

國立交通大學

外國語文學系

外國文學與語言學碩士班

碩士論文

論形容詞為謂語的特殊祈使句式

On the A-imperative Construction:

Adjectival Predicates in the Chinese Imperative

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摘要

本論文旨在討論漢語特殊的祈使句式——以形容詞為謂語的祈使句。此類祈使句以形容詞作為謂語，與其它自然語言以動詞作為謂語有相當大的不同。然本文將證明此種特殊的祈使句式看似特殊，但其實並未不凡。仔細考究此種特殊祈使句時發現，它除了「祈使」意涵外，尚且包含「自我比較」的意味。採用 Liu (2007)對 X A-le D 比較結構的看法，出現在此特殊祈使句中的形容詞同樣經過移位並與輕動詞「EXCEED」結合成動詞，藉此符合自然語言中祈使句必須以動詞作為謂語核心的要求。

關鍵詞: 形容詞為謂語，祈使句，自我比較，形容詞能動義，程度的改變，輕動詞「EXCEED」

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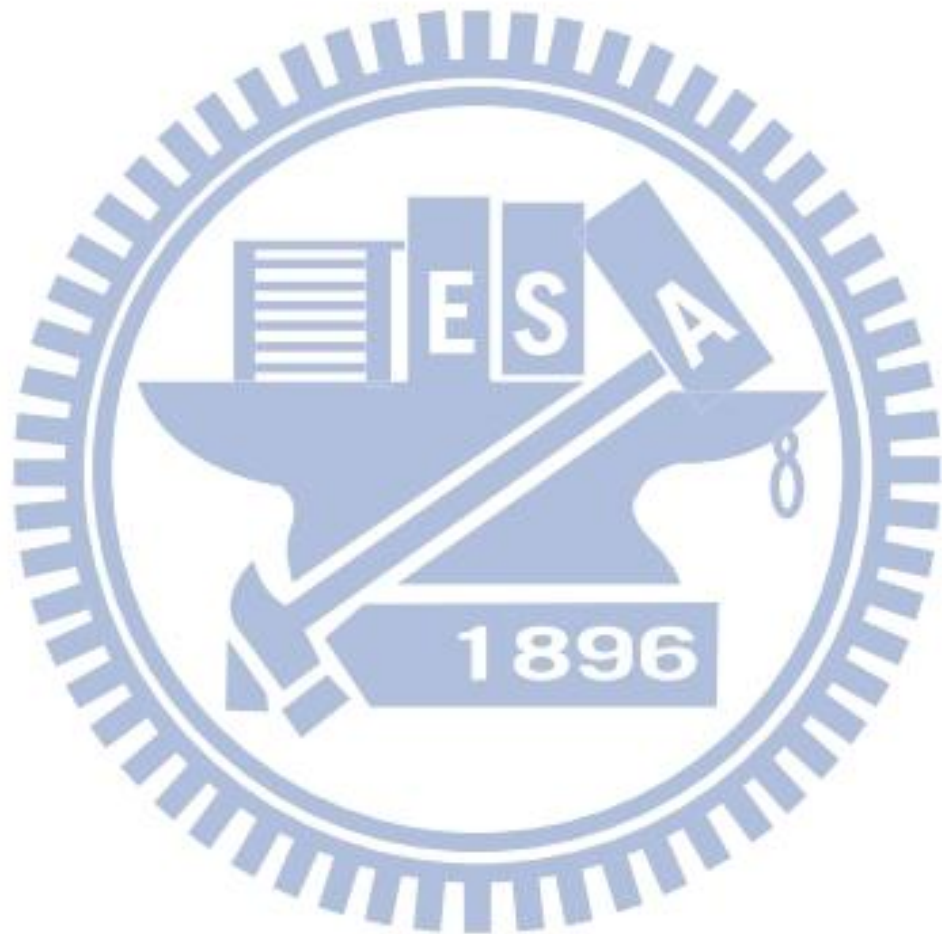
Abstract

The adjective-imperative construction, containing adjectival predicates, is considered as a special type of imperative found in Mandarin Chinese (henceforth, the A-imperative construction). It simply consists of APs and seemingly does not follow the strict VP constraint found in imperatives of other languages. Moreover, the A-imperative construction, in addition to requests, is found to convey a sense of self-comparison.

Adopting Liu's (2007) analysis of the Chinese individual exceed comparative, it is argued that the A-imperative construction involves an ExceedP in the syntactic structure, too. Adjectives occurring in this construction incorporate to this vP head and form verbs. Namely, adjectives in this construction are verbs in disguise. The A-imperative construction, just like imperatives in other languages, strictly follows the VP constraint. It is an imperative clause type without doubt.

Key words: the A-imperative construction, the measure phrase *yidian*, the degree adverb *tai*, dynamic, self-comparison, the exceeding light verb, SFP

ba and *a*



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論文完成的此刻，我的研究生生涯也畫下了完美的休止符。回首過去三年的碩班生活，心中有無限的感謝。首先，我要感謝我的指導教授，劉辰生老師。劉老師是我語言學的啟蒙老師，第一次接觸語言學便是在劉老師語言學概論的課上，當時還是小大一的我第一次接觸語言學這個領域，對語言學一知半解、懵懵懂懂，所幸劉老師在課堂上提供豐富有趣的內容，加上深入淺出的解說，不但化解我對語言學的陌生與不安，更進一步地激發我對語言學的興趣，陸陸續續修了許多語言學相關的課程，最終也踏上了語言學這條路。

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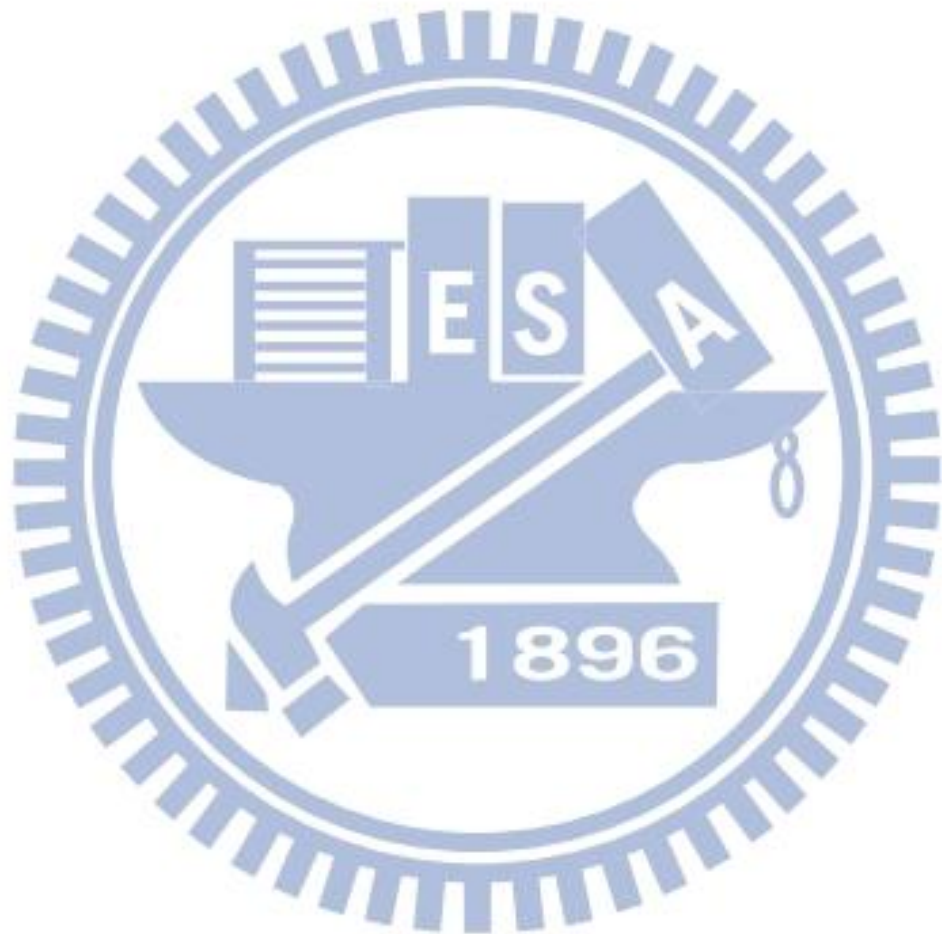
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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In most natural languages, such as English, Japanese, and French, typical imperatives consist only of VPs, following the so-called STRICT VP CONSTRAINT.

For instance, the AP *happy* in (1a) cannot make a grammatical imperative. The auxiliary *be* is obligatorily required.¹

- (1) a. *Happy.
b. Be happy.

However, there is a special type of Chinese imperative that seems to violate the strict VP constraint. I call it the A-imperative construction, which is composed of APs and rather productive in Chinese.

Abbreviations used in this paper are as follows: A: adjectives; ASP: aspect markers; C:

¹ *Be* in the English imperative does not undergo the V-to-I movement.

- (i) a. *Be n't/not proud.
b. Don't be proud.

If *be* is moved to INFL, it could be negated by *n't/not* directly. However, the need for *do*-support manifests that it patterns together with non-auxiliary verbs. Hence, *be* here does not undergo V-to-I movement.

(2) [AP Qianxu yidian].

Humble a-little

‘Be a little humbler than before.’

The purpose of this paper is to study the A-imperative construction like (2), especially its relation with the strict VP constraint. I will argue that the A-imperative construction is an imperative clause type. The dynamic sense of adjectives in this construction has much to do with the strict VP constraint.

This paper proceeds as follows. In §2, I will attest that the A-imperative construction is an imperative clause type. In §3, several distinct properties of the A-imperative construction will be shown. In §4, two related articles will be reviewed: Potsdam (1998) and Liu (2007); the former is about the English imperative structure; the latter is with regard to the Chinese individual exceed comparative. The syntactic analysis of the A-imperative construction will be provided in §5, and finally a conclusion will be drawn in §6.

CHAPTER 2

THE A-IMPERATIVE CONSTRUCTION IS AN IMPERATIVE CLAUSE TYPE

In virtue of the rarity of adjectival imperatives in the world and obvious violation of the strict VP constraint, the evidence supporting the A-imperative construction is an imperative clause type is provided in this chapter. The characteristics of imperative predicates and imperative subjects are listed in 2.1 and in 2.2 respectively. By examining the predicates and subjects in the A-imperative construction, the A-imperative construction is proved to display identical properties that a typical imperative should have.

Furthermore, the A-imperative construction, in line with those imperatives following the strict VP constraint, is future-oriented and possesses a directive illocutionary force.

2.1 Controllability

In the study of imperatives, Davies (1986) and Yuan (1993) have mentioned that the events that Speaker asks Addressee to carry out must conform to the CONTROLLABILITY requirement. A grammatical imperative must follow either (3a) or (3b).

(3) Controllability (Yuan,1993):

- a. The event or action could be actively performed.
- b. The event or action could be consciously avoided.

Owing to the controllability requirement, the grammaticality of (4)-(5) is explainable.

The verbs *fu* ‘support’ and *he* ‘drink’ in (4a-b) are actions that could be actively performed by Addressee. In the case of (5a-b), it is true that verbs *wang* ‘forget’ and *diu* ‘lose’ cannot follow (3a). However, they are actions that could be consciously avoided. Though they cannot appear in positive imperatives, their occurrence in negative imperatives is not problematic.²

(4) a. Fu hao ta.

Support carefully him

² Predicates that follow (3a) also obey (3b). Hence, they can freely occur in both positive imperatives and negative imperatives.

(i) a. Fu hao ta.

Support carefully him

‘Support him carefully.’

b. Bie Fu ta.

Must not support him

‘Don’t Support him.’

‘Support him carefully.’

b. He wan tang ba.

Drink bowel soup SPF

‘Eat some soup.’

(5) a. Bie wang-le suo men.

Must not forget-ASP lock door

‘Don’t forget to lock the door.’

b. Bie diu-le san.

Must not lose-ASP umbrella 1896

‘Don’t lose the umbrella.’

In the close investigation of A-imperatives in Chinese, adjectives in this construction abide the controllability requirement, too. The adjective *qianxu* ‘humble’ in (6) follows (3a-b), so it could freely occur in the positive or negative imperatives. As to the adjective *jinzhang* ‘nervous’ in (7), it is true that Addressee hardly reveal the property ‘nervousness’ actively. However, this property could be consciously

avoided. Following (3b) makes it eligible in negative imperatives. In case of the adjective *gao* ‘tall’, it both violates (3a-b). Therefore, its occurrence in positive or negative imperatives is not allowed (cf. (8a-b)).

(6) a. Qianxu yidian.

Humble a-little

‘Be a little humbler than before.’

b. Bie tai qianxu.

Must not too humble

‘Don’t be too humble.’

(7) a. *Jinzhang yidian.

Nervous a-little

‘Be a little more nervous than before.’

b. Bie tai jinzhang.

Must not too nervous

‘Don’t be too nervous.’

(8) a. *Gao yidian.

Tall a-little

‘Be a little taller than before.’

b. *Bie tai gao.

Must not too tall

‘Don’t be too tall.’

2.2 Subjects and Addressee(s)

According Potsdam (1998) and Mauck et al. (2004), imperative subjects obey the following two generalizations (cf. (9)-(10)) and reveal unique properties different from subjects in other clause types.³ By inspecting the subjects in A-imperatives, they are found to abide the two generalizations on imperative subjects, too. Therefore, it is sufficient to argue that the A-imperative construction is an imperative clause type.

³ I adopt the perspectives from Potsdam (1998) and Mauck et al. (2004) and make the two generalizations (9) and (10).

(9) Generalization on imperative subjects (1):

An imperative subject is required to refer to, or quantify over, an addressee, a group of addressees, or a group containing the addressee(s).

(10) Generalization on imperative subjects (2):

In imperative clauses, a language sometimes may not require that addressee and subject coincide. However, the addressee must have some control over the imperative subjects denoted by the predicates.

First, subjects in the A-imperative construction are in accord with (9). They refer to Addressee(s). (11a-c) are grammatical because the second person *ni* 'you-sg', *ni-men* 'you-pl' and the first person inclusive *wo-men* 'we-incl' at least contain one subject that could refer to Addressee(s).⁴ However, the third person *ta* 'he' and *ta-men* 'they' in (12a) and the first person *wo* 'I' and *wo-men* 'we-excl' in (12b) lack of such possibility. Therefore, their occurrence in the A-imperative construction is not allowed.

⁴ The subject group containing at least Addressee and Speaker is called 'inclusive we' and that consisting of Speaker and other third person Hearer is 'exclusive we'.

(11) a. Ni qianxu yidian. (refer to an addressee)

You-sg humble a-little

‘You be a little humbler than before.’

b. Ni-men qianxu yidian. (refer to a group of addressees)

You-pl humble a-little

‘You be a little humbler than before.’

c. Wo-men qianxu yidian. (refer to a group containing an addressee)

We-incl humble a-little

‘Let’s be a little humbler than before.’

(12) a. *Ta/*Ta-men qianxu yidian.

He/They humble a-little

b. *Wo/*Wo-men qianxu yidian.

I/We-excl humble a-little

Second, under some strict restrictions, a grammatical A-imperative allows its subject not to refer to Addressee (cf. (10)). However, a strong control relationship between Addressee and the imperative subject must be established (cf. (13)). Otherwise, the sentence would be ungrammatical.

(13) Control Relationship (Potsdam, 1998)

X is in a control relationship with y if x has potential control over y in some domain z (where z may range over social, military, political, economic, discourse or other situations).

(14) Zhangsan yonggong yidian, Lisi guiju yidian.

Zhangsan studious a-little, Lisi well-behaved a-little

‘You ask Zhangsan to be a little more studious and Lisi to be a little more well-behaved.’

In (14), *Zhangsan* and *Lisi* are interpreted as subjects not identical to Addressees.⁵

Hence, in order to make (14) grammatical, there must be an addressee having a

⁵ (14) has another interpretation ‘Zhangsan, be a little more studious than before. Lisi, be a little more well-behaved than before’. However, under such interpretation, the NPs *Zhangsan* and *Lisi* are vocatives. Basically, a vocative refers necessarily exclusively to Addressee.

strong control over the two subjects. For example, Addressee is a teacher and has two students, *Zhangsan* and *Lisi*. Owing to the teacher-student relation is a strong control relationship, Addressee, of course, has ability to control *Zhangsan* and *Lisi*'s behavior and makes them carry out requests that Speaker asks. Hence, a principal saying (14) to Addressee (but not to *Zhangsan* and *Lisi*) is natural and grammatical. However, it would be inappropriate for Speaker to make such requests when Addressee doesn't know who they are.

2.3 The Directive Illocutionary Force and Future-oriented

According to Han (1999), imperatives perform a directive illocutionary force. That is, Speaker requests Addressee to carry out the action that the imperative predicate expresses. (15a) shows the example.

(15)a. He wan tang ba.

Drink bowel soup SPF

'Eat some soup.'

b. Qianxu yidian.

Humble a-little

‘Be a little humbler than before.’

In accordance with those imperatives predicated by verbs, the A-imperative construction, as (15b) displays, also contains the directive illocutionary force.

Speaker in (15b) requests Addressee to carry out what the adjectival predicate expresses. Namely, Speaker requests Addressee to be a little humbler than before.

Last but not least, imperatives, according to Han (1999), are always future-oriented. The perfective aspectual marker *-le* is not allowed to attach to imperative verbs. (16a) shows the example.

(16)a. He-(*le) wan tang ba.

Drink-ASP bowl soup SPF

‘Eat some soup.’

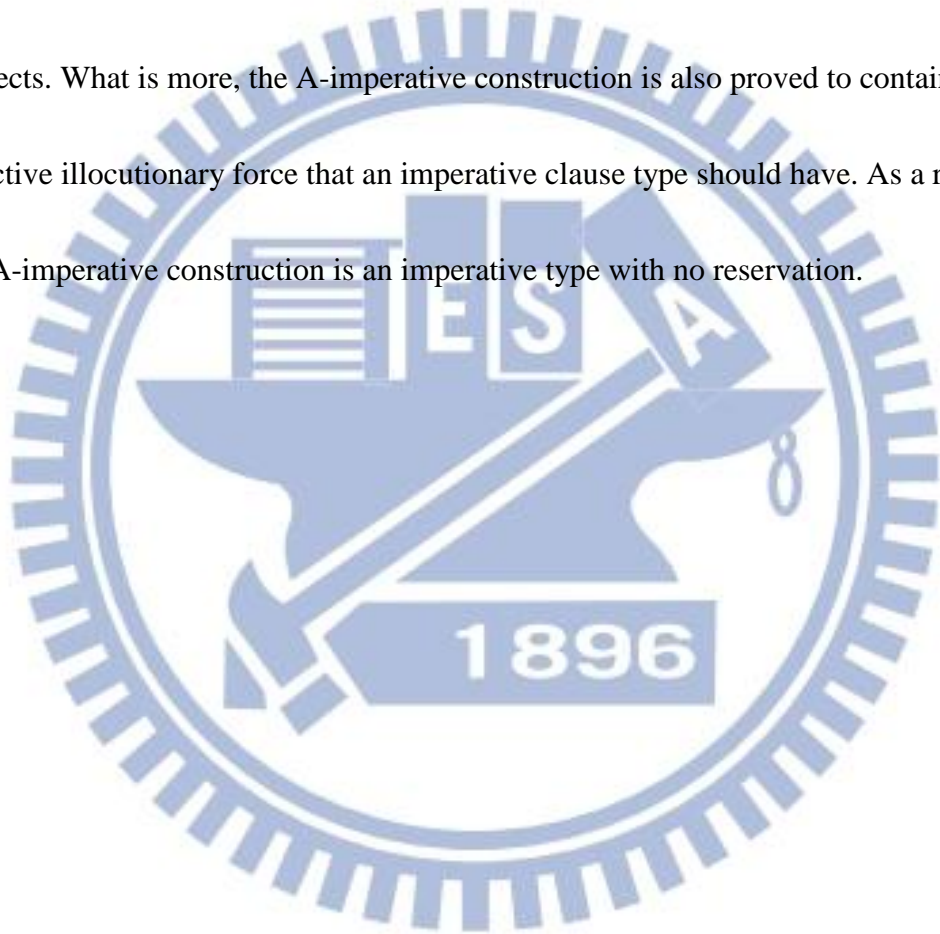
b. Qianxu-(**le*) yidian.

Humble-ASP a-little

‘Be a little humbler than before.’

Similarly, adjectival predicates in the A-imperative construction, as (16b) shows, also prevent from taking the perfective aspectual marker *-le*. Therefore, there is reason to believe that the A-imperative construction is also an imperative clause type.

To sum up, predicates and subjects in the A-imperative construction are proved to conform to the called-for requirements on imperative predicates and subjects. What is more, the A-imperative construction is also proved to contain the directive illocutionary force that an imperative clause type should have. As a result, the A-imperative construction is an imperative type with no reservation.



CHAPTER 3

DISTINCT PROPERTIES OF THE A-IMPERATIVE CONSTRUCTION

In chapter 2, the A-imperative construction is proved to reveal identical properties that a typical imperative should have. In this chapter, I will display several syntactic and semantic characteristics exclusive to the A-imperative construction.

3.1 Gradable Adjectives

In addition to the controllability requirement, adjectives found in the A-imperative construction are also characterized by GRADABILITY. Hence, adjectives that could be modified by the degree adverb *hen* ‘very’, like *qianxu* ‘humble’ in (17), are eligible in the A-imperative construction.

(17)a. Ni *hen* *qianxu*.

You very humble

‘You are (very) humble.’

b. *Qianxu* *yidian*.

Humble a-little

‘Be a little humbler than before.’

3.2 The Obligatory Presence of *Yidian* and *Tai*

In positive A-imperatives, adjectives are always accompanied with the measure phrase *yidian* ‘a little’. However, such a co-occurrence restriction is not found in negative A-imperatives. (18a-b) show the contrast clearly.

(18)a. Qianxu yidian.

Humble a-little

‘Be a little humbler than before.’

b. *Bie qianxu yidian.

Must not humble a-little

‘Don’t be a little humbler than before.’

(19) Bie *(tai) qianxu.

Must not too humble

‘Don’t be too humble.’

Though the measure phrase *yidian* ‘a little’ is not allowed in the negative A-imperative construction, yet the degree adverb *tai* ‘too’, as (19) shows, takes its place. The measure phrase *yidian* ‘a little’ and the degree adverb *tai* ‘too’, in fact, are in the systematic complementary distribution. That is, the measure phrase *yidian* ‘a little’ distributes over positive A-imperatives, but the degree adverb *tai* ‘too’ in negative A-imperatives. They are variants with the same function.

3.3 Extent Adverbs in the A-imperative Construction

The frequently used extent adverb *qianwan* ‘definitely’ in the A-imperative construction must co-occur with the deontic modal *yao* ‘must’.⁶ Without it, sentences will be ungrammatical.

(20) Ni *qianwan* *(*yao*) *qianxu* *yidian*.

You definitely *(must) humble a-little

‘You must definitely be a little humbler than before.’

⁶ In addition to *yao* ‘must’, the extent adverb *qianwan* ‘definitely’ could also co-occur with the deontic *de* ‘must’

(i) *Tianse* *bian* *an-le*. Ni *qianwan* *(*de*) *xiaoxin* *yidian*.

Sky become dark-ASP. You definitely *(must) careful a-little

‘It gets dark outside. You must definitely be a little more careful than before.’

3.4 The Distinct Use of *Fang*

(21)a. Ni fang guiju yidian.

You FANG well-behaved a-little

‘Do be a little more well-behaved than before.’

(22) Wo fang-le yi-ben shu zai zhuo-shang.

I put-LE one-CL book on table-top

‘I put a book on the table.’

The verb *fang* in the A-imperative construction shows a distinct usage. It does not denote an action of ‘putting’ as it is in (22). According to Zhu (2004), it means ‘control’, which could further emphasize Speaker’s attitude or emotion towards the realization of propositional contents. (23a-b) show the contrast. The stronger desire towards the realization of the proposition makes Speaker in (23b) more impatient and impolite.

(23)a. Jiling yidian. Bie gei lian bu yao lian.

Clever a-little. Must not give face not want face.

‘Be a little cleverer than before. Don’t do things the hard way.’

b. Fang jiling yidian. Bie gei lian bu yao lian.

FANG clever a-little. Must not give face not want face.

‘Control yourself to be a little cleverer than before. Don’t do things the hard way.’

Moreover, this distinct usage only appears in the A-imperatives. Imperatives predicated by verbs do not involve such usage. As (24) exemplifies, its occurrence makes the whole sentence ungrammatical.

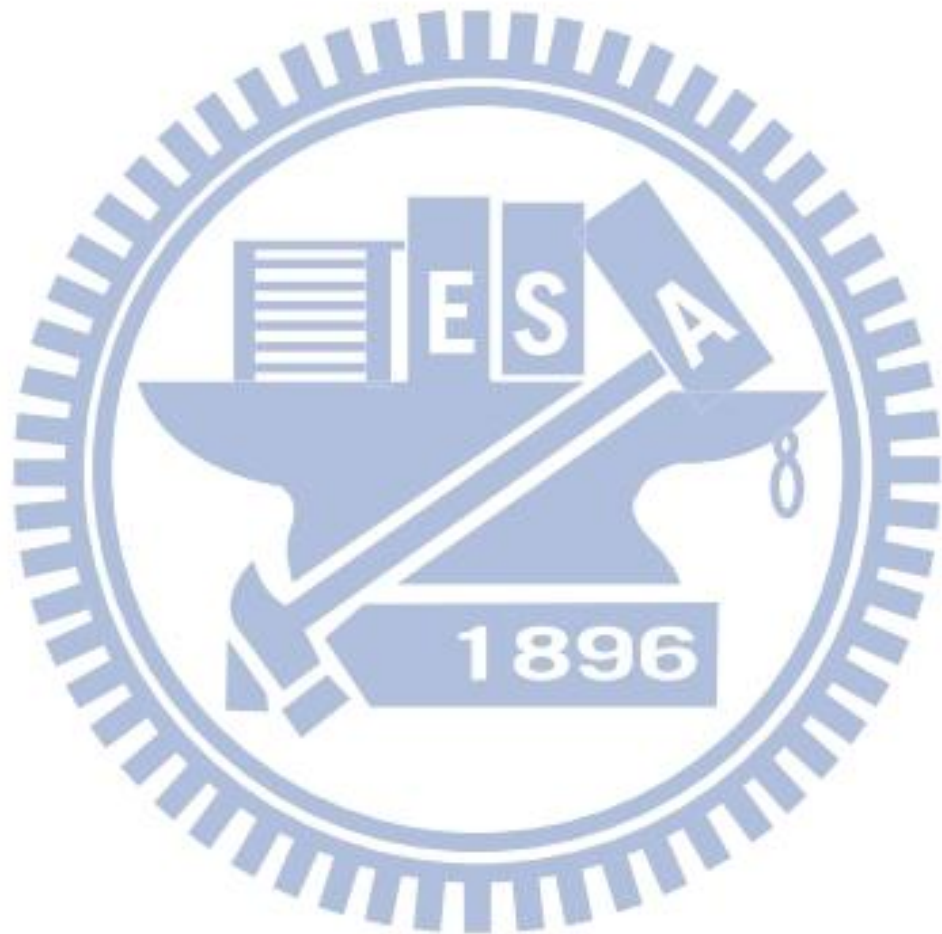
(24) (*Fang) zuo xia.

(*FANG) sit down

‘Do sit down.’

In a nutshell, those properties and discussion with regard to the A-imperative construction above lead to the following questions and need further investigation: (a) why are the adjectives in the A-imperative construction characterized by gradability? (b) Why are the measure phrase *yidian* ‘a little’ and the degree adverb *tai* ‘too’ obligatory? (c) Why does the extent adverb *qianwan* ‘definitely’ have to co-occur

with the deontic modal *yao* ‘must’? (d) Why is the distinct verb *fang* ‘control’ so unique to the A-imperative construction?



CHAPTER 4

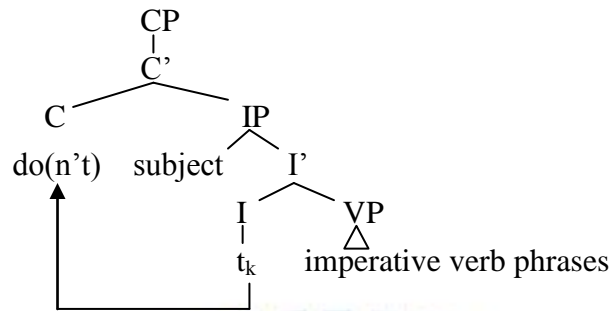
LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, two related studies will be reviewed. 4.1 introduces Potsdam's (1998) CP analysis of the English imperative. 4.2 is about the Chinese individual exceed comparative. Liu (2007) proposes that adjectives in the Chinese individual exceed comparatives are verbs in disguise. Adjectives raise to a light verb position to form verbs.

4.1 Potsdam(1998)

Potsdam (1998) proposes a CP analysis of the English imperative. He argues that there are two projections above the imperative verb phrase: IP and CP. The emphatic *do(n't)* in imperatives is an inflectional head, and imperative subjects are always located in the spec of IP. It is the I-to-C movement of *do(n't)* that makes the English imperative a CP. The CP structure and examples are as follows:

(25) The CP Analysis of the English Imperative



(26) a. Don't anyone answer the door.

b. [_{CP} Don't_{t_i} [_{IP} anyone t_i [_{VP} answer the door]]].

4.1.1 The Emphatic Do(n't) in INFL

As (25) displays, the emphatic *do(n't)* heads an inflectional projection just like modals and the finite support *do*. The licensing condition on VPE (cf. (27)) could manifest the INFL analysis of the emphatic *do(n't)*.

(27) Licensing Condition on VPE (Lobeck, 1995)

An elided VP must be c-commanded by an overt non-affixial inflectional head within the same s-projection.

(28) a. We want everyone to come, so those who can, by all means do \emptyset .

b. Did we say you could draw on the walls? All right, then, don't \emptyset .

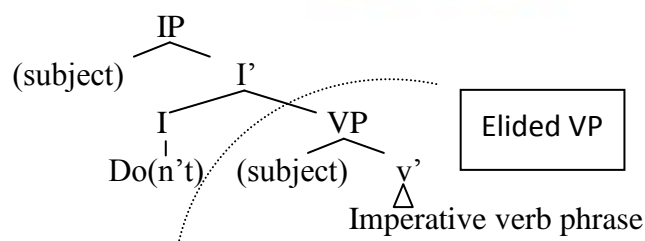
As (28) shows, the emphatic *do(n't)* is the licensing head. Given that a null VP must be introduced by an overt inflectional head, the emphatic *do(n't)* is undoubtedly located in INFL head.

4.1.2 Imperative Subjects in IP-SPEC

In this part, the argument that imperative subjects in English are VP-internal is challenged. Potsdam proposes that subjects in English imperatives are out of VP and located to a higher position in IP-SPEC. Two tests are employed. One is the VPE test; the other is the adverb placement test.

Since VPE is available in the English imperative, the condition in (27) again helps to probe the position of imperative subjects. It makes sense to ask whether imperative subjects are elided in ellipsis constructions.

(29) The VP-internal Subject Hypothesis



The dotted line in (29) shows the elided VP. VPE will leave the upper subject followed by the emphatic *do(n't)* only. The lower subject within VP will be elided.

In other words, the remnant *do(n't)-subject* word sequence is not allowed under the VP-internal subject hypothesis. However, such prediction is challenged by the following example.

(30) a. Rick walked out of the lecture, but don't everyone else \emptyset , please.

b. Boll didn't tell mom what I did, so don't you \emptyset , either.

(30a-b) provide the empirical evidence in support of the remnant *do(n't)-subject* word sequence. Hence, the post-*do(n't)* subjects are not in VP-SPEC. The VP-internal imperative subject hypothesis is challenged. With the help of the adverb placement test, the position of the imperative subjects in English will be diagnosed in the IP-SPEC.

(31) Syntactic Distribution of S-adverbs

- a. left adjunction to IP
- b. left adjunction to I'
- c. left adjunction to the topmost VP

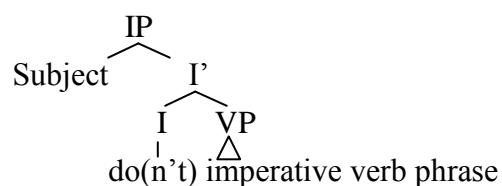
- (32) a. Everyone *certainly* [_{VP} work at least the assigned problems].
- b. Everyone *normally* [_{VP} wait an hour before going on the pool].
- c. Everyone *certainly* [_{VP} take good notes].

- (33) a. [_{IP} *Certainly* [_{IP} everyone [_{VP} work at least the assigned problems]]].
- b. [_{IP} *Normally* [_{IP} everyone [_{VP} wait an hour before going on the pool]]].
- c. [_{IP} *Certainly* [_{IP} everyone [_{VP} take good notes]]].

According to (31c), an S-adverb is left adjoined to the topmost VP; therefore, imperative subjects in (32) are proved to be out of VP. The possibility that imperative subjects are VP-internal is eliminated entirely. Then, I make use of (31a) to find out the subject position. As (33) displays, S-adverbs are left-adjoined to the imperatives subjects. As a corollary, imperative subjects are located in the IP-SPEC. The English imperative structure could be expanded from VP to IP projection.

4.1.3 I-to-C Movement of the Emphatic Do(n't)

(34)



So far, the syntactic structure of the English imperative has been expanded from an imperative VP to an IP projection. The emphatic *do(n't)* lies in INFL and imperative subjects are located in IP-SPEC. Nevertheless, such analysis is not satisfactory because of data like (35)-(36) are not under consideration.

(35) a. Do someone help him quickly.

b. Do at least some of you give it a try.

(36) a. Don't anyone touch my stuff.

b. Don't you misbehave while we're gone.

In order to accommodate (35)-(36) and assimilate imperatives with interrogatives, Potsdam (1998) provides a CP analysis of English imperatives.

(37) a. Don't you have a cow?

b. Don't you have a cow!

The subject-auxiliary inversion which relates interrogatives like (37a) is considered as an I-to-C movement (Koopman 1994, Chomsky 1986). Likewise, the

do(n't)-subject sequence in imperatives (cf. (37b)) is also a direct result of I-to-C movement.⁷ The CP analysis of English imperatives is accomplished.

4.2 Liu (2007)

In this part, the Chinese explicit individual exceed comparative—the X A-le D construction will be under discussion.⁸

(38) Zhe duo hua hong-le yidian.

This CL flower red-ASP a-little

a. This flower becomes a little redder than the standard value of redness assumed by people for the flower.'

b. This flower becomes a little redder than before.'

⁷ According to Potsdam (1998), inversion is obligatory in the interrogative, but optional in the English imperative. Imperative inversion is semantically driven. I-to-C movement occurs when negation or emphatic affirmation is present.

⁸ The X A-le D construction is an explicit individual exceed comparative that having A represent adjective, -le the aspectual inflection, and D the differential between two compared objects.

(38) entails two interpretations.⁹ (38a) shows the stative reading, but (38b)

demonstrates the dynamic reading. Since (38b) denotes a changing process along the red-scale, the dynamic sense comes out naturally.

4.2.1 Properties of the X A-le D construction

According to Liu's (2007) observation, the X A-le D construction displays several properties.¹⁰ First, the measure phrase in the X A-le D construction can only be interpreted as differential. Moreover, deletion of the measure phrase causes ungrammaticality.

(39) a. Zhe ge haizi gao-le san gongfen.
This CL child tall-ASP three centimeter

⁹ According to Liu (2007), (38) has the third reading which is derived from the bi-phrases 'compare-phrase'.

(i) Zhe-duo hua (bi mou yi-duo hua) hong-le yidian.
This-CL flower (than some one-CL flower) red-ASP a-little
'This flower is a little redder than some specific flower.'

However, due to 'Affect α ', Liu (2007) points out that it is implausible for (38a-b) to be derived by bi-phrase deletion. Affect α , including Move α and Delete α , cannot change meaning.

¹⁰ The properties enlisted here are three only. For more properties, see Liu (2007).

‘This child is three centimeters taller than before/ the stand height of children assumed by people.’

b. *Zhe ge haizi gao-le. (with the meaning of (39a))

Second, the X A-le D explicit comparative does not tolerate insertion of an overt individual-denoting compared object between the adjective and the measure phrase.

(40) a. Zhangsan gao-le yidian.

Zhangsan tall-ASP a-little

‘Zhangsan is a little taller than before/the standard value of height assumed by people.’

b. ?*Zhangsan gao-le Lisi yidian.

Zhangsan tall-ASP Lisi a-little

Third, absolute (non-gradable) adjectives are banned such as *zhen* ‘true’, *jia* ‘fake’, *dui* ‘right’, and *cuo* ‘wrong’ in (41).

(41) a. *Tade shufa zhen-le yidian.

His saying true-ASP a-little

b. *Zhe-zhi Gucci biao jia-le yidian.

This-CL Gucci watch fake-ASP a-little

c. *Nide daan dui-le yidian.

Your answer right-ASP a-little

d. *Nide daan cuo-le yidian.

Your answer wrong-ASP a-little

4.2.2 The Syntactic Structure of the X A-le D Construction

Liu (2007) suggests the X A-le D explicit comparative has the syntactic structure as (42b), where a covert ‘exceeding verb’ selects an AP as its complement.

(42) a. Zhangsan gao-le san gongfen.

Zhangsan tall-ASP three centimeter

‘Zhangsan is three centimeters taller than before/ the standard value of human height assumed by people in the discourse.’

b. [Zhangsan_{[ASP [EXP [[EX [[A gao_i]-ex]-le] [AP pro [[A t_i] [NP san gong-fen]]]]]]]]]}

Owing to (42b), *pro* functions as an individual-denoting compared object and lies in AP-SPEC. Therefore, an overt compared object is not allowed (cf. (40b)). Besides, the adjective *gao* ‘tall’ raises to the exceeding light verb position to form the inflected verb *gao-ex-ASP* ‘tall-ex-ASP’.

4.2.3 *pro* and Dynamic/Stative Interpretation

In 4.2.2, it has been mentioned that there is an individual-denoting *pro* in the X A-le D explicit comparative. In this part, the relationship between *pro* and the dual interpretations will be under investigation.

(43) a. Zhangsan_i gao-le pro_i san gongfen.

‘Zhangsan is three centimeters taller than before.’

b. Zhangsan_i gao-le pro_j san gong-fen.

‘Zhangsan is three centimeters taller than the standard value of human height assumed by people in the discourse.’

According to Liu (2007), *pro* in the X A-le D explicit comparative is chameleon-like. When the individual-denoting *pro* is coindexed with the subject NP *Zhangsan*, (43a) derives a dynamic reading and is interpreted as ‘Zhangsan’s height has changed and the differential between his current and previous height is three centimeters’. By contrast, when *pro* is arbitrarily interpreted as someone else rather than the subject NP *Zhangsan*, *pro* is regarded as a person whose height equals to the standard height of human being assumed by people in the discourse. The stative meaning (cf. (43b)) that ‘Zhangsan is three centimeters taller than the standard value of human height assumed by people in the discourse’ comes out naturally. In a nutshell, the reference of *pro* plays a key role in determining the dual interpretations in the X A-le D construction.

CHAPTER 5

THE ANALYSIS OF THE A-IMPERATIVE CONSTRUCTION

In this chapter, I will first propose that the obligatory measure phrase *yidian* ‘a little’ and the degree adverb *tai* ‘too’ in the A-imperative construction work a vital function to derive the dynamic sense of adjectives in 5.1, and subsequently will provide a syntactic analysis with regard to the A-imperative construction in 5.2. And try to accommodate more complex structures in 5.3.

5.1 Deriving the Dynamic Sense of Adjectives

It has been mentioned that the A-imperative construction, unlike imperatives in other languages, consists of APs and seemingly does not follow the strict VP constraint. However, in this part, I am going to argue that adjectives in the A-imperative construction are not stative. By means of the measure phrase *yidian* ‘a little’ and the degree adverb *tai* ‘too’, they could be as dynamic as verbs and able to conform to the strict VP constraint.

5.1.1 The Measure Phrase *Yidian*

In the earlier chapter, it has been mentioned that the measure phrase *yidian* ‘a little’ in positive A-imperatives and the degree adverb *tai* ‘too’ in negative A-imperatives are obligatorily required. In this part, let’s discuss the measure phrase *yidian* ‘a little’ in positive A-imperatives first.

(44) a. * Qianxu.

Humble

‘Be humble.’

b. Qianxu yidian.

Humble a-little

‘Be a little humbler than before.’

Zhu (2003) has mentioned that there are two ways to derive dynamic sense of adjectives. One is through ‘quantity change’; the other is by means of ‘degree

change'.¹¹ The measure phrase *yidian* 'a little' in the A-imperative construction, signaling the differential, exactly works the function to derive the degree change of adjectives.¹² Take (44) for example. In order to reveal the differential, the degree of humbleness within the humble-scale changes from a low degree to a higher degree. Such change of degree makes the adjective (i.e. *qianxu* 'humble') not stative at all. It

¹¹ Adjective reduplication is a way to achieve 'quantity change'. According to Zhu (2003), the adjective reduplication construction (i.e. AABB or AA construction) itself expresses a certain 'state'. In order to achieve such state, one has to intentionally control his action. Hence, adjectives generate a dynamic sense.

- (i) Yuan yuan de paicheng yi-ge quan.
 Round roundde array one-CL circle
 'To array a circle roundly.'

In (i), one has to volitionally control his way of arraying to make a 'round' circle. Hence, the reduplication *yuan-yuan-de* 'roundly_{REDUPLICATIVE}' here encompasses a dynamic sense.

¹² The imperative clause type, conveying Speaker's requests, induces a strong pressure on Addressee. Hence, in order to make Addressee feel comfortable, the degree change cannot be huge. That is the reason why the measure phrase *yidian* 'a little', not others, is used.

- (i) Ni guiju yidian/ *xuduo
 You well-behaved a-little/ a-lot
 'You be a little/*much more well-behaved than before'

Interestingly, the measure phrase *xuduo* 'a lot' sounds much better when Speaker is involved in the imperative subjects.

- (ii) Women yao zai yonggong yidian/ ?xuduo.
 We must again studious a-little/ a-lot
 'Let's be a little /?much more studious than before.'

is as dynamic as a verb. Besides, such degree change is a controllable and conscious action that Addressee can act. Noticed that adjectives in the A-imperative construction conform to the controllability requirement, Addressee, therefore, reveals the control over the denoted adjectival predicates by changing the degree scale of them. Therefore, adjectives in the positive A-imperatives are always characterized by gradability.

To sum up, without the measure phrase *yidian* ‘a little’, the degree change could not happen. Inducing a dynamic reading of adjectives in the A-imperative construction is implausible. Hence, the ungrammaticality of the bare AP (cf. (44a)) in imperatives gains a reasonable explanation.

5.1.2 The Degree Adverb *Tai*

In this part, it is proposed that the degree adverb *tai* ‘too’ in the negative A-imperative construction is on a par with the measure phrase *yidian* ‘a little’. They both work the same function to derive the degree change of adjectives in the A-imperative construction. General speaking, the degree adverb *tai* is polysemous: one means ‘to a high degree’, which is similar with ‘very’ in English. The other means ‘to a higher degree than is allowed’, which resembles ‘too’ in English. (45a-b) show the examples.

(45)a. Wo xihuang Lisi, yinwei ta tai congming le.

I like Lisi, because he very smart ASP

‘I like Lisi because he is very smart.’

b. Wo bu xihuang Lisi, yinwei ta tai congming le.

I not like Lisi, because he very smart ASP

‘I don’t like Lisi because he is too smart.’

In the case of ‘too’ meaning in (45b), the dislike results from Lisi’s smartness is to a degree higher than what the subject *wo* ‘I’ assumes to be. In other words, there exists a gap between the reality and the subject’s expectation. The degree adverb *tai* ‘too’, therefore, always implies a negative meaning.

Likewise, the degree adverb *tai* in negative A-imperatives also conveys a ‘too’ meaning. Its occurrence in negative A-imperatives presents Speaker’s requests or commands to lower the degree of the property denoted by the adjectives in the construction. Hence, degree changes happen and adjectives become dynamic. Take (46) as example, in order to meet Speaker’s mental standard, Addressee is requested to change the degree of humbleness from a high degree to a lower degree. The

change process makes the adjective (i.e. *qianxu* ‘humble’) as dynamic as a verb.

Moreover, the process of change of degree is a volitional and conscious action that

Addressee can control. Likewise, Addressee’s ability to control the degree change of

the denoted adjectives makes adjectives in the negative A-imperatives characterized

by gradability.

In other words, without the degree adverb *tai* ‘too’, Speaker’s requests to change the degree of properties denoted by adjectives would not be revealed.

Inducing a dynamic reading of adjectives in the A-imperative construction is implausible.

(46) Bie *(*tai*) *qianxu*.

Must not *(*too*) humble

‘Don’t be too humble.’

The discussion so far leads to a conclusion that either the measure phrase

yidian ‘a little’ or the degree adverb *tai* ‘too’ derives the degree change and makes

adjectives in the A-imperative construction as dynamic as verbs. Their occurrence in

A-imperatives guarantees Speaker's requests for degree change. Hence, they are obligatory in the A-imperative construction.¹³

So far, I have explained the reason why bare APs are not allowed in the A-imperative construction above. However, I have not yet explained why bare VPs are perfect in typical imperatives.

(47) Zou (*yidian).

Walk (*a-little)

'Walk.'

(48) Bie (*tai) zou.

Not (*too) walk

'Don't walk.'

As what is argued in this part, the measure phrase *yidian* 'a little' and the degree adverbs *tai* 'too' are means to make APs dynamic and allowable in Chinese imperatives. Given that verbs themselves are dynamic enough, the measure phrase

¹³ According to Kennedy and McNally (2005), gradable adjectives must restrict or saturate degree arguments. Owing to the adjectives in the A-imperative are characterized by gradability, the measure phrase *yidian* 'a little' and the degree adverb *tai* 'too' exactly serve as the degree arguments. Therefore, they are obligatorily required.

yidian ‘a little’ and the degree adverb *tai* ‘too’ are not obligatorily required in imperatives predicated by verbs.

5.1.3 *Fang* and Controllability Strengthening

Zhu (2003) divides adjectives into physical adjectives and mental adjectives.

The former depict outer appearance and the latter describe inner temperament, attitudes, and dispositions.

(49) Physical Adjectives:

mei ‘beauty’, *chou* ‘ugly’, *gao* ‘tall’, *duan* ‘short’...

(50) Mental Adjectives :

youya ‘elegant’, *wenrou* ‘gentle’, *chengken* ‘sincere’, *qingqie* ‘friendly’...

In terms of *mei* ‘beauty’ and *chou* ‘ugly’ in (49), people are born either with a good look or a bad look. Outer Appearance is inborn and decided by DNA. The degree of beauty or ugliness is difficult to change through human control. Hence, physical adjectives such as *mei* ‘beauty’, *chou* ‘ugly’ could not undergo the degree

change and become dynamic. In other words, they are not characterized by controllability. Hence, they are not allowed in the A-imperative construction.

Conversely, properties denoted by mental adjectives are not innate. They could be acquired by human efforts. One could control, change and reveal those inner properties inside out or change the degree of those properties. Therefore, mental adjectives are controllable and dynamic in the A-imperative construction. They could co-occur with the measure phrase *yidian* ‘a little’ and the degree adverb *tai* ‘too’. Moreover, their controllability could be further strengthened by the distinct verb *fang* ‘control’. (51) shows the example.

(51) a. (Ni) fang guiju yidian.
You FANG well-behaved a-little
‘Control yourself to be a little more well-behaved than before.’

b. (Ni) fang jingming yidian.
You FANG gumptious a-little
‘Control yourself to be a little more gumptious than before.’

c. (Ni) fang anjing yidian.

(You) FANG quiet a-little

‘Control yourself to be a little quieter than before.’

(52) a. (Ni) zuiba fang ganjing yidian.

You mouth FANG clean a-little

*‘Control your mouth to be a little cleaner than before.’

‘Control yourself to be a little politer without saying dirty words.’

b. (Ni) shenduan fang ruan yidian.

You body-part FANG soft a-little

*‘Control your body to be a little softer than before.’

‘Control yourself to be a little humbler than before.’

Given that *ganjing* ‘clean’ in (52a) and *ruan* ‘soft’ in (52b) are non-controllable adjectives strengthened by the distinct verb *fang* ‘control’, (52a-b) seem to be counter-examples. However, when taking a closer investigation into their interpretations, *ganjing* in (52a) had better mean ‘polite’ and *ruan* in (52b) mean ‘humble’. *Polite* and *humble* are mental adjectives in accord with the controllability

requirement. Hence, it is not problematic for them to be strengthened by the distinct verb *fang* ‘control’. (52a-b) are not counterexamples at all.

Furthermore, it is considered that the distinct verb *fang* ‘control’ has much to do with the dynamicity of adjectives. Zhu (2003) argues that controllable adjectives strengthened by the distinct verb *fang* ‘control’ are easier to derive the dynamic sense. Given that imperative verbs in typical imperatives are dynamic enough, the distinct verb *fang* ‘control’ plays no role. There is no need for the distinct verb *fang* ‘control’.

5.2 The Syntactic Analysis of the A-imperative Construction

In 5.1, it is argued that adjectives in the A-imperative construction are as dynamic as verbs. In fact, adjectives in the A-imperatives are verbs in disguise. Evidence is as follows:

(53).a. Ni hen xiaoxin-(*zhe).

You very careful-(*ASP)

b. Ni hen qianxu -(*zhe).

You very humble-ASP

(54) a. Xiaoxin -zhe dian.

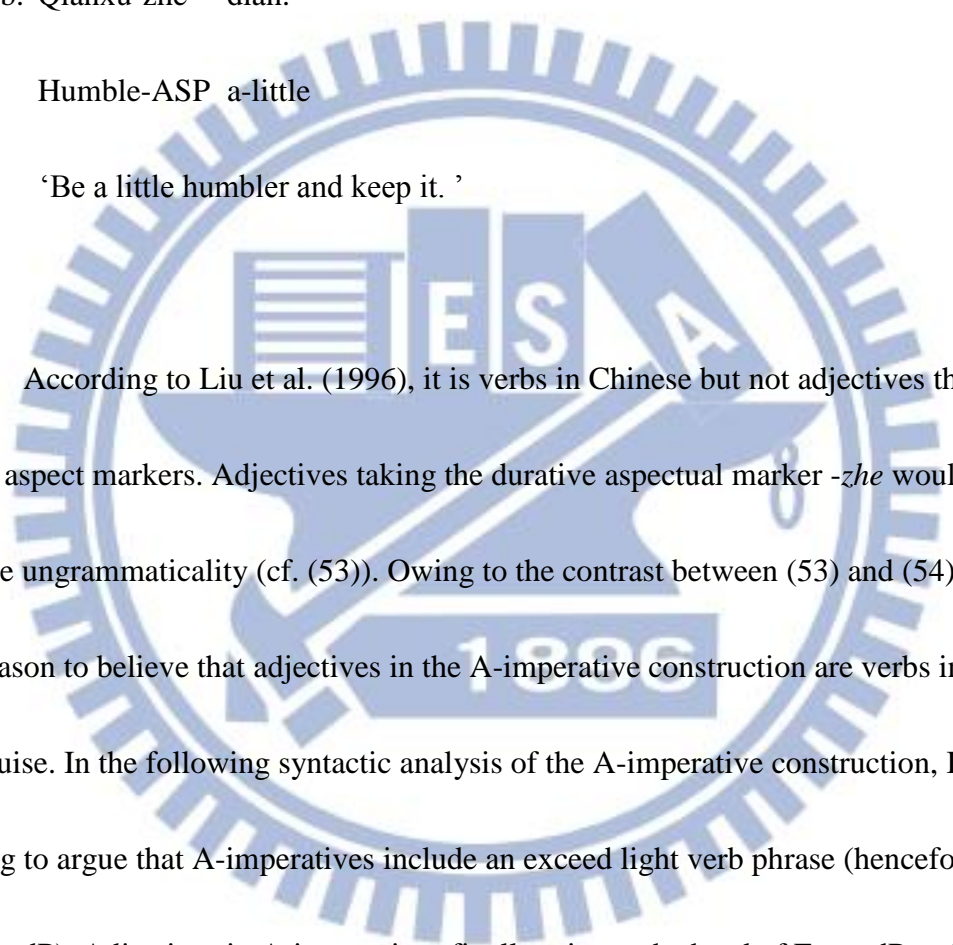
Careful-ASP a-little

‘Be a little more careful and keep it.’

b. Qianxu-zhe dian.

Humble-ASP a-little

‘Be a little humbler and keep it.’



According to Liu et al. (1996), it is verbs in Chinese but not adjectives that take aspect markers. Adjectives taking the durative aspectual marker *-zhe* would cause ungrammaticality (cf. (53)). Owing to the contrast between (53) and (54), there is reason to believe that adjectives in the A-imperative construction are verbs in disguise. In the following syntactic analysis of the A-imperative construction, I am going to argue that A-imperatives include an exceed light verb phrase (henceforth, ExceedP). Adjectives in A-imperatives finally raise to the head of ExceedP and form verbs. The A-imperative construction follows the strict VP constraint.

5.2.1 VP in Disguise and the Exceeding Light Verb

In addition to Speaker's requests, the A-imperative construction involves a sense of self-comparison. Addressee is requested to possess a higher or lower degree of the property denoted by the adjective than he or she did before. The comparison is between Addressee in the future and the same Addressee in the past. According to Stassen's (1985) definition of the comparative and Liu's (2007) research on the Chinese individual exceed comparative (i.e. the X A-le D construction), I propose that the A-imperative construction involves an ExceedP projection, a light verb phrase projection (cf. (56b)).

(55) Stassen's (1985) definition of the comparative:

A construction in a nature language counts as a comparative construction (and will therefore be taken into account in the typology) if that construction has the semantic function of assigning a graded (i.e. non-identical) position on a predicate scale to two (possibly complex) objects.

(56) Zhe-zhi biao kuai-le shi fenzhong. (the X A-le D construction)

This-CL watch fast-ASP ten minute

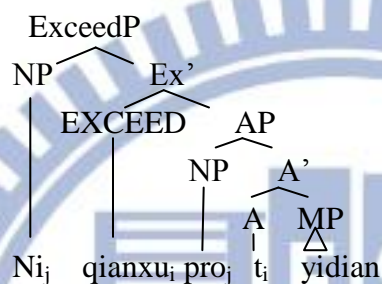
'This watch is ten minutes faster than before.'

(57) Ni qianxu yidian. (the A-imperative construction)

You humble a-little

‘You be a little humbler than before.’

(58)



As (58) shows, the A-imperative construction involves an explicit individual exceed comparative. When the *pro* in AP-SPEC, the compared object, is coindexed with Addressee *ni* ‘you’, a sense of self-comparison comes out. Addressee is requested to exceed the degree of humbleness he or she possessed before. Under the ExceedP

analysis, the adjective *qianxu* ‘haumble’ raises and heads the vP.¹⁴ That is, it is incorporated and turns into a verb. The A-imperative construction, just like imperatives in other natural languages, follows the strict VP constraint.¹⁵

5.2.2 Expanding VP into IP Projection

According to Han (1999), ‘imperative mood has the semantics of the deontic modality’. Therefore, an A-imperative like (59) is argued to contain a covert deontic modal *yao* ‘must’ in the structure, which is overtly realized when the extent adverb *qianwan* ‘definitely’ appears. (60a-b) provide the evidence.

¹⁴ In fact, APs alone could make commands with directive illocutionary force. However, commands like (ia-b) do not convey a sense of self-comparison. Hence, the dynamic sense of adjectives does not result from the degree change. Instead, it results from a change of state. Hence, commands like (ia-b) are argued to involve a DoP, but not an ExceedP in the structure. As a corollary, there is no measure phrase *yidian* ‘a little’ and degree adverb *tai* ‘too’. And what the gradable adjectives *anjing* ‘quiet’ and *jiaobao* ‘arrogant’ saturate in (ia-b) is a *pos* morpheme, which is an appropriate way to explain why the measure phrase *yidian* ‘a little’ and the degree adverb *tai* ‘too’ are not obligatorily acquired in commands.

(i) a. Anjing!

Quiet

‘Be quiet.’

b. Bie jiaobao.

Must not arrogant

‘Don’t be arrogant.’

¹⁵ The distinct verb *fang* ‘control’ is argued to project a VP higher than the ExceedP.

(59) Ni qianxu yidian.

You humble a-little

‘You be a little humbler than before.’

(60) a. Ni qianwan *(yao) qianxu yidian.

You definitely must humble a-little

‘You must definitely be a little humbler than before.’

b. Ni qianwan bu *(yao) tai qianxu.

You definitely not must too humble

‘You must definitely not be too humble.’

As (60a-b) show, when the adverb *qianwan* ‘definitely’ appears in the A-imperative construction, the deontic modal *yao* ‘must’ is obligatorily required. Given that modals are positioned in INFL, there is reason to believe that the A-imperative construction could be further expanded from vP into IP projection.

5.2.2.1 Deontic modal Yao/Bie in INFL¹⁶

The first evidence supporting the expanding IP projection comes from the Extent adverb placement test. According to Jackendoff (1972), extent adverbs approximately describe the extent or degree to which a situation holds. Following is the syntactic distribution of extent-adverbs in English.

(61) Syntactic Distribution of E-adverbs in English (Jackendoff, 1972)

- a. Left adjunction to I'
- b. Left adjunction to VP or V'

(62) a. Ni qianwan yao man man chi.

You definitely must slow slow eat

'You must definitely eat slowly.'

b. *Ni yao qianwan man man chi.

You must definitely slow slow eat

'You must definitely eat slowly.'

¹⁶ Bie is the contraction of *bu* 'not' and *yao* 'must'.

The adverb *qianwan* ‘definitely’ is a frequently used extent adverb in the Chinese imperative. According to (61a-b), *qianwan* ‘definitely’ preceding or following the deontic modal *yao* ‘must’ should be felicitous. However, the ungrammaticality of (62b) manifests that the distribution of the extent adverb *qianwan* ‘definitely’ is only compatible with (61a).¹⁷

(63) a. Ni qianwan yao qianxu yidian.

You definitely must humble a-little

‘You must definitely be humbler than before.’

b. Ni qianwan bu-yao/bie tai qianxu.

You definitely must not tai humble

‘You must definitely not be too humble.’

¹⁷ It does not mean that (61b) displays an inappropriate distribution of extent adverbs in Chinese. Extent adverbs such as *guang* ‘just’ and *jing* ‘just’ could satisfy (61b).

(i) Ni bie jing zuo sha shi.

You must not just do stupid affair

‘Don’t just do stupid things.’

(ii) Ni bie guang sha sha de zuo zai na.

You must not just stupid stupid DE sit at there

‘Don’t just sit there stupidly.’

If the deontic modal *yao* ‘must’ and *bie* ‘must not’ in A-imperatives are located in INFL, the rule in (61a) will make extent adverbs precede the deontic modals. The *qianwan- yao* and *qianwan- bie* word sequences in (63a-b) support our predication.

Hence, the A-imperative construction could be expanded from vP to IP projection.

The other evidence that supports the expanding IP projection is from VPE. As mentioned in (27)--repeated as (64), an elided VP must be licensed by an overt non-affixial inflectional head within the same s-projection. Therefore, if the deontic modal *yao* ‘must’ in A-imperatives really locates in INFL, it should be a licit licenser of an elided VP. Given that the deontic modal *yao* ‘must’ in (65) certifies its ability to license an elided VP, the A-imperative construction could be expanded from vP to IP projection.¹⁸ (66) is the syntactic structure of (63).

¹⁸ Although *bie* ‘must not’ cannot license an elided VP, it could license a pro-VP.

- (i) *Buzhi ni pengyou bie tai jiaoao, ni ye bie Ø.
 Not-only you friend must not too proud, you also must not Ø
 ‘Don’t your friends be too proud. And don’t you Ø, either.’
- (ii) Ta tai jiaoao le, ni qianwan bie ruci.
 He too proud LE, you definitely must not so
 ‘He is too proud but don’t you Ø.’

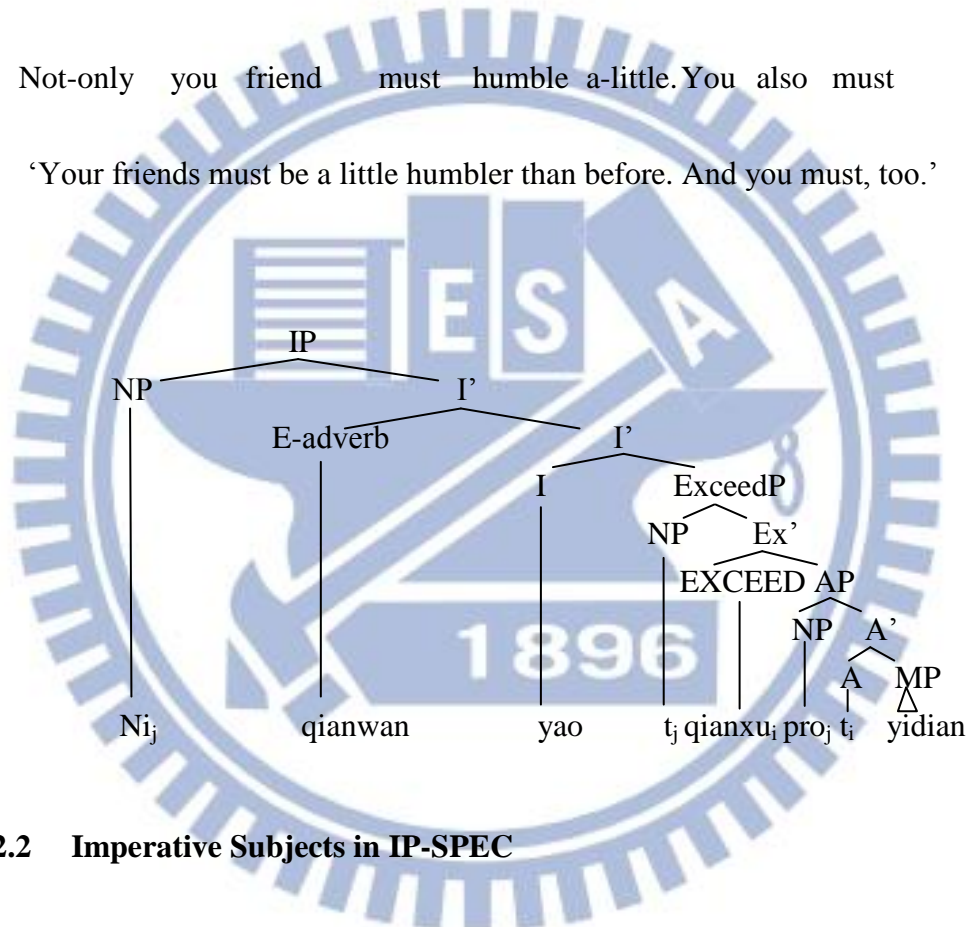
(64) Licensing Condition on VPE (Potsdam 1998)

An elided VP must be c-commanded by an overt non-affixial inflectional head within the same s-projection.

(65) Buzhi ni pengyou yao qianxu yidian. Ni ye yao \emptyset .

Not-only you friend must humble a-little. You also must
 ‘Your friends must be a little humbler than before. And you must, too.’

(66)



5.2.2.2 Imperative Subjects in IP-SPEC

As (66) shows, the imperative subject position in the A-imperative construction is located in IP-SPEC, but not in VP-SPEC as (58) displays. In this part, I am going to propose that the VP-internal subject further raises to IP-SPEC. In order to make the imperative subject position explicit in the A-imperative construction, the extent adverb placement test and the VPE test will be used.

Let's see the extent adverb placement test first. According to (61a), if imperative subjects of the A-imperative construction are in IP-SPEC, the word sequence *subject-qianwan-yao* is felicitous. Conversely, if an imperative subject is still reserved in vP, the *qianwan-yao-subject* word sequence is predicted. Given that (67) provides the empirical evidence in support for *subject-qianwan-yao* word sequence, subjects in the A-imperative construction are located in IP-SPEC.

(67) a. Ni qianwan yao qianxu yidian.

You definitely must humble a-little

'You must be a little humbler than before.'

b. *Qianwan yao ni qianxu yidian.

Definitely must you humble a-little

'You must be a little humbler than before.'

In terms of the VPE test, if imperative subjects of the A-imperative construction are within vP, they must be included in elided VPs. Conversely, if they are located in IP-SPEC, they must be the remnant parts after VPE. (68) provides the empirical evidence that imperative subjects are not within the elided VPs, but positioned in

IP-SPEC. (69) shows the complete syntactic structure of the expanding IP projection of the A-imperative construction.

(68) a. Buzhi ni pengyou yao qianxu yidian, ni ye yao \emptyset .

Not-only you friend must humble a-little, you also must \emptyset

‘Your friends must be a little humbler than before, and you must, too.’

b. *Buzhi ni pengyou yao qianxu yidian, ye yao \emptyset .

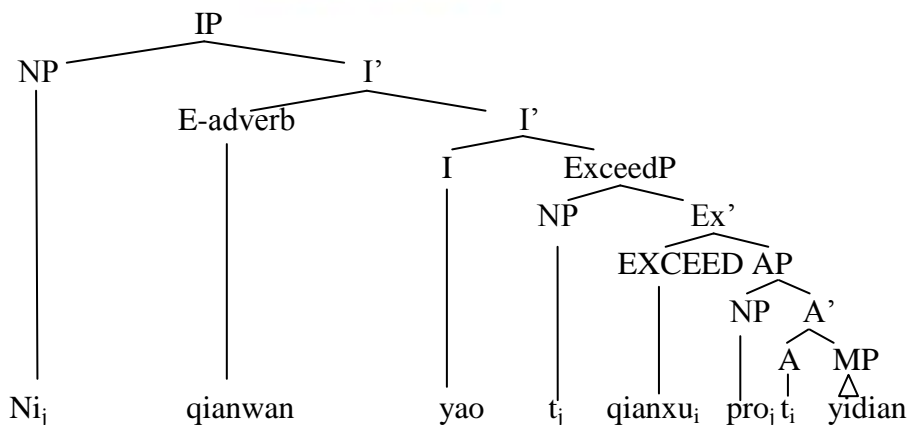
Not-only you friend must humble a-little, also must \emptyset

‘Your friends must be a little humbler than before, and you must, too.’

(69) Ni qianwan yao qianxu yidian.

You definitely must humble a-little

‘You must be a little humbler than before.’



5.2.3 Sentence Final Particle vs. Clause Typing

It has been mentioned that Potsdam (1998) proposes a CP analysis of the English imperative by I-to-C movement. In this part, I also provide a CP analysis of the A-imperative construction. Given that Chinese is short of I-to-C movement, I appeal to the sentence final particles, which head CPs.

(70) Clausal Typing Hypothesis (Cheng 1997:22)

Every clause needs to be typed. In the case of typing a wh-question, either a wh-particle in C^0 is used or else fronting of a wh-word to the Spec of C^0 is used, thereby typing a clause through C^0 by Spec-head agreement.

According to (70), sentence final particles (SFP) in Chinese can function to type clauses. Different SFPs type different clauses. The SFP *ma* is a yes/no question particle that types yes/no questions and A-not-A questions. It could not appear in wh-questions.

(71) Ni xiang chi sheme ma? (Cheng 1994)

You want eat what SPF_{YN}

a. Would you like to eat anything?

b. *For what thing such that you will eat or not?

As we know, the wh-phrase *sheme* either has an existential reading in yes/no questions or possesses an interrogative reading in wh-questions. When The SPF *ma* occurs (cf. (71)), the interrogative reading is excluded. Hence, the SPF *ma* is considered as a SFP that types yes/no questions. Similarly, given that the SPF *ne* in (72) excludes the existential reading and allows the interrogative reading only, the SPF *ne* types the wh-questions.

(72) Ni xiang chi sheme ne? (Cheng 1994)

You want eat what SPF_{WH}

a. *Would you like to eat anything?

b. For what thing such that you will eat or not?

Just like yes/no questions and wh-questions, imperatives must be typed.

Languages such as French, German, and Spanish introduce imperatives by an overt complementizer. (73) illustrates the examples.¹⁹

¹⁹ Examples in (73) are adapted from Andrew Radford (1988). *Transformational Grammar, a First Course*, Cambridge.

(73) a. Qu'il aille se fairefoutre ! (French)

That he go-SUB himself make do

'Let him go and get stuffed!'

b. Daß du ja die Füße vom Tisch läß! (German)

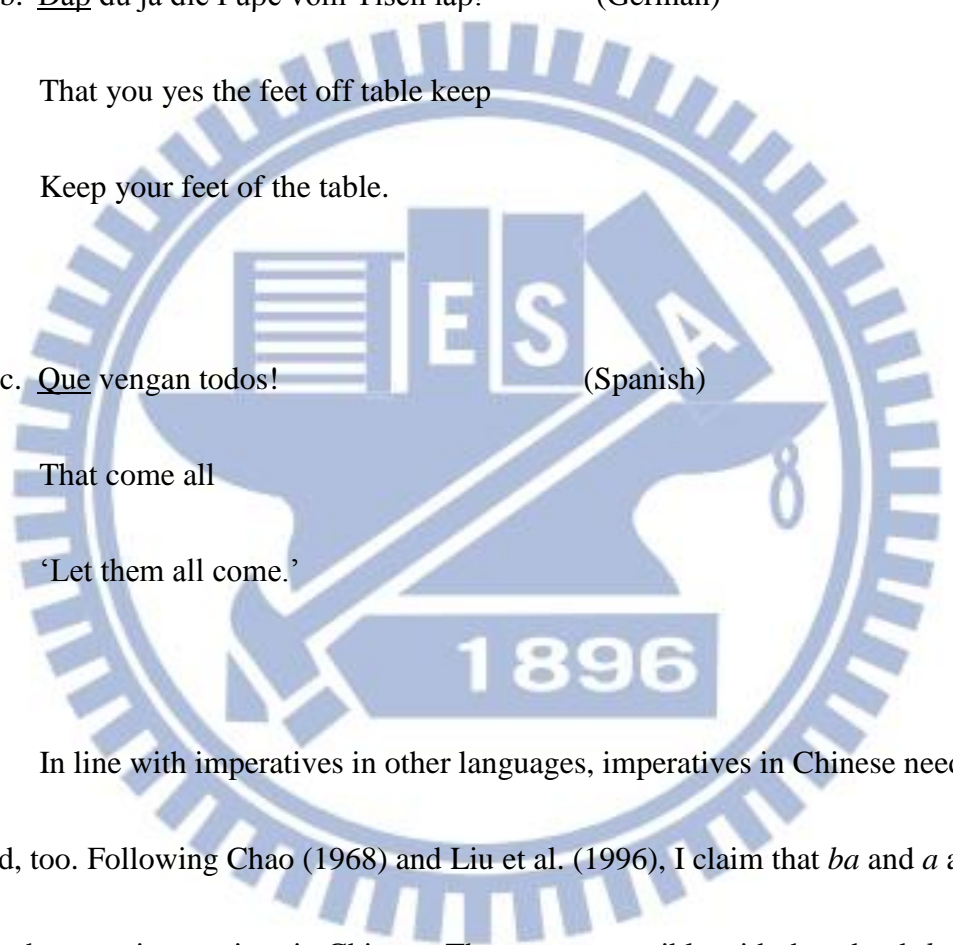
That you yes the feet off table keep

Keep your feet of the table.

c. Que vengan todos! (Spanish)

That come all

'Let them all come.'



In line with imperatives in other languages, imperatives in Chinese need to be typed, too. Following Chao (1968) and Liu et al. (1996), I claim that *ba* and *a* are SFPs that type imperatives in Chinese. They are compatible with the adverb *bufang* 'not-interfere', which only occurs in imperatives. As (74a) shows, the adverb *bufang* 'not-interfere' only appears imperatives. It could not occur in yes/no questions (cf. (74b)) and wh-questions (cf. (74c)).

(74) a. Bufang duo chi shuiguo. (imperative)

Not-interfere more eat fruit.

‘You may as well eat much more fruit.’

b. *Bufang ni chi shuiguo ma? (yes/no question)

Not-interfere you eat fruit SFP_{YN}

‘Are you all right to eat much more fruit?’

c. *Bufang ni chi sheme ne? (Wh-question)

Not-interfere you eat what SFP_{WH}

‘For what thing such that you are all right to eat?’

(75) a. Bufang duo chi shuiguo ba/a.

Not-interfere more eat fruit SPF_{IMP}

‘You may as well eat much more fruit.’

b. Bufang qianxu yidian ba/a.

Not-interfere humble a-little SPF_{IMP}

‘You had better be a little humbler than before.’

Given that SPFs *ba/a* could co-occur with the adverb *bufang* ‘not-interfere’ (cf.

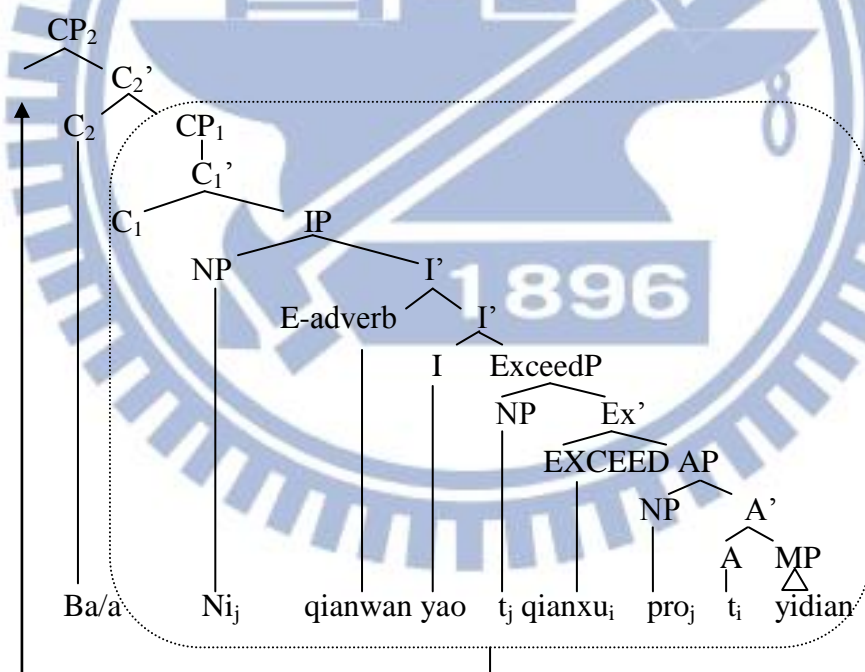
(75a-b)), *ba* and *a* are considered as SPFs that type imperatives. (76) displays the

final CP projection of the A-imperative construction.

(76) Ni qianwan yao qianxu yidian ba/a.

You definitely must qianxu a-little SFP_{IMP}

‘You must definitely be a little humbler than before.’



I follow Hsieh & Sybesma (2008) that complementizers in Chinese are head-initial,

and distinguished into two groups. SPFs such as *ba*, *ma* and *ne* belong to the first

group heading the higher CP₂. Conjunctive elements, such as *shuo* ‘say’ in (77a) and

kong ‘say’ in (77b), are the second group. They head the lower CP₁ and introduce an embedded IP. In order to make SFP_{IMP} *ba/a* sentence-final, the lower CP₁ is moved into CP₂-SPEC.²⁰

(77) a. Wo zongshi juede shuo shenghuo li shao-le sheme.

I always feel say life in lack-ASP what

‘I always feel that something is missing in life.’

b. Gua sionsin kong i iting e phian gua.

I believe say he absolutely will cheat me.

‘I believe that he will absolutely cheat me.’

5.3 The Complex Structures

I have completed the CP analysis of the A-imperative construction in 5.2. In this part, three complex structures will be discussed. In 5.3.1, I will argue that *gei* in the *gei wo* construction is a verb but not a preposition. In 5.3.2, the verb *qing* ‘please’ is considered as a verb with directive illocutionary force. Finally, A-imperatives with theme subjects would be discussed in 5.3.3.

²⁰ More details about CP projections in Chinese. See Hsieh & Sybesma (2008).

5.3.1 The Gei Wo Construction

Compared with (78b), (78a) with the *gei wo* construction expresses an extra sense of adversity. The NP *wo* ‘I’ refers to Speaker, who is deeply affected by the imperative event carried out by Addressee. Imagining that you and your newly made friend fortuitously heard someone keep talking something bad about you, who would shout out (78a)? Of course, it is you but not your newly made friend will do so. You are the poor Affectee deeply affected by the malicious talk. Addressee’s quietness would help you a lot. In other words, only (78a) expresses a strong sense of adversity.

(78b) is short of such meaning.

(78) a. Ni gei wo anjing yidian.

You GEI me quiet a-little

‘Be a little quieter than before.’

(And your being quietness has great impact on me).’

b. Ni anjing yidian.

You quiet a-little

‘Be a little quieter than before.’

At the first glance over the *gei wo* construction in (78a), it is easy to jump into a fast PP analysis conclusion and assume that (78b) derives from (78a) by deleting the adjunct PP. That is, *gei* heads an adjunct PP and selects an NP *wo* ‘me’ as its complement. *Gei wo* ‘give me’ forms a constituent. However, such PP analysis seems to lack sufficient evidence. First, Affect α , involving Move α and Delete α , cannot change meaning. Second, the *gei wo* construction does not behave as a PP. For one thing, it is not moveable as a typical PP. The contrast is shown in (79)-(80).

(79) a. Ni gei wo anjing yidian.

You GEI me quiet a-little

‘Be a little quieter than before.’

(And your being quietness has great impact on me).’

b. *Gei wo ni anjing yidian.

GEI me you quiet a-little

‘Be a little quieter than before.’

(And your being quietness has great impact on me).’

(80) a. Wo bai-le yi-pen hua zai zhuozi-shang. (Huang, 1999)

I put-ASP one-CL flower on table-top

‘I put a pot of flowers on the table.’

b. Zai zhuozi-shang wo bai-le yi-pen hua.

On table-top I put-ASP one-CL flower

‘I put a pot of flowers on the table.’

Besides, Chinese does not allow stranded prepositions. However, contrary to the fact, *gei* in (81) is stranded.

(81) Zhu shou! Quan dou gei zhu shou.

Stop hand! ALL DOU GEI stop hand

‘Stop! Everyone stop. (Stopping your actions has great impact on me)’

Due to the three reasons above, it is felicitous to argue against a PP analysis of the *gei wo* construction. Hence, in the following discussion, it is argued that *gei* in the *gei wo* construction is similar with *bei* in the *bei*-passive. Both of them possess a passive reading (cf. (82a-b)) and an affective reading (cf. (84a-b)).

(82) Passive Reading:

a. Zhansan gei Lisi pian-le. (Huang, 2010)

Zhangsan GEI Lisi cheat-ASP

‘Zhangsan was cheated by Lisi.’

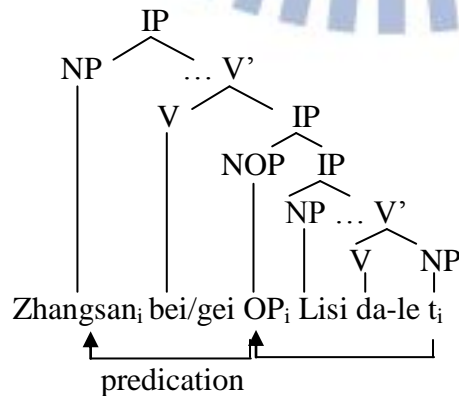
b. Zhansan bei Lisi da-le. (Huang, 1999)

Zhangsan BEI Lisi hit-ASP

‘Zhangsan was hit by Lisi.’

Given that *bei* is analyzed as a verb in Huang (1999), it is reasonable to propose that *gei* in (82a) also functions as a verb. The syntactic structure of (82a-b) follows the NOP analysis of Huang (1999).

(83)



Bei and *gei* in the passive reading are verbs that select an NP *Zhangsan* as their subjects and an IP as their complements. The null category first adjoins to IP and gets bounded by the subject NP *Zhangsan* through predication.

(84) Affective Reading:

a. Ta jingran gei wo he-le san-pin jiu. (Tsai, 2009)²¹

He unexpectedly GEI me drink-ASP three-CL wine

‘Unexpectedly, he drank three bottles of wine on me.’

b. Lisi bei Wangwu jichu-le yi-zhi quanleida. (Huang, 1999)

Lisi BEI Wangwu hit-ASP one-CL home-run

‘Lisi had Wangwu hit a home run on him.’

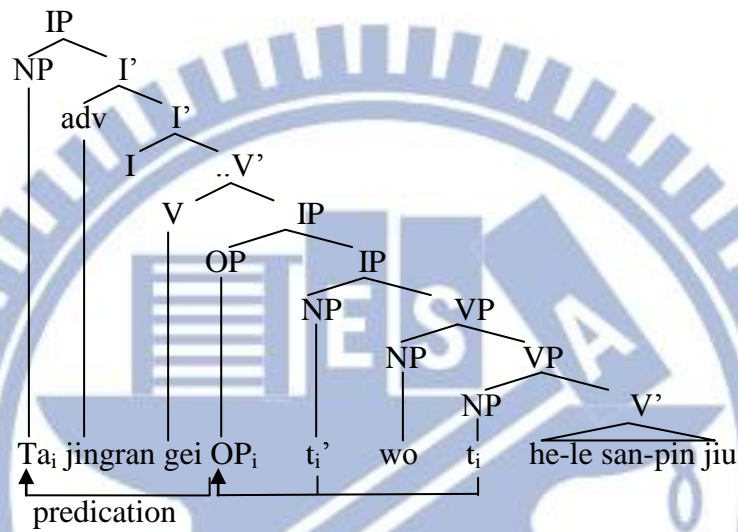
As to the affective reading in (84a-b), although both *bei* and *gei* express a sense of adversity, they differ in some way. Affectee *wo* ‘me’ in (84a) follows the verb *gei*, but Affectee *Lisi* in (84b) precedes the verb *bei*. The discrepancy arises because *bei* selects Affectee as its sentential subject, but *gei*, conversely, selects Agent as its

²¹ According to Tsai (2009), *gei* in (84a) heads a high applicative phrase at the complementizer layer because (84a) involves a speaker/addressee-oriented construal. The speaker-oriented adverb *jurán* ‘unexpected’ in (100a) is located at the EvaP-SPEC in the CP domain.

subject. The difference could be demonstrated in (85a-b). It is worth to notice that,

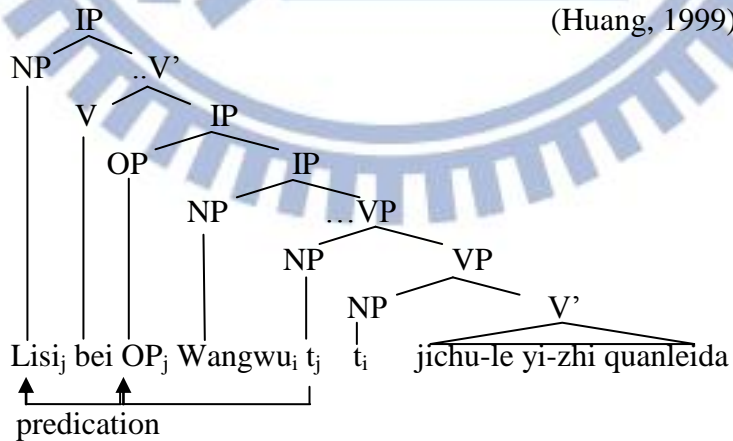
according Huang (1999), Affectee is an outmost object adjoined to the lowest VP.²²

(85) a. Ta jingran gei wo he-le san-pin jiu.



b. Lisi bei Wangwu jichu-le yi-zhi quanleida.

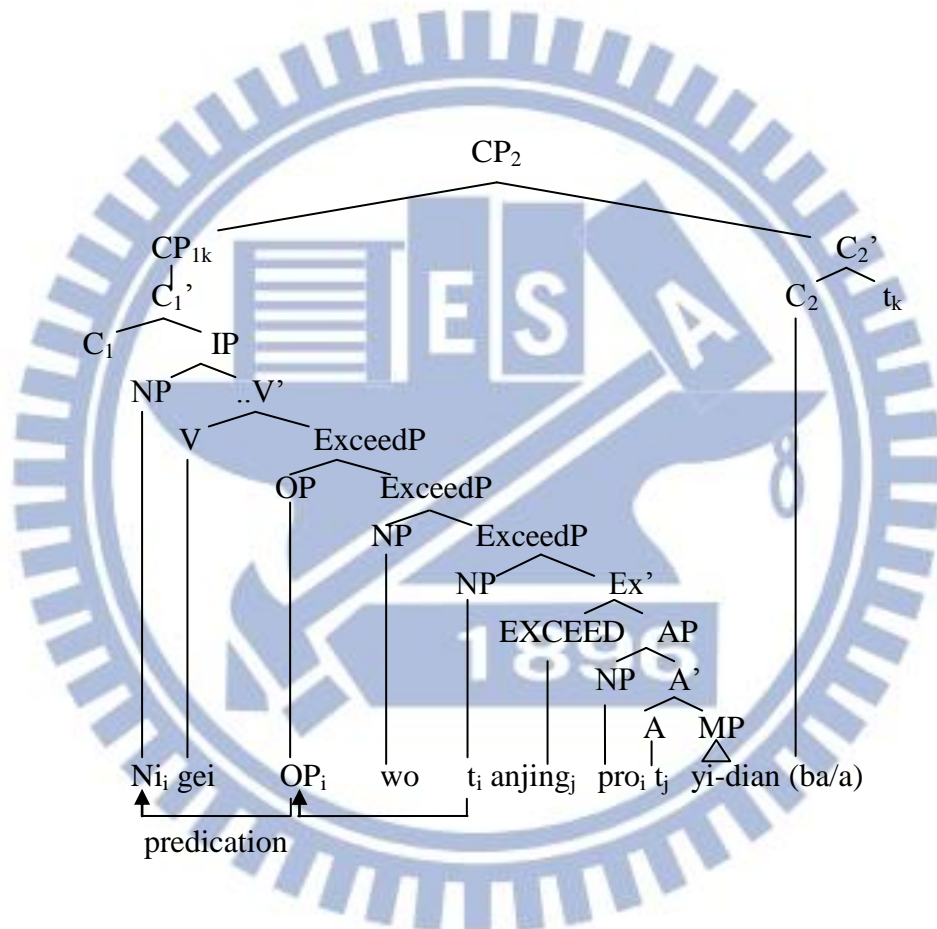
(Huang, 1999)



²² According to Huang 1999, Affectee is divided into Direct Affectee and Indirect Affectee. Direct Affectee is an object of a V'; the Indirect Affectee is an object of the VP. The Affectee mentioned in our paper is Indirect Affectee. As to more detail about Direct Affectee, please see (Huang 1999).

The *gei wo* construction discussed so far manifests that (78b) is not a pure PP deletion of (78a). Moreover, *gei wo* ‘give me’ is not even a constituent. *Gei* is a verb, and the NP *wo* ‘I’ is an outmost object of the lowest VP. The syntactic structure of (78a) is demonstrated in (86). It should be noticed that a covert SPF_{IMF} *ba* or *a* in the syntactic structure makes the whole sentence a CP.

(86)



5.3.2 Qing and Directive Illocutionary Force

According to Han (1999), imperative performs the directive illocutionary force. That is, Speaker requests Addressee to carry out the action that the imperative predicate expresses. In this part, I am going to argue that the directive illocutionary

force could be overtly realized as a verb *qing* ‘please’.²³ Moreover, it types the whole matrix sentence as an imperative. Hence, (87) is an imperative clause type with no doubt.

(87) *Qing ni guiju yidian.*

Please you well-behaved a-little

‘Please be a little more well-behaved than before.’

However, the directive force of the verb *qing* ‘please’ is deeply affected by the person features on its arguments. The directive force is strongest when two NP arguments of the verb *qing* ‘please’ refer to Speaker and Addressee (cf. (87)). It weakens if either of its NP arguments is characterized by the third person feature. The directive force of verb *qing* ‘please’ is the weakest when both NP arguments are third person NPs.

²³ The verb *qing* ‘please’ is an object control verb due to the fact that the object controller could not be deleted.

- (i) *Zhangsan qing *(Lisi) renzhen gongzuo.*
 Zhangsan please *(Lisi) seriously work
 ‘Zhangsan asks Lisi to work seriously.’

(88) a. Qing Zhangsan guiju yidian.

Please Zhangsan well-behaved a-little

‘(You) ask Zhangsan to be a little more well-behaved than before.’

b. Zhangsan qing ni guiju yidian.

Zhangsan please you well-behaved a-little

‘Zhangsan asks you to be a little more well-behaved than before.’

The external argument of the verb *qing* ‘please’ in (88a), refers to Speaker. The internal NP argument *Zhangsan* as a third person NP cannot be Addressee. Hence, the directive force of the verb *qing* in (88a) weakens. Likewise, given that the subject of *qing* in (88b) refers to a third person *Zhangsan* but not to Speaker, the directive force of the verb *qing* ‘please’ weakens, too. In order to make it a strong directive illocutionary marker, the NP *Zhangsan* must be viewed as a vocative, referring exclusively to Addressee (cf. (89)) .

(89) Zhangsan_i, qing ni_i guiju yidian.

Zhangsan please you well-behaved a-little

‘Zhangsan, please be a little more well-behaved than before.’

(90) Zhangsan zuotian qing Lisi guiju yidian.

Zhangsan yesterday please Lisi well-behaved a-little

‘Zhangsa asked Lisi to be a little more well-behaved yesterday.’

In cases of (90), because both arguments refer the third person NPs, the directive force of the verb *qing* ‘please’ is the weakest. (90) is even modified by the temporal adverb *zuotian* ‘yesterday’—a non-future oriented adverb is banned in the imperative clause type.

5.3.3 Theme Arguments in the A-imperative Construction

In this part, a contrast between (91) and (92) will be investigated. (91) is the A-imperative construction in our constant discussion. The controllable adjective *qianxu* ‘humble’ predicates the Agent subject *ni* ‘you’.

(91) Ni qianxu yidian.

You humble a-little

‘Be a little humbler than before.’

(92) Ni gao yidian.

You tall a-little

a. * ‘Be a little taller than before.’

b. ‘You cause (something) to be in a higher place.’

In terms of the predicate *gao* in (92), as what is discussed above, it cannot involve a ‘tall’ meaning, or a wrong interpretation (92a) would come out. That is, the command—being tall in (92a) is beyond Addressee’s control and violates the controllability requirement.

Besides, the imperative subject in (92) somehow seems to be Causer, but not a typical Agent in imperatives. An obvious example is demonstrated in (93).

(93) Ni tou gao yidian, shou di yidian.

You head high a-little, hand low a-little

‘Make your head higher and your hand lower.’

In (93), *ni* ‘you’ is Causer, *tou* ‘head’ and *shou* ‘hand’ are theme arguments possessing the property of high and low, respectively. The meaning of (93) is that Addressee *ni* ‘you’ CAUSES his head to BECOME in a higher place, and his hands

in a lower place. The causative use of *gao* ‘high’ is the result of ‘deadjectival’, which is rather productive in Archaic Chinese. (94) and (95) are adapted from Lin(2001), the light verb CAUSE takes AP as its complement, and the adjective *fu* ‘rich’ incorporates to CAUSE to generate the surface word order.

(94) Ranyou ue: "Ji shu yi, you heyi jia yen?"

Ranyou say now prosperous already more what add Q

Ue: "Fu zhi."

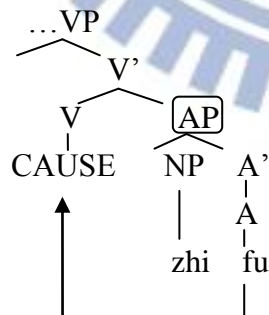
Say rich them

‘Ranyou asked: "Now the people have a stable life; what to add to them?"

‘Confucius said: "Make them rich.”’

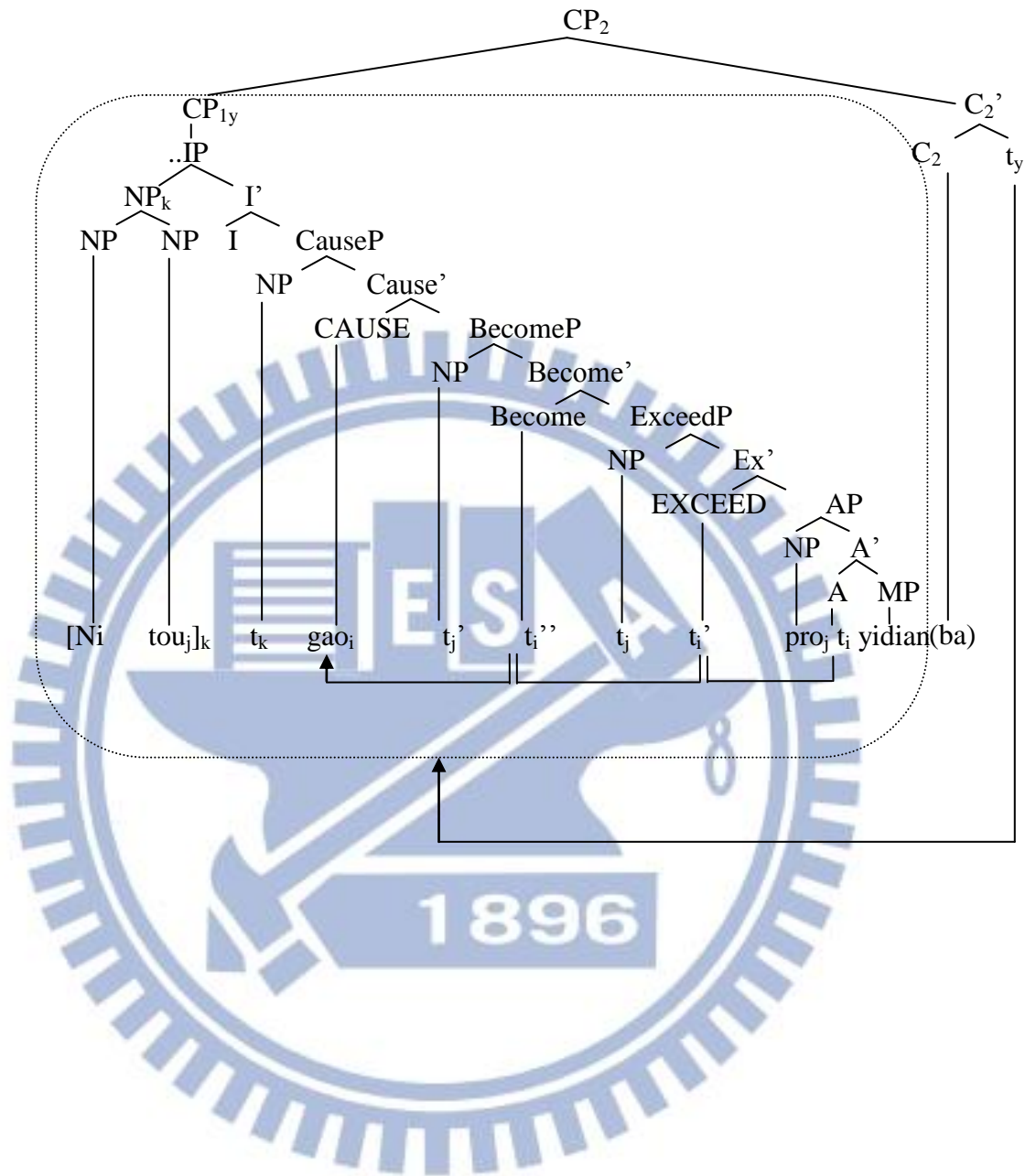
(Zilu, Lunyu, 500 BC.)

(95)



(96) displays the syntactic structure of (93). It is argued that *gao* ‘high’ changes from an adjective into a verb by cyclically moving into the head of CauseP.

(96)



CHAPTER 6

CONCLUDING REMARKS

In this paper, it is argued that the A-imperative construction is an imperative clause type and follows the strict VP constraint. The measure phrase *yidian* ‘a little’ in positive A-imperatives and the degree adverbs *tai* ‘too’ in negative A-imperatives both work the function to derive the degree change and make adjectives in the A-imperatives dynamic.

Additionally, the A-imperative construction conveying a sense of self-comparison involves an ExceedP. Adjectives in this construction then move upward to the vP head and form verbs.

Interestingly, in order to follow the strict VP constraint, Chinese and English adopt different strategies to make adjectives occur in imperatives. English draws support from the auxiliary *be*; Chinese projects an ExceedP. Why don't adjectives in Chinese, just like those in English, draw support from the auxiliary *shi* ‘be’? Isn't it a simpler way to follow the strict VP constraint?

According to Radford (2004), a finite T in present-day English has a strong AUX-feature which enables it to merge with a modal (cf.(97b)) or to attract an auxiliary to raise to T (cf.(98b)). Therefore, adjectival predicates in finite sentences

need the auxiliary *be* to satisfy the strong AUX-feature. Owing to the English imperative involves a covert modal in T (according Han (1999)), the auxiliary *be* does not further raise to the TP head (cf.(99b)). By contrast, Chinese is not a tense language, so there is no T with a strong AUX-feature. Hence, the auxiliary *shi* ‘be’ is not used (cf.(100b)).

(97) a. She may not be suitable.

b. $[_{CP} [_{C} \emptyset] [_{TP} \text{She } [_{T} \text{may}] [_{VP} \text{not } [_{V} \text{be}] \text{suitable}]]]$.

(98) a. She is not suitable.

b. $[_{CP} [_{C} \emptyset] [_{TP} \text{She } [_{T} \text{is}] [_{VP} \text{not } [_{V} \text{is}] \text{suitable}]]]$.

(99) a. Be quiet.

b. $[_{CP} [_{C} \emptyset] [_{TP} \text{pro } [_{T} \text{covert deontic modal}] [_{VP} [_{V} \text{be}] \text{quiet}]]]$.

(100) a. *Shi qianxu.

Be humble

‘Be humble.’

b. $*[_{CP} [_{C} \emptyset] [_{TP} \text{pro } [_{T} \text{covert deontic modal}] [_{VP} [_{V} \text{shi}] \text{qianxu}]]]$.

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