectional Agree (reinterpreted in Winchester 2019, 6)

A probe with an unvalued feature F on head H Agrees with a goal G with a valued feature F only if H c-commands G or G-commands H.

Moreover, to capture the deontic interpretations of the two categories of *qing*, I follow Tsai & Portner's (2008) hierarchy of modals in Mandarin, as schematized in (5) and repeated in (43) for the reader's convenience, where there are two categories of deontic modality which can be

<sup>14</sup>The speech act layer is heavily simplified, with the addressee/hearer domain not being spelt out.



realized as the deontic modal auxiliary *yao*: one is the addressee-oriented deontic modal auxiliary in the CP periphery and the other is the subject-oriented deontic auxiliary in the vP periphery.<sup>15,16</sup>

- (43) The hierarchy of modals in Mandarin (adapted from Tsai & Portner 2008, 4)  
 Epistemic adverb > Epistemic/Future modal > Deontic adverb > Ought to be modal > ...
- ↓
- ADDRESSEE-ORIENTED DEONTIC
- TP > Subject > Frequency adverb > Ought to do modal > Dynamic modal > vP
- ↓
- SUBJECT-ORIENTED DEONTIC

Third, as argued in Li (2006), mood determines clause typing in Mandarin, with the idea being that a directive force can be compatible with different clause types (i.e., interrogatives, Yes/No questions, imperatives, etc.). I adopt Kempchinsky's (2009) idea that Force<sup>0</sup> contains an unvalued world feature [*uW*] which has to be checked and deleted by a mood head via identification in order to be identified as irrealis (subjunctive) or realis (indicative). In this light, the [*uW*] feature on Force<sup>0</sup> needs to be checked by either the addressee-oriented deontic modal (the *command* reading) or the subject-oriented deontic modal (the *permission* reading). This line of thinking is not without theoretical support. Han (2000) argues that imperatives contain an illocutionary operator along with directive force, encoded in the syntax by two features ([directive] and [irrealis]) on C<sup>0</sup>.

<sup>15</sup>Please refer to (17) for a brief discussion.

<sup>16</sup>Another piece of evidence to motivate Tsai & Portner's (2008) hierarchy comes from the fact that *qing*<sup>1</sup> and *qing*<sup>2</sup> precede the deontic negator *buyao*, which consists of the negative marker *bu* and the deontic modal auxiliary *yao*. Similarly, there are two types of the deontic negator *buyao*, as shown in (i a–b), where two types of deontic modal interpretations are available. As this work does not focus on negative imperatives, the morphosyntactic behaviors of the deontic negator *buyao* is not of concern here. However, (i a–b) suffice to show that the position of *qing*<sup>1</sup> and *qing*<sup>2</sup> is above the negator *buyao* (cf. Yang 2010). I am grateful to a reviewer for leading my attention to the position of the negator in imperatives.

- (i) a. Addressee-oriented deontic
- |                     |     |              |        |     |
|---------------------|-----|--------------|--------|-----|
| Qing                | ni  | <u>buyao</u> | darao  | wo. |
| PLEASE <sup>1</sup> | you | NEG.DEO      | bother | I   |
- '(I command that) you should not bother me!'
- b. Subject-oriented deontic
- |     |                     |         |        |     |
|-----|---------------------|---------|--------|-----|
| Ni  | qing                | buyao   | darao  | wo. |
| You | PLEASE <sup>2</sup> | NEG.DEO | bother | I   |
- Intended: 'You are not permitted to bother me.'



With the assumptions ready in place, we will develop a syntax-pragmatics interface analysis of the two types of *qing* imperatives in Section 4.2 and Section 4.3, and demonstrate that the analysis can capture the syntax-pragmatics interface computation of imperative mood, clause typing and the speaker-hearer relation.

## 4.2. Structural configuration of *qing*<sup>1</sup>

I propose that *qing*<sup>1</sup> is a head of imperative mood (represented by Mood<sub>IMP</sub><sup>0</sup> in the CP periphery). (45) illustrates a step-by-step derivation of the *qing*<sup>1</sup> imperative in (44).<sup>17,18,19</sup>

(44) *qing*<sup>1</sup>

Context: The manager commands that his employee *Xiaodi* needs to keep the matter in mind.

Xiaodi <sup>VOC</sup> ,	qing	ni	qianwan	bixu	yao	jide
Xiaodi	PLEASE <sup>1</sup>	you	by.all.means	obligatorily	MOD <sub>DEO</sub>	remember
zhe-jian	shi!					
this-CL	matter					

'Xiaodi, (I command that you should) keep this matter in mind by all means!'

<sup>17</sup>In the interest of space, I set aside the issue as to whether TP is present or not, and assume that it simply provides a specifier position through which the subject moves to [Spec, TopP].

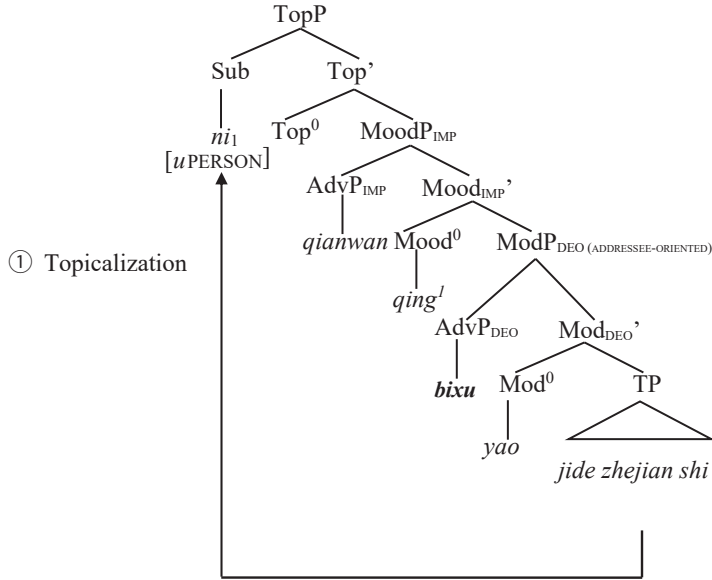
<sup>18</sup>One reviewer comments that the postulation of Mood<sub>IMP</sub> in the CP needs justification. I suggest that there is ample reason to motivate Mood<sub>IMP</sub> in the proposed structure. Typologically, Mandarin displays the syntax of mood prominence in the sense that mood serves a fill-in strategy for the lack of overt tense in Mandarin by developing a full-fledged system of mood categories (Tsai 2019). Thus, an array of mood projections is distributed over the functional spine of the CP. As discussed in Section 2.3, the imperative mood adverb *qianwan* 'by all means' is permitted to co-occur with *qing*<sup>1</sup> rather than *qing*<sup>2</sup>, which can be taken to show that they are all imperative mood categories because they are only allowed in imperative contexts. It should be noted that *qianwan* 'by all means' behaves similarly to the evaluative mood adverb *jianzhi* 'simply' (see (6a–b)) in triggering obligatory topicalization; that is, Mood<sub>IMP</sub> postulated in the current analysis seems to fare well with Mood<sub>EVA</sub> in structural height and mood encoding. Without committing myself to issues concerning the association between these two projections, I suggest that there is an independent projection dedicated to the encoding of imperative mood (i.e., Mood<sub>IMP</sub>) whose overt realization is *qing*<sup>1</sup>, licensing the matching adverbs *qing*<sup>2</sup> and *qianwan* 'by all means'.

<sup>19</sup>One reviewer raises a question about the absence of FinP in the structure in (45). I suggest that there are two reasons to not include FinP, as its existence and realization has been resistant to the precise characterization. First, the postulation of FinP suffers the burden of proof, as there is no overt functional category of finiteness in Mandarin syntax. Second, finiteness, if it exists in Mandarin syntax, seems to hinge upon tense and mood. On the one hand, Tsai (2019) has argued that there is a close tie between modals and mood prominence with respect to how finiteness is encoded in syntax, with implications being that the existence of finiteness hinges upon modality and mood, and whether there is an independent projection of FinP is less crucial. On the other hand, finiteness pertains directly to speaker-oriented elements in Mandarin and resorts to world anchoring as a fill-in strategy in distinguishing finiteness (Wang & Liao 2019). Due to the controversial issues surrounding finiteness in Mandarin, I will not adopt FinP, as its absence does not affect the proposed analysis in this work. I am grateful to the reviewer for urging me to address this issue here.

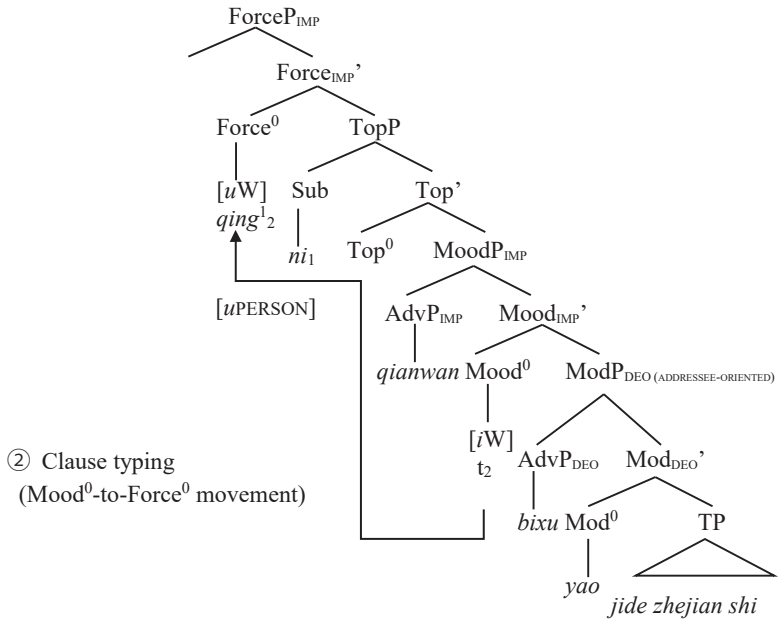


(45) The derivation of (44)

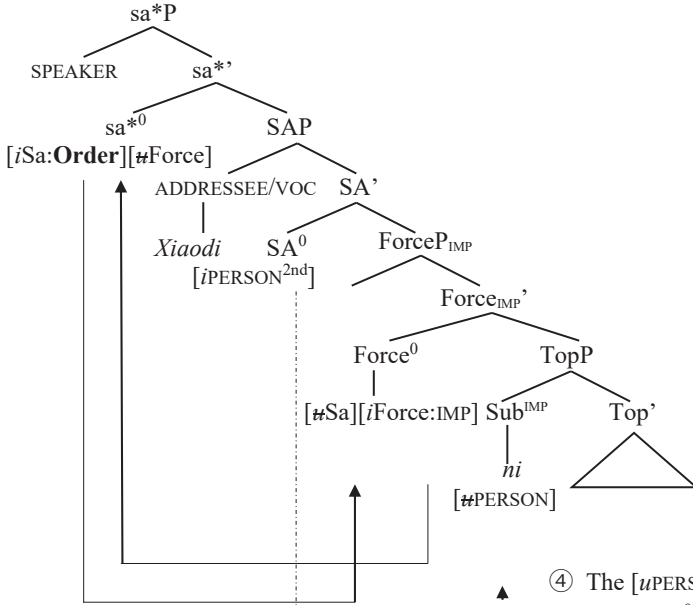
a. Step 1: The subject of the *qing*<sup>1</sup> imperative undergoes topicalization to [Spec, TopP] to check the peripheral feature (Tsai 2015a).



b. Step 2: *Qing*<sup>1</sup> undergoes head movement to Force<sup>0</sup> to check the [uW] feature and types the clause as imperative (irrealis).



c. Step 3: As the speech act layer merges to ForceP,  $sa^{*0}$  with the  $[iSa]$  and the  $[uForce]$  establishes an Agree relation with  $Force^0$  which bears the  $[uSa]$  and the  $[iForce]$  to undergo the Bidirectional Agree to have the unvalued features valued. The subject with the  $[uPERSON]$  is valued by  $SA^0$  as  $[iPERSON^{2nd}]$ .



③ The encoding of the directive force (*command*) via the Bidirectional Agree

④ The  $[uPERSON]$  on the subject is valued by  $SA^0$  as  $[iPERSON^{2nd}]$  via Agree.

There is ample evidence for the step-by-step derivation presented in (45a–c). First, it is motivated to claim that the encoding of obligation by *qing*<sup>1</sup> pertains to  $Mod^0_{DEO}$  in (45b), whose interpretative effect is observed by its overt head *yao* and its corresponding adverb *bixu* licensed within this domain. Kruger (2012) maintains that deontic modality is available in the interpretation of an imperative clause that obliges the addressee to conform to the proposition presented or a request imposed by the speaker in the immediate context. Apparently, deontic modality has a direct bearing on imperative mood. This line of reasoning is supported by the imperative interpretation of *qing*<sup>1</sup> in which the speaker imposes obligation on the addressee by committing him/her to perform an action or mandating that state of affairs be true. Take (44), for example. The speaker hereby obliges the addressee *Xiaodi* to conform to the request that he must keep the matter in mind. Likewise, it has been reported in previous works on imperatives in other languages (Han & Lee 2007 for imperatives in Korean) that imperatives associated with request or command are encoded by deontic modality. Second, the subject of the imperative clause undergoes obligatory topicalization to check the peripheral feature on  $Top^0$  (Tsai 2015a). The second person restriction is ascribed to the subject whose  $[uPERSON]$  feature is valued by  $SA^0$  through an Agree relation, which bears the pragmatic role of the ADDRESSEE.  $SA^0$ , which acts as



an active probe and values the [*u*PERSON] feature on the subject as [*i*PERSON<sup>2nd</sup>], enters a proper Agree relation with the subject *ni* ‘you’ at [Spec, TopP], consistent with Zanuttini’s (2008) view that a syntactic relation is formed via Agree resulting in the same person feature in both positions (e.g., the Jussive<sup>0</sup> and the subject). Third, *qing*<sup>1</sup> is a Mood<sup>0</sup> that undergoes head movement to Force<sup>0</sup> to specify the imperative mood via the feature checking of the [*u*W] feature, following Koopman’s (2007) idea that ‘force’ has to be typed as imperative or declarative.<sup>20</sup> In other words, the process of clause typing is achieved by Mood<sup>0</sup>-to-Force<sup>0</sup> movement. This line of thinking adds weight to Cormany’s (2014) view that a clause contains a syntactic feature which specifies its type and participates in syntactic interaction with other functional elements. Third, to ensure the success in activating the syntax-pragmatics interface, I implement Kellert & Lauschus’s (2016) version of the sa\*P in that sa\*<sup>0</sup> is endowed with an interpretable speech act feature [*i*Sa] and an uninterpretable force feature [*u*Force] that can be checked by the [*u*Sa] and the [*i*Force] feature on Force<sup>0</sup> via Bidirectional Agree, as schematized in (45c).

Note that the analysis in (45a–c) accounts for the observed properties of *qing*<sup>1</sup> in a more principled manner. First, the root clause properties of *qing*<sup>1</sup> imperatives can be ascribed to the role of *qing*<sup>1</sup> in activating the probe-goal relation between the speech act layer and the CP layer. The temporal and the conditional adverbial clause, which are arguably reduced structures (Haegeman 2012) and lack a full-fledged CP structure, do not hinge upon the speech act layer for their licensing configurations. As expected, *qing*<sup>1</sup> is not compatible with these two types of adverbial clauses.<sup>21</sup> Second, the speaker-addressee relation in the *qing*<sup>1</sup> imperative is syntactically represented by the speech act layer above ForceP. Moreover, the second person identification of the subject of the *qing* imperative is constrained by SA<sup>0</sup> through the person feature checking.

<sup>20</sup>To ensure that head movement of *qing*<sup>1</sup> in (45b) is locally-bound and complies with the Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984), *qing*<sup>1</sup> undergoes head movement to Top<sup>0</sup> and subsequently to Force<sup>0</sup>.

(i) Head Movement Constraint (Travis 1984, 131)

An X<sup>0</sup> may only move into Y<sup>0</sup> which properly governs it.

<sup>21</sup>The two categories of *qing* cannot occur in both the temporal adverbial clause (i) and the conditional adverbial clause (ii).

(i) *Qing*<sup>1</sup> and *qing*<sup>2</sup> cannot occur in the temporal adverbial clause

\*Dang qing ni / ni qing zhan qilai de shihou, Lisi ganghao  
 when PLEASE<sup>1</sup> you you PLEASE<sup>2</sup> stand up DE time Lisi happen  
 zou jin-lai.  
 walk enter-come  
 Intended: ‘When you please stand up, Lisi happens to walk in.’

(ii) *Qing*<sup>1</sup> and *qing*<sup>2</sup> cannot occur in the conditional adverbial clause

\*Ruguo qing ni / ni qing zaodian dao, jiu keyi mai-dao  
 if PLEASE<sup>1</sup> you you PLEASE<sup>2</sup> earlier come then possible buy-come  
 zhe-jian waitao.  
 this-CL jacket  
 Intended: ‘If you please had come here earlier, you could have bought this jacket.’



### 4.3. Structural configuration of *qing*<sup>2</sup>

In contrast to the head status of *qing*<sup>1</sup>, *qing*<sup>2</sup> is an imperative mood adverb. Recall from Section 2.3 that *qing*<sup>2</sup> is not permitted to co-occur with the imperative mood adverb *qianwan* ‘by all means’, due to the co-occurrence restriction on two adverbs of the same type. Moreover, *qing*<sup>2</sup> lacks the obligation that the speaker imposes on the addressee; it encodes the subject-oriented deontic modality that contributes to the function of permission. As shown in (46), the *qing*<sup>2</sup> imperative does not involve the subject-oriented obligation of the speaker that intends to get the addressees to complete filling out the application forms. Rather, (46) is felicitous in a context in which the guests must fill out the application forms to apply for subsidies, according to the regulations. Thus, the permission is imposed on the subject according to the regulations, rather than from the speaker, which amounts to the subject-oriented deontic modality (see Section 2.5).

- (46) *qing*<sup>2</sup> (= (25))
- |             |         |         |        |                     |                             |                    |         |
|-------------|---------|---------|--------|---------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------|---------|
| Zaichang    | de      | laibin, | nimen  | qing                | bixu <sub>DEO</sub>         | yao <sub>DEO</sub> | xian    |
| on.the.spot | DE      | guest   | you.PL | PLEASE <sup>2</sup> | obligatorily <sub>DEO</sub> | MOD <sub>DEO</sub> | first   |
| tianxie-wan | biaoge, | cai     | neng   | yizhao              | guiding                     | shenqing           | buzhu.  |
| fill-finish | sheet   | then    | able   | according           | regulation                  | apply              | subsidy |
- ‘All guests here, you must finish filling out the application form first, and then you are permitted to apply for subsidies, according to the regulations.’

Given the division of labor between the speech act and clause typing as in the case of *qing*<sup>1</sup>, it remains to be accounted for how clause typing is achieved, if *qing*<sup>2</sup> is an imperative mood adverb merging to [Spec, MoodP<sub>IMP</sub>] and Mood<sup>0</sup>-to-Force<sup>0</sup> movement is not active for clause typing (i.e., the feature checking of the [*u*W] on Force<sup>0</sup>).

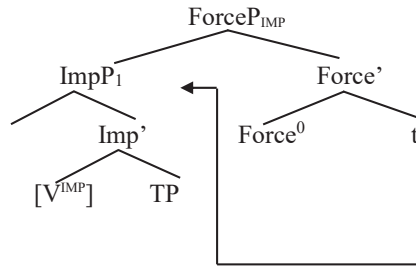
It has been proposed in the literature that the syntax-pragmatics mapping of the imperative can be achieved via movement operations: (i) V<sup>0</sup> undergoes head movement to C<sup>0</sup> or Jussive<sup>0</sup> to check the [+IMP] feature and bears imperative morphology (see [Frascarelli & Jiménez-Fernández \(2021\)](#) for a more detailed discussion), or (ii) a phrase with relevant properties of the imperative is pied-piped to [Spec, ForceP]. As argued in [Koopman \(2007\)](#), Force<sup>0</sup> can be typed as declarative or imperative by moving a constituent that has the relevant properties to Force<sup>0</sup>. Thus, Force<sup>0</sup> is typed as declarative when FinP is attracted to [Spec, ForceP] but is typed as imperative when ImpP is attracted to [Spec, ForceP]. [Koopman \(2007\)](#) analyzes Dutch and German imperative constructions and argues for a model of clause typing that hinges upon phrasal movement targeting a maximal projection which contains the imperative properties. In this model, there are two ways of forming imperatives in Dutch and German, as schematized in (47a–b). In Dutch, ImpP moves to [Spec, ForceP] in the spirit of [Kayne \(1998\)](#), if TopP is absent in (47a), while in German, TopP, which contains ImpP, undergoes pied-piping to [Spec, ForceP].<sup>22</sup> Notice that in (47b), when [Spec, TopP] is not occupied by a phrase, the verb at Imp<sup>0</sup> needs to undergo upward

<sup>22</sup>Another crucial aspect of pied-piping of TopP to type Force<sup>0</sup> as imperative in German is that overt topics are permitted in the left periphery of imperatives.

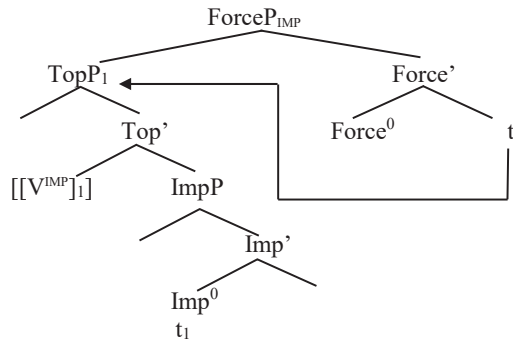


head movement to  $\text{Top}^0$  such that it is not deeply embedded and can establish a licensing configuration with  $\text{Force}^0$ .

- (47) Two movement operations for clause typing  
 a. Dutch: V-to- $\text{Imp}^0$  followed by  $\text{ImpP}$  to  $[\text{Spec}, \text{ForceP}]$



- b. German:  $V^0$ -to- $\text{Imp}^0$ -to- $\text{Top}^0$  followed by pied piping of  $\text{TopP}$  to  $[\text{Spec}, \text{ForceP}]$



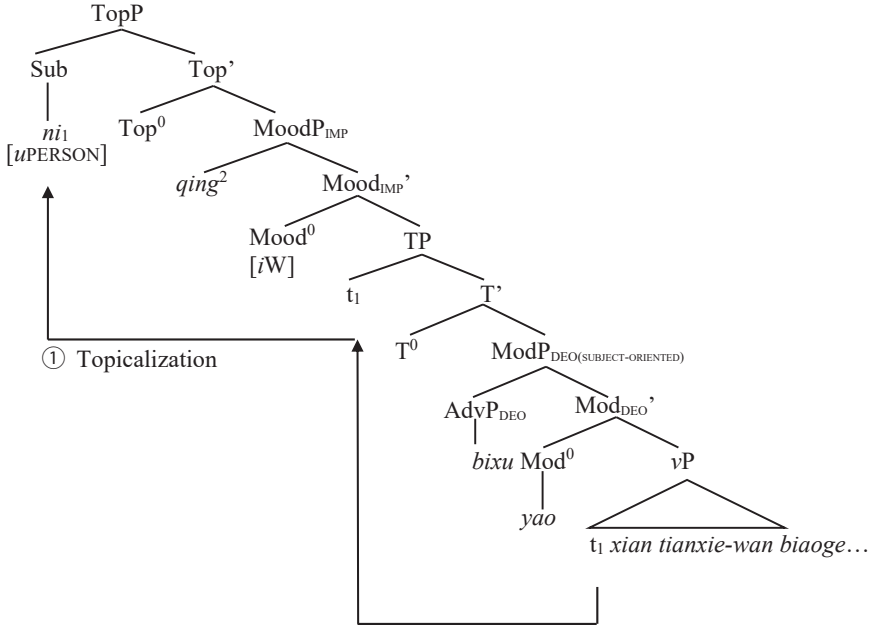
To account for the properties of *qing*<sup>2</sup>, I motivate the analysis in (47b) by assuming that the *qing*<sup>2</sup> clause is typed as imperative by phrasal movement of  $\text{TopP}$  to  $[\text{Spec}, \text{TopP}]$ . (48) illustrates a step-by-step derivation of (46). As shown in (48b),  $\text{TopP}$  undergoes pied-piping to  $[\text{Spec}, \text{ForceP}]$  and the  $[uW]$  on  $\text{Force}^0$  is valued by the  $[iW]$  on  $\text{Mood}_{\text{IMP}}^0$ . As the derivation unfolds up to the merger of the speech act layer with  $\text{ForceP}$ , the  $[i\text{Force}]$  feature on  $\text{Force}^0$  serves as an active probe undergoing upward probing and values the  $[u\text{Force}]$  feature on  $\text{SA}^0$ , and the  $[i\text{SA}]$  on  $\text{SA}^0$  in turn values the  $[u\text{SA}]$  feature on  $\text{Force}^0$  via downward probing. Thus, the speech act layer is valued as saying that *I hereby permit that you...* Similarly,  $\text{SA}^0$  establishes an Agree relation with the subject *nimen* 'you (PL)' for the  $[i\text{PERSON}^{2\text{nd}}]$  feature and identifies the referents in the context.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup>According to Koopman's (2007) analysis, the head element (e.g.,  $V^0$ ) at  $\text{Imp}^0$  in (47b) is required to undergo head movement to  $\text{Top}^0$  when  $[\text{Spec}, \text{TopP}]$  is not occupied by any constituent. This restriction is recast as the Doubly Filled COMP filter, according to which the Spec and the head cannot be filled by overt materials at the same time. Thus, if this line of reasoning is taken, it follows that in (48b) the null  $\text{Mood}_{\text{IMP}}^0$  is not required to undergo head movement to  $\text{Top}^0$  because  $[\text{Spec}, \text{TopP}]$  is occupied by the overt subject *ni* 'you'.

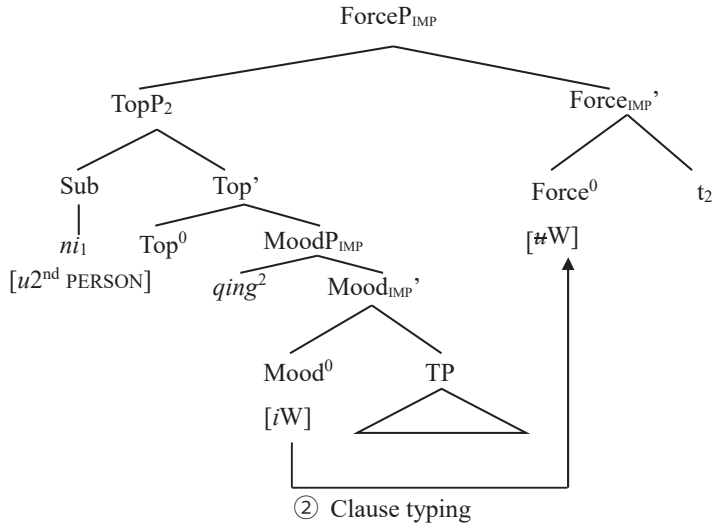


(48) The step-by-step derivation of (46)

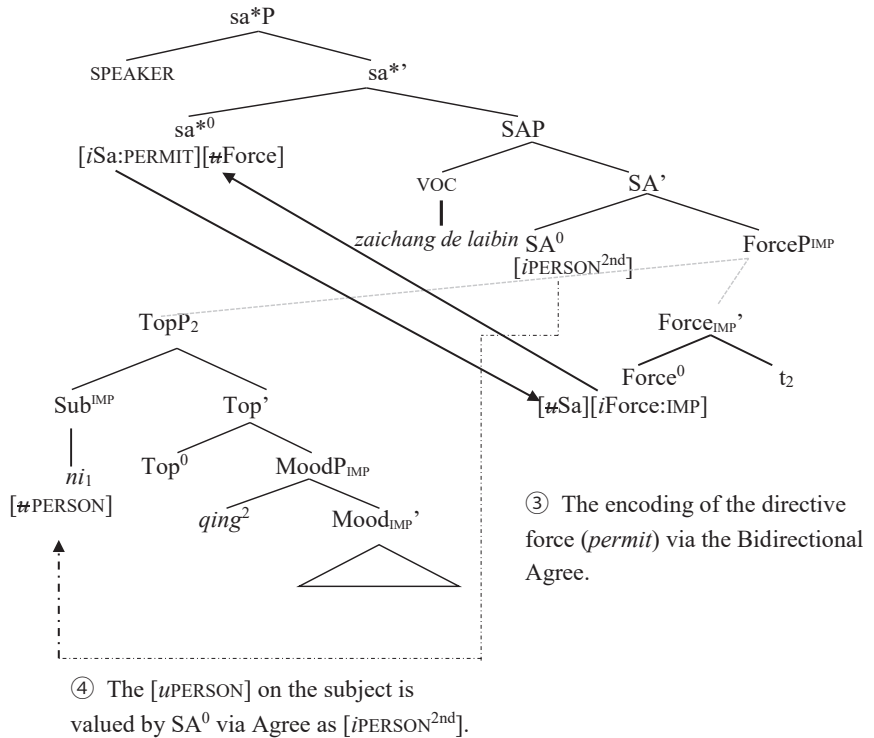
- a. Step 1: The subject with the [*u*PERSON] feature undergoes topicalization to [Spec, TopP]



- b. Step 2: TopP undergoes pied-piping to [Spec, ForceP] to create a licensing configuration in which the [*u*W] on Force<sup>0</sup> is checked by the [*i*W] on Mood<sub>IMP</sub><sup>0</sup>.



- c. Step 3: As the speech act layer merges to ForceP,  $sa^{*0}$  with the  $[iSa]$  and the  $[uForce]$  feature establishes an Agree relation with  $Force^0$  which bears the  $[uSa]$  and the  $[iForce]$  feature to undergo the Bidirectional Agree to have the unvalued features valued. The subject with the  $[uPERSON]$  is valued by  $SA^0$  as  $[iPERSON^{2nd}]$ .



#### 4.4. Theoretical implications for the syntax of imperatives in Mandarin

To recap, the proposed analysis presents a transparent syntax-pragmatics mapping relation between the speaker-addressee relation and the imperative mood, and has shown that the two categories of *qing* in Mandarin imperatives are derived by means of two movement operations. This work has argued for the speech act layer at the periphery of CP that is responsible for the syntax-pragmatics interface computation of the speaker-addressee relation to be acutely sensitive to the context, lending weight to [Cormany's \(2014\)](#) view that a speech act field at the periphery of CP is activated to enter the syntactic derivation and participates in the syntactic-pragmatic interface computation of imperatives. Under



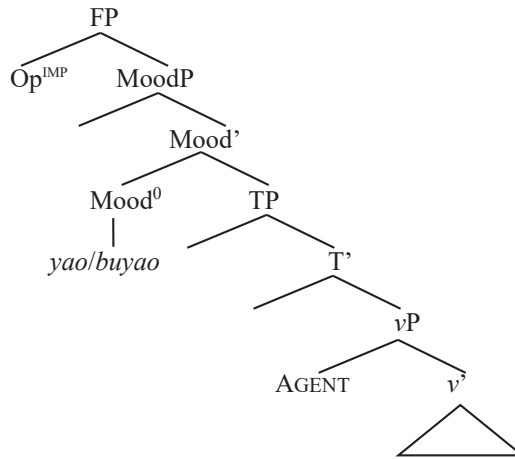
the proposed analysis, the directive act of *qing*<sup>1</sup> (obligation) arises from the addressee-oriented deontic modality which imposes obligation on the addressee to get the desired action to come true, while the directive force of *qing*<sup>2</sup> (permission) contains the subject-oriented deontic modality in which the subject (the addressee) is permitted to perform an action or make true the state of affairs according to a set of norms. The postulation of deontic modality in imperative clauses has been supported by previous works (Han & Lee 2007; Zanuttini 2008; Kruger 2012; Cormany 2013, among others). Kruger (2012) has convincingly claimed that deontic modality ranges over concepts like obligation and necessity closely associated with the meaning of imperatives in general. What is more, as mentioned in Section 2, *qing* has its verbal origin and retains its argument structure in the  $\nu$ P domain, while the two categories of *qing* in the imperative context are functional categories, lose argument structure and are employed to encode the imperative mood in the CP domain. The co-existence of different categories of *qing* displays a trait of retaining their verbal origins on the grammaticalization path and leaving their cognates through syntactic projections throughout the  $\nu$ P, TP and CP layer (see Tsai 2015c, 275 for the cognates of modal auxiliaries in Mandarin), consistent with Roberts & Rousseau's (1999) minimalist view on syntactic change that grammaticalization can be regarded as shift 'up the tree' to a functional category. As illustrated in (7) and (8), *qing* still retains its verbal usage with the full argument structure while being developed as the mood categories that are realized as the imperative mood head (*qing*<sup>1</sup>) or the imperative adverb (*qing*<sup>2</sup>) in the CP periphery. It is worth noting that the two types of deontic modality in the *qing* imperative also reflect the spectrum of the speaker's mood in cartographic terms through the subject-oriented deontic modality in the  $\nu$ P periphery to the addressee-oriented deontic modality in the CP periphery, consistent with Tsai's (2015c) view that Mandarin modals showcase various usages of a single modal from the lexical layer to the complementizer layer.

From a crosslinguistic perspective, imperatives are associated with deontic modality (Kruger 2012 for Old English, Han & Lee 2007 for Korean, among others). As discussed in Kruger (2012), the interpretation of deontic modality ranges over concepts like obligation, necessity and ability, which are the basics of imperative meanings. Of great interest to the current discussion is that the two types of deontic modality in the *qing* imperatives display their interpretative effects and have their overt realizations.

Moreover, the syntax-pragmatics interface analysis developed in this paper is advantageous to Yang's (2010) structural analysis of Mandarin imperatives in several regards. As shown in (49), Yang argues that the matrix imperative has an imperative operator (Op<sup>IMP</sup>) that encodes force, and assumes that Mood<sup>0</sup> contains the syntactic and semantic information of imperatives. Particularly, force and mood are not overtly marked.



(49) Yang's (2010) proposed analysis of Mandarin imperatives



However, the structure in (49) fails to provide a structural position for *qing*<sup>1</sup> as well as the vocative, as shown in (50a–b), where *qing*<sup>1</sup> is compatible with the mood categories *yao* and *buyao*. Furthermore, the division of force, mood and deontic modality is not clearly defined in Yang's analysis. For example, the speaker's directive act imposed on the addressee is not structurally represented, and the speaker-addressee relation, which is acutely sensitive to the immediate context, is not accounted for.

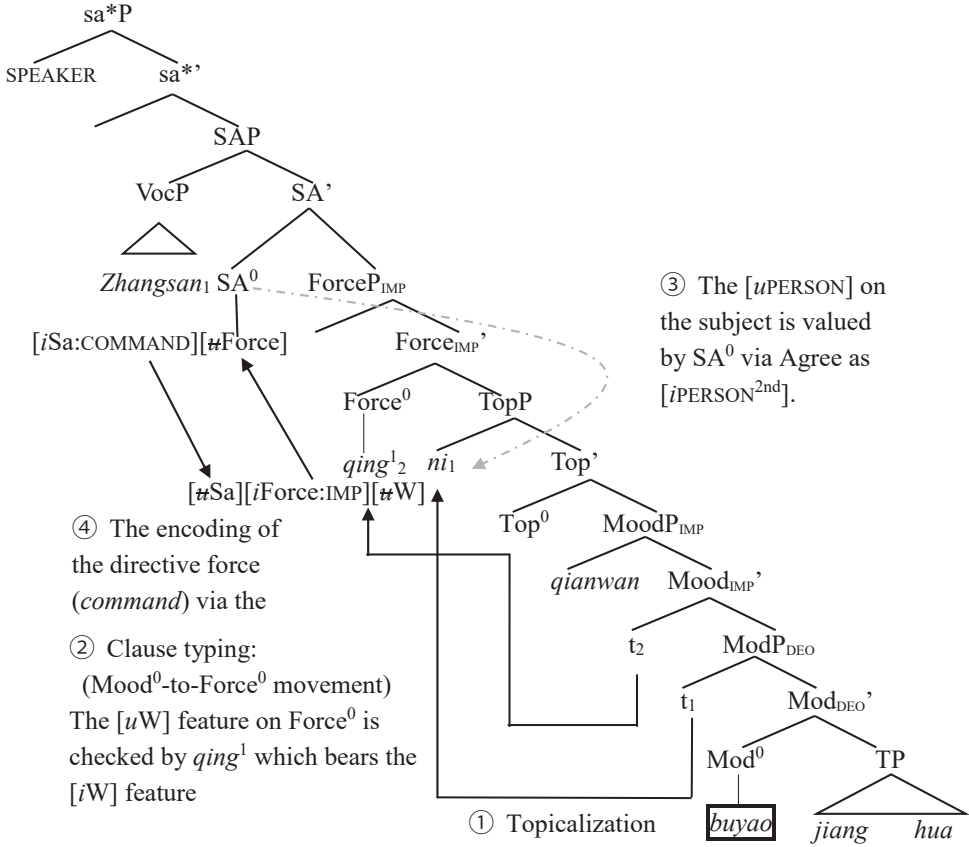
(50) Context: The teacher talks to a student.

- a. Zhangsan, *qing* ni qianwan buyao jiang hua.  
 Zhangsan PLEASE<sup>1</sup> you buy.all.means MOD<sub>DEO</sub>.NEG speak words  
 'Zhangsan, please shut up!'
- b. Zhangsan, *qing* ni qianwan yao shangke zhuanxin.  
 Zhangsan PLEASE<sup>1</sup> you buy.all.means MOD<sub>DEO</sub> in.class attentive  
 'Zhangsan, please you must stay attentive in class!'

Particularly, the current proposal is able to account for (50a–b) in a more principled manner by adding modifications to the structure in (49). (51) instantiates the structure of (50a) under the syntax-pragmatics interface analysis defended in this paper. First, according to the analyses developed in Section 4.2 and 4.3, *buyao* and *yao* are deontic modal auxiliaries projecting ModP<sub>DEO</sub> and *qing*<sup>1</sup> is Mood<sup>0</sup>. Second, clause typing is achieved by head movement of *qing*<sup>1</sup> from Mood<sub>IMP</sub><sup>0</sup>. Third, the fact that the subject must have the second person feature results from the thematic identification between SA<sup>0</sup> and the subject at [Spec, TopP], achieved via the checking of the [*u*PERSON] feature on the subject by SA<sup>0</sup>. Last, the speaker-addressee relation is structurally represented by the speech act layer that externally merges to ForceP and enters the syntax-pragmatics interface via the Bidirectional Agree between SA<sup>0</sup> and Force<sup>0</sup>.



(51) The proposed structure of (50a)



### 5. CONCLUSION

This paper has proposed a syntax-pragmatics interface analysis of two categories of *qing* in Mandarin imperatives and has accounted for the interpretative properties of *qing* imperative clauses by refining the division of labor between the speaker-addressee relation, clause typing and deontic modality. In addition to different movement operations that derive the two types of *qing* imperatives, two deontic modal interpretations associated with the two types of *qing* imperatives arise respectively from the addressee-oriented deontic modality in the CP periphery and the subject-oriented modality in the vP periphery. The former contributes to the speaker's obligation imposed on the addressee while the latter grants the addressee the permission to perform an expected action or make true a state of affairs in the near future, according to a set of norms.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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