

Interactional Functions of Imperative turns in Mandarin Conversation

by

Stefana Vukadinovich

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of East Asian Studies

University of Alberta

© Stefana Vukadinovich, 2019

Abstract

This study examines the use of imperative turns in naturalistic Mandarin interaction. Imperatives in Mandarin are defined as sentences expressing a command (e.g., Chao 1968; Li & Thompson 1981; Sun 2006). Previous research has described that imperatives can be used as requests, demands, suggestions, etc. (e.g., Yuan 1993; Lee-Wong 1994; Gao 1999; Zhang 2013). However, those studies are based on invented language examples or questionnaires, not authentic Mandarin conversational data. Thus, our knowledge about how imperative turns are used in Mandarin interaction is still limited.

Adopting the methodology of Conversation Analysis, Interactional Linguistics, and Multimodal Analysis, this study explores the interactional functions of imperative turns in 12 hours of video-recorded everyday Mandarin interactional data. Imperative turns occur in initiating position in local sequences and conversational storytellings. Particularly, among all the functions of imperatives in initiating position, request is the most frequent. Imperative turns may also be used to accomplish proposals. The third major function of imperative turns in the data is to perform the action of suggestion. The production of imperative turns co-occurs with bodily-visual behaviors, such as gestures and gaze at relevant objects. Findings of this study contribute to our understanding of how imperative turns are actually produced and used in Mandarin interaction.

Key words: imperative turns; interactional functions; Conversation Analysis; Interactional Linguistics; Multimodal Analysis; Mandarin conversation

Acknowledgement

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor, Professor Xiaoting Li, for her enthusiasm, continuous support, and useful remarks throughout the learning process of this master thesis. She steered me in the right direction whenever I needed it.

I would also like to thank Professor Tsuyoshi Ono (East Asian Studies Department, University of Alberta) and Professor Jennifer Dailey-O’Cain (Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies, University of Alberta) for offering valuable comments during my study and research.

My sincere gratitude goes to the Mitacs Globalink Research Award for financial support to complete my research. I highly appreciate the opportunity given me in pursuit of this academic endeavor.

Last but not least, I must express my gratitude to my parents, Jovan and Natalia, and my spouse, Sebastian, for their love and unfailing support throughout the years.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction	1
1.1 Imperatives in Mandarin	1
1.1.1 Imperative forms in Mandarin	1
1.1.2 Imperative mood in Mandarin	5
1.2 Imperative turns	6
1.2.1 Turn, turn-constructural unit, and sequence organization in conversation	7
1.2.2 Imperative turns	7
1.3 Research questions.....	9
1.4 Organization of the thesis	9
Chapter 2 Literature review	10
2.1 Research on imperative sentences in Mandarin.....	10
2.2 Studies on imperatives in other languages.....	16
2.3 Summary.....	20
Chapter 3 Methodology	22
3.1 Data.....	22
3.2 Methodology.....	24
3.2.1 Conversation Analysis	24
3.2.2 Interactional Linguistics.....	26
3.2.3 Multimodal Analysis.....	27
3.3 Identification of social action types	27

3.4 Summary	28
Chapter 4 Interactional Functions of Imperative turns	29
4.1 An overview of the data	29
4.2 Requests	30
4.3 Proposals	49
4.4 Suggestions	63
4.5 Imperative turns in conversational storytellings	74
4.6 Summary	80
Chapter 5 Conclusions	82
5.1 Findings.....	82
5.2 Implications and Limitations	83
Bibliography	85
Appendix A.....	93
Appendix B.....	94

List of Tables

Table 1 Distinctive dimensions of Proposals, Offers, Requests, and Suggestions	28
Table 2 Occurrences of imperative turns in different sequential environments in the data	29
Table 3 An overview of the three main functions of imperative turns	30

List of Figures

Figure 1 Bai points at the chopsticks at <i>gei wo ge kuaizi gei wo ge</i> in line 7.....	33
Figure 2 Huang (in yellow) points at the chopsticks at <i>ni yong na ge</i> in line 8.....	34
Figure 3 Lan picks up the chopsticks at <i>shuang kuaizi</i> in line 9.....	34
Figure 4 Ren moves hand towards Shu, while Shu is gazing at the bracelet at <i>ni kan</i> in line 10.	38
Figure 5 Shu gazes at the bracelet at <i>ni kan wo zhe ge pingguo</i> in line 11.....	39
Figure 6 Shu gazes at the bracelet more attentively at <i>ni zixin kan zher</i> in line 12	40
Figure 7 Shu moves her head towards Ren’s bracelet at <i>shi dou bei wo keguo</i> in line 15	41
Figure 8 Wei leaves the room in lines 1-3	44
Figure 9 Lei pats Tao’s shoulder at <i>chu</i> in line 8.....	45
Figure 10 Tao is standing up at <i>yong wo yingjun</i> in line 13	46
Figure 11 Wang starts walking while Yun is producing <i>liao</i> in line 3	50
Figure 12 Wang makes a pointing gesture while producing <i>jiu qu nar</i> in line 4.....	51
Figure 13 Ren’s gesture in line 7 is turning over the puzzles while producing <i>kan beimian de shuzi</i>	55
Figure 14 Shu starts turning over the puzzles at <i>wo shi na zhong yao</i> in line 10	56
Figure 15 Hu gazes at Lei and makes a hand gesture at <i>da</i> in line 5	72

Chapter 1 Introduction

This chapter provides the relevant background for the present study. Section 1.1 describes imperatives in Mandarin. Specifically, Section 1.1.1 provides an overview of imperative forms in Mandarin and Section 1.1.2 describes imperative mood. Section 1.2 discusses the imperative turns in Mandarin interaction. Section 1.3 poses research questions for this study. Finally, the organization of the thesis is provided in Section 1.4.

1.1 Imperatives in Mandarin

1.1.1 Imperative forms in Mandarin

Imperatives are defined as utterances that command, demand, request, or suggest someone do or not do something (Yuan 1993). Imperatives can be realized as such syntactic forms as words, clauses, and phrases in spoken Mandarin.

(1) Phrases

The simplest form of an imperative sentence is a phrase, including verb phrase (VP), noun phrase (NP), and adjective phrase (AP). The use of a VP in forming an imperative sentence is shown in Example 1.

Example 1 (Li & Thompson 1981:451)

吃

chi

eat

‘Eat!’

When an NP represents the object(s) that is desired by a speaker, an NP can also constitute an imperative sentence (Chao 1968:60). For example:

Excerpt 2 (Li & Thompson 1981:452)

一 杯 茶

yi bei cha

one glass tea

‘A glass of tea’

Studies also document that adjectives can compose imperative sentences.

Example 7 (Sun 2006:182)

快 一点

kuai yidian

fast a-point

‘A bit quicker’

(2) Clauses

An imperative sentence can be composed of a clause. Common clausal imperative forms are second-person singular pronoun + VP (Example 3), and a second-person plural pronoun + VP (Excerpt 4).

Example 3 (Sun 2006:181)

你 过 来!

ni guo lai

you pass come

‘You, come!’

Example 4 (Li & Thompson 1981:452)

你们 快 去 睡觉

nimen kuai qu shuijiao

you fast go sleep

‘Go to bed quickly (all of you)!’

An imperative sentence may be in the form of a first-person plural pronoun and a VP (Example 5).

Example 5 (Liu, Pan & Gu 2001:811)

我们 马上 离开 这里

women mashang likai zheli

we immediately leave here

‘Let’s leave here right away.’

(3) Polite form of imperative sentences

Words and contractions can be used to soften the force of imperative sentences and convey polite form. They are: *qing* (invite) (Example 6), *mafan* (to trouble), *yidian* (a little bit) (Example 7), and *yixia* (once) (Chao 1968; Li & Thompson 1981; Sun 2006).

Example 6 (Li & Thompson: 1981:453)

请 你 用 菜

qing ni yong cai

please you use food

‘Please eat.’

Example 7 (Zhu 1982:205)

咱们 把 这 个 问题 再 研究 一下!

zanmen ba zhe ge wenti zai yanjiu yixia

we BA this CL problem again study a little

‘Let’s take a look at this issue again.’

(4) Negative imperatives

Negative imperatives can be expressed with the constructions *bu-yao* (don’t), *bu-bi* (not necessary), *bu-yong* (not use), *buxu* (must not), *buzhun* (not to allow), and also with negative imperative particle *bie*. For example,

Example 8 (Li & Thompson 1981:455)

你 别 打 人

ni bie da ren

you don't hit person

'Don't hit anyone!'

(5) Sentence-final particles in imperative sentences

A variety of sentence-final particles can be used in imperative sentences (e.g., Li & Thompson 1981; Hang 1988; Qi & Zhu 2005) to reduce the force of imperative sentences or solicit agreement.

Example 9 (Li & Thompson 1981:461)

我们 起 来 吧

women qi lai ba

we rise come PRT

'Let's get up.'

Based on the previous research, this study explores the interactional functions of the various forms of imperatives in Mandarin interaction.

1.1.2 Imperative mood in Mandarin

Palmer (1986) argues that “‘mood’ traditionally restricted to a category expressed in verbal morphology” (Palmer 1986:21). However, Palmer (1986) adds later that in some languages mood is not expressed “within the verbal morphology” (Palmer 1986:21). That is, mood can be understood as a set of forms that can be used to indicate modality. Modality then refers to a

speaker's attitude towards the expressed proposition (Halliday 1994). One important means of expressing mood in Mandarin is *yuqici* (modal particles). They are sentence-final particles like *a*, *ma*, *ba*, *ne*, sentence-final *de* and *le* (Chao 1968; Hu 1988). In Mandarin Chinese auxiliary verbs also express modality. Li & Thompson (1981) argue that “auxiliary verbs:

- must co-occur with a verb (or an “understood” verb);
- does not take aspect markers;
- cannot be modified by intensifiers, such as *hen* (very) or *geng* (even more);
- cannot be nominalized;
- cannot occur before the subject;
- cannot take a direct object.”

(Li & Thompson 1981:173-174)

Declarative, interrogative, imperative, and subjunctive are recognized as different moods at the sentential level. According to Chappell & Peyraube (2016), the minimal form of the imperative mood in Sinitic languages, including Mandarin Chinese, can be a verb with exclamatory intonation (Chappell & Peyraube 2016:17). According to *Xiandai hanyu xuci lishi* (Exemplification of Modern Chinese Function Words), modal particles that are used to express imperative mood can be grouped from strong to weak ones as follows: *la*, *le*, *a*, *ba*, *yo*, *ma*, and *bei*. Pan (2009) argues that *hao bu hao* (good or not) is also used to achieve imperative mood, such as to command or refute something (Pan 2009:51).

1.2 Imperative turns

Before discussing imperative turns in Mandarin interaction, the notions of turns, turn-constructional units, and sequence will be introduced.

1.2.1 Turn, turn-constructive unit, and sequence organization in conversation

One of the main features of conversation is that people take turns in talk (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974). A turn's size or length is not fixed. Participants use syntactic, prosodic, and bodily-visual resources to indicate and interpret the possible turn completion (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Selting 2000; Li 2014). Each turn consists of one, two, or more turn constructive units (TCUs). Schegloff (2007) describes TCUs as "the building blocks out of which turns are fashioned" (Schegloff 2007:3). He describes three resources that help to build and recognize TCUs: grammar, phonetic realization, and action in context (Schegloff 2007:3-4). Each action is monitored by participants and the reason for that is: "the action that a speaker might be doing in or with an utterance may have implications for what action should or might be done in the next turn as a response to it" (Schegloff 2007:2). If a turn consists of one TCU, it is single-unit turn; if a turn consists of multiple TCUs, it is a multi-unit turn.

Conversation consists of sequences of actions. The simplest organization of a sequence is adjacency pairs that consist of two turns performing two actions: a turn in the first position initiates an action and a turn in the second, or responsive, position provides a response to the initiating action (Schegloff 2007).

Imperative turns in the first position can perform the action of requesting. In this case, requesting makes granting or declining the relevant next responses.

1.2.2 Imperative turns

To my knowledge, the notion of "imperative turn" is proposed for the first time in the volume edited by Sorjonen et al. (2017). An imperative turn is an utterance which has an imperative form

that directs someone to do something in talk-in-interaction. I use Sorjonen's (2017) definition in this study. Specifically, any turn that has an imperative form in Mandarin (introduced in Section 1.1.1) and directs the participant(s) to do something is considered as imperative turn. Imperatives can be the only unit in a turn or a TCU in multi-unit turn (Sorjonen et al. 2017: 9). In this study, imperative turns also refer to both single-unit turns that are composed of one imperative sentence as the only TCU (Example 9), and multi-unit turns where an imperative sentence is one of the TCUs (Example 10).

Example 9

01 Mei: 把 鞋 脱 了 吧;
ba xie tuo le ba;
BA shoes take off CRS PRT
'Take off (your) shoes'

Example 9 demonstrates a single-unit turn, consisting of one imperative sentence as the only TCU. Example 10 illustrates the use of imperative sentences in multi-unit turn. There are two TCUs in the turn, and the imperative sentence occupies only one TCU.

Example 10

01 Tao: 你看,
ni kan
you look
'Look,'

02 (0.5)

03 这个紫色的都是爷爷；

zhe ge zise de dou shi yeye

this CL purple ASSC all be grandfather

‘These purple (puzzles) are all (parts of) the grandfather.’

1.3 Research questions

The previous studies mostly focus on the forms and categorizations of imperatives sentences based on invented language examples. Those studies will be reviewed in Chapter 2. The current study fills the gap in the literature by examining how imperative turns are actually used in naturalistic Mandarin interaction. I intend to explore their interactional uses by addressing the following research questions:

1. What are the interactional functions of imperative turns in Mandarin interaction?
2. How are linguistic and bodily-visual resources used to construct imperative turns?

1.4 Organization of the thesis

This thesis structure is organized as follows. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the previous studies on imperatives in Mandarin and other languages. An overview of the data and methodologies is presented in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 reports the findings of the interactional functions of imperative turns. Finally, Chapter 5 summarizes the findings and discusses the implications, and limitations of this study.

Chapter 2 Literature review

This chapter provides a brief review of the existing literature on imperatives in Mandarin and other languages. First, I will introduce the previous research on imperative sentences in Mandarin (Section 2.1). Second, I will discuss existing studies on imperatives in other languages (Section 2.2).

2.1 Research on imperative sentences in Mandarin

The previous research on imperative sentences in Mandarin has mainly focused on two aspects: 1) the morphosyntactic structures and functions of imperative sentences, and 2) the use of imperatives in performing requests.

The first body of research documents the structure and functions of imperatives. Li & Thompson (1981) defines imperative sentences as the sentences expressing a command. They admit, however, that it is complicated to divide commands and non-commands, because “in normal social interaction, it is often desirable to avoid giving direct orders” (Li & Thompson 1981: 451). People tend to soften an imperative command using such words and phrases as *qing* (invite), *mafan* (to trouble), *yidian* (a little bit), *yixia* (once), *laojia* (trouble you) and sentence-final particle *ba*. Negative imperative sentences are expressed with the constructions *bu-yao* (don't), *bu-bi* (not necessary) and *bu-yong* (not use), and also with negative imperative particle *bie*.

In Chao (1968), imperative sentences are described as a part of ‘minor sentences’, that mostly consist of noun phrases or verb phrases. Chao (1968) also calls imperatives “commands”. He argues that an ‘actor word’, i.e., subject, is often omitted in this type of sentences.

Zhu (1982) proposes that imperative sentences request or demand a person to do a specific action. Zhu (1982) also argues that sentences can only be evaluated whether they are imperatives or declaratives when their contexts are taken into consideration. For instance, the sentences *Xiaoyun qu ba men guanshang* ‘Xiaoyun go BA door close’ can be either declarative or imperative. Depending on the context, the previous sentence may be a declarative with the meaning ‘Xiaoyun goes to close the door’. It may also be an imperative with the meaning ‘Xiaoyun, go to close the door’. Describing negative sentences, he argues that negative particle *bie* and *bu-yong* (not use) construct stronger negative sentences than *beng* (need not) and *bu-yao* (don’t).

The study of Zhang, Fan & Zhang (2001) shows that Mandarin imperatives perform such actions as order, request, and suggestion. Zhang, Fan & Zhang (2001) classifies imperatives into positive and negative imperatives. Positive imperatives are used to make an order, suggestion, or request. Negative imperative forbids the recipient to do something. Apart from the negators described in other studies, Zhang, Fan & Zhang (2001) considers *shao* (be short), *buxu* (must not), and *buzhun* (not to allow) as the words which also can construct negative imperative sentences.

Liu et al. (2001) defines imperative sentences as sentences that can either command or request someone to do or not do something (Liu et al. 2001:810). They also consider that noun phrases have the potential to form an imperative sentence when a recipient can see or understand which object is being requested. Moreover, in some rare cases, an adverb can constitute an imperative sentence. For instance, in a particular environment, if a speaker produces *ganjin* (hurry), he/she makes a request for action.

Yuan (1993) proposes that imperatives in Mandarin Chinese consist of a subject and predicate, where a subject can be omitted. Imperatives are mainly used to demand a recipient to do or not to do something. Apart from the forms discussed in preceding studies, he describes adjectives which can construct an imperative sentence: [*hai bu kuai* + VP?] ('still NEG quick + VP?') and [second-person singular + *shao* + VP + *xingbuxing*] ('second-person singular + stop + VP + OK'). Yuan (1993) also classifies three syntactic formats for imperatives: [Adj. + *yidianr*] ('Adj + a little'), [*biebu* + Adj.] ('don't be + Adj. '), and [*bie* + Adj.] ('negative particle + Adj. '). Yuan (1993) argues that imperatives have six functions: command, prohibition, suggestion, advice, begging (for forgiveness), and requests. He discusses that sentences expressing a suggestion and advice are commonly used with the final sentence particles *ba* and *le*; imperatives with the functions of commands and prohibitions are [pronoun + VP]; request and begging are often used with modal words *qing* (please), *laojia* (trouble), and final particle *ba*. Yuan (1993) is one of the most systematic and comprehensive books on Mandarin imperative sentences. However, as previously reviewed research, this study describes imperatives based on the author's own introspection.

In her dissertation on imperative sentences, Zhang (2014) explores the syntactic structure and function of imperative sentences. According to Zhang (2014), a sentence is imperative, when a speaker producing the sentence with imperative form wants a recipient to do a certain action. That is, the speaker's intention coincides with the literal meaning of the sentence. Zhang (2014) pays special attention to the modal verbs that can be used in imperative sentences. Zhang (2014) categorizes those modal verbs into three categories. The first category represents permission: *neng* (can), *nenggou* (can, be able to), and *keyi* (can, may); the second is related to obligations: *dei* (have to, must), *gai* (ought to, should), *yingdang* (ought to, should), and *yinggai* (should);

and the last one is used to express the wish or desire: *yao* (need to). Zhang (2014) is one of the first to describe so many functions of imperatives. They are: command, instruction, threaten, console, warning, begging, request, and suggestion.

Scholars also describe the sentence-final particles in imperative sentences. Zhang, Fan & Zhang (2001) describes that final particles *ba*, *le*, and *a* are often used at the end of imperative sentences. Li & Thompson (1981) argues when particle *ba* is used with the first-person pronoun in imperative sentences, Mandarin speakers seek to achieve an agreement from the hearer. Yang (1988) focuses solely on sentence-final and post-verbal particles in Mandarin. According to this study, final-sentence particles *ba* and *a* are the most favored in imperative sentences. It is also mentioned that particle *ne* can occur in an imperative sentence, “but the addition of this particle seems to result in a change of the sentence type: from an imperative into an interrogative” (Yang 1988:50). In their study on particles in imperatives, Qi & Zhu (2005) argues that other particles such as *le*, *ya*, and *na* are used as well. Based on a corpus of modern Chinese, they find that particles are mostly used in positive imperative sentences. Among these particles, final-sentence particle *ba* is the most frequently used in positive sentences. In negative sentences, Qi & Zhu (2005) observes that a combination of particles *le* and *a* is the most common. There is, however, a particle that is widely used in both positive and negative sentences. It is the final particle *a*.

The aforementioned research on Mandarin imperative sentences mainly focuses on morphosyntactic structures and functions of imperatives. However, their study is not based on empirical data, and all language examples in the previous research are invented sentences. Hence, their findings do not reflect how imperatives are used in real life.

The second body of the research on imperatives is in the context of studying requests in Mandarin. Lee-Wong (1994) studies the ways in which people achieve politeness in making

requests in Mandarin. She describes that there are social and cultural implications of requests: the contextualisation of power, social distance, a ranking of imposition, sincerity, and solidarity. The data in the study are interviews and questionnaires. She shows that, unlike English and most other European languages, imperatives are the preferred form to make a request in Mandarin Chinese. In addition, requests are used for the purpose of economy and clarity. Unlike the previously reviewed research, this study uses the data from interviews and questionnaires. However, the methodological problem with this type of data is that speakers' perception of how and when they use imperative sentences may differ from how they actually use imperatives in real-life interaction.

Gao's (1999) research on Chinese requests also shows that imperatives are commonly used to make a request in Mandarin. Gao (1999) mentions that *qing* (please) is the most commonly used word to soften an utterance and achieve politeness. Her findings support Lee-Wong's (1994) observation that imperative is a preferred format to make a request in Mandarin. This study has again based its argument on decontextualized invented sentences. The speaker's use of imperative requests in real-life interaction remains unexplored.

Chen, He and Hu (2013) problematizes previous findings that Mandarin requests are mostly performed through imperative sentences. They use the same methodology as Hill et al. (1986), which is drawn on participants' questionnaire responses to how they think they would make a request to borrow a pen. After examining the questionnaire responses, they conclude that Chinese speakers tend to use interrogative or declarative sentences to make requests. However, their findings should be treated with caution, because the questionnaires are not the most accurate source of data to reveal how speakers really make requests. Similar to Lee-Wong

(1994), their data reveal people's *perception* of how they use requests, rather than how they *actually make* requests in real-life conversation.

To my knowledge, Rue & Zhang (2008) is the only study that examines Mandarin imperatives based on interactional data in natural conversations and a role-play setting. They investigate patterns of request speech acts in Mandarin and Korean interactions and how the patterns of requests are related to social factors such as power status and familiarity. They adopt a modified version of Blum-Kulka's et al. (1989) theoretical and methodological framework. Particularly, Rue & Zhang (2008) codes request utterances according to Blum-Kulka's (1989) classification: openers, head acts, internal modifications, and external modifications (Blum-Kulka et al. 1989:17). Rue & Zhang (2008) modifies Blum-Kulka's (1989) coding scheme to adopt for Chinese and Korean data. The data were collected in medium-sized companies in China and Korea. The role-play data are used in this research to examine the effect of social variables on the realization of requests. After the comparison of two types of data, they find that Mandarin imperative requests are more frequently used in natural conversations than in role-plays. That is, in naturally-occurring Mandarin interaction, speakers tend to use imperatives to make a request. Rue & Zhang's (2008) study on Mandarin requests distinguishes itself from other research in that it uses empirical data. Although it reveals the use of imperative requests in workplace interaction, Rue & Zhang (2008) focuses on requests rather than imperatives. Also, their findings rely on role-play data, while the current study exclusively uses naturalistic interactional data.

It can be seen that the preceding research has relied on invented language samples or questionnaires, with the exception of Rue & Zhang (2008). None of the studies show how

imperatives are used in actual Mandarin conversation. Thus, the present study fills this gap by examining the interactional uses of imperatives in real-life Mandarin conversation.

2.2 Studies on imperatives in other languages

Imperatives are not only studied in Mandarin but also well researched in other languages. Many studies seek to uncover the grammatical features and functions of imperative sentences in languages other than Mandarin. Xrakovskij et al. (2001) is a book volume that includes the studies of imperative sentences across 23 languages. In the first part of the volume, theoretical aspects and problems of imperatives are discussed by Xrakovskij (2001). He argues that a speaker produces an imperative sentence when he/she tells a hearer what should or should not be done (Xrakovskij 2001). Imperatives not only include command, but also other actions such as demand, request, suggestion, prohibition, permission, instruction. The second part of the volume is dedicated to the imperative constructions in different languages. The studies are divided based on *imperative paradigms*, i.e. imperative forms. For instance, such languages as Armenian (Kozintseva 2001), Modern Hebrew (Malygina 2001), German (Kibardina 2001), Hausa (Dobronravin & Smirnova 2001), and North Russian Romani dialect (Rusakov 2001) are grouped under the section where imperatives can be constructed from imperative forms as well as non-imperative forms of verbs. There are also sections on the languages that have: person and number paradigm only in imperatives or in imperatives and other types of sentences, verb forms comprising auxiliary verbs, and languages without imperative paradigms. Studies in this volume make an important contribution to our understandings of the grammatical structures of imperatives from a cross-linguistic perspective. However, the use of imperatives in interaction in the 23 languages is not within the scope of the studies in the book volume.

Aikhenvald (2010) explores the grammatical forms of imperatives and commands based on the materials of 700 different languages. She proposes that imperatives are not necessarily used as a command. Imperatives can vary in the degree of force, from a strict order to a soft and mild command. She argues that, apart from commands, imperative sentences can perform the following functions: requests, advice, instructions, invitations, threats, and giving ultimatums. Moreover, imperatives are not the only way to express a command. Interrogative and declarative sentences also can be used to make a command. She divides imperatives into *canonical* and *non-canonical* imperatives (Aikhenvald 2010:17). Canonical imperative sentences are those that are composed of second-person form and a verb phrase and other forms are considered as non-canonical imperatives. Her study aims to find common morpho-syntactic forms of imperatives across a wide range of languages: American, Scottish, and Australian English, French, Estonian, German, Arabic, Hindi, Japanese, Serbian, Turkish, Urdu, etc. Aikhenvald (2010) describes languages in which word order in imperatives differs from other types of sentences. She argues that in Romance languages “clitic pronouns may occur in a different order in imperative clauses, and in statements” (Aikhenvald 2010:96). Further, she describes how imperatives interact with other grammatical categories relating to the addressee and verbal action. Although Aikhenvald (2010) mentions the phonological aspects of imperatives, she does not further describe, for instance, what part an intonation plays in the functions of imperatives, or how the intonation in imperatives differs across the languages. She also argues that people tend to use declarative or interrogative forms over imperatives to avoid threatening the face of the recipient. Her findings support Brown & Levinson’s (1987) theory on face. This study is unique because it describes imperatives in a wide range of languages. However, Aikhenvald’s (2010) investigation is not based on empirical data in those languages.

Vine (2004) explores power and syntactic forms of speech acts in workplace and everyday interaction in English language. Based on audio-recorded everyday interactions and video-recorded workplace meetings, she investigates control acts (directive, request, and advice) and their grammatical forms. The results show that 38% of explicit control acts are performed through imperatives. In addition, the study also describes how imperatives and other directive forms show social relationships between speakers. It shows that managers mostly use declarative sentences directing, requesting or advising senior staff. Imperative forms in manager-senior staff interaction account for only 28% of explicit directive control acts. This study distinguishes itself from other research in that 1) it is based on face-to-face interactional data, and 2) it addresses the relevance of social relationships to the selection of linguistic forms in performing directives in workplace interaction.

Developed from the previous research on the grammatical forms of imperative sentences, recent studies have focused on the interactional uses of imperative sentences in some European languages such as English, Italian, German, French, Russian, and Polish. Rossi (2012) discusses how Italian speakers make a choice of imperative or interrogative forms depending on whether the requested action is low-cost or high-cost. He argues that requests are produced differently if an action is part of an established joint activity between the speaker and recipient (bilateral action) or if the requested action is solely beneficial to the speaker's interests (unilateral). Specifically, he finds that imperatives are used in bilateral requests. The findings that he documents contribute to our understanding of how people make requests using different forms. This functional distinction of the imperative and interrogative requests is not systematically discussed in previous studies. Continuing his discussion on the use of requests in Italian, Rossi

(2017) describes imperative requests that benefit only the speaker (non-bilateral), but are congruent with the recipient's action.

Couper-Kuhlen (2014) uncovers that recipients can rely on the linguistic design of a turn to understand which action – request, suggestion, proposal, or offer – is being produced. Analyzing English interaction, she describes how participants distinguish the directive-commissive actions and shape responses to these actions. Specifically, participants recognize who will be the agent and the beneficiary of future action. For instance, if the agent of the action is a recipient, and a speaker will benefit from this action, then the action being produced is a request. When both participants are agents and beneficiaries, the action is a proposal. The speaker makes a suggestion when both the beneficiary and the agent are the recipient. Producing an offer, the speaker volunteers to be the agent of the action from which recipient will benefit. That is, recipients analyze the initiated action and provide relevant responses to these actions. In the current study, I also use Couper-Kuhlen's (2014) distinction to indicate what type of action an imperative turn performs.

Recent studies have documented a series of other interactional factors that may affect the linguistic design and uses of imperative turns in interaction. Mondada (2017) reports that, due to the degree of urgency, speakers tend to use imperative to direct people to do something. Such imperatives are compatible with the participant's ongoing line of actions. Bolden (2017) investigates the use of imperative requests for here-and-now action in Russian conversation. Similarly, to the previous findings on Mandarin requests, Russian speakers tend to use the imperative form in requests. Unmitigated and "plain" imperative requests, however, are not perceived negatively by the recipients. Zinken & Deppermann (2017) illustrates that the

requester produces imperative turns with a simple syntactic structure when requestee is oriented to the action.

The review of the previous research on imperatives in other languages shows that the linguistic forms and interactional uses of imperatives are better documented in European languages such as English, Italian, Polish, Russian, German, and French. The design of imperative turns in accomplishing actions, such as requests, is closely related to factors embedded in interaction, such as joint activity, beneficiary status, the nature of the requested action, etc. The studies contribute to our understanding of how speakers producing imperative turns accomplish different actions. However, our knowledge about Mandarin imperatives in naturalistic interaction is still limited. Thus, the present study explores the interactional functions of imperative turns in Mandarin interaction.

2.3 Summary

In this chapter, I first reviewed the research on imperative sentences in Mandarin Chinese. Most studies describe imperatives as commands (Chao 1968; Li & Thompson 1981; Zhu 1982; Sun 2006). Previous research has also described the functions of imperative sentences in Mandarin as commands, requests, suggestions, etc. (Yuan 1993; Lee-Wong 1994; Gao 1999; Liu, Pan & Gu 2001; Zhang, Fan & Zhang 2001; Zhang 2014; Rue & Zhang 2008; Che, He & Hu 2013). Imperatives have also been investigated in other languages. Some cross-linguistic studies explore similar features of imperatives in different languages (Xrakovskij 2001; Aikhenvald 2010). Other research explores the use of imperatives in real-life interactional settings (Vine 2004; Rossi 2014, 2017; Couper-Kuhlen 2014; Mondada 2017; Bolden 2017; Zinken & Deppermann 2017). A review of the previous literature shows that there is no systematic study of how imperatives

are used in naturalistic Mandarin interaction. Before proceeding to investigate the interactional uses of imperatives in the Mandarin data, in the following chapter I will discuss the methodology used in the current study.

Chapter 3 Methodology

3.1 Data

The data for this study consist of 12 hours of video-recorded naturalistic, everyday Mandarin interactions. The participants are 32 native Mandarin speakers, including 26 women and six men who are aged between 20 to 50. They are friends and colleagues. There are 10 interactions including four dyads, two triads, four tetrads, and one pentad. Each interaction lasts between 60 and 120 minutes. The interactions were recorded in the following cities: Beijing, Shanghai, Changchun, and Taiyuan in China, and Edmonton in Canada. The interactions include various settings such as chatting casually, doing puzzles, walking, cooking, and conversing at the dinner-table. The data were transcribed according to the GAT-2 transcription system (Selting et al. 2011) with modifications necessary for Mandarin Chinese (Li 2014). A sample of transcribed data is presented as follows:

Excerpt 1

- 01 Sun: 你 看;
ni kan;
you look at
'Look'
- 02 (1.0)
- 03 Li: 嗯;;;
en::;

mm

‘Mm’

04 (1.0)

05 Sun: 还 给 她 做 煎饼,

hai gei ta zuo jianbing,

also give 3SG make pancakes

‘(They) also made pancakes for her,’

06 还 怕 糊了 搁 那儿 看着;

hai pa hule ge nar kanzhe;

also fear be burnt place there look at

‘also, being afraid to overcook, (she had to wait) there to look after

(the pancakes)’

07 (2.0)

08 Li: 嗯:::

en:::

mm

‘Mm’

Each line represents an intonation unit. The numbers on the left represent the sequences of intonation units. When an intonation unit is longer than the space allowed in one line, the intonation unit is divided into two lines. The second column represents the pseudonyms of the participants. According to Li (in print), there are three options to represent spoken Chinese for international readers: one-line transcription, three-line transcription, and four-line transcription (Li in print:41). In this study, the dialogs are transcribed into four lines. The first line is the Chinese characters. The second line provides *pinyin* (official romanization system annotating the pronunciation of Chinese characters) for each corresponding character. The third line offers a word-by-word English translation of the characters above. The fourth line represents the free translation in idiomatic English.

3.2 Methodology

The methodologies adopted in this study are Conversation Analysis, Interactional Linguistics, and Multimodal Analysis. The three methodologies will be introduced in Section 3.2.1, Section 3.2.2 and Section 3.2.3.

3.2.1 Conversation Analysis

Conversation Analysis (hereafter CA) is a qualitative research approach that studies talk-in-interaction using recordings of naturally occurring conversational data. CA is developed by Harvey Sacks and his collaborators. Earlier studies of Schegloff (1968), Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974), and Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) establish the basic notions of CA such as turn-

taking, repair mechanism, and conditional relevance. Through “next-turn proof procedure”, conversation analysts seek to discover how participants orient to each other’s turns at talk (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson 1974; Hutchby & Wooffitt 1998). It can be summarized as follows: “The display of those understandings in the talk of subsequent turns affords both a resource for the analysis of prior turns and a proof procedure for professional analyses of prior turns – resources intrinsic to the data themselves.” (Sacks, Schegloff, Jefferson, 1974: 729). In this study, the next-turn proof procedure is used to analyze what type of action is performed through an imperative turn, as is evidenced through its response.

Talk in social interaction is sequentially organized. The positioning of an utterance in interaction is essential to understand the type of action it represents. The scope of sequence organization “is the organization of courses of action enacted through turns-at-talk – coherent, orderly, meaningful successions or “sequences” of actions or “moves.” (Schegloff 2007:2). Jefferson (1972) argues that sequence “refers to events that occur as ‘serial unit’, which belong together and follow one after another. They do not just happen to occur one after another.” (Jefferson 1972:304). So, for instance, a request for information precedes an informative answer; a suggestion precedes acceptance or declination, and not vice versa. This organization represents the most basic form of sequence organization: adjacency pair (Sacks 1967; Schegloff 1968, 2007). The notion of ‘nextness’ is essential to understand the concept of adjacency pair. Stivers (2012) summarizes adjacency pair and ‘nextness’ as follows: “The notion of nextness crystalized as the adjacency pair - the idea that with particular actions, social actors impose a normative obligation on co-interactants to perform a type-fitted response at the first possible opportunity.” (Stivers 2012:192). In this study, for instance, a requester imposes a request for action or object to a requestee, and the requestee’s relevant response is either granting or denial (see Section 4.2).

However, some basic sequences can be expanded. According to Stivers (2012), there are three forms of expansion: pre-expansion, insert expansion, and post-expansion (Stivers 2012:193). In the current study, some of the request sequences have an inserted repair sequence (e.g., Excerpt 3, Section 4.2).

3.2.2 Interactional Linguistics

The methods of Interactional Linguistics are applied to this study to examine the interactional functions of linguistic structures in naturally occurring talk-in-interaction (Selting and Couper-Kuhlen 2001). Interactional Linguistics focuses on how languages are shaped by interaction and how interaction shapes languages (Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2001). Couper-Kuhlen and Selting (2018) summarizes that Interactional Linguistics:

“...aims at a *functional description* of linguistic structures as interactional resources mobilized in practices...; 2) it aims at *cross-linguistic analysis and comparison* of these practices in order to determine both how interactional exigencies shape language structure and use in social interaction, and how language and language type impinge on the details of the organization of social interaction; 3) it aims at drawing *general linguistic* conclusions for a theory of language in social interaction which explains how language is organized and practiced in social interaction”

(Couper-Kuhlen & Selting 2018:16,
emphasis original).

Applying Interactional Linguistics, I explore the interactional functions of imperative turns in Mandarin conversation.

3.2.3 Multimodal Analysis

“Face-to-face social interaction is necessarily multi-modal and typically involves the cooperation of vocal and visuospatial modalities” (Stivers & Sidnell 2005:6). Thus, this study adopts the methodology of multimodal analysis to examine the uses of imperative sentences in Mandarin face-to-face interaction. “Multimodal interaction is characterized by the rigorous microanalysis of the formation of action sequences by taking into account a full array of verbal, vocal, and visual resources in human face-to-face interaction” (Li & Ono in print:28). That is, multimodal analysis is an approach to analyze how syntax, prosody, and bodily-visual movements orchestrate to accomplish action in naturally occurring interaction. This study considers various visible bodily behaviors that co-occur with imperative turns. These behaviors include gaze, object manipulations, and hand gestures. The analysis of these behaviors supports the explanation of functions that imperative turns perform in the data. Also, certain imperative turns may include deixis that makes deictic gestures relevant (e.g., Excerpt 6, Section 4.3). Therefore, it is necessary to carefully examine bodily-visual behavior, such as gaze and gesture, that are involved in imperative turns.

3.3 Identification of social action types

The actions performed by imperative turns in the data are directives. Couper-Kuhlen (2014) distinguishes four types of directive and commissive actions: request, proposal, suggestion, and offer. These action types are distinguished based on the agents and beneficiaries of the target actions; that is, who performs the action and who benefits from the action. For instance, if the beneficiary of the action is the speaker, and the agent is the recipient, the produced action is request. The distinctions of the four action types are summarized in Table 1 (Couper-Kuhlen, 2014:634).

Table 1 Distinctive dimensions of Proposals, Offers, Requests, and Suggestions

	Agent of future action	Beneficiary of future action
Proposal	Self & Other	Self & Other
Offer	Self	Other
Request	Other	Self
Suggestion	Other	Other

(Couper-Kuhlen 2014:634)

I use Couper-Kuhlen's (2014) framework in identifying the types of actions performed by imperative turns in this study. Three types of actions are accomplished by imperative turns in the data: requests, proposals, and suggestions, which will be discussed in Chapter 4. Imperative offers have not been identified in the data. Hence, they are not discussed in the current study.

3.4 Summary

In this chapter, I introduced the data and methodology used in this study. The data are 12 hours of 10 face-to-face interactions. I also discussed the transcription conventions used to transcribe the data. The methodologies used in this study are: Conversation Analysis, Interactional Linguistics, and Multimodal Analysis. Adopting the three methodologies, I explore the interactional functions of imperative turns in the data of Mandarin face-to-face interaction. I use Couper-Kuhlen's (2014) framework to distinguish the interactional functions of imperatives. The findings will be reported in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4 Interactional Functions of Imperative turns

This chapter reports on the findings of the interactional functions of imperative turns in the data. Section 4.1 provides an overview of the data. Section 4.2 illustrates the use of imperative turns accomplishing requests. Imperative proposals are discussed in Section 4.3. Section 4.4 demonstrates how imperatives are used to give suggestion. Section 4.5 describes how imperative turns are used in conversational storytellings.

4.1 An overview of the data

An examination of the data shows that imperative turns occur in two sequential environments: initiating position of local sequences and storytellings. Table 2 illustrates the occurrences of imperative turns in the two sequential environments.

Table 2 Occurrences of imperative turns in different sequential environments in the data

Position	Occurrence	Percentage
Initiating position in local sequences	341	93 %
Storytellings	25	7%
Total	366	100%

Table 3 illustrates that imperative turns in initiating position far outnumber the occurrences of imperatives in storytellings. I will first introduce the functions of imperative turns in initiating position.

An analysis of the data shows that imperative turns in initiating position have three main interactional functions: accomplishing requests, proposals, and suggestions. Table 3 summarizes the use of imperatives in performing the three social actions.

Table 3 An overview of the three main functions of imperative turns

Function of imperative turns	Occurrences	Percentage
Request	157	46 %
Proposal	125	36.7%
Suggestion	59	17.3%
Total	341	100%

One function of imperative turns is requesting for an action or object. Making up 46% of all occurrences of imperative turns, requesting is the most frequent function of imperative turns in the data. Making up 36.7% of all number of imperatives, proposal is the second most frequent in the data. There are 59 imperative suggestions in the data, which make this function of imperative turns the least common in the data.

I provide a detailed analysis of the three functions of imperative turns in the data in Section 4.2 through Section 4.4. Then, I will demonstrate the use of imperatives in conversational storytellings in Section 4.5.

4.2 Requests

Request is the social action of asking for something (Oxford English Dictionary 2019). It can be performed verbally and/or nonverbally. People make requests when they need assistance from

others. In this section, I examine how imperative turns are used to accomplish requests for here-and-now actions, such as performing an immediate action or transferring an object. Couper-Kuhlen (2014) categorizes directive and commissive social actions based on who the agent and the beneficiary of the prospective action is. Drawing on this framework, I consider that a speaker is making a request when he/she wants the other party to perform an action in the his/her interest.

The use of imperative requests is demonstrated in Excerpt 2. It is taken from an interaction among four friends – Bai, Huang, Lan, and Fan (all women). In Excerpt 2, they are making dumplings.

Excerpt 2

01 Lan: → 百丽 你 那 个(.)[弄 一 下 吧;

Baili ni nei ge(.)[nong yixia ba;

NAME you that CL [do one CL PRT

‘Baili, make that thing’

02 Bai: [哪 个,

[na ge,

[which CL

‘Which?’

03 [哪个,

[na ge,

[which CL

‘Which?’

04 Lan: [那个;
 [nei ge;
 [that CL
 ‘That...’

05 粘 在 壁 [上;
 zhan zai bi [shang;
 stick to in wall [on
 ‘Stuck to the wall.’

06 Bai: [哦哦.
 [ou ou.
 [OK OK
 ‘OK’



Figure 1 Bai points at the chopsticks at *gei wo ge kuaizi gei wo ge* in line 7



|*****-.-.-|

07

→

给 我 个 筷 子 给 我 个 [筷子；

gei wo ge kuaizi gei wo ge [kuaizi;

give I CL chopsticks give I CL [chopsticks

‘Give me the chopsticks, give me the chopsticks’



Figure 2 Huang (in yellow) points at the chopsticks at *ni yong na ge* in line 8

08 Huang: |*****-.-|
 [你 用 那 个 吧。
[ni yong na ge ba.
 [you use that CL PRT
 ‘Use those’



Figure 3 Lan picks up the chopsticks at *shuang kuaizi* in line 9

09 Lan: |~~~~~*****|
 这 有 双 筷子;
zhe you shuang kuaizi
 this have CL chopsticks

‘Here is a pair of chopsticks’

10 Bai: [好.
[hao.
[OK
‘OK’

11 Fan: [<<p> 再 拿 一 双 吧>.
[<<p> zai na yi shuang ba>.
[again take one CL PRT
‘Take another pair...’

12 Huang: ((laughing))

Lan opens the sequence with an imperative turn in line 1. This imperative turn performs the action of requesting an immediate action. That is, Lan asks Bai to stir the dumplings because one has stuck to the wall of the pot (line 1). The imperative request in line 1 is composed of a second-person singular pronoun *ni* and a verb phrase *nongyixia* “do a little” (line 1). Lines 2-6 form an inserted repair sequence. In lines 2-3, Bai produces an initiation of repair by asking which dumpling Lan refers to using *nage* (‘which one’). It is followed by Lan’s repair in lines 4-5, where she clarifies the dumpling that is stuck on the wall of the pot. In line 6, Bai registers the receipt of the repair by producing *ou ou* (‘OK’), which closes the repair sequence. In order to fulfill the requested action of stirring the dumpling that got stuck to the pot, Bai needs a pair of chopsticks. Bai asks Huang to pass her the chopsticks in line 7. Bai’s request is performed

through an imperative *gei wo ge kuaizi gei wo ge kuaizi* ('give me the chopsticks, give me the chopsticks'). The imperative turn consists of a repetition of the same imperative sentence. The repetition of the imperative form shows the urgency of the targeted action (Mondada 2017), i.e., getting a pair of chopsticks to stir the dumpling that is stuck on the side of the pot. As Bai makes the request in line 7, she produces a pointing gesture – she points at the needed chopsticks (Figure 1). The chopsticks are located on the right from Huang. The conditionally relevant response (Schegloff 2006) to Bai's request is granting or rejecting the request. Huang does not grant Bai's request in line 8. Instead of passing the requested chopsticks, Huang points at other pair of chopsticks next to Bai and suggests her use those (Figure 2). It is a dispreferred response to Bai's request. In line 9, Lan states that *zhe you shuang kuaizi* ('here is a pair of chopsticks'), while she picks up the chopsticks (Figure 3) and gives them to Bai. Lan's passing the chopsticks to Bai is a preferred response to Bai's request in line 7. In this excerpt, we can see that the imperative sentences are used to accomplish the action of requesting an immediate action (line 1) and an object (line 7).

The next excerpt also demonstrates the use of imperatives in accomplishing requests. Excerpt 3 is taken from a conversation between two friends, Ren and Shu (both women). They discuss the bracelets they wear, and particularly, how Ren's arm movements have led to the damage of her bracelet. Ren produces an imperative turn in lines 10 to 12, requesting Shu to look at her bracelet.

Excerpt 3

01 Ren: 你 是 动作 的 幅度 比较 轻 吗,
 ni shi DONGzuo de fudu bijiao qing ma,
 you be movement ASSC range relatively light Q

‘Is your range of motion small?’

02 (0.9)

03 Shu: 其实 挺 大: 的;
qishi ting da: de;
actually quite large PRT
‘Actually quite large’

04 He[he

05 Ren: [对 啊
[dui a .
[right PRT
‘Right’

06 我就 动 的 幅度 很 大;
wo jiu dong de fudu hen da;
I just move ASSC range very large
‘My range of motion is large’

07 就?(.)[戴 都 戴 不住;
jiu? (.)[dai dou dai buzhu;

just [wear all wear unable

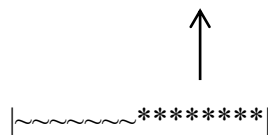
‘Just wear (it), (I) can’t wear anything’

08 Shu: [但是(.) 我 可能 因为:(.) 经常 戴,
[danshi(.) wo keneng yinwei:(.) jingchang dai,
 [but I might because often wear
 ‘But it’s probably because I often wear (bracelets),’

09 它就(.)形[成 一 种 条件 反射;
ta jiu xing[cheng yi zhong tiaojian fanshe;
 it just [form one CL conditioned reflex
 ‘It has formed a conditioned reflex’



Figure 4 Ren moves hand towards Shu, while Shu is gazing at the bracelet at *ni kan* in line 10



10 Ren: →

[你 你 你 看:; (0.3)

[ni ni ni kan:; (0.3)

[you you you look

‘Look’



Figure 5 Shu gazes at the bracelet at *ni kan wo zhe ge pingguo* in line 11



|*****|

11 →

你 看 我 这 个 苹 果; (0.3)

ni kan wo zhe ge pingguo; (0.3)

you look I this CL apple

‘Look at this apple



Figure 6 Shu gazes at the bracelet more attentively at *ni zixin kan zher* in line 12



|*****|

12 → 你 仔细 看 这:儿.

ni zixin kan zhe:r.

you careful look this

‘Look at this carefully’

13 Shu: .hh (.)

14 [呃;

[e;

[uh

‘Uh’



Figure 7 Shu moves her head towards Ren's bracelet at *shi dou bei wo keguo* in line 15



|~~~~~*****|

15 Ren: [其实(.) 是 都 被 我 [磕过;
[qishi shi dou bei wo [keguo;
 [actually be all BEI I [knock
 'Actually, I chipped it.'

16 Shu: [嗯我 懂,
[en wo dong
 [mm I understand
 'Mm, I understand,

17 就 那么 磕的 ;

jiu name kede
just that hit
'(It) just (got) chipped'

In lines 6-7, Ren states that she has an extensive range of motion, which makes it difficult for her to wear bracelets. In line 8, Shu informs Ren that she often wears a bracelet, because she has formed a conditional reflex (line 9). Overlapping with Shu, Ren produces a series of imperatives. Ren's imperative turn in lines 10-12 consists of three imperative TCUs. All imperatives have the form of a second-person singular pronoun *ni* and a verb phrase: *kan* ('look') in line 10, *kan wo zhe ge pingguo* ('look at this apple') in line 11, *zixin kan zher* ('look at this carefully') in line 12. In line 10 Ren puts her hand up and requests Shu to look at the bracelet on her wrist (Figure 4); Shu displays her compliance with the request by leaning towards Ren's bracelet and gazing at it. Then, in line 11 Ren asks Shu to look at the specific part of the bracelet – the apple-shaped bead (lines 10-12). In response to Ren's second request, Shu shifts her gaze to the bead as it is shown in Figure 5. Lastly, while Ren is pointing at the apple-shaped bead (Figure 6), Ren requests Shu to look at it carefully in line 11. Shu complies with the request in line 12 by moving her head towards the bracelet and gazing at the apple-shaped bead more attentively (Figure 7). In line 15, Ren produces an account that the apple-shaped beads are not intact, because they often get chipped. In line 16, Shu claims understanding of the reason why the beads are damaged by producing *en wo dong* ('Mm, I understand'). In this excerpt, there are three imperatives, and each imperative performs a request for an immediate action. The imperative turns are composed of similar syntactic forms, but they differ in terms what action is being requested: to look (line 10), to look at the apple-shaped bead (line 11), and to look at the particular spot on the bracelet carefully (line 12).

Excerpt 4 is another case in point. Participants in this interaction are four friends: three men (Tao, Hu, and Wei) and one women (Lei). Just prior to this excerpt, they realize that the recording time is up, and they are preparing to live the recording place. Lei is late for her work, so she asked Tao to give her a ride. Lei produces the imperative request to leave the room which is addressed to Tao in line 8.

Excerpt 4

01 Tao: 哦 哟 我 怕 那 个 车-
o you wo pa nei ge che-
INT INT I afraid that CL fare
'I am afraid that taxi fare...'

02 它 还 会 报 呕;
ta hai hui bao ou;
3SG still will reimburse PRT
'it will be reimbursed.'

03 (0.7)



Figure 8 Wei leaves the room in lines 1-3

04 Hu: H::eheha[haha

05 Lei: [hhh

06 Hu: .hhh

07 Hehe[hoh



Figure 9 Lei pats Tao's shoulder at *chu* in line 8



|~~~~~***-.-|

08 Lei: → [诶你 快 出来;
 [ei ni kuai chulai;
 [INT you fast out
 ‘Leave faster.’

09 别 管 它 报 不 报;
 bie guan ta bao bu bao;
 NEG bother 3SG reimburse NEG reimburse
 ‘Don’t worry whether it’s reimbursed or not,’

10 报 了 再 说.
 bao le zai shuo.
 reimburse CRS again say

‘Talk later (if) it happens’

11 Tao: 不行;(.)

bu xing;(.)

NEG OK

‘No,’

12 我要为英,

wo yao wei ying,

I have to for eminent

‘I have to be handsome,’



Figure 10 Tao is standing up at *yong wo yingjun* in line 13



~~~~~\*\*\*\*\*-----|

13 我 [要用我英俊] 潇洒 的脸为 科学 事业

*wo [yao yong wo yingjun] xiaosa de lian wei kexue shiye*

I [have to use I eminent] confident ASSC face for science career

做 贡献;

*zuo gongxian;*

do contribution

‘I want to use my handsome face for a scientific career.’

14 (0.7)

15 Lei: [(我 时间 就 到 了.)]

*[wo shijian jiu dao le.]*

[ I time just reach CRS]

‘My time is up.’

16 Hu: good by::e

17 Heheheh

18 Tao: 再见.

*zaijian.*

goodbye

‘Goodbye.’

Tao opens the sequence by telling about his concern regarding the taxi fare to the recording venue (lines 1-2). Just before this excerpt, Lei announced that she was late for her work. In line 8, Lei produces a request for Tao to leave faster. The imperative sentence is used to accomplish the request. In Lei's multi-unit turn in lines 8-10, only one TCU is constituted by an imperative sentence (line 8). The imperative is used to perform the action of requesting an immediate action, i.e., to ask Tao to leave the room immediately. The request in line 8 is performed through verbal and nonverbal means: Lei produces imperative TCU *ei ni kuai chulai* (come out faster), and during the production of *kuai chu*, Lei pats Tao's shoulder (Figure 9). Lei's pat seems to be a *compliance* touch (Jones & Yarborough 1985). *Compliance* touches are used to direct the behavior of the touchee. This type of touch often co-occurs with the production of a request, command, or demand (Jones & Yarborough 1985). Both Lei's imperative request and the bodily-visual movement displays a strong desire for Tao to leave the room. The imperative TCU in line 8 consists of a second-person singular pronoun *ni* and a VP *kuai chulai* ('come out faster'). During the production of this request, Lei is already heading towards the door to leave the place. Tao complies with the request and stands up (Figure 10). Hu and Tao jokingly say goodbye to the cameras (lines 16-18), and then both leave the room.

In this section, I examined the function of imperatives in accomplishing the action of requesting an immediate action or the transfer of an object. The analysis has shown that imperative turns can be used in accomplishing requests for an immediate action (e.g., Excerpts 3, 4) or an object (Excerpt 2). Moreover, there are visual features that are observed in the present

data. Imperative requests can co-occur with a pointing gesture and the gaze of a speaker directed at the object to which he/she is pointing (Excerpts 2 and 3) or touching (Excerpt 4).

### 4.3 Proposals

Proposal is the action of proposing that something be done, or of proposing to do something (Oxford English Dictionary 2019). It involves that both the proposer and the recipient perform the proposed action (Couper-Kuhlen 2014). In the data, imperative turns are also used to perform the action of proposal.

The use of imperatives in accomplishing proposals may be demonstrated by the following excerpt. Excerpt 6 is taken from a two-party interaction between Yun and Wang. They are visiting a corn maze. Prior to this sequence, they just came out from the maze. In Excerpt 5 Yun proposes that they go find some drinks.

#### *Excerpt 5*

01 Yun:        走吧;  
                  *zou ba;*  
                  go PRT  
                  ‘Let’s go,





Figure 11 Wang starts walking while Yun is producing *liao* in line 3



02

找个饮料。

*zhao ge yinliao.*

find CL drink

‘Let’s find some drinks’

03

(1.6)



Figure 12 Wang makes a pointing gesture while producing *jiu qu nar* in line 4



|~~~~\*\*\*\*\*-.-.-|

04 Wang: 那 就 去 那 儿 吧;  
*na jiu qu nar ba;*  
 then just go there PRT  
**‘Then let’s go there’**

05 Yun: 啊.  
*a.*  
 ah  
 ‘Ah’

Yun’s turn in lines 1-2 consists of two TCUs. Both of them are in the form of imperative sentences. The first imperative TCU in line 1 is composed of a verb *zou* (‘go’) and a final particle *ba*. The following imperative TCU produced in line 2 has a VP construction *zhao ge*

*yinliao* ('find some drinks'). While in the first TCU Yun proposes that Wang goes (line 1), in the second one she specifies that they both go to find some drinks (line 2). Wang demonstrates the acceptance of Yun's proposal in line 1 by walking towards the direction that Yun proposed (Figure 11). At the completion of the first proposal-acceptance sequence in lines 1-2, Wang initiates another sequence by making another proposal in line 4. Wang's proposal is again performed through an imperative sentence. The imperative turn is composed of discourse markers *na* and *jiu*, a VP *qu nar* ('then let's go there'), and a final particle *ba*. Liu (2009) argues that Mandarin speakers use *na* to initiate a new turn. Another function of *na* is to connect the prior speech to the following utterance (Miracle 1991). These observations are consistent with Wang's turn prefacing with *na* in line 4. The turn-initial *na* is connected to Yun's previous turn, and initiates a new course of action. Wang produces a pointing gesture during the verbal delivery of the imperative proposal (Figure 12). According to Bühler's (1990) distinction, Wang's pointing gesture refers to immediate spatio-temporal surroundings. Although Stukenbrock (2014) focuses on the verbal deictics and bodily-visual movements which reconstruct spatial positions of objects or people that are absent at the moment, she describes how people linguistically specify and describe what they are pointing at, and this linguistic specification makes the gesture relevant to the produced turn. Wang in line 4 uses a deictic expression *nar* ('there'), which makes relevant the deictic gesture showing where *nar* is. Yun's *a* ('yes') in line 5 is a receipt of Wang's proposal. Yun displays her acceptance through the behavior of walking together with Wang towards the direction that Wang proposed in line 4 (Figure 12).

Below is another example demonstrating the use of imperatives to propose an action. Excerpt 6 is taken from the same interaction as Excerpt 3 with the two participants, Ren and Shu.

Prior to the following excerpt, Ren and Shu just completed the first puzzle. In Excerpt 6 they discuss the way they should solve the second puzzle.

*Excerpt 6*

01 Shu: 我把这个放在这边;(.)  
*wo ba zhe ge fang zai zhebian;(.)*  
I BA this CL put in here  
'I'll put this here,'

02 或 [者 放在?  
*huo[zhe fang zai?*  
[or put in  
'or put it...'

03 Ren: [好.  
*[hao.*  
[OK  
'OK'

04 Shu: 啊 你把它挪过去 [就行了;  
*a ni ba ta nuoguoqu [jiu xing le;*  
INT you BA 3SG move over [just fine PRT  
'You can move it over.'

05 Ren: [就 OK 了;  
[jiu OK le;  
[just OK PRT  
'It's OK'

06 (0.5)

07 → 我们 还 先 把 它 正过来,  
*women hai xian ba ta zhengguolai,*  
we still first BA it turn over  
**'We turn it over first'**



Figure 13 Ren's gesture in line 7 is turning over the puzzles while producing *kan beimian de shuzi*



|~~~~~\*\*\*\*\*|

08 → 不要看背面的数字;  
*buyao kan beimian de shuzi;*  
 don't PRT back ASSC number

**'Let's not look at the numbers on the back'**

09 (1.5)

10 Shu: 当然啦;  
*dangran la;*  
 of course PRT  
 'Of course'



Figure 14 Shu starts turning over the puzzles at *wo shi na zhong yao* in line 10



|\*\*\*\*\*|

12

我 是 那 种 要?

*wo shi nei zhong yao?*

I be that kind have to

‘I am that kind, have to...’

13

会 (.) 要 看 数 字 的 人 吗,

*hui (.) yao kan shuzi de ren ma,*

will want look number ASSC people Q

‘(Are there) people who can look at the numbers?’

14 Ren: 是.  
*shi.*  
be  
'Yes'

15 (0.5)

16 Shu: ((laughing))

Shu opens the sequence by reporting her actual behavior of moving the cover of the puzzle box to the opposite corner of the table (lines 1-2). In lines 7-8, Shu produces an imperative turn. The turn consists of two imperative TCUs. The imperative TCU in line 7 consists of the first-person plural pronoun *women* 'we' and the *BA*-construction *ba ta zhengguola* ('turn it over'). According to Li & Thompson (1981), the *BA*-construction is composed of *BA*, followed by a direct object and a verb. The *BA*-construction is the *disposal* form (Li 1974), which is used to show what happens to the direct object. In line 7, the direct object *ta* ('it') is placed immediately after *BA* and before the verb *zhuanguolai* ('turn over'). The disposed object in line 7 are puzzles which are proposed to be turned over. By producing the imperative TCU in line 7, Ren proposes to turn over the numbers to rely only on the picture while solving the puzzle. In line 8, the negative imperative consists of *buyao* (don't) and a VP *kan beimian de shuzi* ('look at the numbers on the back'). Li & Thompson (1981) discuss that *buyao* have two meanings: 'don't' and 'not want'. The first-person plural pronoun *buyao* in the imperative sentence has a meaning of 'let's not do something', as in line 7, when Ren produces *buyao* to propose not to look at the numbers. Each



puzzle has a number on one side and a part of the picture on the other. Following the numbers on one side, the puzzle can be solved easily. Producing the imperative in line 8, Ren proposes to turn over the puzzles to the side with numbers (lines 7-8). Producing the second imperative TCU (line 8), Ren proposes not to look at the numbers on the back. That is, she does not want to simplify the task. In line 8, Ren starts to turn over the puzzles so the numbers are face-down (Figure 13). In lines 10, Shu produces *dangran la* ('of course'), which shows her commitment to the proposed action before it has been produced. Shaw & Herburn (2013) describe how a recipient can display his/her established intent to the advised action in advice-giving sequence. Through such responses, recipients do not simply accept the advice, but rather show that the commitment of carrying out the action has already been made before the speaker's initiating action of giving advice. In lines 12-13, Shu asks if there are people who can actually look at the numbers. She rejects the negative implication imposed on herself that she would have looked at the numbers. Shu then accepts the proposal and starts carrying out the action in line 12 (Figure 14).

The use of imperatives in performing proposals is further demonstrated by Excerpt 7. It is an interaction between two friends, Liu and Yan (both women), who volunteered to participate in the recording. Liu and Yan are discussing the place where they will go to participate in another recording in Beijing.

*Excerpt 7*

01 Yan: 我们 是 一起 走 的 是 吗,  
*women shi yiqi zou de shi ma,*  
 we be together walk ASSC be Q  
 'We will go together, right?'

02 Liu: 可以呀;

*keyi ya;*

OK PRT

‘OK’

03 或者 你 不 方便,

*huozhe ni bu fangbian,*

or you NEG convenient

‘or if it is inconvenient for you’

04 也 可以 在 那 儿 见;

*ye keyi zai nar jian;*

also can at there see

‘we also can meet there’

05 到 [时候?

*dao [shihou?*

till [time

‘until that time’

06 Yan: [我 不 知道,

*[wo bu zhidao,*

[I NEG know

‘I don’t know,’

07           因为 我 住 在 上地 那边; (.)

*yinwei wo zhu zai shangdi nabian; (.)*

because I live at (NAME) there

‘because I live in Shangdi’

08   Liu: .hh (.)

09           嗯::

*en::*

mm

‘Mm,’

10   →   那 要不 就 我们 分别 走 吧;

*na yao bu jiu women fenbie zou ba;*

then otherwise just we apart walk PRT

‘then let’s go separately’

11           我 到 时候 [把 地址 发 给 你;

*wo dao shihou [ba dizhi fa gei ni;*

I till time [BA address send for you

‘I will send you the address’

- 12 Yan: [查(.)行.  
*[cha (.) xing.*  
[check OK  
‘Check, OK’

- 13 查 一 下 [路线.  
*cha yi xia [luxian.*  
check one CL [route  
‘to check the route’

- 14 Liu: [啊(.)对.  
*[a (.) dui.*  
[yes right  
‘Yes, right’

- 15 你 到 那 儿 也 可 以 打 车,  
*ni dao nar ye keyi dache,*

you till there also can take a taxi

‘You can take a taxi to that place’

16            打车    吧,

*dache    ba,*

take a taxi PRT

‘Take a taxi’

17            他们 这儿 是 (0.4) 可以 报销    的;

*tamen zher shi (0.4) keyi baoxiao    de;*

they here be      can reimburse ASSC

‘They can reimburse money’

18    Yan:    也 行.

*ye xing.*

also OK

‘OK’

Yan opens the sequence by producing a request for confirmation about if they will go to the recording place together (line 1). Liu proposes another option: if it is more convenient for Yan, they can go separately and meet at the recording place (lines 3-5). In line 6, Yan replies *wo bu zhidao* (‘I don’t know’), which is a dispreferred response to Liu’s proposal. Liu then provides an account for her dispreferred response that she lives in Shangdi (neighborhood in Beijing) (line 7). In line 8, Liu produces an in-breath. In-breaths can serve as a signal that a speaker is going to

launch a new sequence (Couper-Kuhlen and Selting 2018). This observation is consistent with Liu's behavior in lines 8-10: after an in-breath (line 8), Liu produces an acknowledgment *en* (line 9), that registers the receipt of Yan's dispreferred response and account; then, she launches a new sequence by producing a proposal (line 10). In Lei's multi-unit turn in lines 8-11, only the TCU in line 10 is constituted by an imperative sentence. The imperative TCU is composed of the first-person plural pronoun *women* ('we'), the VP *fenbie zou* ('go separately'), and a final particle *ba*. As Li & Thompson (1981) describe, the affirmative first-person imperatives are commonly used with the sentence-final particle *ba*. Through such sentences, speakers solicit agreement regarding the announced action. In line 10, Liu produces an imperative proposal to go separately. After Liu's proposal in line 10, she offers to send Yan the address of the recording place (line 11). In line 12, Yan displays her willingness to go separately by producing *xing* ('OK'), thereby, accepting Yan's proposal in line 10.

In this section, I have analyzed the usage of imperative turns in accomplishing the action of proposal. Imperative turns in the preceding excerpts accomplish proposals for an immediate action (e.g., Excerpt 5). Imperatives also can serve as a prohibition (e.g., Excerpt 6). Furthermore, a speaker uses imperatives to propose an action in the near future (e.g., Excerpt 7). While in Section 4.2 the recipient carries out the action, and the speaker is the beneficiary of the produced action; in this section, both speaker and recipient are the agents and beneficiaries of the proposed action.

#### **4.4 Suggestions**

Apart from accomplishing the actions of making requests and proposals, imperative turns can also be used to perform the action of giving suggestions. By giving suggestions, the speaker

promotes an action that is beneficiary for the recipient (Couper-Kuhlen 2014). In this section, I examine the use of imperatives to make suggestions.

Excerpt 8 demonstrates how imperatives are used to accomplish the action of suggesting. Liu, Rui, and Xuan (all women) are having a picnic in a park. They are sitting on a mat and chatting, when Liu notices that Xuan is still wearing her shoes. Since Liu finds wearing shoes uncomfortable, she suggests to Xuan that it would be better for her to take off her shoes (line 5).

*Excerpt 8*

01 Xuan: 感觉 我们 水平 好像 很 高 一样,  
*ganjue women shuiping haoxing hen gao yiyang,*  
feeling we level seem very high same  
'I feel like our level is really high,'

02 怎么 [结合 呀;  
*zenme[jiehe ya;*  
how [link PRT  
'how to relate (to professor's topic)'

03 Rui: [对::呀:.  
*[ dui:: ya:.*  
[right PRT  
'Right.'

(0.5)

04

05 Liu: → 你 把 鞋 脱 了 吧;

*ni ba xie tuo le ba;*

you BA shoes take off CRS PRT

**‘Take off your shoes’**

06 Rui: 哟 真 [(mei);

*you zhen [ mei;*

INT really

**‘Really...’**

07 Xuan: [不 是,=

*[bu shi,*

NEG be

**‘No’**

08 Liu: =多 难受;

*duo nanshou;*

much uncomfortable

**‘It is so uncomfortable’**



09 Xuan: 一会儿 还 得 穿,(.)  
*yihuir hai dei chuan,*  
later also have to wear  
'I will have to wear (them) again later'

10 Rui: 嗯.=  
*en.*  
mm  
'Mm.'

11 Liu: =[呃:.  
*e:.*  
e  
'E'

12 Xuan: 嫌 麻烦 heh,  
*xian mafan heh,*  
suffering trouble heh  
'(I) feel (it's) a hassle'

13 Liu: 你 这样 可 舒服 呀;  
*ni zheyang ke shufu ya;*

you like this very comfortable PRT

‘You are so comfortable’

Prior to this excerpt, Liu, Rui, and Xuan discuss a paper they have to write for a course. It should be related to the area of their professors’ research. Xuan is joking that their level may be high enough to write a paper on a topic related to the professors’ research direction (line 1). In line 2, Xuan shows that she doesn’t think they can do it. Rui conveys agreement with Xuan’s joke in line 3. In line 5, Liu produces an imperative turn, suggesting that Xuan take off her shoes (line 5). The action of suggesting is accomplished through the use of imperative sentence. This imperative turn consists of the second-person singular pronoun *ni* ‘you’, the *BA*-construction, and the final particle *ba*. The final particle *ba* has a mitigating function in imperative sentences (Chao 1968; Li & Thompson 1981; Lee-Wong 1998). When the structure of imperative utterance is [second-person pronoun + VP + final particle *ba*], Chao (1968:807) also finds the use of *ba* as an “advisative” particle, i.e., speaker advice or suggest recipient to do a certain action. These findings are consistent with the observation that Liu in line 5 makes a suggestion by telling Xuan to take off the shoes. Xuan, however, rejects Liu’s suggestion (line 7) and provides an account for her rejection that she has to put it on later (line 9). Liu pursues her account for Xuan’s rejection producing *e* (‘eh’) (line 11). In line 12, Xuan keeps her shoes on and produces *xian mafan* (‘(I) feel (it’s) a hassle’) as another account for her prior rejection of Liu’s suggestion.

The next excerpt also demonstrates the use of an imperative as a suggestion. Excerpt 9 is taken from the same conversation as Excerpt 7 in Section 4.2. Two university students, Liu and Yan (both women), are going to another place together for another recording session after the current one. They discuss if they should go together or separately to the place of the recording.

Prior to this excerpt, Liu proposes that they can meet at the university first. Yan replies that she lives in Shangdi (a neighborhood in Beijing). Since Shangdi is not close to the university, it would be more convenient for Yan to meet Liu directly at the recording place. So, Liu makes a proposal that they go to the recording place separately in line 1.

*Excerpt 9*

01     Liu:     那     要不     就     我们     分别     走     吧;  
                  *na    yao bu    jiu   women fenbie zou   ba;*  
                  then otherwise just    we    apart   walk PRT  
                  ‘then let’s go separately’

02                    我 到 时 候 [把 地 址 发 给 你;  
                          *wo dao shihou [ ba   dizhi   fa   gei   ni;*  
                          I   till   time [BA address send for you  
                          ‘I will send you the address’

03     Yan:                    [ 查 (.) 行.  
                                  *[cha (.) xing.*  
                                  [check OK  
                                  ‘Check, OK’

04                    查   一   下 [路线.  
                          *cha   yi   xia [luxian.*  
                          check one CL [route

'to check the route'

05     Liu:                    [啊(.) 对.  
                                  [ a (.) dui.  
                                  [ yes right  
                                  'Yes, right'

06     →     你 到 那 儿 也 可 以     打 车,  
                                  ni dao nar ye keyi dache,  
                                  you till there also can take a taxi  
                                  **'You can also take a taxi to that place'**

07     →     打 车     吧,  
                                  dache ba,  
                                  take a taxi PRT  
                                  **'Take a taxi'**

08                    他 们 这 儿 是 (0.4) 可 以     报 销     的;  
                                  tamen zher shi (0.4) keyi baoxiao de;  
                                  they here be can reimburse ASSC  
                                  **'They can reimburse the money'**

09 Yan: 也 行.  
*ye xing.*  
also OK  
'OK'

Liu offers Yan to send her the address of the recording place later (line 2). In lines 3-4, Yan accepts the offer. Then, Liu produces an imperative turn in lines 6-7. In line 6, the imperative has a format of [second-person singular pronoun + *keyi* (modal verb) + VP]. According to Zhang (2014), when a speaker uses *keyi* in imperative sentences, he/she implies that the recipient has a choice of rejecting or accepting the suggested action. The second imperative TCU in line 7 consists of a VP *dache* ('take a taxi') and a final particle *ba*. Producing this imperative TCU, Liu promotes an action (i.e., taking a taxi) that, she believes, is favorable for Yan. Liu provides an account for her suggestions in line 8: the organizers of the recording can reimburse the taxi fare. In line 9, Yan accepts Liu's suggestion by producing *ye xing* ('OK').

Excerpt 10 is another case in point. It is taken from the same interaction as Excerpt 4. Participants in this talk are Tao, Hu and Wei (men) and Lei (women). Just prior to this sequence, the participants are discussing their summer vacation plans and counting the free days they will have this summer. Lei announces that she would like to work and travel during the free days. In Excerpt 10, Hu suggests to Lei how to spend her summer vacation (lines 5-7).

*Excerpt 10*

01 Hu: 那:.  
*na:.*

then

‘Then...’

02 (1.8)

03 江浙沪 可能 其实 你,

*jiangzhehu keneng qishi ni,*

NAME maybe actually you

‘Maybe going to Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Shanghai, you actually...’

04 (0.3)

05 Tao: [呕.

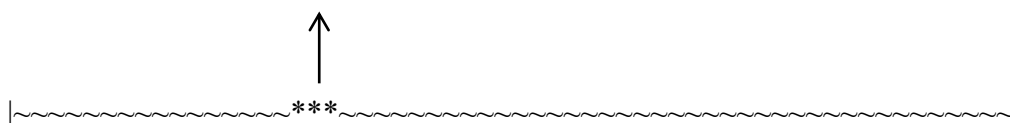
*[ou.*

[INT

‘Oh’



Figure 15 Hu gazes at Lei and makes a hand gesture at *da* in line 5



06 Hu: [((click))你 可以 先 打 一 个 长 工 然 后 直 接 再 去 玩 儿;  
 → [((click))ni keyi xian da yi ge changgong ranhou zhijie zai qu wanr;  
 [ you can first do one CL long-term hired then direct again go travel  
 ‘You can do a long-term job first, then travel again’

07 (0.6)

08 → 打 一 个 月 然 后 玩 儿 [十 五 天.  
 da yi ge yue ranhou wanr [shiwu tian.  
 work one CL month then travel [fifteen day  
 ‘Work one month, then travel for fifteen days’

09 Lei:

[.hhh 具体 几 天 我 也 不 知 道.

[.hhh juti ji tian wo ye bu zhidao.

[ concrete how many day I also NEG know

‘I don’t know for how many days’

Excerpt 10 starts with Hu explaining what Lei can do during the summer vacations (lines 1-3). In lines 6-8, Hu produces an imperative turn that composed of two imperative TCUs: *ni keyi xian da yi ge changgong ranhou zhijie zai qu wanr* (‘you can find a long-term job first, then travel again.’) and *da yi ge yue ranhou wanr shiwu tian* (‘work one month, then travel for fifteen days’). The two imperative TCUs have the function of giving suggestion. In line 6, Hu produces an imperative sentence in the form of two VPs connected by a conjunction *ranhou* to suggest what Lei should do in the period of time: first work and then travel. During the production of *da yi ge* ‘do a ...’ in the imperative TCU in line 6, Hu makes an Open Hand Prone gesture (Kendon 2004). Hu pushes his palm forward away from him (Figure 15). Hu produces a pragmatic gesture that is related to offering an opinion, i.e. suggesting (Kendon 2004; Streeck 2009). In line 8, Hu’s imperative TCU has a similar format with the preceding imperative in line 6: [VP + *ranhou* + VP]. With this imperative turn, Hu suggests Liu first work and then go to travel (line 6), then he suggests the length of her work and travel (line 8). Lei provides a non-acceptance of the suggestion by stating that she does not know how many days she will have (line 9).

To sum up, the preceding excerpts have shown that Mandarin speakers use imperatives to make suggestions. The formats of the imperatives are: second-person singular pronoun + *BA*-construction + final particle *ba*, second-person singular pronoun + VP, or VP + final particle *ba*.



Participants can use conjunctions such as *ranhou* to construct a complex imperative TCU with more than one VP.

#### 4.5 Imperative turns in conversational storytellings

In the preceding sections, I presented the excerpts where imperative turns occur in initiating position in a local sequence. Those imperatives initiate a new course of actions through making request, suggestion, or proposal. An examination of the data reveals that imperative sentences are also used in another sequential context: conversational storytellings. Schegloff (2007:43) argues that there are numerous organization forms of “tellings” that differ in terms of turn-organization and sequence organization. The organization of storytelling in conversation was discussed by Sacks (1972) in the series of lectures, where he describes that a storytelling involves a story preface, production of the story, and story ending. In the current data, imperative turns tend to occur in participants’ re-enactments in a story. Re-enactment is a process of depicting an event that occurred in the past (Sidnell 2006).

Excerpt 11 exemplifies the use of imperative turns in storytellings. Participants of this conversation are Lu, Xun, and Tin (all women). They are college classmates, who get together to plan the organization of their 30th graduation anniversary. For this event, they need to book 27 rooms in a hotel. In this stretch of talk, Tin reproduces her conversation with the hotel manager. She tells the manager that the owner of the hotel reduced one item from their previous agreed-upon reservation (line 2), that Tin re-enacted that they should ask for discount.

##### *Excerpt 11*

01 Tin: 我 说这,  
*wo shuo zhe,*

I say this

‘I said...’

02 他 给 咱们 退了这么 这 一 [项 活动,  
*3SG gei zanmen tui le zheme zhe yi [xiang huodong,*  
he give we return CRS this one [CL activity  
‘They reduced this item (from our reservation).’

03 Xun: [噢:.  
[ o.  
[ oh  
‘Oh.’

04 Tin:→ 我 说 你 得 让 他 给 优惠 呢;  
*wo shuo ni dei rang ta gei youhui ne;*  
I say you have let he give discount PRT  
‘**I said you have to make him give a discount,**’

05 他 说 哎呀:.  
*ta shuo ai ya.*  
he say PRT PRT  
‘He said...’

06           他说姐: 我的 姐;  
*ta shuo jie wo de jie;*  
he say sister I POSS sister  
'He said sister, my sister,'

07           .hh 他说 人家才 不管 你 呢,  
*.hh ta shuo renjia cai buguan ni ne,*  
he say he just no matter you PRT  
'He said, the owner does not care about you,'

08           你 不 订 人家 的 人家 根本 就 不 缺 客户;  
*ni bu ding renjia de renjia genben jiu bu que kehu;*  
you NEG book he POSS he at all just NEG lack customer  
'If you don't book, he does not lack customers at all'

Telling about her conversation with the manager, Tin in line 4 produces *wo shuo ni dei rang ta gei youhui ne* ('I said you have to make him give a discount'). In this turn, *ni* ('you') refers to the hotel manager, and *ta* ('he') refers to the owner of the hotel. In line 4, Tin uses reported speech as a part of her storytelling. Holt & Clift (2009) describes reported speech as "the reproduction of prior talk in a current interaction" (Holt & Clift 2009:1). The reproduction of someone's

utterance is a way to “recreate” a conversation (Holt 1996:242). Hence, temporal features do not refer to the current context, but to the reported one (Holt 1996:222). In Excerpt 11, Tin indeed reproduces the imperative TCU that is addressed to the hotel manager during their conversation at some moment in the past. This TCU has an imperative form of [second-person singular pronoun + modal verb + VP + PRT]. Tin in this imperative uses modal verb *dei* (have to). The modal verb *dei* demonstrates “duty” or “obligation” of the hearer to perform a specific action (Zhang 2014). The imperative turn in line 4 accomplishes request for an action in the narrative frame. Specifically, Tin requests the hotel manager to influence the owner’s decision regarding the discount in the reported past event. But Tin does not use the imperative turn to ask Lu and Xun to perform the requested action in the immediate interaction. Thus, the imperative turn in the storytelling is part of the re-enactment of a past event.

The following excerpt also demonstrates the use of imperatives in storytellings. Excerpt 12 is taken from the same interaction as Excerpt 2. Four friends, Bai, Huang, Lan, and Fan, get together to make dumplings. This interaction takes place in the city of Wuhan, Hubei province. Bai is originally from another province in China. In excerpt 12, she tells a story about trying the local rice-flour noodles for the first time (lines 1 and 2).

*Excerpt 12*

- 01 Bai: 我 我 刚 来 的 时 候<<r>你 知 道 吗>,  
*wo wo gang lai de shihou ni zhidao ma,*  
I I just come ASSC time you know Q  
'When I just came, you know,'
- 02 我 就 去(.) 买 米 粉;

*wo jiu qu (.) mai mifen;*

I just go buy rice-flour noodles

‘I went to buy some rice-flour noodles’

03            然后(.)我就 跟 他 说,

*ranhou wo jiu gen ta shuo,*

then I just with he say

‘Then I told him,’

04        →    我 说 老 板 (.) 不 要 辣 椒;

*wo shuo laoban (.) buyao lajiao;*

I say sir don't chili

**‘I said, sir, don't (put) chili’**

05            然 后 他 们 不 是 准 备 一 个 桶 里 面 有 很 多 汤 嘛;

*ranhou tamen bu shi zhunbei yi ge tong limian you hen duo tang ma;*

then they NEG be prepare one CL pail inside have very many soup PRT

‘then didn't they prepare a pail (full of) soup.’

06            一 个 是 煮:: 粉    的,

*yi ge shi zhu:: fen de,*

one CL be boil noodles PRT

‘One is to boil noodles,’

07

大桶 一个 是 那个 [汤 的

*da ting yi ge shi na ge [tang de*

big pail one CL be that CL [soup ASSC

‘a big pail is for that soup.’

08 Lan:

[汤 汤 对;

*[tang tang dui;*

[soup soup right

‘Soup, soup, right’

((8 lines omitted regarding the cooker dipping down the spoon into the pail and scooping out the chili))

17 Bai:

舀 出来 的 那个 就是 微辣;

*yao chulai de nei ge jiu shi weila;*

scoop out ASSC that CL just be mildly spicy

‘Scooped out that mildly spicy’

18 Lan:

好 惊讶 hah.

*hao jingya hah.*

good surprise hah

‘So surprising hah’

In line 4, Bai re-enacts her words that are addressed to the *laoban* (‘sir’) (a common way of calling the owners or cooks of the restaurants in China) by using the quotative *wo shuo* (‘I said’). The reported speech has an imperative form [*buyao* (don’t) + NP] that prohibits the *laoban* to add chili to the soup. However, this prohibition is not directed to Huang, Lan, or Fan, who are engaged in the immediate interaction with Bai, but rather, it is addressed to the *laoban* in the reported story. That is, Bai’s imperative turn is produced in a re-enactment of request for an action. This imperative does not have implications to the recipients’ action in the immediate interaction. Indeed, Huang, Lan, and Fan treat this imperative as a part of the story. By remaining to be the recipients of the story, they can, for instance, show their support of the teller’s perspective, but they do not need to carry out any requested, proposed, or suggested actions.

It can be seen from the two preceding excerpts that imperative turns in storytelling contexts have highly specialized usage. Speakers producing imperatives in re-enactments seek to depict and quote the specific phrase that has been produced in some time in the past of the narrative frame. These imperative turns, however, do not direct the present participants to produce an action in the immediate interactional encounter.

#### **4.6 Summary**

This chapter reports on the two sequential environments in which imperative turns are used in Mandarin interaction. Specifically, imperatives occur in the initiating position in local sequences

and storytellings. The body-visual features concurrent with the production of imperative turns were also examined. In this chapter, the analysis shows that imperative turns in initiating position have three interactional functions in the data. First, imperatives can accomplish the action of making requests. Second, imperatives can be produced to make proposals. Third, Mandarin speakers use imperative turns to accomplish suggestions. Finally, Mandarin speakers use imperative turns in storytellings as part of the re-enactment of past events.



## Chapter 5 Conclusions

This chapter summarizes the findings of this study. The major findings of the present study will be outlined in Section 5.1. The implications and limitations will be discussed in Section 5.2.

### 5.1 Findings

Adopting the methodologies of Conversation Analysis, Interactional Linguistics, and Multimodal Analysis, this study examines the interactional functions of imperative turns in naturalistic Mandarin interaction. Four interactional functions of imperatives have been observed. That is, imperative turns are used to perform requests, proposals, and suggestions in initiating position, and constitute re-enactment in conversational storytellings.

Speakers produce requests when they want the recipient to carry out an action that is beneficial for the speaker. It is observed that imperative turns accomplish requests for immediate action or the transfer of an object. Imperative requests may co-occur with bodily-visual behaviors, such as pointing gesture and gaze at relevant objects. The following syntactic formats have been observed: VP, second-person singular pronoun *ni*, and a VP. Imperative turns are also used to accomplish the action of making proposals in the data. When a speaker produces a proposal, he/she implies that the proposed action should be performed by both the speaker and the recipient(s). In the current data, there are proposals for immediate action or an action in the near future. Imperative proposals are also used as prohibitions. The syntactic structures of imperative proposals in the data are: [VP], [VP + final-sentence particle], [first-person plural pronoun *women* ‘we’ + *BA*-construction], [*buyao*(don’t) + VP], and [first-person plural pronoun *women* ‘we’ + VP + sentence-final particle]. Similar to requests, the production of imperative

proposals co-occurs with bodily-visual behaviors such as pointing gesture and gaze. Imperative turns can also be deployed to accomplish suggestions in interaction. Suggestions are an action that benefits the recipient. Second-person singular pronoun, VP, the *BA*-construction, modal verb *keyi* ('can'), and the final particle *ba* can be used to accomplish suggestions. Imperative suggestion can co-occur with the production of a hand gesture.

Another sequential environment where imperatives occur in the data is conversational storytellings. Speakers use imperative forms to re-enact requests and prohibitions in a past event. These actions are not relevant to the immediate interactional encounter. Specifically, speakers reproduce the imperative turns that were produced at some moment in the past.

The analysis of the data shows that certain bodily-visual behaviors not only co-occur with imperatives but are also relevant to identify the actions performed by imperatives. For instance, some deixis in imperative turns, such as *nar* ('there'), may not be understood without relevant deictic gestures. Moreover, some responses to imperative requests are nonverbal, such as transferring an object. They provide evidence for the action performed by the imperative turn, as is oriented by recipients in their next-turn responses. Thus, bodily-visual behaviors are relevant to the production and use of imperative turns both in constituting the semantic proposition of imperatives as well as in identifying the action type performed by imperatives.

## **5.2 Implications and Limitations**

This study is significant in two aspects. First, it is one of the first systematic studies of interactional functions of Mandarin imperative turns based on authentic Mandarin interactional data. Previous studies predominantly focus on the grammatical forms of imperative sentences (e.g., Chao 1968; Li & Thompson 1981, Sun 2006). The uses of imperatives are designated as command, demand, request, suggestion, and instruction without being demonstrated or supported

by empirical data (e.g., Chao 1968; Li & Thompson 1981; Yuan 1993). Methodologically, the previous research on the function of imperatives mostly relies on the researchers' own introspection (e.g., Yuan 1993; Zhang 2014). The studies that adopt empirical methods mostly focus on people's perceived uses of requests, rather than imperative turns (e.g., Lee-Wong 1994; Gao 1999; Chen, He & Hu 2013). Thus, no existing research on imperatives is based on naturalistic Mandarin interactional data. This study fills this gap by documenting the interactional uses of imperative turns in naturalistic Mandarin interactional data. Second, this study adopts bodily-visual practices in the production of imperative turns into consideration. Previous research on Mandarin imperatives does not use video-taped interactional data. Thus, bodily-visual practices, such as gestures, gazes, and interpersonal touches, that co-occur with the production of imperatives have been undocumented. Third, this study contributes to the existing knowledge of the multimodal production and use of imperatives in everyday Mandarin interaction by studying the relevance of bodily-visual behaviors in imperative turns.

However, this research does not claim to yield findings about the use of imperatives in other interactional settings than those in the data. The described functions are based on 12 hours of naturalistic Mandarin interaction in such settings as chatting casually, walking, cooking, doing puzzles, and conversing at the dinner-table. Imperative turns may be found in institutional interactions such as doctor-patient interaction and workplace interaction. The interactional functions of imperative turns in those settings are not investigated in this study. Also, due to their specialized usage, imperatives in storytellings have been analyzed based on a very limited number of occurrences. The systematic study of imperative turns in the re-enactment frame is an area for further research.

## Bibliography

- Aikhenvald, A.Y. (2010) *Imperatives and Commands*. Oxford Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory. Oxford University Press, Oxford, UK.
- Atkinson, J. M., and Paul D. (1979). *Order in Court: The Organisation of Verbal Interaction in Judicial Settings*. London: Macmillan.
- Bolden, G. (2017). Requests for here-and-now actions in Russian conversation. In M.-L. Sorjonen, E. Couper-Kuhlen & L. Raevaara (Eds.), *Imperative turns at talk: The design of directives in action* (pp. 175-211): John Benjamins.
- Brown, P. & Levinson, S.C. 1987. *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blum-Kulka, S., House, J., & Kasper, G. (1989). *Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
- Buhler, K. (1990). *Theory of Language: The Representational Function of Language*. John Benjamins Publishing.
- Chao, Y.-R., (1968). *A Grammar of Spoken Chinese*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Chappell, H., Peyraube A. (2016). Mood and modality in Sinitic languages. In Jan Nuyts & Johan van der Auwera & Jan Nuyts (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Mood and Modality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 296-329.
- Chen, R., He, L., and Hu, C. (2013). "Chinese requests: In comparison to American and Japanese requests and with reference to the "East-West divide". *Journal of Pragmatics*, pp. 140-161.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. and Selting, M. (2001). "Introducing interactional linguistics". *Studies in Interactional Linguistics*, Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 1-24.

- Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2014a). What does grammar tell us about action? *Pragmatics* 24(3):623-47.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. and Selting, M. (2018). *Interactional Linguistics: Studying language in social interaction*. Cambridge University Press.
- Dausendschön-Gay, U., and Krafft, U. (2009). "Preparing Next Actions in Routine Activities." *Discourse Processes*. 247–268.
- Dobronravin, N. A., Smirnova, M. A. (2001). Imperative constructions in Hausa. *Typology of Imperative Constructions*. (Xrakovskij, V. S., eds.) München: Lincom Europa, pp. 329-354.
- Drew, P. (2005). *Conversation analysis*. In *Handbook of Language and Social Interaction*. Lawrence Erlbaum, pp. 71-102.
- Gao, H. (1999). "Features of request strategies in Chinese." Working Papers, Lund University, Dept. of Linguistics, Vol. 47.
- Halliday, M. A. K. (1994). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London: Edward Arnold.
- Hang, Y. (1988). *A pragmatic study of some sentence-final and post-verbal particles in Mandarin Chinese*. University of York.
- Heritage, J., Sorjonen. M.-L. (1994). "Constituting and Maintaining Activities across Sequences: And-Prefacing as a Feature of Question Design." *Language in Society* 23.
- Hill, B., Ide, S., Ikuta, S., Kawasaki, A., Ogino, T. "Universals of linguistic politeness: quantitative evidence from Japanese and American English". *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol. 10, 1986, pp. 347-371.
- Hong, G. (1999). "Features of request strategies in Chinese". *Working Papers*, vol. 47, pp. 73-86.
- Houtkoop, H. (1987). *Establishing agreement*. Dordrecht: Foris. Hutchby, Ian and Wooffitt, Robin.

- Hu, M. (1988). *Yuqi zhuci de yuqi yiyi* [The modal meaning of Chinese auxiliary words]. *Hanyu Xuexi*, pp. 4-7.
- Hutchby, I., Wooffitt, R. (1998). *Conversation Analysis: Principles, Practices and Applications*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Jefferson, G., (1972). Side sequences. In Sudnow (Ed.), *Studies in social interaction*. New York, NY: Free Press. 294-333.
- Jones, S. E., & Yarbrough, A. E. (1985). A naturalistic study of the meanings of touch. *Communication Monographs*, 52(1), 19-56
- Kendon, A. (2004). *Gesture: Visible Action as Utterance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kendrick, K. H., Drew, P. (2006). Recruitment: Offers, Requests, and the Organization of Assistance in Interaction. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, vol. 49, No. 1, 1-19.
- Kibardina, S. M. (2001). Imperative constructions in German.” *Typology of Imperative Constructions*. (Xrakovskij, V. S., eds.) München: Lincom Europa, pp. 315-328.
- Kozintseva, N.A. (2001). “Imperative sentences in American.” *Typology of Imperative Constructions*. (Xrakovskij, V. S., eds.) München: Lincom Europa, pp. 245-267.
- Lee-Wong, S. M. (1994) “Imperatives in Requests: Direct or Impolite - Observations from Chinese”. *Pragmatics*, vol. 4, pp. 491-515.
- Levinson, S. C. (1979). “Activity Types and Language.” *Linguistics* 17 (5–6): 365–400.
- Li, Y. C. (1974) What does „disposal“ mean? Features of the verb and noun in Chinese, *Journal of Chinese Linguistics*, 2, 200-218.

- Li, C. N., Thompson, S. A. (1981). *Mandarin Chinese: A Functional Reference Grammar*. Berkeley, California: University of California Press.
- Li, X. (2014). *Multimodality, Interaction and Turn-taking in Mandarin Conversation*. John Benjamins: Amsterdam/Philadelphia.
- Li, X. (in print). “Researching multimodality in Chinese interaction: a methodological account.” *Multimodality in Chinese Interaction*. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Li, X. & Ono, T. (in print). *Multimodality in Chinese Interaction*. De Gruyter Mouton.
- Liu, Y., Pan, W., Gu, W. (2001). *Chinese Grammar. Shi yong xian dai Han yu yu fa*. Beijing: Shang wu yin shu guan.
- Liu, B. (2009). “Chinese Discourse Markers in Oral Speech of Mainland Mandarin Speakers.” Volume 2. Smithfield, Rhode Island: Bryant University. Pages 358-374.
- Malygina, L. V. (2001). “Imperative sentences in Modern Hebrew.” *Typology of Imperative Constructions*. (Xrakovskij, V. S., eds.) München: Lincom Europa, pp. 268-286.
- Miracle, Charles W. (1991). *Discourse markers in Chinese*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ohio State University, Columbus.
- Mondada, L., (2017). “Precision timing and timed embeddedness of imperatives in embodied courses of action”, *In Imperative Turns at Talk: The design of directives in action (Liisa Raevaara Marja-Leena Sorjonen, Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, eds.)*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 65–101.
- Palmer, F. R. (1986). *Mood and modality*. Cambridge university press, Cambridge.
- Pan, X. (2009). Formative causation and grammaticalization of “hao bu hao”. Shanghai Normal Univeristy, Shanghai. pp. 50-56.

- Qi, H. Y., and Zhu M. (2005) “On the Selectivity of Modal Particles in Imperative Sentences in Modern Chinese”. *Journal of Shanghai Normal University*, vol. 34, pp. 62-69.
- Robinson, J.D. (2013) “Overall Structural Organization.” In *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis*, ed. by Jack Sidnell, and Tanya Stivers, Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell. 257–280.
- Rossi, G. (2012). “Bilateral and Unilateral Requests: The Use of Imperatives and Mi X? Interrogatives in Italian.” *Discourse Processes*, 49 (5). 426–458.
- Rossi, G. (2014). *When do people not use language to make requests?* John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam, 303-334.
- Rossi, G., (2017), “Secondary and deviant uses of the imperative for requesting in Italian”, In *Imperative Turns at Talk: The design of directives in action (Liisa Raevaara Marja-Leena Sorjonen, Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, eds.)*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 103–137.
- Rusakov, A. Y. (2001). “Imperative in North Russian Romani dialect.” *Typology of Imperative Constructions*. (Xrakovskij, V. S., eds.) München: Lincom Europa, pp. 287-299.
- Rue, Y.-J, and Zhang, G. (2008). *Request Strategies: A Comparative Study in Mandarin Chinese and Korean*. vol. 177, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam.
- Sacks, H. (1967). “The search for help: no one to turn to”, In *Essays in self destruction (E.S. Shneidman, ed.)*, New York, Science House, pp. 203-23.
- Sacks, H. (1972). “On the analyzability of stories by children”, In *Directions in sociolinguistics: the ethnography of communication (J.J. Gumperz, D. Hymes, eds.)*, New York, Rinehart & Winston, pp. 325-45.



- Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. and Jefferson, G (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language* 50: 696-735.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A. (1968). “Sequencing in Conversational Openings”. *American Anthropologist* 70. 1075–1095.
- Schegloff, E. A., Jefferson, G., and Sacks, H. (1977). “The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation.” *Language*. 361–382.
- Schegloff, E. A., (2006), “On Possibles”, *Discourse Studies*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 141–157.
- Shegloff, E. A. (2007). *Sequence Organization in Interaction: A Primer in Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge University Press.
- Selting, M., (2001). Fragments of Units as Deviant Cases of Unit-Production in Conversational Talk. *Studies in Interactional Linguistics*, ed. By Margret Selting & Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, 229–258. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Selting, M., Auer, P., Barth-Weingarten, D., Bergmann, J., Bergmann, P., Birkner, K., Couper-Kuhlen, E., Deppermann, A., Gilles, P., Günthner, S., Hartung, M., Kern, F., Mertzlufft, C., Meyer, C., Morek, M., Oberzaucher, F., Peters, J., Quasthoff, U., Schütte, W., Stukenbrock, A., Uhmman, S. (2011). “A system for transcribing talk-in-interaction: GAT 2”. *Gesprächsforschung – Online-Zeitschrift zur verbalen Interaktion* (ISSN 1617-1837).
- Shaw, C., Hepburn, A., (2013), “Managing the moral implications of advice in informal interaction”, *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, vol. 46, no. 4, pp. 344–362.
- Simpson, J., Weiner, E. (2019). “request, v.1.” *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2019, [www.oed.com/view/Entry/163242](http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/163242). Accessed 11 April 2019.

- Simpson, J., Weiner, E. (2019). "proposal, v.1." *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, March 2019, [www.oed.com/view/Entry/163242](http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/163242). Accessed 11 April 2019.
- Sorjonen, M.-L., Raevaara, L., and Couper-Kuhlen, E. (2017). *Imperative Turns at Talk: The Design of Directives in Action*. Vol. 30, John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam; Philadelphia, 2017, pp. 1-22.
- Stivers, T., (2012), "Sequence organization", In *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis* (Jack Sidnell, Tanya Stivers, eds.), Oxford, U.K., Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 191-209.
- Stivers, T., Sidnell, J., (2005), "Introduction: Multimodal interaction", *Semiotica*, vol. 156, no. ¼, pp. 1-20.
- Streeck, J. (2009). *Gesturecraft: The manufacture of meaning*. Netherlands, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Stukenbrock, A. (2014). Pointing to an 'empty' space: Deixis am Phantasma in face-to-face interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 74:70-93.
- Sun, C. (2006). *Chinese: A Linguistic Introduction*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 181-183.
- Vine, B. (2004). *Getting Things Done at Work: The Discourse of Power in Workplace Interaction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Xrakovskij, Victor S. (ed.) 2001. *Typology of Imperative Constructions*. München: Lincom Europa.
- Yuan, Y. (1993). *Xiandai hanyu qishiju yangjiu*. Beijing: Peking University Young Scholars Library.
- Zhang, H. (2014). Research on the Interpersonal Function of Modern Chinese Imperative Sentences. Beijing: China Social Sciences Press.

Zhang, B., Fan, K., Zhang, Y. (2000). *Xiandai ganyu yufa fenxi*. East China Normal University Press.

Zhu, D. (1982). *Yu fa jiang yi*. Beijing: Shang wu yin shu guan, pp. 205-206.

Zinken, J., Deppermann, A. (2017). “A cline of visible commitment in the situated design of imperative turns”, *In Imperative Turns at Talk: The design of directives in action* (Liisa Raevaara Marja-Leena Sorjonen, Elizabeth Couper-Kuhlen, eds.), Amsterdam, John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 27–63.

## Appendix A

### Transcript symbols

The transcription system in this study is mainly based on GAT-2 (Selting et al, 2011) with modification by Li (2014).

| Symbol       | Meaning                                       |
|--------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| [ ]          | Overlap                                       |
| =            | Latching                                      |
| (.)          | Micro-pause                                   |
| (1.0)        | Pause duration in seconds and tenth second    |
| ((laughing)) | Description of laughter                       |
| :            | Segment lengthening                           |
| .h,.hh,.hhh  | Breathing in, according to its duration       |
| (XX)         | Presumed wording                              |
| ,            | Rising pitch movement of intonation unit      |
| -            | Level pitch movement of intonation unit       |
| ;            | Falling pitch movement of intonation unit     |
| .            | Low falling pitch movement of intonation unit |
| ?            | Cut-off by glottal closure                    |
| <<p>>        | Piano, soft                                   |

## Appendix B

### Glossing conventions

|      |                                        |
|------|----------------------------------------|
| 3SG  | third person singular                  |
| ASSC | associative ( <i>de</i> )              |
| BA   | a pretransitive marker ( <i>ba</i> )   |
| BEI  | the passive coverb ( <i>bei</i> )      |
| CL   | classifier                             |
| CRS  | currently relevant state ( <i>le</i> ) |
| INT  | interjections in speech                |
| NEG  | negatives ( <i>bu</i> )                |
| POSS | possessive ( <i>de</i> )               |
| PRT  | particle                               |
| Q    | question marker ( <i>ma</i> )          |