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WHERE TWO ENDS MEET:
NON-AT-ISSUE MEANINGS ON THE SYNTACTIC TREETOPS OF VIETNAMESE

by

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ABSTRACT

Vietnamese is a robust analytic language with a rich repertoire of linguistic expressions dedicated to conveying non-at-issue meanings—meanings that do not target Robert's (2012) Question Under Discussion. This dissertation endeavors to capitalize on the richness and diversity of these expressive elements, which have been largely overlooked in the formal literature, to improve our understanding of the Vietnamese functional architecture in the domains above TP. To this end, I conduct an in-depth investigation of three groups of non-at-issue items located at the two linear edges of the Vietnamese sentence: various sentential mood and modality (ad)verbs, two modal particles, and an array of sentence-final particles (SFPs). Mood and modal elements are linearly positioned around the left edge, while SFPs exclusively cluster at the right edge.

By definition, these non-at-issue items are not part of the propositional content of the host clause and are excluded from the computation of descriptive meanings. Modal particles and SFPs largely fall into the category of "untranslatables"—expressions whose meanings are challenging to articulate descriptively or to translate accurately. Nonetheless, they play an irreplaceable role in communication and cannot be omitted without sacrificing a significant portion of the sentence's communicative effects. Despite their placement at opposite ends of the sentence, I propose that these non-at-issue elements meet, in structural terms, at the upper part of the Vietnamese functional spine above TP. Specifically, modal particles and sentential mood/modal (ad)verbs merge squarely within CP, while SFPs form a separate domain immediately above CP. Linear ordering tests, scopal tests, and embedding tests are extensively employed to determine the structural heights of these groups of non-at-issue items, as well as the rigid hierarchy among items within each group.

Chapter 3 contends that sentential mood/modal markers precede and license the complementizer *là*, identified as head of the Finiteness Phrase—the lower boundary of the Split-CP system à la Rizzi (1997). These markers, which include evaluatives, evidentials, and epistemics, form a rigid hierarchy consistent with Cinque's (1999) order of adverbs. *Là* is syntactically dependent on a c-commanding mood/modal licenser and is presumably endowed with indicative mood features. This proposal accounts for the possible co-occurrence of *là* and *rằng*, the latter of which is assumed to merge as head of a Clause-Type Phrase, marking the upper boundary of CP.

Chapter 4 suggests that the two monosyllabic modal particles *mà* and *lại* merge above these mood/modal elements, forming with them a clausal MOD-field. *Mà* primarily contributes a sense of unlikelihood, making it felicitous in nonveridical contexts as defined in Giannakidou (1998); *lại*, while compatible with *mà*, typically expresses a sense of counter-expectation. Although each MOD-field item has a unique interpretive contribution, they all concern the personal epistemic/doxastic state or the subjective evaluation of an attitude holder towards the proposition under consideration.

Chapter 5 argues that SFPs form a separate domain beyond the traditional CP, termed the *interactional domain* following Wiltschko (2021). Based on the interpretive effects they introduce and their distributional restrictions, I propose a fine-grained architecture for this domain, which comprises two projections. The lower projection, termed the Commitment Phrase (CommitP) following Krifka (2017), codifies information pertaining to the public commitments of the speaker and the addressee. The upper projection, called the Speech Act Phrase (SAP), focuses on the discourse relation between the speech participants. Each projection is further divided into two layers. The lower $\text{CommitP}_{\text{Spk}}$ within CommitP accommodates particles marking or modulating the speaker's commitments, while the higher $\text{CommitP}_{\text{Add}}$ hosts those related to the commitments the speaker attributes to the addressee. SAP is split into a lower SAP_{CoA}, which encodes a call on the addressee (CoA) to respond to the utterance in a specific manner, and a higher $\text{SAP}_{\text{Bonding}}$, which profiles the relational aspect between the speech participants. This fine-grained hierarchy satisfactorily accounts for triple particle clusters in Vietnamese. I further make a case for a host of previously undiscussed SFPs that are bisyllabic, arguing that they are on a par with the more familiar monosyllabic particles of commitment in both syntactic and interpretive terms.

Additionally, I point out that the non-at-issue elements discussed here manifest a clear-cut division of labor: MOD-field items are dedicated to marking personal judgment or private belief, while SFPs either calibrate public commitments or engage the addressee. Moreover, the former are tied to an attitude-holder, which can be the external speaker or the subject of the main clause, whereas the latter exclusively anchor to the external speaker. Syntactically, MOD-field items may appear in a well-defined set of embedded environments, while SFPs are strictly non-embeddable. This further supports a weak/strong dichotomy of root phenomena à la Frey (2023), as well as a dissociation between MOD-field items (as part of the CP domain) and speech-act modification.

Another form of division of labor is between SFPs and items marking clause types. I propose that SFPs play no role in clause-typing, as they are structurally positioned outside of CP and only contribute to the "ultimate illocutionary force" of the utterance (Portner 2004). Information about clause type is encoded in the Clause-Type Phrase, with each clause type being associated with a specific sentential force (Sadock & Zwicky 1985) by default. The resulting Illocutionary force (or utterance force) combines this default sentential force and the speaker's communicative intention.

In summary, this work systematically investigates the peripheral domains of Vietnamese, an area that has been largely uncharted, to fill a notable gap in the linguistic scholarship on Vietnamese syntax. By focusing on their internal structure and structural representation of pragmatic aspects, this dissertation sheds light on the overall architecture of these syntactic treetops, where non-at-issue information holds a central position. Adopting the Cartographic approach, I examine a wide range of non-at-issue elements, showing how they are syntactically integrated and demonstrating that extending narrow syntax beyond CP effectively accounts for their syntactic behaviors. I further adopt the decomposition of illocutionary force, which allows for a more explicit account of phenomena at the syntax-pragmatic interface, including how non-canonical questions arise from a mismatch between basic clause types (encoded in Clause-Type Phrase) and the speaker's intention (encoded in the interactional domain above CP). Additionally, a deeper exploration of the domain beyond CP sets the stage for investigating a range of previously overlooked particles at the sentence-final position, shedding light on their role in deriving more specific illocutionary forces. The findings of this work also pave the way for future syntactic studies on the upper end of the Vietnamese functional spine as well as help to further delineate the boundary between CP and the lower TP domain.

Finally, the current work demonstrates how formal treatments of various non-at-issue elements in genealogically unrelated languages can be corroborated by the Vietnamese data. This underscores the importance of cross-linguistic comparative endeavors in refining our understanding of syntactic structures and their universality and variation across languages. This dissertation brings Vietnamese into the broader conversation of syntactic theory and highlights the value of including less-studied languages in theoretical discussions, thereby expanding the empirical basis upon which universal syntactic principles are established.

摘要

越南語是一種強勢的分析性語言（robust analytic language），能夠使用多種語言機制表達非關鍵語義（non-at-issue meanings）。本論文旨在透過探討越南語中豐富的溝通性成分，深入理解時制詞組（TP）以上的功能結構。我詳細研究了越南語語句兩緣的三組非關鍵成分。這些項目包括位於線性左緣的說話者導向的情態/模態相關標記（speaker-oriented mood/modal markers）和兩個情態助詞（modal particles），以及僅存在於線性右緣的各種互動性助詞（interactional particles）。這些成分雖然不被視為主句命題內容的一部分，也不包含在描述性意義（descriptive meaning）之中，但在對話中起著不可替代的作用。若省略它們，句子的溝通效果將會受影響。

從結構上來看，我提出這些非關鍵成分位於越南語功能脊柱（functional spine）的頂端部分。我認為說話者導向的情態/模態詞位於 CP 內，因為它們緊跟對比主題（contrastive topic）之後，且位於我認定為限定性短語（Finiteness Phrase）的中心語「là」之前。這類情態和模態標記包括了評價（evaluative）、示証（evidential）和認知（epistemic）狀語。它們依循 Cinque（1999）的框架，形成了嚴格的層次架構。此外，我認為有兩個單音節的情態詞位於這些情態和模態標記之上，並與它們一起形成所謂的「句子模態域」（MOD-field）。情態詞「mà」表示一種無可能性（unlikelihood），而情態詞「lại」通常表達一種反預期感（counter-expectation）。雖然每個模態域的成分有其獨特的意涵，但它們都是涉及態度持有者（attitude holder）對命題內容的個人認知/信念狀態（doxastic state）或主觀評價。

另一方面，本文認爲越南語中的句末助詞（sentence-final particles）形成一個 CP 之外的獨立領域，稱為「互動領域」(interactional domain)（參見 Wiltschko 2021）。根據這些助詞的解釋效果以及它們在分佈上的限制，我提出一個精細的互動領域架構，其中包含了兩個投射。較低的投射稱為「承諾短語」（Commitment Phrase），標記了說話者和聽話者的公開承諾（public commitment）。較高的投射稱為「說話者-聽話者短語」（Speaker-Addressee Phrase）或「言語行為短語」（Speech Act Phrase），著重於言談參與

者之間的語篇關係（discourse relation）。這兩個投射又再各自分為兩層。「承諾短語」（CommitP）中有較低的「說話者承諾層」（$\text{CommitP}_{\text{Spk}}$）和較高的「聽話者承諾層」（$\text{CommitP}_{\text{Add}}$）。「說話者-聽話者短語」（SAP）中有較低的「回應層」（SAP_{CoA}）和較高的「紐帶層」（$\text{SAP}_{\text{Bonding}}$）。「回應層」的助詞促使聽話者以特定方式回應話語，而「紐帶層」的則負責描繪言談參與者之間的關係。我主張這些非關鍵成分展現了明確的分工，其中模態域成分專門標記個人判斷或私人信念，而句末助詞則用於標記公開承諾或使聽話者感興趣。從句法上來看，儘管兩者在一般意義上都被視為「根句現象」（root phenomena），但前者可以出現在一組明確的嵌入環境（embedding contexts）中，後者卻不可被嵌入。

總括來說，本研究的目的是對越南語語句脊柱中的最高區域進行全面性的調查並關注其內部結構，特別是語用方面的結構表現。我採用製圖理論（Cartographic approach）對三組非關鍵成分進行詳細研究，並擴展狹義句法（narrow syntax）的概念來解釋其句法行為。本研究的發現進一步地闡明了越南語中非關鍵語義所表達的句法頂層結構。

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TABLE OF CONTENT

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS xi

LIST OF TABLES xii

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 Scope and delimitation 1

1.2 A note on terminology 4

1.3 Road map 7

CHAPTER 2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND 8

2.1. Mood and modality: some preliminaries 8

2.1.1. Mood/modality and judge-dependency 8

2.1.2. Syntactic representation of mood and modal markers 11

2.2. Modal particle as an independent category 14

2.2.1. What makes MPs MPs? 14

2.2.2. Where are MPs, syntactically? 19

2.3. Sentence-final particles on the treetop 22

2.3.1. SFPs as a cross-linguistically attested phenomenon 22

2.3.2. SFPs in Vietnamese 27

2.4. Commitment: an overview 30

2.4.1. Commitment ≠ belief 31

2.4.2. The multifaces of commitment 33

2.4.3. Commitment vs. call-on-addressee 34

2.4.4. Commitment and clause types 36

2.4.5. Commitment can be contingent 37

2.5. Pragmatics goes syntax 40

2.5.1 Splitting up CP 40

2.5.2 Beyond CP 42
2.5.3 Decomposing speech act 46
CHAPTER 3 SENTENTIAL MOOD/MODALITY AND MAIN-CLAUSE COMPLEMENTIZERS 50
3.1 Setting the stage 50
3.2 Previous analyses of [MOD+COMP] 54
3.2.1. MOD is not adjectival 54
3.3.2 Hill (2007a, 2010) 56
3.3.3 Cruschina & Remberger (2017, 2018) 59
3.3.4 Sato (2014) and Kocher (2017, 2018) 61
3.3 An account for Vietnamese [MOD+*là*] 63
3.3.1. MOD as evaluative, evidential, and epistemic adverbs 63
3.2.2. MOD as high modal verbs of strong necessity 66
3.2.3. *Là* heads Finiteness Phrase 70
3.4. Summary 74
CHAPTER 4 MODAL PARTICLES AND THE PARTICLE PHRASE 75
4.1 Introduction 75
4.2 MP *mà* 76
4.2.1 Preliminaries 76
4.2.2 *Mà* in tentative/hypothetical contexts 77
4.2.3 *Mà* in non-canonical interrogative contexts 89
4.2.4 *Mà* in negative/affective contexts 93
4.2.5 Mapping *mà* syntactically 96
4.3 MP *lại* 100
4.3.1 Preliminaries 100
4.3.2 Contexts and interpretations 102
4.3.3 Mapping MP *lại* syntactically 110

4.4 Summary 113
CHAPTER 5 SENTENCE-FINAL PARTICLES AND THE INTERACTIONAL DOMAIN 115
5.1 Introduction 115
5.2 SFPs and (public) commitment 117
5.2.1 Marking speaker's commitment 118
5.2.2 Marking addressee's commitment 123
5.2.3 Interim conclusion 126
5.3 SFPs and the speaker-addressee relation 128
5.3.1 Calling on the addressee 128
5.3.2 Bonding with the addressee 133
5.4 SFPs do not type clauses 137
5.5 SFPs are not always monosyllabic 142
5.6 SFPs and the issue of head-directionality 145
5.7 Summary 149
CHAPTER 6 TWO TYPES OF ROOT PHENOMENA 152
6.1 Root phenomena 152
6.1.1 What is "root phenomena"? 152
6.1.2 Vietnamese MOD-field items and SFPs as root phenomena 154
6.1.3 "Root phenomena" is not fine-grained enough 158
6.2 MOD-field items and SFPs as weak and strong root phenomena 160
6.2.1 Testing ground 1: Non-factive and factive complements clauses 160
6.2.2 Testing ground 2: Central and peripheral adverbial clauses 162
6.3 A note on some non-root phenomena 168
6.4 Summary 171
CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION 172
REFERENCES 174

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
ANT	anterior
ASR	assertion
CF	counterfactual
CL	classifier
COMP	complementizer
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
CONT	continuous
COP	copula
DEIK	deictic marker
DEM	demonstrative
DISC	discourse marker
DIST	distal TAM
DL	dual
DP	direct possessive
DUR	durative
FUT	future
IMP	imperative
INF	infinitive
IRR	irrealis
LOC	locative
MOD	assertion marker
MP	modal particle
NEG	negative
NREC	non-recent
OBJ	object
PASS	passive
PST	past
PERF	perfective
P(L)	plural
POSS	possessive
POT	potential
PRES	present
PRN	pronoun
PROG	progressive
PROX	proximate
PRT	particle
Q	question particle
REAL	realis
REFL	reflexive marker
REL	relative complementizer
SFP	sentence-final particle
S(G)	singular
SUBJ	subjunctive
TOP	topic marker
TR	transitive
VOC	vocative

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LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Three classes of Mandarin root complementizers 25

Table 2: Mandarin Left Periphery in terms of SFPs 25

Table 3: Vietnamese commitment SFPs and their pragmatic contribution(s) 127

Table 4: Vietnamese CoA SFPs and their pragmatic contribution(s)..... 132

Table 5: Vietnamese SFPs in four categories 151

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

This dissertation constitutes a syntactic study of an array of non-at-issue elements found clustered at the two linear edges of the Vietnamese sentence. It represents the latest effort to contribute to the exploration of linguistic means that encode subjective, non-truth-conditional meanings, adding to the expanding body of research on the syntax-pragmatics interface. The current work utilizes the mainstream generative syntactic framework and draws significant inspiration from the Cartographic approach, which advocates for the maximal syntactization of interpretive domains. Throughout the study, I offer an exploratory foray into the structural and interpretive properties of three categories of non-at-issue elements in the highest projections of the Vietnamese functional spine. I will argue that the range of mood/modal elements found around the sentential left-edge is part of the traditional CP, whereas the rich repertoire of sentence-final elements, both monosyllabic and bisyllabic, are overt exponents of a pragmatic/interactional domain above CP. These are elements generally restricted to the spoken registers and are not characteristic of the written language.

1.1 Scope and delimitation

This study restricts its range of coverage to the elements that can be characterized as non-at-issue at the topmost domains of the Vietnamese functional architecture, with the lower limit being the Finiteness Phrase (FinP) à la Rizzi (1997). The linguistic phenomena discussed in this current work are all root phenomena that are found entirely outside of TP. The mood/modal elements at the left end of the sentence will be argued to exclusively communicate sentential mood and modal meanings, which are typically speaker-oriented. As illustrated in (1), these mood/modal elements include evaluatives, evidentials, and epistemics. For ease of exposition, I will mnemonically refer to the structural space occupied by these mood and modal elements the MOD-field. Priority and dynamic modals in Portner's (2009) sense (including deontics, bouletics, teleologicals, abilitives, among others) are TP-internal and will be excluded from my inquiry.

(1) **May mắn/ hiển nhiên/ có lẽ** (là) Tí sẽ đến.
fortunately obviously maybe COMP Tí FUT come
'Fortunately/ obviously/ maybe (that) Tí will come.'

Also included into the MOD-field are two particles *mà* (lit. 'but') and *lại* (lit. 'however'), as illustrated in (2). These particles are associated to a range of meanings from tentativity, hypotheticality, to counter-expectancy. As far as my knowledge permits, these particles and their uses have, until now, received limited attention in the literature.

(2) Sao **mà** Tí **lại** sẽ đến?
how MP Tí MP FUT come
'How come Tí will come? (*This is unexpected*.)'

Given their potential interpretive contributions, these particles are labeled modal particles (MPs). The choice of this term directly alludes to the similarity between these particles and a group of well-studied clause-medial particles traditionally referred to as *Modalpartikeln* (modal particles) in German and some other Germanic languages. In addition to being speaker-oriented, Vietnamese modal particles also consistently pattern with other mood/modal elements within the MOD-field in terms of syntactic behavior with respect to embedding.

The third category to be included in this inquiry comprises pragmatic sentence-final particles (SFPs). Vietnamese is a radically analytic language which, among other things, is known to exhibit a rich inventory of SFPs. See (3) for an illustration. SFPs, also found in large numbers in several East and Southeast Asian languages like Cantonese, Mandarin Chinese and Thai, is a frequent topic of linguistic inquiry due to their interpretive effects, which notoriously elude attempts of direct translation.

(3) Tí sẽ đến **mà/ chứ nhỉ/ ha**?
Tí FUT come SFP SFP SFP SFP
'Tí will come, *contrary to what is assumed*, *right*?'

This work greatly capitalizes on this bulk of monosyllabic SFPs, in hope of better understanding the structure of the top end of an utterance's functional architecture, a major objective of the current endeavor. It is however also my intent to draw attention to a much less-discussed set of bisyllabic SFPs, demonstrating that they function in the same way as more familiar monosyllabic

SFPs. To account for these SFPs, I will argue for a higher structural position for sentence-final elements within an *interactional domain* à la Wiltschko (2021), which goes beyond the traditional CP.

(4) Tí sẽ đến **cũng nên/ thì phải**.
Tí FUT come SFP SFP
'Tí will come, *maybe*/ *so it seems*.'

It is constructive to note that we will only concentrate on the SFPs with a pragmatic dimension in this current work. The fact is that not all particles at the right edge of the sentence are non-at-issue, but at-issue SFPs will be generally excluded from my discussions. Among the at-issue particles are interrogative elements like *không* 'not' and *chưa* 'not yet', see (5a, b). These are negative particles that have no pragmatic import (Le 2015; Phan & Duffield 2019; Phan & Starke 2022), in contrast with "pragmatically loaded" SFPs like *à*, *ư*, *sao*, or *hả* as in (5c). I will briefly mention these question particles again when the issue of clause-typing is addressed in Chapter 5.

(5) a. Anh Nam có đến đây **không**?
brother Nam have come here Q
'Does Nam come here?' (Cao 2006: 399, translation by Phan & Starke 2022: 193)

b. Anh Nam đã đến đây **chưa**?
brother Nam ANT come here Q
'Has Nam come here yet?' (Cao 2006: 399, translation by Phan & Starke 2022: 193)

c. Ông Nam về rồi **à**/ **ư**/ **sao**/ **hả**?
grandpa Nam leave already Q
'Nam left, *didn't he*?' (Cao 2006: 400, translation by Phan & Starke 2022: 194)

Also excluded from my discussion are tense/aspect-related elements like adverb *rồi* 'already' and telic particles like *xong* 'finish' in (6), or inclusive/additive particles like *thôi* 'only' and *nữa* 'also, more' as in (7). As will be shown in Chapter 6, only pragmatic SFPs resist embedding. Nonetheless, I will use the term "SFP" throughout this study as an exclusive label for the right-edge elements that carry non-at-issue meaning and some form of pragmatic function, all for the sake of simplicity.

(6) Nó đã đọc sách **xong rồi**
3S ANT read book finish already
'He has finished reading (the) books.' (Phan 2013: 94)

(7) a. cho tôi nghỉ năm phút **thôi**
allow 1SG rest five minute only
'let me rest for just five minutes' (K.T. Nguyễn 1997: 365, translation mine)

b. Nó có thể ăn thêm hai bát cơm **nữa**.
he has ability eat add two bowlful rice additionally
'He can eat two more bowls of rice.' (Đ.H. Nguyễn 1997: 148)

Although I will extensively discuss the topic of root phenomena and Rizzi's (1997) Split-CP system in the later chapters, it is not my objective to delve deeply into issues related to information structure, such as focalization and topicalization. That being said, I will occasionally invoke the information-structural concepts of topic and contrast, using the structural positions associated with types of topics as benchmarks to determine the height of mood and modal elements in a cartographic framework. Furthermore, although this study focuses exclusively on non-at-issue meaning, not every non-at-issue item will be included. Specifically, I will not address what Gutzmann (2013: 4) dubs "expressives in the narrow sense," i.e., linguistic expressions that convey a subjective emotional or evaluative attitude with a heightened level of affectedness, such as epithets (e.g., *bastard*, *idiot*) and attributive adjectives (like *damn* or *friggin'*).

1.2 A note on terminology

The three classes of linguistic devices discussed in this study—mood/modal (ad)verbs, modal particles, and sentence-final particles—can all be broadly characterized as having meanings that extend beyond the speaker's main assertion (Sanders 2022). Their meanings are highly subjective and are generally interpreted as anchoring to a speaker. This category of meaning, which is non-propositional and/or closely linked to the point of view of an attitude holder, has increasingly been included in formal literature in the past few decades, despite being initially overlooked or avoided in formal studies of natural language meaning. A myriad of terms has been used to label this type of meaning, among which are *colored* (Frege 1897/1979), *emotive* (Jakobson 1960), *secondary* (Visconti 1996), *expressive* (Potts 2007), *evaluative* (Bezuidenhout 2004), *non-descriptive*,

subjective, *use-conditional* meaning (Recanati 2004), *projective*, and *non-at-issue* (Potts 2005). These labels exhibit certain degrees of overlap and can sometimes substitute for each other, but they are generally associated with different theoretical assumptions and sets of phenomena. They are for that reason not synonymous.

I will mainly use *non-at-issue* to characterize the meaning contribution of all the phenomena covered in this study.[1] Potts (2005: 6) uses *at-issue entailment* as a cover term for "regular asserted content", which he claims to be equivalent to "what is said" in Grice's (1975) terms. Simons et al. (2010) claim that non-at-issue meaning does not target Robert's (1996) Question Under Discussion (QUD) and operates at a separate dimension of meaning. QUD is typically implicit in the discourse as "a semantic question (i.e. a set of alternative propositions) which corresponds to the current discourse topic" (Simons et al. 2010: 316). Non-at-issueness concerns various types of propositional attitude, such as the speaker's epistemic, doxastic, emotional evaluation, toward the modified propositions. Non-at-issueness is generally assumed, implicitly or explicitly, for SFPs (as explicitly claimed in Ettinger & Malamud 2019; Lee 2022, a.o.), modal/discourse particles (Zimmermann 2018; Czypionka et al. 2021; Frey 2023), evidentials (Koev 2011; Rett & Murray 2013), and epistemic modals with subjective interpretation à la Lyons 1977 (Müller 2019; Krifka 2023; Frey 2023). Three other terms, *non-truth-conditional*, *expressive*, and *subjective*, appear to be most useful to characterize certain subsets of the phenomena covered here, but does not seem to be completely adequate as a cover term for all.

Non-truth-conditional meaning (or *use-conditional* meaning à la Recanati 2004), as "the phenomenon of meaning that is contributed by the conventional meaning of expressions but that nevertheless does not become part of the truth-conditional content of an utterance" (Gutzman 2013: 3), is generally a good alternative cover term for the purposes of this work. The presence or absence of use-conditional expressions has in principle no bearing on a sentence's truth conditions. Epistemic modal elements are frequently assumed to not contribute to a sentence's truth conditions, unlike other (lower) modals, especially when they have a subjective interpretation. Papafragou (2006) however argues that epistemics, regardless of whether they are interpreted subjectively or objectively, do have truth-conditional contribution. They behave as if they are non-truth

[1] *Non-at-issue* is sometimes alternatively referred to as *not-at-issue* (Simons et al. 2010, a.o.).

conditional elements only when interpreted as subjective in terms of "what is known" (Kratzer 1977), in which case they are anchored to the speaker and are restricted to her current epistemic state. Rett (2012) points out that evidentials are assumed to be truth-conditional by some (like Izvorski 1997) but non-truth-conditional by others (such as Faller 2002). See also Chapter 2 for more discussion. To avoid unnecessary complications, I refrain from adopting the labels *non-truth-conditional* and *use-conditional* as an umbrella term for the three classes of phenomena, although the term is fitting to characterize the majority of the phenomena discussed here.

The notion of *expressive* meaning is typically related to speaker's personal emotions or feelings, a dimension of meaning distinct from the regular descriptive content (Potts 2007; Trotzke 2017). The core component of expressives is what Gutzman (2013) calls expressives in the narrow sense, notably attributive adjectives like *damn*, *friggin'* (Potts 2005), epithets *bastard*, *idiot* (Potts 2007), and interjections like *ouch*, *oops*, *oh* (Kaplan 2004). While certain linguistic phenomena, such as evaluative adverbs and modal particles, show a more prominent expressivity (Gutzmann 2013; Abraham 2020), evidential adverbs are typically claimed to be canonical non-expressive non-at-issue encoder (Rett 2019, 2021). The same can be said about epistemic auxiliaries and adverbs. For this reason, the term *expressive* is generally dispreferred here.

Finally, the use of *subjective*, which alludes to the relevance of an individual's perspective, is encountered quite often when modal particles and mood/modal elements (especially evaluative adverbs) are under discussion. Since Lyons (1977), it has been generally accepted that epistemics like *must* can be interpreted subjectively or objectively, and that epistemic adverbs like *certainly* and *possibly* are more subjective than their adjectival counterparts *certain* and *possible* (see also Nuyts 2001; von Fintel & Gillies 2007; Lassiter 2016; Yatsushiro et al. 2022; Krifka 2023, a.o.); only the former are beyond the communicated proposition and concern the subjective evaluation of an attitude holder. Evidentials are also viewed as inherently subjective, given that the interpretation of evidence is "typically analyzed as making reference to an 'evidence holder'" (Lee & Kaiser 2021). As far as the MOD-field elements are concerned, *subjective* is an appropriate term to describe their interpretive nature.

Linguistic elements like SFPs however do not exclusively concern the speaker's subjective attitude, but also typically involve the speaker's attention to the 'self' of the addressee "in both an epistemic and a social sense" (Traugott 2003: 130). In a way, SFPs are to various degrees also

addressee-oriented, with some used for the management of the shared knowledge between the speech participants (i.e., the common ground). They are therefore in nature *intersubjective*, a term that goes back to Benveniste (1958/1966) (see also Yap et al. 2010; Haselow 2012; Kim 2018; Izutsu & Izutsu 2020, a.o.). This term comes very close to *interactional* in works such as Brown et al. (2016), Heim & Wiltschko (2020), and Wiltschko (2021), a point to be returned to in later chapters. In brief, the label *subjective* also falls short of an accurate characterization of SFPs, leaving *non-at-issue* a more fitting cover term for the three types of phenomena discussed in this present work.

1.3 Road map

This dissertation is structured into seven chapters. Chapter 1 offers readers a preliminary understanding of the scope of this study and provides a general overview of the linguistic phenomena selected for a closer examination. Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical background assumed in subsequent chapters and reviews the literature most relevant to the study.

Chapters 3 discusses a range of linearly left-edge mood/modal elements, which can co-occur with an immediately succeeding main-clause complementizer. Chapter 4 provides a syntactic and interpretive account of two modal particles, arguing that they, along with the previously discussed mood/modal items, form a MOD-field at the lower end of CP. Chapter 5 explores the hierarchy and interpretation of a range of interactional SFPs directly anchored to the speech participants, showing how they merge in an articulated interactional domain above CP and are not involved in clause-tying.

Chapter 6 employs a series of embedding tests to demonstrate that the three categories of non-at-issue elements can be further distinguished into weak root phenomena and strong root phenomena, with MOD-field elements exemplifying the former and SFPs the latter. Chapter 7 concludes the dissertation.

CHAPTER 2
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

This chapter aims to familiarize readers with the theoretical framework underlying the subsequent discussions in this study. It first engages with existing scholarship most relevant to the three phenomena explored herein, i.e. mood and modal (ad)verbs, clause-medial modal particles, and sentence-final particles. In addition, it provides an overview of recent attempts to syntacticize pragmatic aspects of language and offers a brief overview of crucial concepts such as *commitment* and *common ground*.

2.1. Mood and modality: some preliminaries

Since at least Alexiadou (1997) and Cinque (1999), it has been claimed that sentential adverbs (mood and modal adverbs included) are syntactically merged as specifiers of functional projections high up in the clausal spine. Cinque (1999) makes a distinction between specifier-type adverbs and circumstantial adverbs, the former of which form a rigid hierarchy with one another. Mood and modal adverbs such as evaluative *fortunately*, evidential *allegedly*, and epistemic *probably* as instantiations of specifier-type adverbs also belong to the category of speaker-oriented adverbs à la Ernst (2009). While evaluative adverbs are in nature subjective as they express the speaker's personal evaluation, there have been some debates concerning whether epistemic and evidential modal elements are subjective or objective.

2.1.1. Mood/modality and judge-dependency

Authors like Halliday (1970), Palmer (1986), and Bybee & Fleischman (1995) take epistemics to be external to propositional content and closely connected to the speaker's attitude or commitment towards its truth. Different epistemics correspond to different degrees of speaker's commitment to the proposition. To foreshadow, this type of commitment is to be distinguished from the sort of commitment conveyed by sentence-final elements in languages like Vietnamese. To wit, the former represents the speaker's private doxastic/epistemic attitude (i.e., the speaker's own mental state with personal opinions); the latter on the contrary has a prominent social/public characteristic, subjecting the speaker to social sanctions if the proposition is found out to be false (Krifka 2017,

2023). The type of personal/private commitment codified by mood and modal elements will be generally referred to as *judgment* herein for the sake of clarity (see also §2.4 for more details).

Lyons (1977) is the first that makes a distinction between subjective (i.e. speaker-oriented) interpretation (what von Fintel & Gillies (2007) refer to as the 'solipsistic' interpretation) and objective interpretation (reflecting general knowledge relative to a relevant community) of epistemic modals.[2]. In other words, the interpretations of epistemics vary with respect to the holder of some epistemic/doxastic attitude, i.e. the *judge* à la Lasersohn (2005) or *assessor* in the sense of MacFarlane (2010). Objective modality contributes to the truth-conditional content of the utterance, whereas subjective modality exhibits non-truth conditional meaning.[3] Papafragou (2006) however argues that both types of epistemics have truth-conditional contribution, although the contribution is indexical to the speaker (and the speech time) if the epistemics are subjective, causing them to behave as if they were non-truth-conditional.

Stephenson (2007), when discussing the question of whose knowledge is relevant to the interpretation of epistemics, adopts Lasersohn's (2005) "judge" parameter and draws a parallel between predicates of personal taste (PPT) like *fun* and *tasty* and epistemic modals. Stephenson nevertheless remarks that the latter are much more restricted in how they can be anchored to an individual that is contextually salient. In attitude reports where the epistemic modal is embedded under attitude predicates like *think*, the modal obligatorily expresses the mental state of the subject of the (immediate) embedding clause (Stephenson 2007). In both (1a) and (1b), the judge/knower is Sam.

(1) a. Sam thinks it **might**/**must** be raining. (Stephenson 2007: 489)

b. Mary thinks that Sam thinks it **might**/**must** be raining. (Stephenson 2007: 490)

This interpretation is however only optionally observed for PPTs: while Sue is the judge of *tasty* in (2a), it is the cat that is naturally understood as the judge in (2b), despite the fact that *tasty* is embedded under a clause whose subject *I* refers to the speaker.

[2] According to Lyons (1977: 800), subjective epistemic modality corresponds to the speaker's qualification of the *I-say-so component*, while for objective modality it is an *it-is-so component* that is qualified.

[3] Lyons also claims that the subjective reading has a higher scope than the objective reading (1977: 808), and modal expressions have a much stronger tendency to be interpreted subjectively than objectively.

(2) a. Mary: Has anyone tried the cake?

Sam: Sue has. She thinks it's **tasty**. (Stephenson 2007: 498)

b. Mary: How's that new brand of cat food you bought?

Sam: I think it's **tasty**, because the cat has eaten a lot of it. (Stephenson 2007: 498)

The same cannot be claimed for (3), as the judge of *might* must always be the speaker, although the dog's perspective with respect to the dog food is contextually salient. Stephenson (2007: 500) takes it to be evidence that epistemic modals are "inherently judge-dependent," and attitude predicates mandatorily shift the judge parameter of the embedded clause to the (immediate) matrix subject as the attitude holder. In a main clause environment, an epistemic is strictly anchored to the speaker.[4]

(3) Mary: Wow, the dog really likes the dog food you're feeding him.

Sam: (#)Yeah, I think it might be table scraps. (Stephenson 2007: 498)

The subjective/objective distinction in epistemic interpretations, initially posited for modal verbs, is extendable to epistemic adverbs and their adjectival counterparts: the former are subjective and non-at-issue, the latter objective and at-issue (Nuyts 1992; Hengeveld 1988; see also Yatsushiro et al. 2022), see (4). Rett (2012) also assumes sentential adverbs such as evidential *apparently* in (5) is a CP-modifying position when interpreted subjectively as a non-truth-conditional content.

(4) a. This rock **certainly** / **probably** / **possibly** is a meteorite. [subjective]

b. It is **certain** / **probable** / **possible** that this rock is a meteorite. [objective]

(Yatsushiro et al. 2022: 3)

(5) **Apparently**, John is at the store. (Rett 2012: 131)

The present study embraces this subjective/objective dichotomy between mood/modal adverbs and their adjectival counterparts. Specifically, I contend that Vietnamese mood/modal adverbs are non-at-issue elements syntactically anchored to a judge, which can be either the external speaker or the subject of the matrix clause. In contrast, the adjectival counterparts exhibit at-issue meaning: they

[4] As the speaker simply expresses her own private knowledge state, when the two speech participants disagree, it is a case of "faultless disagreement" (Kölbel 2004), given that they simply have different epistemic states.

form part of the propositional content and are not anchored to any particular judge (see also Frey 2023 and citations therein).

2.1.2. Syntactic representation of mood and modal markers

It is common knowledge that epistemics adverbs and auxiliaries generally cannot be scoped over by negation or tense, while their adjectival counterparts can (Lyons 1977; Bellert 1977; Hengeveld 1988; Wolf 2015, a.o.). This explains why both syntactic and morphological negation are impossible for epistemic adverbs (6a), but possible for epistemic adjectives (6b). Furthermore, epistemic adjectives can "make reference to a past belief state that may have ceased at the time of utterance" (Yatsushiro et al. 2022; see also Wolf 2015) as in (7a), while epistemic adverbs cannot, see (7b).

(6) a. This rock is ***not certainly*** / ***uncertainly** a meteorite. [*NEG > epistemic adverb]

b. It is **not certain** / **uncertain** that this rock is a meteorite. [NEG > epistemic adjective]

(adapted from Yatsushiro et al. 2022: 4)

(7) a. It was **certain** that the Socialists won the election, but then it turned out that some of the results had been reported incorrectly, so in fact, now there is a chance that the Conservatives won. [T > epistemic adjective]

b. The Socialists **certainly** won the election, #but then it turned out that some of the results had been reported incorrectly, so in fact, now there is a chance that the Conservatives won. [*T > epistemic adverb]

(Yatsushiro et al. 2022: 5)

That epistemic adverbs take high scope over tense and negation shows that they merge above TP. This aligns with Cinque's (1999) hierarchy of adverbs where evaluative, evidential, and epistemic adverbs invariably scope over T elements, see (8).

(8) [*frankly* $\text{Mood}_{\text{speech act}}$ [*surprisingly* $\text{Mood}_{\text{evaluative}}$ [*allegedly* $\text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}}$

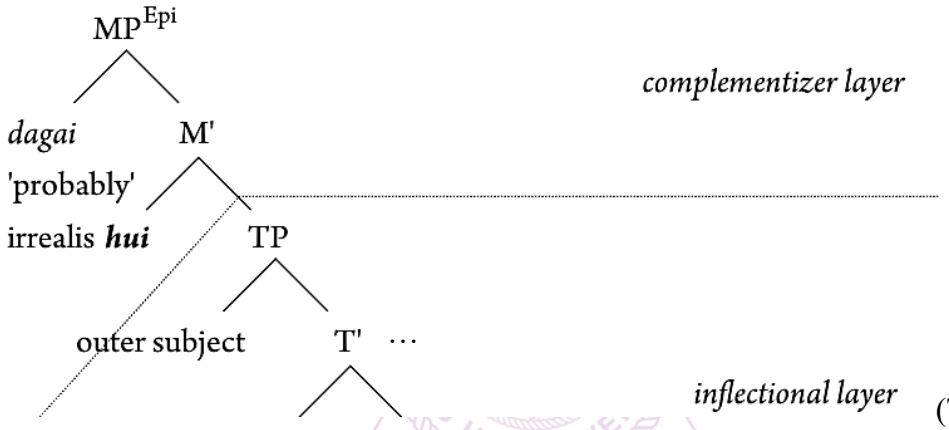
[*probably* $\text{Mod}_{\text{epistemic}}$ [*once* T(Past) [*then* T(Future) …]]]]]] (Cinque 1999: 77)

That epistemic adverbs and auxiliaries are external to the TP layer is also argued for Chinese: Tsai (2010, 2015a) asserts that auxiliaries like (irrealis) *hui* 'will' merge as head of a M(odal)P^{Epi}, with

adverbs like *dagai* 'probably' and *keneng* 'possibly' merging in its specifier position, see (9).[5] MP^{Epi} encodes epistemic modality in the complementizer layer, the highest of Rizzi's (1997) three tiers of syntactic projection. Tsai (2010) treats this top layer as also hosting evaluative adverbs. In a similar vein, Shi (2023) takes Chinese evaluative adverbs like *queshi* 'indeed', *genben* 'totally', and *pianpian* 'surprisingly' to merge as the specifier of an Eval(uative)P above Tsai's (2010, 2015a) MP^{Epi}.

(9) a. Akiu dagai **hui** qu xiancheng, wo bu shi hen queding.
train probably HUI go town I not be very sure
'Akiu probably will go to the town. I am not very sure.' (Tsai 2015a: 278)

b.



(Tsai 2015a: 285)

Kocher (2017) argues that Spanish epistemic (and evidential) adverbs are strictly subjective when co-occurring with complementizer *que* 'that', see (10a); without *que*, they can be interpreted either subjectively or objectively, see (10b). Kocher takes *que* to be base-generated as head of the Finiteness Phrase (the lower bound of Rizzi's (1997) Split-CP), putting the subjective epistemic adverbs in Mod(ifier)P of the CP domain (Rizzi 2004).

(10) a. **Cierto** que yo lo tenia mejor. [subjective/*objective]
certain QUE I it had better
'Certainly I had it better.' (CREA)

[5] Lin (2012) also suggests that epistemics scope over T, although he views elements like possibility modal *keneng* as verbs, which take a finite TP complement.

b. **Ciertamente** ellos tuvieron algunas ocasiones de gol. [subjective/objective]
certainly they had some chances of goal
'Certainly they had some chances to score goals.' (CREA)

(Kocher 2017: 83)

In comparison with tense and aspect, the other two categories of TAM (tense–aspect–mood/modality), see Trang Phan (2023) and citations therein, generative studies on Vietnamese mood and modality are generally scarce.[6] An early mention of Vietnamese epistemics from a generative perspective can be found in Duffield 1999 where pre-verbal *có thể* 'can' is claimed to head an epistemic projection above T, aligning with Cinque's (1999) hierarchy. Phan & Meisterernst (to appear) provide a set of syntactic tests to confirm the high position of epistemic *có thể* with respect to tense markers, as shown in (11a). This is in contrast to (11b), where *có thể* functions as a dynamic modal. Phan (2024) takes both *có thể* and *có lẽ* 'maybe' to be epistemic adverbs, presumably merged as Spec,ModP_{Epi}. Discussions of *có thể*, however, are generally brief and incidental, often found in the context of the study of post-verbal modal *được*.

(11) a. Anh ấy **có thể** ngày mai sẽ kiếm việc.
3SG can tomorrow FUT look.for job
'It is possible that he will look for a job tomorrow.' [epistemic *can* > T]

b. Anh ấy ngày mai sẽ **có thể** kiếm việc.
3SG tomorrow FUT can look.for job
'Tomorrow he will be able to look for a job.' [T > dynamic *can*]

(Phan & Meisterernst (to appear))

To the best of my knowledge, no attempt has been made thus far to offer a more complete picture of the syntax of mood and modal markers in Vietnamese. Additionally, the existing literature appears to overlook the curious co-occurrence of high adverbs (and modal verbs) and complementizers in main clause contexts (a phenomenon attested for some other languages like

[6] See Cao (2006) for a discussion of modal expressions in Vietnamese from the perspective of functional grammar. See also Phan & Duffield (2022) for a brief structural discussion of Vietnamese speaker-oriented adverbials.

Romanian (Hill 2007a, 2010), Spanish (Kocher 2017), and Italian (Cruschina & Remberger 2017)). I delve into these topics in Chapter 3.

2.2. Modal particle as an independent category

The topic of modal particle (MP) is often discussed for German and some other Germanic languages. This current study argues for the presence of a small class of MPs in Vietnamese, whose structural position is high up in a mood/modality field within the CP domain. Except for Phan & Tsai 2022 with their discussion of *mà*, I am unaware of other works that study aspects of clause-medial modal particles in the language.

2.2.1. What makes MPs MPs?

In the existing literature, MPs are generally considered a subset of expressives (Gutzmann 2013; Abraham 2020, a.o.), expressing use-conditional meaning. An alternative term for MP is "discourse particle" (to be distinguished from "discourse marker" or DM, a point I will return to briefly) (cf. Abraham 1991; Zimmermann 2004, 2008). Early discussions of German MPs within the generative tradition include Kratzer (1999) and Zimmermann (2004).[7] Some examples of German MPs are shown below. (12a) features the co-occurrence of two MPs *ja* 'as you may know' and *doch* 'yet'; in (12b), *wohl*, roughly 'presumably', serves as an MP.

(12) a. Sie muss **ja** **doch** ihre Zwillinge versorgen.
she must JA DOCH her twins take care of
'She must *JA DOCH* take care of her twins.' (Kratzer 1999: 3)

b. Hein ist **wohl** auf See.
Hein is at sea
'*Speaker assumes that* Hein is at sea.' (Zimmermann 2008: 200)

According to Bayer & Struckmeier (2017), that MPs have been largely glossed over during the history of linguistic inquiry can be attributed to a number of factors. For one, some languages, like (Modern) English, lack MPs altogether. For another, written language still largely dominates the

[7] German MPs have however garnered earlier attention in works from the functional tradition, see for example Weydt (1969) and Helbig (1977).

study of grammar, while MPs are primarily found in spoken, casual registers. Third, MPs and the distinctions they bring forth do not always fit easily into categories traditionally employed in mainstream frameworks in formal syntax and semantics. They are often regarded as too "complex" to deal with, or as "performative" in nature, thus not part of language as a formal system. At the beginning of the study of German MPs for example, the focus was almost exclusively on their pragmatic or discourse functions. More recent developments in the linguistic theories however allow us to come up with an adequate description and explanation of the functions and formal properties of these MPs. As such, the integration of MPs into formal frameworks has become more feasible than ever before.

MPs are typically defined as a "language-specific word class" (Diewald 2013: 27). As a group they generally function to "express the speaker's mental attitude toward or belief about what he or she is saying, i.e. they usually add the speaker's subjective point of view to the basic meaning conveyed by the utterance" (Coniglio 2007: 3). Note that although the literature mentioned in this chapter typically states that MPs are anchored to the speaker explicitly, such a statement is not entirely accurate. That is, MPs should orient towards an attitude holder, and just like what we discussed in the previous chapter, the attitude holder can be either the speaker or the logical subject of the matrix clause (see also Frey 2011, to be returned to later). This point will become clear when embedding facts are discussed (more on this in §4.4).

MPs in Coniglio's (2007) sense should be distinguished from discourse markers *strictu sensu*. Literature on the subject shows that there exist roughly two broad camps concerning the definition of discourse markers (Fischer 2006). For the first camp, discourse markers are syntactically integrated text-connective devices "drawn from the syntactic classes of conjunctions, adverbials, and prepositional phrases" (Fraser 1999: 950, see also Lewis 2006 and Cuenca 2013). As Diewald (2013) remarks, with this broader definition, discourse-organizational items are excluded, while MPs are a sub-group of discourse markers due to their capability of "backward pointing." Note that this effect is distinct from that of genuine anaphorical elements, as MPs "point back to non-expressed propositional and illocutionary entities which are assumed as given, can be interpolated, and are variants of the proposition or speech act containing the MP" (Diewald 2013: 23).

In this work, I adopt the definition of discourse markers as proposed by the second camp, which regards discourse markers as linguistic items non-integrated to the structure of the clause

but bound to utterance structure. They are the elements with discourse-organizational functions as left out by the first definition of discourse markers. The term "discourse" here refers to dialogic interaction between interlocutors. Discourse markers in the strict sense therefore "relate items of discourse to other items of discourse" (Diewald 2006: 406).

Discourse markers *strictu sensu* are "prosodically, syntactically, and semantically independent" (Diewald 2013: 23). Their scope is the utterance and they are assumed to appear in different syntactic positions. Example (13) demonstrates the use of the German *ja* as both a discourse marker and an MP. The first instantiation of *ja* is a turn-taking signaling discourse marker, the third a turn-final signaling discourse marker, and the second an MP.[8]

(13) ja, und dann kommt ja der große Balken, **ja**?
JA and then comes JA the large beam, JA
'Okay, and then – *we know that* – comes the large beam, right?' (Diewald 2013: 21)

An MP like the second token in (13) belongs to "a language-specific word class with clearly specifiable formal and functional features" (Diewald 2013: 19). This is however a class of functional heads that are "emergent" (Struckmeier 2014), meaning that they are a relatively new development compared to their "cousins" in other categories. Struckmeier (2014: 16) cites Burckhardt (1994) in stating that the large part of German MPs appears as late as the 16th, 18th,

[8] As far as Vietnamese is concerned, discourse markers in the strict sense should include sentence-initial turn-taking elements like *vậy/thế* 'then' in (i). Sentence-final particles (SFP), including the homonymous *vậy*/*thế* as in (ii), are not discourse particles in this sense however. First, they are still syntactically and prosodicaly integrated to the host clause. Second, there is also a clear difference in interpretive terms between sentence-initial discourse markers and SFPs, as indicated by the translation below. For concreteness, the former serve to manage the discourse flow, while the latter generally contribute to the illocutionary force of the utterance. I will return to the issue of SFPs in Chapter 5.

(i) **Vậy/thế** mày muốn gì?
then 2SG want what
'*Then* what do you want?'

(ii) Mày muốn gì **vậy**/**thế**?
2SG want what SFP
'What do you want? (*I'm curious*.)'

even 19th century, which means that these MPs had little time to develop properties capable of distinguishing themselves from what they derive from.

Despite that, a number of distinct properties have been proposed to help tell apart MPs from other seemingly similar categories cross-linguistically. The defining properties attributed to MPs (see, for example, Diewald 2013 and Herrmann 2014 and citations therein) which are relevant to Vietnamese data are as follows.

1. MPs introduce the attitude holder's judgment or belief in respect of the propositional content without altering the truth values of the proposition. They do not have referential meaning.

2. MPs have a variety of non-modal homonyms in other word classes which are plausibly related to each other diachronically (Abraham 1991). This gives the false impression that MP as a term refers to a mixed bag of elements belonging to heterogeneous classes. To illustrate, the German *aber* (lit. 'but') is an MP in (14a) but a conjunctive in (14b). Since MPs and their homonyms do not have the same semantics and are distinct in function, they can co-occur. In (15), the first *doch* is a conjunction, the second an MP. The two Vietnamese MPs to be discussed in this study, *mà* and *lại*, exhibit similar behaviors. Reminiscent of *aber*, *mà* (lit. 'but') is an MP in (16a), but it functions as a standard adversative conjunctive in (16b). In (17) where two instances of *lại* co-occur, the first *lại* is an MP, the second a restitutive adverb. The syntactic disparity between these homonyms will be spelled out explicitly in Chapter 4.

(14) a. Das ist **aber** eine Überraschung.
that is ABER a surprise
'That is a surprise, *isn't it*.' (Diewald 2013: 29)

b. Ich würde gerne kommen, **aber** ich habe Grippe und kann nicht aus dem Haus.
'I would love to come, *but* I have got the flu and cannot leave the house.'
(Diewald 2013: 29)

(15) **Doch** - was hat er **doch** Kräfte!
'*Yet* - he is *quite* strong.' (Abraham 1991: 207)

(16) a. Sao **mà** cỏ mọc được?
how MP grass grow gain
'*How in the world* could the grass grow?'

b. Tí mới cắt tuần trước **mà** giờ cỏ mọc đầy rồi.
Tí just cut week last but now grass wither full already
'Tí just cut it last week, *but* now the grass has already grown everywhere.'

(17) Sao cỏ **lại** mọc lai rồi?
how flower MP grow again already
'*How in the world* did the grass grow back already?'

3. MPs are typically unstressed.[9]

4. MPs cannot be coordinated, questioned, or negated. They also must appear in a sentence-medial position.

5. MPs cannot be used as an answer in isolation or appear in isolation.

6. MPs are fixed in their structural positions.

7. MPs are intra-clausal and do not operate beyond the sentential level (cf. Struckmeier 2014, van Kemenade & Links 2020). This fact sets them apart from discourse markers, which operate on a discourse level.

8. MPs can be combined to form clusters, but only in a fixed order, see (18). This stackability in a rigid order is reminiscent of the case of sentence-final particles in languages like Vietnamese and Sinitic varieties such as Cantonese or Mandarin. As a rule, an MP further to the left always scopes over those to its right.

[9] Some authors argue that while MPs cannot bear contrastive stress, they may allow emphatic stress (see Herrmann (2014) for an overview on whether stressed particles are MPs or adverbs):

(i) Mach **JA** deine Hausaufgaben!
make JA your homework
'Do your homework now, *in any case*!' (Herrmann 2014: 94)

(18) a. Dieser Satz enthält **ja** **doch** **wohl** viele Partikel.
this sentence contains MP MP MP many particles
'This sentence contains many particles, doesn't it? (Struckmeier 2014: 16)

b. Hast du **denn** **vielleicht** **mal** die Suppe probiert?
Have you DENN VIELLEICHT MAL the soup tasted
'Do you happen to just for once have tasted the soup?'
(example by Zifonun et al. (1997: 59), glossing by Diewald (2013: 30))

9. MPs typically display an affinity with some illocutionary types and cannot be tolerated in others.

10. MPs are restricted to a clearly delimited range which in Germanic languages is the structural *Mittelfeld* (Abraham 1991; but see Egg & Mursell 2017). Abraham (1991) proposes that the German *Mittelfeld*, the transitional field between thematic and rhematic discourse categories, correlates with the occurrence of MP-lexemes. This idiosyncratic property, only observed in languages like German, Dutch, Frisian and Scandinavian languages, leads many to (falsely) claim that MPs are not to be found in non-Germanic languages and also English.

2.2.2. Where are MPs, syntactically?

Cross-linguistic research shows that MPs can indeed be attested in languages that do not exhibit the Mittelfeld phenomenon. As a point of illustration, see (19) for the (Afrikaans loaned) MPs *sommer* and *mos* in South African English, as suggested by Biberauer & Vikner (2015). The presence of MPs is also claimed for Italian and French, as in (20).

(19) a. They will **sommer** walk away and then what will we do?

b. We have **mos** all seen what kind of problem that will lead to. (Biberauer & Vikner 2015)

(20) a. Deve aver **pur** letto il libro. (Italian)
s/he.must have MP read the book
'He must have read the book, I think.' (Coniglio 2008: 115)

b. Je sais pas **quand** **même**, les clients, ce que ils veulent. (French)
I know not QUAND MÊME the clients that what they want
'I don't actually know what the clients want.' (Egg & Mursell 2017: 18)

I will show in Chapter 4 that Vietnamese, a language *sans* Mittelfeld, also hosts MPs that are largely comparable to those displayed in other languages. Drawing parallels between Vietnamese MPs and functionally similar particles in German, Old English (OE) and Taiwan Southern Min (TSM), I propose to treat these MPs as functional heads projecting a Particle Phrase (PrtP), albeit of the minor category (also known as "minor functional heads") à la Rothstein (1991). In German, PrtP is argued by some, such as Bayer & Obenauer (2011), to merge with a VP/*v*P and enters into an Agree relation with CP, see (21). Others however take German MPs to merge above TP (Coniglio 2011 et seq.; Frey 2023).

(21) [$_{\text{FinP/ForceP}}$ Wh Force°/Fin° [$_{\text{(TopP)}}$ . . . [$_{\text{PrtP}}$ **Prt°** [(AdvP*) [$_{\text{VP/}v\text{P}}$ . . .]]]]]

(Bayer & Obenauer 2011: 461)

In OE and TSM, PrtP are suggested to be base-generated in CP. Like German MPs, these MPs are also highly speaker-oriented and subjective in nature. Van Kemenade & Links (2020) assume that *þonne* 'then' as in (22) conveys the speaker's surprise and/or a degree of exasperation about what is conveyed. Lau & Tsai (2020) claim that MP *leh* in (23) indicates the speaker's negative orientation towards the propositional content, and linearly precedes evaluatives, evidentials, and epistemics.

(22) a. (ÆCHom_I,1:181.78.73)

[You don't know that I am your Lord, and that you are my servant, unless you do what I command, and forego what I forbid you.]

Hwæt	mæg	hit	**þonne**	beon.	þæt	þu	Forgan	sceole?
what	may	it	PRT	be	that	you	forgo	must

'What can it be that you must forgo?' (van Kemenade & Links 2020: 2)

b. [$_{\text{CP}}$ WhP C° [$_{\text{FP}}$ F° [$_{\text{PrtP}}$ ***þonne*** [$_{\text{TP}}$ T° . . . [$_{\text{VP}}$ . . .]]]]]

(adapted from van Kemenade & Links 2020: 15)

(23) a. I sī **leh** puảh-tó án-tsuánn?! (TSM)

he si leh tumble how

'How the heck can he fall?' (Lau & Tsai 2020: 255)

b. [$_{\text{AttP}}$ Att° . . . [$_{\text{FocP}}$ *sī* . . . [$_{\text{PrtP}}$ ***leh*** . . . [$_{\text{TP}}$ . . .]]]] (adapted from Lau & Tsai 2020: 279)

MPs are also suggested for Mandarin Chinese. Wei (2020) discusses sentence-medial *yòu* (lit. 'again'), *dào* (lit. 'upside down'), and *yě* (lit. 'also'), treating them as forming one of the two categories of discourse particles (the other category being sentence-final particles). *Yòu* conveys "speaker's heightened emotion with discontent and subjectivity" (Wei 2020: 37) in refutation or contradiction, see (24a) (cf. German *doch*). *Dào* as in (24b) marks speaker's unexpectedness, and *yě* in (24c) functions as a downtoner.[10] Wei notes that these MPs invariably precede *v*P-level adverbs, negation, and root modals, but follow subject and topic. They nevertheless are claimed to either precede or succeed certain speaker-oriented modal adverbs.

(24) a. Context: *A post on social media: "I was enjoying the sunshine by the window, but he walked over and closed the curtains…"*

(Tàiyáng) **yòu** shài bú dào tā. (BCC)
sun YOU shine.on not arrive he
'He was not in the sunlight.' (Wei 2020: 33)

b. Méi xiǎng-dào zuì lǎn de rén **dào** qǐlái-de zhème zǎo.
not.have think-ASP most lazy DE person DAO get.up-DE so early
'(I) had not expected that the laziest person would have got up so early.' (Wei 2020: 66)

c. A: You have read this book, right? Can you present it tomorrow?

B: Wǒ **yě** jiù dú-le liǎng zhāng.
I YE just read-PERF two chapter
'I have just read two chapters.'

[10] Yang (2020: 134) also points out that *yě* can function as an MP if serving to "make the utterance gentler and milder" (cf. German MP *auch* 'also'). Hole (2004: 27) characterizes this use as "having a toning down force in cases of tactful criticism directed to the addressee. The uses of *yě* in many contexts described in Wei (2020) and Yang (2020) are quite reminiscent of Vietnamese *cũng* 'also', see (i) for an example. I wish to return to this topic in a future research.

(i) Mày **cũng** nóng quá, sao lại đánh nó?!
2SG CŨNG hot too why MP hit 3SG
'You are too hotheaded. Why the hell did you hit him?!'

A: Liǎng zhāng **yě** yǐjīng hěn duō le.
two chapter YE already very much E
'Two chapters is a lot. (You can present.)

(Wei 2020: 139)

Chapter 4 will show that Vietnamese MPs share the interpretive properties with some of the MPs in German, OE, and Chinese. The two Vietnamese MPs pattern syntactically with TSM *leh* in invariably merging above mood and modal elements, allowing them to constitute the higher end of a mood/modal field within the CP domain.

2.3. Sentence-final particles on the treetop

The phenomenon of non-truth-conditional particles clustering at the right end of sentences has only recently garnered significant attention in the generative literature. The focus of most discussions has been on particles that are monosyllabic.[11]

2.3.1. SFPs as a cross-linguistically attested phenomenon

Many studies explore data from languages with a relatively rich inventory of sentence-final particles such as Cantonese, Mandarin, Japanese, and Vietnamese. Nevertheless, arguments have been made suggesting the existence of sentence-final particles in other languages across the world, albeit in much smaller quantities. Some examples include West Flemish and Romanian (Haegeman & Hill 2013), Urama (Brown et al. 2016), English (Heim et al. 2016; Woods 2020), and Dutch (de Hoop & Mulder 2022).

Sentence-final items across languages encode an array of information primarily pertaining to the speaker's public commitment to the propositional content and the speaker's relation with the addressee. In their peripheral position, SFPs appear to lack overt syntactic effects, as they cannot be modified, moved, or coordinated. This characteristic strongly resembles clause-medial MPs, although it will be shown in later chapters that SF elements and MPs are distinct in both syntactic and interpretive terms, albeit their apparent similarities.

[11] But see Tang (2015a) for a discussion of what are called polysyllabic utterance particles in Mandarin and Cantonese.

The syntactic nature of SFPs is a subject of debate. Final particles in Chinese varieties have been generally regarded as heads of functional projections in the CP domain.[12] Notable exceptions are works by Theresa Biberauer and colleagues, including Biberauer, Newton & Sheehan (2009), Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts (2014), a.o. These studies examine SFPs cross-linguistically within the context of the purportedly universal Final-Over-Final Condition (FOFC), which posits that syntactic structures containing a head-initial phrase, when dominated by a head-final phrase in the same extended projection, are prohibited.[13] To avoid violation of head-directionality in the case of VO languages, they posit that SFPs should not be taken as C-related, but as acategorial elements serving as optional double to some (abstract) head in the left. In line with this perspective, Chan (2014) does not consider Chinese SFPs as "full" functional heads, positing that they do not project their own phrase.

Below, I offer a brief overview of analyses supporting the head status of SFPs, reserving more in-depth syntactic discussions for Chapter 5. It is constructive to note that although these accounts vary with respect to number and nature of the projections within the CP domain, they share the idea that CP must extend beyond ForceP (encoding clause type), which is the upper close-off point of Rizzian Split-CP, so that SFPs conveying speech-act/discourse information can be accommodated. This point will become relevant when we discuss the syntacticization of pragmatic/discourse information later in this chapter.

An early comprehensive study of Chinese SFPs is found in Li (2006). Li subscribes to the viewpoint of "meaning minimalists" (Wu 2005: 48), seeing each SFPs as conveying a general meaning whose different interpretations are derived via context.[14] Li dissects the phonology of Cantonese SFPs into sub-syllabic units, claiming that the meaning of an SFP can be characterized as the combination of minimal meaningful units associated with the onset, the rhyme, the coda,

[12] The idea goes back to early generative works on SFPs such as Lee (1986) and Tang (1988/1989). But see Liao (2017) where the head status of SFPs is brought into question.

[13] Biberauer, Holmberg & Roberts (2014) take FOFC to be accounted for in terms of Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA). But see Zeijlstra (2023) for the argument that FOFC is better accounted for under a symmetric approach to structure building.

[14] For Wu (2005), "meaning minimalists" stand in contrast to "meaning maximalists," the latter of whom assume that different meanings can be attributed to the semantics of an individual particle.

and the tone component of each particle (see also Sybesma & Li 2007 for an updated analysis). These units are assumed to be heads projecting in slightly different versions of an extended CP domain. Mandarin SFPs head three projections: Evaluative phrase below ForceP, Discourse and Degree phrases above it, see (25).

(25) Mandarin: Discourse > Degree > Force > Evaluative > Mood > Fin

a *ba, ma* *ne* (Li 2006: 64)

Cantonese SFPs on the other hand are presented as minimal particles with rigid ordering, as shown in (26). Sybesma & Li (2007) propose what appears to be a revision to the functional architecture hosting Cantonese SFPs in Li (2006). See (27) for the proposed hierarchy. According to Sybesma & Li (2007), there are a total of 12 minimal semantic units that constitute over 40 of the most commonly attested SFPs in Cantonese. These units comprise two rhymes (*aa* and *o*), four initials (*l*, *z*, *l/n*, and *m*), three tones (*1*, *4*, and *5*), one coda (*k*), and two units with an incorporated tone (*g3* and *aa4*). Such particles assume a wide array of functions, ranging from marking speaker/hearer orientation (tones *1* and *4* in Epist1P) down to being associated with tense, time or finiteness marking (*ge3* in FinP and *le* in DeikP).[15]

(26) Cantonese: Epist1 > Evid > Epist2 > Disc > Eval > Mood > Deik > Foc > Fin

1, *4* *5* *k* *aa*, *o* *ne* *me* *le* *ze* *ge3*

(Li 2006: 64)

(27) Epist1 > Epist2 > Force > $\text{Mood}_{\text{Evid}}$ > $\text{Mood}_{\text{Eval}}$ > Mood_{Inf} > Discourse > Foc > Deik > Fin

1,4 *-k* *m, aa4* *5* *n/l* *o* *aa* *z* *l* *g3*

(adapted from Sybesma & Li 2007: 1779)

Paul (2014, 2015) proposes to categorize Mandarin SFPs into three classes of so-called "root complementizers," implementing three projections Low CP, ForceP and AttitudeP within the Split-CP à la Rizzi (1997).[16] See (28) for the hierarchy of these C heads and Table 1 for their inventory.

[15] Davis (2011) argues that Japanese also has both segmental and intonational morphemes as pragmatic SFPs that merge above ForceP. A similar idea is adopted for Canadian English in Heim et al. (2016).

[16] Low C here is roughly equivalent to Rizzi's (1997) FinP, with the former term preferred due to "the controversial status of finiteness in Chinese" (Pan & Paul 2016: 24). But see Cheng (2023) for the argument that Paul's "low C" elements are in fact part of the TP domain (see also Erlewine 2017).

Paul asserts that Mandarin SFPs should be considered not as categorially deficient but as full-fledged functional elements, positioning them as part of the grammar.

(28) Attitude > Force > C(low) > TP (Paul 2014: 78)

(low C) C_1	C_2 (force)	C_3 (attitude)
le currently relevant state *laizhe* recent past *ne*$_1$ continued state	*ma* interrogative *ba* imperative *ne*$_2$ follow-up question …	*ou* warning *(y)a* astonishment *ne*$_3$ exaggeration …

Table 1: Three classes of Mandarin root complementizers (Paul 2014: 83)

Pan (2015 et seq.) revises Paul's (2014, 2015) account, proposing a finer-grained architecture of the Mandarin Left Periphery. In the context of SFPs, the Mandarin left-peripheral hierarchy of core projections is outlined as in (29). S.AspP (hosting sentential aspect markers) along with OnlyP (hosting exclusive focus markers) correspond to Paul's (2014, 2015) low C. Pan also takes up Paul's Attitude Phrase (AttP), but further splits it into two layers: the lower AttP2 serves to modulate the shared common ground (Pan 2015: 852), while the higher AttP1 conveys the speaker's subjective opinion and attitude. A piece of evidence supporting this split of AttP is the co-occurrence of *ne* and *ba3* (see also Li 2006), with the former assumed to merge in Att2P and the latter in AttP1. Pan's projections are matched with the corresponding SFPs in Table 2.

(29) (TP) < S.AspP < *Only*P < iForceP < AttP2 < AttP1 (Pan 2015: 863) [17]

S.AspP	*Only*P	iForceP	AttitudeP2	AttitudeP1
láizhe (recent past), *le* (inchoative aspect)	*éryǐ*, *bàle* (exclusive focus)	*ma* (root *yes-no* Q), *ba1* (weak imperative), *ba2* (*yes-no* Q with weak certainty)	*ne* (adjusting common ground)	*a*, *ai*, *ao*, *ba3*, *bei*, *ei*, *na*, *ou*, *ya* (attitude, subjective opinion, etc.)

Table 2: Mandarin Left Periphery in terms of SFPs (adapted from Pan 2015: 857)

[17] I exclude from (29) the Special Question Phrase (SQP), a postulation by Pan (2015 et seq.) to account for special question operators ("special question" understood in the sense of Obernauer 2006). Pan takes SQP to be structurally positioned between iForceP and AttP2.

Not only are more SFPs included in Paul's and Pan's accounts compared to those in Li (2006), but there are also differences in how these SFPs are characterized by these authors. Take *ba* and *ma* as examples. Paul associates these particles with different clause types, claiming that they mark distinct illocutionary forces and are thus hosted in ForceP; Pan also directly links these SFPs with illocutionary forces, downplaying their relation with clause typing.[18] Li (2006) on the contrary adopts the traditional view that ForceP encodes information concerning clause typing à la Cheng (1991), serving to distinguish between clause types. Li therefore does not associate SFPs like *ba* and *ma* with this projection, instead focusing on the "degree" aspect of these particles with respect to commitment (see also Huang 2007). To wit, it is claimed that *ma* marks a higher degree of commitment, while *ba* marks a lower degree of commitment.

DegreeP in Li's (2006) analysis is relatively close to what Wiltschko & Heim (2016) dub the Grounding Phrase, the lowest layer of an interactional domain above the traditional CP (cf. Krifka's (2017) Com(mitment)P). The higher layer of this domain is the Responding Phrase, marking a call on addressee (CoA) (see also Heim et al. 2016). See §2.5 for more details regarding this domain. Tang (2020) draws inspiration from these works, positing for Cantonese two projections (assumed to be split from CP): the lower projection of Degree and the higher projection of CoA. Like Li (2006) and Sybesma (2007), Tang takes DegreeP to host the SFPs specifying the degree of speaker's commitment towards an assertion. For example, *gwaa3* indicates that the speaker lacks complete certainty about the factual status of a proposition in a declarative, while *me* marks the speaker's strong certainty in an interrogative context. The Cantonese "performative" projections according to Tang (2020) include Focus, Degree, and CoA, see (30) for an illustration. Focus hosts SFP *ne1* which marks the prejacent as of a particular importance (Li 2006). Tang (2020: 12) explicitly proposes that Focus (which displays an evaluative nature) and Degree together form a grounding layer, the lower of the two layers constituting the interactional domain in the sense of Wiltschko (2021). This layer serves to generally codify the speaker's attitude

[18] It appears that no clear effort is made to distinguish between Paul's (2014, 2015) (as well as Pan & Paul's (2016)) ForceP and Rizzi's (1997) ForceP: for Paul and Pan, an intimate relation seems to be suggested between clause types and illocutionary forces. Pan (2015 et seq.) however explicitly relabels Force as iForce (with "i" standing for "illocutionary"), thus directly associating iForceP with the encoding of illocutionary force.

towards the propositional content expressed. CoA is equated to the higher responding layer. Finally, the two lower projections Event and Temp(oral) form the clausal core (i.e. the proposition), hosting the SFPs of the event type (e.g. *sin* 'first') and the temporal type (e.g. *gamzai* 'almost'), respectively; the former projection merges in the periphery of *v*P, the latter the periphery of TP.

(30) Event < Temp < Focus < Degree < CoA
proposition grounding responding (adapted from Tang 2020: 9)

As will be shown in §2.5, for the purposes of the current study, I adopt a view that sees Rizzi's ForceP split into multiple projections. These include a lower clause-typing projection within the traditional CP and several higher projections above CP that encode pragmatic/speech-act information. The latter bears resemblance to Tang's (2020) performative projections and is inspired by Wiltschko's (2021) conception of the interactional domain. My analysis, however, postulates a finer-grained architecture of this CP-external domain based on empirical facts concerning Vietnamese SFPs.

2.3.2. SFPs in Vietnamese

The clustering of particles at the sentence-final position in Vietnamese has attracted considerable attention over the years, both from descriptive and theoretical standpoints. However, most studies on non-at-issue items at the right end of Vietnamese sentences focus solely on monosyllabic particles, traditionally termed "sentence-final modal particles" (*tiểu từ tình thái cuối câu*).[19] Chapter 5 will suggest that sentence-final elements extend beyond what appears to be a closed class of small, monosyllabic particles. It is essential to recognize the existence of at least several bisyllabic elements whose functions closely align with those of some monosyllabic particles.

Most analyses of Vietnamese SFPs adopt the perspective of functional grammar, with early contributions from Cao (1991/2006), T.L. Nguyễn (1996), Đ.H. Nguyễn (1997), Lê & Nguyễn (2001), Nguyễn (2001), and Phạm (2002), among others. Cao (1991/2006: 400), in his discussion of Vietnamese interrogatives, suggests that the SFPs in (31) concern the speaker's wish for the

[19] Hoàng (2003) considers SFPs part of what he dubs "logical-modal operators" (*toán tử logic-tình thái*).

addressee to confirm the truth of a proposition and/or convey the speaker's epistemic state of surprise, while assuming the truth of the proposition herself.

(31) Ông Nam về rồi **à**/ **ư**/ **sao**/ **hả**?
grandpa Nam leave already Q
'Nam left, didn't he?' (Cao 1991/2006: 400, translation by Phan & Starke 2022: 194)

Also discussed in Cao (1991/2006) are *nhỉ* and *nhé*, which are claimed to be two SFPs with clear illocutionary effects, see (32). Cao (1991/2006) suggests that *nhỉ* signals the speaker's request for the addressee to agree or share her view, while *nhé* communicates the speaker's request that the addressee approves the realization of a future action by the speaker and/or the addressee. What stands out from Cao's characterization of these particles is the presence of the speaker's commitment to the truth of a proposition and the call for the addressee's engagement with the utterance. The use of *nhé* as in (33) leans further towards a bonding function as it does not actually convey a request. These three functions of SFPs will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

(32) a. Trời hôm nay đẹp quá **nhỉ**?
sky tody beautiful so SFP
'It's a nice day today, *isn't it*? (Cao 1991/2006: 401, translation mine)

b. Tối mai em đi xem phim với anh **nhé**.
evening tomorrow 2SG go watch movie with 1SG SFP
'Go watch a movie with me tomorrow evening, *okay*?' (Cao 1991/2006: 401, translation mine)

(33) Ở lại mạnh khỏe **nhé**
stay remain healthy SFP
'Be well.' (Cao 1991/2006: 402, translation mine)

To the best of my knowledge, Le (2015) and T.H.Q. (2021) are currently the two syntactic accounts exclusively dedicated to Vietnamese SFPs in the generative literature.[20] Le (2015) is the first to provide a general description and structural analysis of Vietnamese SFPs, encompassing both non-truth-conditional elements and truth-conditional elements (i.e. those excluded from this study).

[20] See also N.T.T. Nguyen (2021) for a formal semantic analysis of SFP *cơ*.

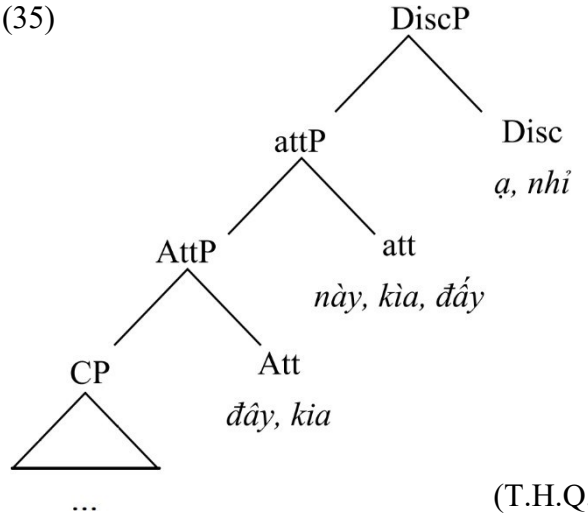
She assumes that the rigid SFP ordering corresponds to a fixed hierarchy of functional projections within the Vietnamese Split-CP domain. Aligning with Li (2006) and Sybesma & Li (2007), Le also argues for the existence of a number of sub-syllabic meaningful units (including high tones, initial consonants, and nasals). She categorizes the SFPs into the clausal typing, deictic, aspectual, and discourse marking types within the CP domain, whose hierarchical order of corresponding projections is shown in (34).

(34) DiscourseP > $\text{Mood}_{\text{Informative}}$P > $\text{Mood}_{\text{Eval}}$P > DeikP_1 > DeikP_2 > ForceP (Le 2015: 148)

Le (2015) subsequently argues that Vietnamese clause allows for the realization of three separate domains: a discourse domain (DiscourseP) merges above a propositional domain (DeikP) which in turns scopes over a sentential domain (ForceP). Without delving into the entirety of Le's study, I will point out several obvious problems with her analysis in Chapter 5 and demonstrate how my proposed analysis makes better predictions regarding the co-occurrence possibilities and hierarchy of the final particles in Vietnamese.

Another syntactic account dealing with Vietnamese SFPs is presented in T.H.Q. Nguyen (2021). This study focuses exclusively on a group of SFPs whose most literal meanings are deictic. These particles are argued to merge in a two-layer Attitude Phrase right above CP, see (35). This phrase is quite comparable to Li's (2006) DegreeP and Wiltschko & Heim's (2016) GroundP. The lower AttP hosts the SFPs codifying speaker's commitment, while the higher attP concern addressee's commitment.

(35)



(T.H.Q. Nguyen 2021: 130)

I concur with T.H.Q. Nguyen (2021) that *đây* (lit. 'here') and *đấy* (lit. 'there') should be distinguished from each other, given that only the latter targets the propositional attitude of the addressee (by proposing to change the addressee's ground). This justifies a split between a speaker's commitment and addressee's commitment. I however suggest in Chapter 5 that *này* and *kìa* be associated with a higher projection concerning addressee's engagement rather than addressee's commitment. The postulation of *ạ* and *nhỉ* as particles marking speaker's call on addressee is also questionable: as will be argued later, they do not communicate a speaker's request for the addressee to take up the utterance; instead, they serve to maintain a relation between the speech participants during the conversation. See Chapter 5 for more arguments against parts of T.H.Q. Nguyen's (2021) analysis.

There are also other studies that to various degrees touch on the topic of Vietnamese SFPs. Phan & Starke (2022) discuss question particles and make a distinction between "pragmatic loaded" particles and pure Q-particles. Phan (2023) argues that final particles *thế* and *vậy* are not *wh*-particles (in the sense of Cheng 1991) but markers of speaker's commitment to the truthfulness of the proposition. In their respective works, Phan & Tsai (2023) and Phan & Meisterernst (to appear) argue for the expansion of the category of SFP to include elements like *đâu* (lit. 'where') and *được* (lit. 'acquire'), whose SFP status had not been previously recognized.

2.4. Commitment: an overview

The term "commitment" has been mentioned in the previous sections without a concrete definition. This section aims to provide an overview of this crucial concept (along with related concepts such as *Common Ground*, *Question-Under-Discussion*, and *To-Do-List*), setting the stage for an important distinction argued for in this study—between two types of commitments: private and public. I posit that, in Vietnamese, private commitment (alternatively referred to as private judgment/belief à la Krifka 2017, 2023) is encoded by clause-medial modal particles and mood/modal markers, whereas public commitment is communicated via SFPs. As will be discussed in more details later, these mood and modal elements form a defined MOD-field within CP, while SFPs belong squarely to an (articulated) interactional domain above CP. When mapped onto Krifka's (2017, 2023) hierarchy of functional projections in (36), this mood/modal field significantly overlaps with Judge Phrase (JP). As noted by Badan & Haegeman (2022), this JP can be understood as the 'telescoped' variant of Cinque's (1999) topmost modal projections.

Simultaneously, the CP-external interactional domain corresponds to Commitment Phrase (ComP) and Speech Act Phrase (ActP) above JP.

(36) ActP > ComP > JP > TP

In formal approaches to discourse and dialogue, commitment is predominantly understood as a dialogical, addressee-oriented phenomenon.[21] Commitment construed as public endorsement necessarily leads to a responsibility towards the addressee and possible social repercussions if what is endorsed turns out to be a falsity. Commitment should be distinguished from belief, a private and psychological/mental state that cannot be accessed directly. This view goes against accounts that define commitment as having a belief that what one communicates is true (see, for example, Culioli 1999). The idea here is that by expressing a proposition, the speaker is not committed to its actual truth, but essentially to the fact that she asserted the proposition as true (Boulat 2023). Individual sets of commitments by dialogue participants constitute the *common ground*, the set of information jointly established during the course of the dialogue (Stalnaker 1978).[22]

2.4.1. Commitment ≠ belief

In his 1970's book *Fallacies*, Hamblin discusses formal dialectic, taking *commitment* as a notion distinct from *belief*. It is claimed that "a commitment is not necessarily a 'belief' of the participant who has it", given that "we do not believe everything we say" (Hamblin 1970: 264). Each of the dialogue participants is in possession of a commitment store (or a *commitment-slate* à la Hamblin 1971), which can be conceived of "physically as a sheet of paper with writing on it, or as a section of the store of a computer" (Hamblin 1970: 263). This store is where "running tally of a person's commitments" (Hamblin 1970: 257), i.e. locutions accepted during the interaction between the

[21] For an overview of the concept of *commitment* from other approaches, see Part I of Boulat (2023).

[22] Papers by R. Stalnaker and L. Karttunen during the 1970s propose that sentences should be regarded as interactional in nature and not as static and isolated propositions. That is, they represent dynamic updates contributing to the discourse context to which they are added. Their insights lead to the development of various dynamic models of meaning in the later decades. See Wiltschko (2022) for the argument that language is both for thought and communication, making it interactional by nature.

participants, are indexed.[23] Utterances are public events that create commitments (Condoravdi & Lauer 2011) which are public matters imposing constraints on future actions of the participants accepting them.[24]

Walton (1992 et seq.) refines Hamblin's appraisal of commitment and differentiates between what he calls *fundamental commitment* and *publicly communicated commitment*. The former refers to personal stances or private judgements (Walton 1992: 257). The latter allows for direct access since a participant, by the act of committing herself to a statement, publicly endorses it and openly expresses support for its truth or acceptability. This is possible even when the speaker does not believe what she publicly affirms. Walton takes commitment to be a notion weaker than belief given that belief entails commitment, yet the reverse does not hold.[25] Krifka (2023) adopts MacFarlane's (2011) idea that asserting a proposition means undergoing a public commitment that the proposition is true (cf. Searle 1969; Brandom 1983; Alston 2000, a.o.), taking commitment as a "profoundly social notion" that involves the risk of social sanctions (2023: 117).

Authors like Bach & Harnish (1979), Zaefferer (2001), and Truckenbrodt (2006) generally assume that the speaker expresses her belief of a proposition and wishes for the addressee to come to believe it through the act of asserting this proposition, thus publicly committing herself to it. In addition to Hamblin's (1970)'s contention that the speaker might not necessarily believe in what she communicates, other arguments support the idea of a separation between commitment and belief. MacFarlane (2011: 83) claims that a speaker can retract an assertion of something she still believes only because she realizes that she "cannot adequately defend the claim," or because she "does not want others relying on it." The assumption that the speaker's desire for the addressee's

[23] Walton (1989, 1996) characterizes dialogue as follows. A dialogue requires the presence of at least two participants. Each participant possesses a set of propositions and takes turn in making a discourse move. A dialogue also has a communicative goal and a set of rules defining what is permitted as a move.

[24] Commitments are created by virtue of normative conventions of use (Condoravdi & Lauer 2011):

> CONVENTION ABOUT EXPRESSIONS WITH PROPOSITIONAL DENOTATIONS:
> When a speaker Sp utters an expression φ which denotes a proposition $[[\varphi]]^c$ in a context c, he thereby commits himself to act as though he believes that $[[\varphi]]^c$. (Condoravdi & Lauer 2012: 46)

[25] For further distinctions between substantive and concessive commitments, explicit and implicit commitments, as well as dark and light side commitments, see Walton 1992, 1996.

belief is essential also faces contention. Searle (1969: 46) observes that a speaker can make a public statement without being invested in whether the addressee believes it or not. In such cases, the speaker may consider it a duty to convey the information rather than a personal concern for the addressee's belief. Stalnaker (2002) further proposes a distinction between what is accepted and what is believed by the conversational participants, showing that speaker's propositions can be accepted by the addressee for the sake of a conversation without the addressee necessarily believing in its truth.

In alignment with Hamblin's (1970, 1971) distinction between commitment and belief, Gunlogson (2008) also categorizes the speaker's commitment into private and public types. Specifically, anything openly regarded as true by the speaker "for the purposes of the discourse," i.e. accessible to the other interlocutor, qualifies as a public commitment (Gunlogson 2008: 110). On the contrary, any epistemic/doxastic commitment that is neither accessible to other participants nor belonging to the discourse context are considered private. Similar to Hamblin (1970), Gunlogson (2008) assumes that discourse commitments necessarily limit the options available to the committing speaker, given that the speaker's position is expected to be consistent with her previous commitments (see also Becker 2012).

2.4.2. The multifaces of commitment

Beyssade & Marandin (2006) also posit that commitment does not fundamentally correspond to the speaker's private belief due to its nature as a public presentation. Commitment is thus conceptualized as a relationship between the speaker and what is publicly presented by the speaker, not between her and a proposition Φ she believes or takes to be true.

In Hamblin 1971, the notion of commitment is restricted to propositions. Beyssade & Marandin (2006) take up Gazdar's (1981) extension of Hamblin's commitment and make an explicit distinction between four types of commitment corresponding to four illocutionary forces: commitment to a Proposition, a Question, an Outcome and a Fact. By making a statement, the speaker commits herself to a propositional content and presents herself as willing to vouch for the truth of the said proposition. When a question is uttered, what is committed to is instead an issue which the conversation will ideally resolve (Portner 2004). That is, if the speaker asks if Mary has arrived, she publicly shows herself to be "interested for current purposes" in the issue of whether Mary has arrived (Beyssade & Marandin 2006: 53). When it is a directive utterance that is

expressed, the commitment is to an outcome, corresponding to a state of affairs currently not realized. The realization of such commitments predominantly rests on the addressee's shoulders: the addressee becomes committed when she takes an affirmative stance towards the actualization of a potential outcome (Stefanowitsch 2003).

Beyssade and Marandin (2006) further posit to distinguish between two dimensions of commitment: *interactive commitment* and *speaker's only commitment*. The former "registers the contents that Speaker submits to Addressee," while the latter "registers the contents that Speaker presents as her own opinion" (Beyssade and Marandin 2006: 58). To foreshadow, this distinction is helpful for pinpointing the difference between the two groups of commitment-related SFPs in Vietnamese as discussed in T.H.Q. Nguyen 2021. For concreteness, we can take the more leftward SFPs like *đây* to encode speaker's only commitment, while the more rightward SFPs like *này* and *đấy* signal interactive commitment. The postulation of speaker-only commitment is also essential to account for exclamatives: when a speaker utters an exclamative, the intention is to express her own opinion, with the Addressee serving as a witness to that opinion only. In other words, no commitment is required for the addressee; the speaker does not call on the addressee to become committed to any form of evaluation expressed through the sentence.

2.4.3. Commitment vs. call-on-addressee

Beyssade & Marandin (2006: 37) advocate that utterances have two types of effect on the conversational context. To wit, apart from giving rise to a new speaker's commitment, they also call on (or engage) the addressee to take up the utterance in certain way. This means that two linguistic markers can be comparable in terms of commitment modification but differ in whether or how they invite the addressee to take up the utterance, and vice versa.

An illustration can be found in Malamud and Stephenson (2015) regarding this point. Specifically, while both reverse-polarity tags and intonational rise signal the weakening of the speaker's commitment, only the former additionally bring about a perlocutionary effect of agreement-seeking. A simple intonational rise, while also adding the anchor to the speaker's projected commitments, can be felicitous if the speaker wants the addressee to take up the utterance as a question on a par with a polar question (Beyssade & Marandin 2006). It is also felicitous if the speaker is unsure about the speech act but does not invite the addressee for confirmation,

because her opinion is deemed not at stake, and thus unsolicitable (Malamud and Stephenson 2015). See (37) for the contrast.

(37) 'Unsure of move'

Context: *B hasn't met A's neighbor, and asks, 'What do you think of your new neighbor?' A isn't sure if B wants to know about neighborliness or suitability for dating. A replies:*

a. # A: He's attractive, isn't he? [reverse-polarity tag]

b. ^{OK} A: He's attractive? [intonational rise]

(Malamud and Stephenson 2015: 6)

Exclamatives, for example, do not communicate a call on the addressee to engage with the speaker's utterance, although they clearly signify the speaker's public commitment towards the statement (Beyssade & Marandin 2006). Imperatives, on the other hand, mark the speaker as committing herself to an outcome, inviting the addressee to be involved in its realization. Beyssade & Marandin (2006) argue for three types of call on addressee: the speaker can invite the addressee to perform an uptake of her utterance as an assertion, a question, or a directive. In other words, the speaker can engage the addressee to either accept or resolve an issue (Heim 2019: 80). They add to Ginzburg's *dialogue gameboard* a call-on-addressee slot which registers the type and content of the speaker's call on the addressee.

Heim (2019) argues that for primary speech acts (assertions and polarity questions), speaker's commitment and addressee's engagement are each other's inverse, i.e. a complete commitment corresponds to no engagement, and vice versa. No engagement is understood as the lowest degree of addressee's engagement where "the speaker calls on the addressee not to engage because they expect the addressee to accept a proposition or a propositional choice" (Heim 2019: 87). The relation in derived speech acts is nevertheless more complex. A primary speech act carries a default expectation of the way the conversation proceeds and by default requires no negotiation (cf. Gunlogson 2008), whereas a derived speech act always involves some level of negotiation (Heim 2019: 83). The negotiation happens with the speaker raising an issue to be resolve on the

Table à la Farkas & Bruce (2010) where the Questions Under Discussion (QUD), a partially ordered set of Questions, are stored.[26]

2.4.4. Commitment and clause types

Beyssade & Marandin (2006) take the three clause types declarative, interrogative, and imperative (the universal clause types in Portner 2004) to be in a one-to-one relationship with types of update in the interactive-commitment dimensions in the speaker's dialogue gameboard. When the speaker prompts the addressee to take up her utterance as an assertion, the speaker's expectation is for the addressee to include the propositional content into the shared ground (SG). The concept of SG traces its origins to Stalnaker's (1974, 1978) Common Ground, the set of propositions mutually assumed by the dialogue participants in a conversation, and is understood as "a partially ordered set of Propositions whose last element is distinguished so that it can be removed easily" (Beyssade and Marandin 2006: 54).[27]

When the request is to consider the speaker's utterance as a question, the Addressee is anticipated to incorporate a Question into a Question Set or QUD (see also Ginzburg 1995a, b; Roberts 2012).[28] In Ginzburg's conceptualization, QUD serves to register the questions under discussion and form the core of the interactive process initiated by both questions and assertions.

In the case of directives, the addressee is expected to integrate an outcome into a To-Do List (TDL). A TDL in the sense of Portner (2004) is a set of imperative denotations (cf. Han 1998). This labeling conveys the intuition that imperatives represent actions that the addressee is

[26] Clark & Brennan (1991) suggest that conversational participants might have to engage in extensive interaction spanning several turns before a proposed proposition is mutually accepted into the shared common ground. Grounding is a process through which the common ground is properly updated. The contribution to a conversation can be divided into two phases: the representation phase and the acceptance phase (Clark & Brennan 1991: 224).

[27] When the addressee rejects a proposition, it is removed from SG; conversely, the proposition remains within SG if it is not rejected (Stalnaker 1978). As a consequence, only propositions mutually accepted by both participants are retained within SG.

[28] Building on the basic assumption that interrogatives signify sets of propositions (Hamblin 1973, Karttunen 1977), Question Set is conceptualized as a set that comprises sets of propositions.

anticipated to take. Beyssade and Marandin (2006) posit SG, QUD, and TDL as three components in the publicized part of the dialogue boardgame (see also Ginzburg and Sag 2000).

Gunlogson (2008), alongside Malamud & Stephenson (2015), explicitly discusses the concept of commitment in connection with questions. Gunlogson (2008) claims that commitment is communicated in declaratives that have a question use (e.g. *The server's down?*). Such declarative questions exhibit certain behaviors that, in some ways, align with other types of interrogatives that are known for being 'biased' (i.e. *conducive* to a particular answer (Bolinger 1957)). Examples of biased questions include negative polar interrogatives and tag questions in English, all of which are infelicitous in neutral, out-of-the-blue contexts. In declaratives as questions, the commitment by the speaker is argued to hinge on the anticipated confirmation from the addressee.

2.4.5. Commitment can be contingent

Gunlogson (2008) adopts Hamblin's (1971) notion of a commitment slate, viewing it as a set of propositions that represent the positions taken by a discourse participant. The content of a commitment slate can be described in terms of possible worlds, which is the set of worlds in which all of the listed propositions are true. This set, referred to as the *commitment set* (*cs*) of a participant, largely overlaps with Stalnaker's (1978) *context set*. The main distinction between the two lies in the fact that commitment sets are relativized to discourse participants (Gunlogson 2008: 107). Adding a commitment entails removing worlds (where the new proposition is not true) from the *cs*. *Cs* is thus conceived as a representation of the agent's state at a particular time, given that an agent's discourse state evolves throughout the dialogue.

Another contribution of Gunlogson (2008) is the introduction of the notion of *contingent commitment* to account for declarative questions. To wit, the speaker's commitment to a proposition ϕ in a declarative question is contingent on the addressee's endorsement of ϕ. If the addressee refuses to ratify ϕ, the speaker's commitment is called into question; the proposition to which the speaker is committed is contextually contingent upon the addressee's subsequent confirmation. This contingency is marked with the rising intonation. A working definition of contingent commitment is as in (38).

(38) A discourse move μ committing an agent α to ϕ is *contingent* upon ratification by an agent β, α≠β, if:

a. β is implicitly authoritative with respect to ϕ at the time of μ

b. It is inferable in the discourse context that α's commitment to ϕ will be withdrawn unless the discourse move immediately succeeding μ has the effect of committing β to ϕ as a source[29]

(Gunlogson 2008: 128)

Malamud & Stephenson (2015) propose a differentiation between strong and tentative commitments in their discussion of three English markers: reverse-polarity tags (e.g. *Tom's here, isn't he?*), same-polarity tags (e.g. *Tom's here, is he?*), and rising intonation (e.g. *Tom's here?*). All three introduce a degree of tentativeness to the assertion conveyed by the declarative anchor, prompting the addressee to confirm (or reject) what is communicated. What is also posited is a conversational 'scoreboard' allowing for changes to be proposed and expectations to be raised with respect to the common ground.

Malamud & Stephenson (2015: 2) assume that the speaker's assertive contributions, while directly changing her own public commitments, only suggest a proposal to modify the shared common ground rather than directly changing it. This view diverges from the original idea of context as common ground put forth by Stalnaker (1978), although it aligns with ideas from earlier works on discourse and dialogue (Ginzburg 1996; Roberts 1996; Farkas & Bruce 2010, a.o.) as well as on inquisitive semantics (Groenendijk & Roelofsen 2009). Ginzburg (1996), for example, points out that the Stalnakerian view does not help distinguish between the set of assumptions commonly shared between the conversational participants at time *t* (*context* in Stalnaker's terminology) and the set of commitments of a single participant. This is because the context set can be directly changed by the act of making an assertion to the individual ground, assuming that the other participant does not object (Ginzburg 1996: 223). Farkas & Bruce (2010: 82), in their

[29] Gunlogson (2008: 101) conceptualizes "source" as "a discourse agent who plausibly has independent evidence supporting the content committed to." Having a source is the defining feature distinguishing independent from dependent commitments: only commitments with a source are considered independent.

discussion of polar questions, further emphasize the proposal nature of assertion, which helps account for conversational moves that react to assertions such as confirmation or rejection.[30]

The three markers in Malamud & Stephenson (2015) involve different degrees of (weakened) speaker and addressee commitment to the anchor proposition and lead to the proposal of the notion of projected commitments. This notion "allows for moves that give tentative commitments (by adding propositions to the speaker's projected, rather than present, commitments), or to offer the speaker's best guess of commitments of other participants (by adding to others' projected commitment sets)" (Malamud & Stephenson 2015: 14).[31] A reverse-polarity tag thus marks the declarative anchor as being momentarily added to the speaker's set of projected commitments (and to the projected CGs) and not to the current commitments. When the anchor is confirmed by the addressee, this projected commitment is propelled to become the speaker's current commitment. Note that while both a reverse-polarity tag and a rising of intonation are qualified as 'commitment-weakening' signals, they vary in the level of commitment: the use of the former brings about a stronger degree of speaker commitment compared to the use of the intonational rise (Malamud & Stephenson 2015: 16).

Malamud and Stephenson's (2015) proposal to allow speaker commitments to be of the projected type makes it possible to account for utterances which communicate a speaker's tentative bias. Such a bias often originates from an indirect inference from world knowledge or information from the prior context. As will be shown later, the notion of projected/contingent commitment is useful for the characterization of a stock of call-on-addressee SFPs in Vietnamese like *à*, *ư*, and *chứ*. To wit, these particles are argued to engage the addressee to endorse the propositional content tentatively committed by the speaker in confirmational questions.

[30] When an objection arises, we have a 'conversational crisis' which can only be resolved by the retraction of a commitment by either of the discourse participants.

[31] Malamud and Stephenson's (2015) projected speaker commitments share similarities with Gunlogson's (2008) contingent commitment. One distinction is the inclusion of the addressee's projected commitments, a dimension absent in Gunlogson's work.

2.5. Pragmatics goes syntax

The recent proliferation of syntactic studies targeting the pragmatic domain of the functional spine aligns with a longstanding tradition of scholarly work presupposing a richer structure above TP. The earliest inquiries in this direction present rich cross-linguistic data to advocate for a finer-grained clausal architecture within CP.

2.5.1 Splitting up CP

Pioneers in the line of research exploring the articulated CP include Rizzi (1997) and Cinque (1999), both approaching the issue from a cartographic perspective (see also Hoekstra 1993; Etxepare 1997; Ambar 1999; Roussou 2000). Rizzi (1997) proposes to split CP into a range of projections, See (39) for an illustration.

(39) $[_{\text{ForceP}}$ Force^{o} $[_{\text{TopicP*}}$ Top^{o} $[_{\text{FocusP}}$ Foc^{o} $[_{\text{TopicP*}}$ Top^{o} $[_{\text{FinP}}$ Fin^{o} $[_{\text{IP}}$ . . .]]]]]]^{32}

(adapted from Rizzi 1997: 297)

The dedicated Force Phrase (with Force drawing inspiration from Chomsky 1995) serves as the highest component that looks outwards and intefaces with "the superordinate structure" (Rizzi 1997: 283). The lower bound of Rizzi's articulated CP is marked with a Finiteness Phrase (FinP) that looks inwards, interfacing with TP which encodes the propositional content. Cinque (1999) on the other hand focuses on the cartography of adverbs, positing four mood/modal-related projections above TP. These projections encode information related to Speech Act, Evaluation, Evidentiality, and Epistemicity, as illustrated in (40).[33]

(40) $\text{Mood}_{\text{speech act}} > \text{Mood}_{\text{evaluative}} > \text{Mood}_{\text{evidential}} > \text{Mod}_{\text{epistemic}} >$ T(Past) > T(Future) . . .

(adapted from Cinque 1999: 76)

It is worth noting that, while ForceP is commonly associated with the codification of clause type and/or illocutionary force, it was generally equated with clause typing (Cheng 1991) in Rizzi's original idea (cf. Roussou 2000). Wiltschko (2021: 29) remarks that the notion of "force" in Rizzi's

[32] The asterisks mark free recursion of the topic phrases.

[33] Cinque's $\text{Mood}^{o}_{\text{speech act}}$ is not to be identified with Rizzi's Force^{o} as they belong to distinct projections (Cinque 1999: 84).

works differs in nature from the notion of "illocutionary force" found in philosophical and pragmatic studies. Coniglio & Zegrean (2012) and Coniglio (2014) propose to split up Rizzi's ForceP, assigning clause type (CT) and illocutionary force (ILL) to two distinct functional projections. CT codifies information concerning the clausal syntactic structure, whereas ILL codifies "the speaker and her attitude/intentions in relation to the discourse," lying at the syntax-pragmatic interface (Coniglio & Zegrean 2012: 247).[34] As a point of illustration, see (41). While the surface syntactic realization of A's sentence indicates an interrogative clause, its actual illocutionary force is directive given the provided context, which explains the oddness of B's response. This mismatch constitutes a piece of evidence motivating the CT-ILL split.

(41) Context: *It is loud outside. A asks B:*

A: Could you close the window, please?
B: #Yes, I could.
(adapted from Coniglio & Zegrean 2012: 246)

There are also earlier accounts that touch upon the syntactic codification of clause typing. Roussou (2000) proposes for Greek a tripartite split of C into a low C_M (corresponding to Rizzi's Fin), a (middle) C_{Op} (marking declarative or interrogative clause type, corresponding to Rizzi's Force) and a high C connecting the host clause to the higher clause.[35] Alexiadou (1997: 73-74) also suggests that the Greek C domain features a Clause Type/ Wh-Phrase projection (Sub.TypeP/Wh-P) which hosts either *wh*-phrases or complementizers (the two are in complementary distribution). This projection can also be labeled Clause Type Phrase given that it serves to specify the clause type. This Clause Type Phrase corresponds roughly to Roussou's (2000) C_{Op}.

Interestingly, Rizzi also proposes a projection dedicated to clause typing in his work. However, the clause type associated with this projection is identified as exclusively interrogative. To wit, Rizzi (2001) posits an Interrogative Phrase (IntP) that hosts in its specifier position *wh*-adverbs like Italian *perché* 'why' as well as "other reason adverbials" in matrix and embedded questions (Rizzi & Bocci 2017: 5). Rizzi (2013) suggests that, although Int(errogative) is

[34] Ituarte (2022) identifies ILL with Speech Act Phrase (SAP), to be returned to shortly.

[35] Rizzi's (1997: 328) also entertains the possibility of having a split between Subordinator, Force, and Fin (see also Alexiadou 1997).

connected to Force, it is still distinguishable from "the marker of interrogative Force, which plausibly appears in the highest position of the C-system Force" (Rizzi 2013: 206). Structurally speaking, IntP merges below ForceP. Ginsburg (2009) generally follows Rizzi's (2001) Split-CP but replaces IntP with a Type Phrase (TypP), see (42).[36] He argues that this projection hosts the elements dictating clause type in general, not just interrogative typing items.

(42) [ForceP [TopP* [**TypP** [TopP* [FocP [TopP* [FinP [TP …]]]]]]]] (Ginsburg 2009: 38)

For the purposes of this study, I contend that Vietnamese also exhibits a Clause Type Phrase, a high projection within CP that is largely comparable to Clause Type Phrase à la Alexiadou (2001) and Coniglio & Zegrean (2012), IntP in Rizzi (2001), and TypP in Ginsburg (2009). Vietnamese Clause Type Phrase is assumed to host elements marking clause type. These include, for example, *wh*-adverb *sao* ' why', a null Q-operator, and imperative markers like *hãy* 'let, do' and *đừng*/*chớ* 'do not' (*pace* Duffield 2013).[37] I will return to this issue in Chapter 5.

2.5.2 Beyond CP

Within the generative tradition, the idea that a grammar constrains the way the pragmatic/interactional aspects of language behave syntactically dates back as early as Ross's (1970) performative hypothesis, which postulates a covert superordinate structure encoding illocutionary act (cf. Sadock's (1969) *hypersentence*). Ross's (1970) syntactic implementation of the performative hypothesis is rooted in Austin's (1962) classic speech act theory, which decomposes the speech act of performative utterances into locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary acts.[38] Austin argues that a sentence can be performative even if it contains no explicitly performative form, treating (43a) and (43b) as having the same interpretive effects.

(43) a. Go!

b. I order you to go. (Austin 1962: 32)

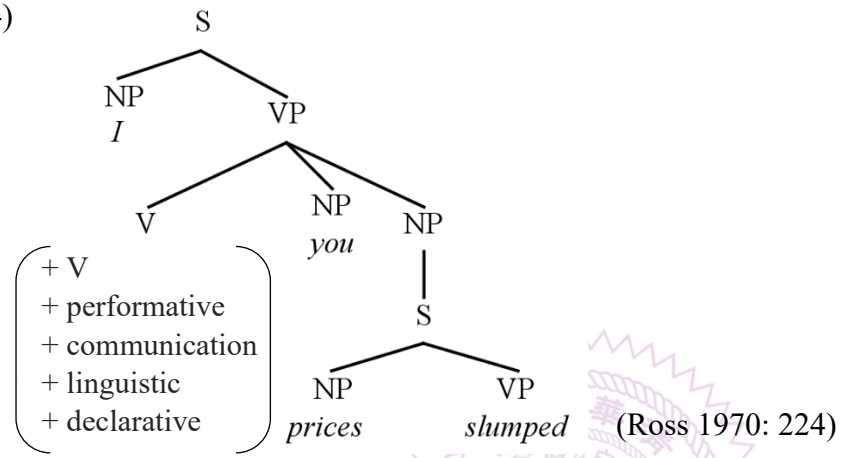
[36] TypP as the label for a clause typing projection is borrowed from Denham (2000).

[37] I gloss over the question of whether a Reason Phrase à la Shlonsky and Soare (2011) is also available in the Vietnamese CP.

[38] The idea of speech act goes back to Frege's *Urteilsstrich*, called *assertion sign* by Geach (1965).

Ross's (1970) superordinate structure is in the form of [*I* V *you*], with V representing a performative ditransitive verb (of saying, demanding, etc.) corresponding to a speech act in which the propositional content of the clause is embedded. See (44) for an illustration. The application of the transformational rule of *performative deletion* ensures that this higher performative clause is not spelled out. For an overview of arguments against Ross's (and also Sadock's) hypothesis, see Hill (2014), Woods (2016), and Wiltschko (2021).

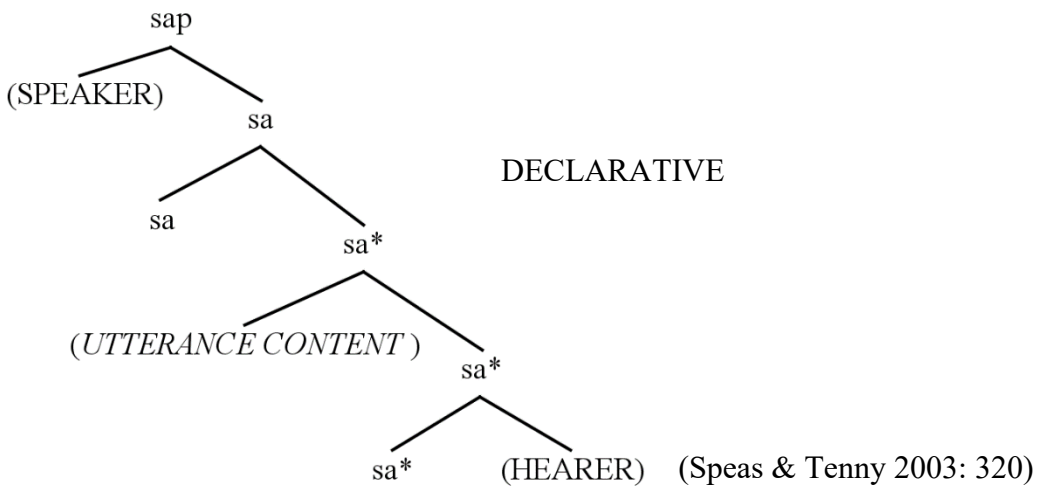
(44)



(Ross 1970: 224)

Ross's (1970) approach has recently experienced a resurgence in the form of the so-called "neo-performative" hypothesis, which takes speech act as part of the extended functional spine of the clause (Wiltschko and Heim 2016). The endeavor is spearheaded by Speas & Tenny's (2003) proposal of a functional shell structure called Speech Act Phrase (SAP), adopting Cinque's (1999) terminology. This dedicated structure is claimed to merge above CP rather than being part of an articulated CP-domain, and is associated with the sentience roles of speaker and addressee. Speas & Tenny (2003) propose that the speech act structure be modelled after the argument structure (Hale & Keyser 2002), having three arguments: the speaker as the agent of the speech act, the utterance content as the theme, and the hearer as the goal. The basic structure of a declarative is outlined in (45).

(45)

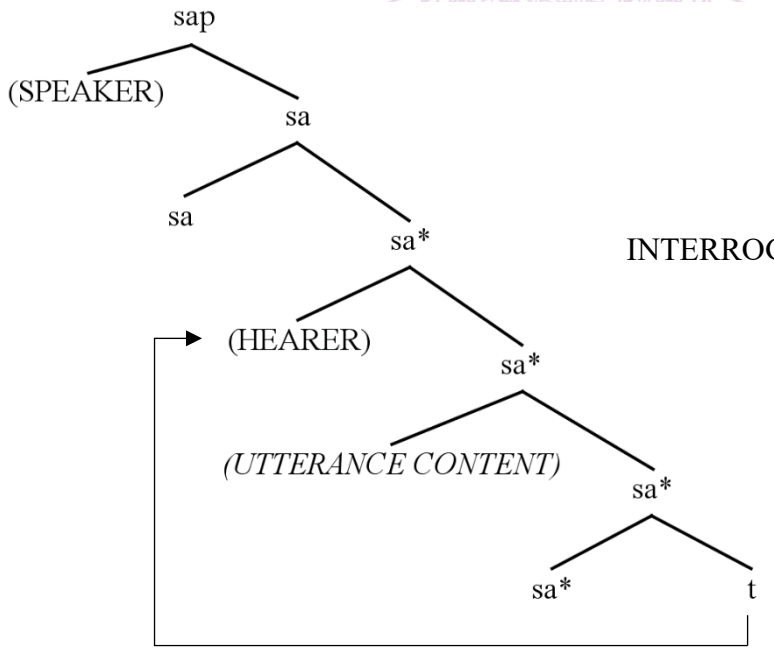


DECLARATIVE

(Speas & Tenny 2003: 320)

In case of an interrogative, the hearer is promoted (and the utterance content is demoted) so that the hearer is the closest c-commander of the utterance content, see (46). In this configuration the hearer is "in the position to control the highest argument in the Point of View domain," given that it is the hearer who "possesses the knowledge relevant to evaluating the utterance content" (Speas & Tenny 2003: 321).

(46)



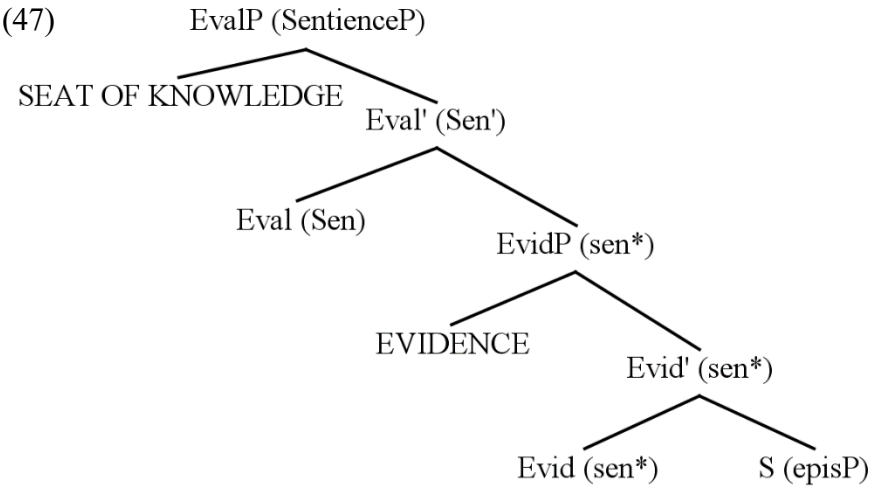
INTERROGATIVE

(Speas & Tenny 2003: 321)

In Speas & Tenny's (2003) conception, the Point of View (POV) domain encodes point of view, including judgements and evaluations, of a sentient individual on the truth-value of a proposition. The POV holder, which constitutes another pragmatic role in addition to speaker and hearer, is

identified with the Seat of Knowledge and is comparable to Krifka's (2017) Judge (see below).[39] The postulation of POV holder is crucial to account for an array of phenomena, including logophoric pronouns, long distance reflexives, modality, speaker-evaluative adjectives and discourse-oriented adverbs, whose description relies upon reference to a sentient being. The POV domain as a configurational structure below the Speech Act domain consists of an Evidential Phrase (EvidP) and a higher Evaluation Phrase (EvalP), adopting Cinque's (1999) terminology. Together, the two form a Sentience Phrase, see (47).

(47)



(Speas & Tenny 2003: 334)

Speas & Tenny (2003) POV domain bears strong resemblance to Krifka's (2017, 2023) Judge Phrase (JP), which in his framework encodes subjective epistemic and evidential attitudes. The head of Judge Phrase "turns a proposition φ into the propositional function that a judger x judges the proposition φ to be true" (Krifka 2023: 122). Although Krifka also assumes an architecture above this mood/modalilty-encoding domain, his characterization differs in a significant way from Speas & Tenny's (2003). See the next section for more details.

The idea that CP is not the highest syntactic domain and the mapping of speech act information should extend above Rizzi's (1997) ForceP is embraced by multiple authors besides Speas & Tenny (2003) in the past two decades (Munaro & Poletto 2004; Zanuttini 2008; Hill 2007a,b, 2012, 2014; Haegeman & Hill 2013, 2014; Haegeman 2014; Lam 2014; Del Gobbo et al.

[39] Speas & Tenny (2003) equate the Seat of Knowledge with Stirling's (1993) VALIDATOR argument, although they take it to have a direct syntactic representation.

2015; Woods 2016, a.o).[40] As mentioned in the previous section, Rizzi himself also leaves open the possibility that there is more beyond CP, stating that the complementizer system is "the interface between a propositional content […] and the superordinate structure (a higher clause, or possibly, the articulation of discourse, if we consider a root clause)" (Rizzi 1997: 283).

2.5.3 Decomposing speech act

Since Beyssade & Marandin (2006), it has been noted that speech acts are complex phenomena generally consisting of two components: the speaker's public commitment towards the expressed utterance, and the speaker's call on the addressee to take up the utterance to act in a certain way. Wilschko (2021) notes that the perlocutionary aspect of speech act, which corresponds roughly to Beyssade & Marandin's (2006) call on addressee, is typically overlooked in the syntactic analyses of speech acts. Some of the recent efforts to highlight the syntactic manifestation of perlocution include Heim's (2019) discussion of rising intonation and Woods' (2021) analysis of the English *please*, both as devices expressing speaker's request for addressee's response.

Given the complex nature of speech acts, the postulation of a single Speech Act Phrase as the label for the entire pragmatic domain (Speas & Tenny 2003; Hill 2007a,b; Haegeman & Hill 2013; Krifka 2013; Woods 2016; a.o.) appears to be less than satisfactory. Besides Speech Act Phrase, other terms that have been employed in the literature to label this domain include Illocutionary Force (Coniglio & Zagraen 2012; Corr 2016), Disc(ourse)P (Benincà 2001; Li 2006; Sybesma & Li 2007), Prag(matic)P (Hill 2007), AttitudeP (Paul 2014, 2015), Part(icle)P (Haegeman 2014), and Illocutionary Act (Woods 2021).

Attempts have been made to come up with a finer-grained architecture of this high domain, particularly informed by empirical evidence from the distribution and co-occurrence patterns of peripheral particles across various languages. Pan (2015) takes up Paul's (2014, 2015) postulation of the highest Attitude Phrase (AttP) in the Mandarin clausal structure and split it into two layers conveying the speaker's subjective opinion and attitude: the low layer (AttP1) features *ne* as a

[40] Sigurðsson (2010: 162) takes the speaker and the hearer to be encoded in CP (between Rizzi's ForceP and FinP) as "inherent features of the syntactic speech event" in the form of logophoric agent (ΛA) and logophoric patient (ΛP), with the former merging above the latter. Hill (2014) however suggests adding an extra layer above CP to host the logophoric feature encoding the interlocutors à la Sigurðsson (2004, 2010).

common ground adjust particle, and the higher layer (AttP2) features particles like *ba* and *ma*. The latter two particles are taken by Li (2006) to modify the strength of assertion/directive force in a DegreeP above ForceP. Namely, *ba* and *ma* respectively mark low and high degree of speaker's commitment towards an assertion. Li's higher layer of DiscourseP hosts *a* which is addressee's oriented, generally concerning the addressee's attention or reaction. Li (2006) and Sybesma & Li (2007) discuss Cantonese SFPs, claiming that the language has high level tone (tone 1) and low level tone (tone 4) as minimal particles marking addressee and speaker orientation respectively, occupying the higher Epistemic layer above ForceP. The lower EpisP is headed by the coda *-k* which marks speaker's greater emotional involvement. *Aa*-particles perform the discourse function, alerting the addressee to the relevance of the propositional content, merging in Disc(ourse)P below ForceP.

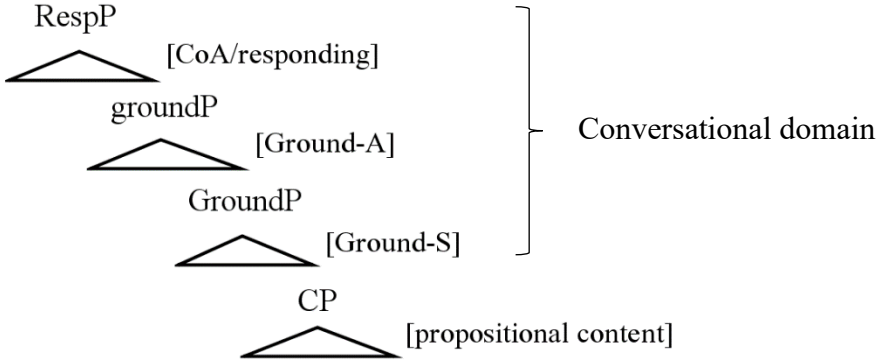
Haegeman & Hill's (2013) work on Romanian and West Flemish discourse particles also suggests the existence of two types of particles which correspond to two Speech Act projections above ForceP: the higher SAP1 concerns the speaker-addressee relationship while the lower SAP2 is about the speaker's attitude and judgements or is geared towards influencing the addressee's epistemic vigilance. Wiltschko (2014), through the proposal of the Universal Spine Hypothesis (USH), postulates a dedicated articulated domain dubbed the 'conversational' domain that relates the propositional structure to the discourse situation.[41] This domain is split into two layers to better reflect the complexity of speech acts (see also Heim et al. 2014). The lower Grounding layer (GroundP) whose function is grounding (in the sense of Clark & Brennan 1991) comprises two projections, each encoding the propositional attitude of the speaker and the addressee towards the proposition (GroundP and groundP respectively). The higher Response layer (RespP) encodes the interaction between the participants, fundamentally aligning with Beyssade & Marandin's (2006)

[41] The USH assumes a set of hierarchically organized universal categories κ (C_{UG}) where each of the layers is associated with a particular abstract function (which may be based on general cognitive functions as discussed in Ramchand & Svenonius 2014). The hierarchy of the four assumed layers is illustrated in (i). The outermost layer (*κ:discourse linking*), the "conversational structure" in Wiltschko & Heim (2016), functions to establish a relation between the proposition (or referent) and the current discourse.

(i) C_{UG} = *κ:discourse linking* > *κ:anchoring* > *κ:point-of-view* > *κ:classification* (Wiltschko 2014: 28)

call on the addressee. See (48) for an illustration of this conversational domain, rechristened as interactional domain in Wiltschko (2021), in the extended clausal architecture.

(48)



(adapted from Wiltschko & Heim 2016: 335)

A key distinction in Wilschko and Heim's (2016) conception of the pragmatic domain, compared to some earlier accounts, lies in the hierarchy of the projections encoding the participants' individual attitude towards the propositional content. To wit, their proposal dictates that the speaker argument merges below the addressee argument. This is in contrast to accounts proposed by, for example, Speas and Tenny (2003), Hill (2007a,b), and Sigurðsson (2010), where the speaker argument scopes over the addressee argument. A piece of evidence supporting this proposal comes from the surface ordering of sentence-final particles in Chinese (Lam 2014) and Bavarian German (Thoma 2016). Specifically, speaker-oriented particles appear to position themselves closer to the core propositional structure than addressee-oriented particles in terms of linear placement. Furthermore, selectional restrictions with respect to clause-type are exclusive to speaker-oriented particles. This suggests that these particles must be in a local relation with the propositional structure.

Krifka (2017, 2023) also endorses the syntacticization of illocutionary force, arguing that it is possible to "identify aspects of the private judgment and the public commitment in the syntactic and lexical form of the sentence itself" (2023: 119).[42] This illocutionary force is divided into three

[42] Krifka traces the distinction back to as early as Charles Peirce's differentiation between a private opinion which the speaker "does not expect others to share" and an assertion "intended to cause another to follow suit" (Peirce 1903), as well as Frege's (1918) separation between private judgement and public announcement of it.

layers distinct in both structural and interpretive terms, see (49). The Judge Phrase (JP) represents private epistemic and evidential attitudes, while the Commitment Phrase (ComP) encodes public commitment to an assertion. Act Phrase (ActP) as the highest level of syntactic representation serves to distinguish between different acts, representing the relation to the common ground shared between the conversational participants.

(49) $[_{ActP}$ Act^{o} $[_{ComP}$ Com^{o} $[_{JP}$ J^{o} $[_{TP}$ . . .]]]] (Krifka 2023: 122)

If Krifka's system is to be mapped onto the Vietnamese functional architecture, JP would loosely correspond to the CP-level MOD-field where mood and modal elements cluster. ComP in turn would correspond to the projections headed by commitment-related SFPs, where various degrees of speaker's commitment (both with and without targeting the addressee's commitment) are encoded. Finally, ActP would correspond to the layers that specify the discourse relation between the speech participants. These layers are encoded by the SFPs that call on the addressee to engage with the speaker's utterance and by those serving to maintain a bond between the participants during the conversation.

TSING HUA UNIVERSITY

CHAPTER 3
SENTENTIAL MOOD/MODALITY AND MAIN-CLAUSE COMPLEMENTIZERS

The starting point of this chapter is a curious yet hitherto overlooked phenomenon involving the co-occurrence of mood/modal markers and a complementizer within a monoclausal construction in Vietnamese. Through an in-depth analysis of this configuration, I attempt to map a finer-grained hierarchy of mood/modal adverbs and modal auxiliaries (which take scope over a proposition) onto the functional architecture of the Vietnamese clause. It will be shown that Vietnamese mood/modal adverbs, together with epistemic and ought-to-be deontic auxiliaries, are stacked well within Rizzi's (1997) Split-CP system. Additionally, I scrutinize the intimate relation between these mood/modal items and an immediately succeeding complementizer, treating it as a main-clause complementizer that heads Finiteness Phrase, the lower boundary of the traditional CP.

3.1 Setting the stage

It is widely acknowledged that *rằng* and *là* are the two canonical complementizers in Vietnamese.[43] These complementizers exhibit significant similarities, with distinctions primarily rooted in register differences. To wit, *là* is largely associated with casual, colloquial speech, while *rằng* is found mainly in more formal, written contexts (Duffield 2013b). Both *là* and *rằng* are attested frequently in subordinate contexts, introducing either embedded clauses as in (1a) or adverbial clauses as in (1b, c). They are however unattested in the clause-initial position in main

[43] *Mà* is another complementizer in Vietnamese. Its distribution and syntactic function are distinct from the other two, given that it is restricted to only relative clauses, see (i). For this reason, relative complementizer *mà* is not included in the present chapter.

(i) cuốn sách (**mà**) Tí thích
CL book REL Tí like
'the book that Tí likes'

clause environments, see (2).[44] This contrast shows that *rằng* and *là* are unable to head main clauses. The ban on main clause complementizers is in fact a well-documented cross-linguistic phenomenon (see Hill 2012 and citations therein).

(1) a. Tèo nghĩ (**rằng/là**) Tí không đến.
Tèo think COMP Tí NEG come
'Tèo thinks that Tí is not coming.'

b. Vì (**rằng/là**) Tí không đến
because COMP Tí NEG come
'Because Tí is not coming'

c. Dù (**rằng/là**) Tí không đến
because COMP Tí NEG come
'Although Tí is not coming'

(2) ***Rằng/là** Tí không đến.
COMP Tí NEG come
Int: 'That Tí is not coming.'

Despite this syntactic restriction, I observe that *là* can naturally occur in the main clause as long as it is immediately preceded by a range of high mood/modal adverbs and auxiliaries. In (3), *là* is allowed following epistemic adverb *có lẽ* 'maybe', evidential adverb *hiển nhiên* 'obviously', and evaluative adverb *quả nhiên* 'expectedly'.

(3) a. ***Có lẽ*** (**là**) Tí không đến.
maybe COMP Tí NEG come
'Maybe Tí is not coming.'

b. ***Hiển nhiên*** (**là**) Tí không đến.
obviously COMP Tí NEG come
'Tí is obviously not coming.'

[44] Example (2) is felicitous only if *là* serves as a focus marker introducing a cleft sentence ("It is Tí who is not coming").

c. ***Quả nhiên*** **(là)** Tí không đến.
as.expected COMP Tí NEG come
'As expected, Tí is not coming.'

In (4), *là* is preceded by *phải* 'must' in the capacity of either an epistemic verb or an *ought-to-be* deontic verb, both of which are raising predicates in Brennan's (1993) sense. Ought-to-be deontics differ from *ought-to-do* deontics in that only the former overtly specify the bearer of the obligation (see §3.2.2 for a more detailed discussion).

(4) Context: *A chef to a kitchen staff…*

a. Cá ***phải*** **(là)** còn sống thì mới quẫy như vậy.
fish must COMP still alive CONJ just thrash like so
'The fish must be still alive to thrash like that.' [*phải*: epistemic]

b. Cá ***phải*** **(là)** còn sống nhé.
fish must COMP still alive SFP
'The fish must be still alive, okay?' [*phải*: ought-to-be deontic]
(= You must see to it that the fish is still alive.)

It is worth noting that the use of *rằng* in these contexts is either awkward or downright ungrammatical. I tentatively attribute this ban to the incompatibility in register between the *rằng* and the speaker-oriented mood/modal elements. To wit, these mood/modal elements express a high degree of speaker's subjectivity (cf. Nuyts 1992; Hengeveld 1988, a.o.) and are mostly attested in colloquial languages. In contrast, *rằng* is restricted to formal registers, where the expression of subjectivity is subdued or at least not highlighted. Note further that both complementizers can co-occur, in which case *rằng* strictly precedes *là*. This point will be returned to shortly.

Interestingly enough, the curious occurrence of *là* in main clauses and its necessary dependency upon a licensing mood/modal element (MOD henceforth) is in fact not an idiosyncrasy of Vietnamese.[45] For concreteness, the pattern of a complementizer following a mood/modal

[45] The label "MOD" is unrelated to Rizzi's (2004) Mod(ifier)P, a dedicated criterial position for highlighted adverbials.

adverb ([MOD+COMP] henceforth) is attested in many languages, including various Romance languages and certain varieties of English. See (5-7) for some examples.

(5) a. ***Bineînţeles*** (**că**) Maria va primi banii.
of-course that Maria will receive money-the
'Of course Maria will receive the money.' (Romanian, Hill 2007a: 63)

b. ***Pesemne*** (**că**) vine.
likely that comes
'She/he'll likely come. (Romanian, Hill 2012: 282)

(6) a. ***Certo*** **che** potevamo impegnarci un po' di più.
certain that could.1PL commit-us a little of more
'We could have certainly made a greater effort.'

b. ***Claro*** **que** no tiene ningún interés.
clear that not have.3SG no interest
'He clearly doesn't have any interest.' (Spanish, Cruschina & Remberger 2017: 82)

(7) a. ***Probablement*** **que** ce n' est pas leur faute.
probably that it not be.3SG NEG their fault
'It probably isn't their fault.' (French, Grevisse & Goosse 2008: §1121b)

b. ***Peut-être*** **qu'** il vendra.
perhaps that he come.FUT.3SG
'He will probably come.' (French, Grevisse & Goose 2008:§1121b)

c. ***Obviously*** **that** the Achilles was giving him a bit of a problem. (English, Radford 2013: 42)

d. Yes, ***perhaps*** **that** they could do it. (English, Radford 2013: 34)

These adverbs all belong to the class of "sentential" adverbs in Cinque's (1999) terms, i.e. epistemics, evidentials, and evaluatives. These are all speaker-oriented adverbs in the sense of Ernst (2009): they represent either the speaker's subjective commitment towards the truth of the propositional content or her subjective evaluation towards what is conveyed by the prejacent. Syntactically, both these sentential adverbs and universal epistemic/ought-to-be deontic *phải*

'must' are assumed to behave like positive polarity items (PPIs), given their inability to scope under negation or other operators of a similar nature (cf. Ernst 2009; Iatridou & Zeijlstra 2013).

The [MOD+COMP] phenomenon raises at least three questions. First, what is the structural relation between these mood/modal elements and the complementizer they precede? To wit, is the complementizer part of the matrix clause, or does it covertly head a subordinate clause? Second, where exactly do these mood/modal elements reside in the clausal structure? Third, what are the possible implications for the architecture of CP if [MOD+COMP] is indeed part of the root clause? In the forthcoming sections, I will first preview earlier attempts to explain the [MOD+COMP] construction in other languages. Subsequently, I will put forth a syntactic analysis to account for the Vietnamese case.

3.2 Previous analyses of [MOD+COMP]

As demonstrated in the previous section, the elements that can precede and license the presence of the main-clause complementizers all seem to be typical mood and modal markers. This section presents an overview of previous studies on the syntactic nature of these elements, confirming their identity as truly high mood/modal adverbs and auxiliaries. Despite the agreement to treat [MOD+COMP] as part of the root clause, these accounts nevertheless differ in how MOD and COMP are assigned their positions in the functional spine in the respective languages.

3.2.1. MOD is not adjectival

Before going any further with the chapter, it is necessary to ensure that MOD in the [MOD+COMP] construction exclusively represents mood and modal adverbs, and not their adjectival counterparts. If MOD is adjectival, arguing that the configuration hosting [MOD+COMP] is monoclausal, with COMP serving as the main-clause complementizer, would not make sense. Instead, we would be dealing with an unremarkable case of a biclausal construction with subordinate complementizers, providing no insight into the internal architecture of CP.

In their study of several Romance languages, Cruschina & Remberger (2017) claim that the pre-COMP elements like Spanish *certo* 'certainly' and *claro* 'clearly' in (6) are underived/unmarked adverbs: they are syntactically adverbs despite being morphologically identical to adjectives of the same root. French *probablement* 'probably' in (7a) and English

obviously in (7c) on the contrary are derived adverbs, as marked by their respective suffixes *-ment* and *-ly*. Other MOD elements appear to be adverbs diachronically derived through a process of grammaticalization, not from any specific adjectives. Vietnamese *có lẽ* 'maybe or *quả nhiên* 'expectedly' in (3), Romanian *bineînţeles* 'of course' or *pesemne* 'likely' in (5), French *peut-être* 'perhaps' (7b) as well as English *perhaps* (7d) belong to this category: the contemporary meaning of each of these adverbs can no longer be computed based on their diachronic morpho-syntactic components.

If these MOD elements are not synchronically adjectives, we can safely discard the possibility that the main clause involves a syntactic operation of copula omission, with COMP serving as the head of an embedded clause. Certain syntactic tests further indicate that MOD is indeed not adjectival. Cruschina & Remberger (2017) show that for Romance languages like Italian, neither copula (8), negation (9), nor adverb modification (10) are allowed to co-occur with these adverbs, although they are fine with adjectives.[46] They take these restrictions as evidence against treating the [MOD+COMP] construction as part of a biclausal structure with the matrix copula omitted.[47]

(8) a. ***Probabile*** **che** è bloccato nel traffico.
probable that be.3SG stuck in-the traffic
'He's probably stuck in a traffic jam.' (Cruschina & Remberger 2017: 88)

b. ***Probabilmente** **che** è bloccato nel traffico.
probably that be.3SG stuck in-the traffic (Cruschina & Remberger 2017: 88)

(9) a. È ***improbabile*** **che** sia/è bloccato nel traffico.
be.3SG improbable that be.SBJV.3SG/be.3SG stuck in-the traffic
'It's unlikely that he's stuck in a traffic jam.' (Cruschina & Remberger 2017: 91)

[46] The observation that high adverbs like evidentials and epistemics do not have negative counterparts and cannot be negated goes back to at least Bellert (1977).

[47] Cruschina & Remberger (2017) however presume that certain monoclausal COMP-constructions are indeed diachronically derived from impersonal bi-clausal structures, with the copula omitted during the process of grammaticalization.

b. *<u>***Improbabile***</u> **che** è bloccato nel traffico.
improbable that be.3SG stuck in-the traffic (Cruschina & Remberger 2017: 92)

(10) a. È <u>del tutto</u>/ <u>quasi</u> ***certo*** **che** domani andiamo al mare.
be.3SG totally almost certain that tomorrow go.1PL to-the sea
'We are definitely/most probably going to the seaside tomorrow.'

b. *<u>Del tutto</u>/*<u>quasi</u> ***certo*** **che** domani andiamo al mare.
totally almost certain that tomorrow go.1PL to-the sea (Cruschina & Remberger 2017: 92)

The fact is that even if a pre-COMP element is ambiguous between an adverbial and an adjectival interpretation (as the two share the same morphological form), it is argued by Cruschina & Remberger (2017, 2018) that only pre-COMP adverbs exhibit a subjective evaluation of an attitude holder, while adjectives as the predicate of the matrix clause are objective in nature (see also Yatsushiro et al. 2022 and citations therein). Only the attitude holder's subjective evaluation is non-at-issue (cf. Krifka 2017, 2023): it expresses the speaker's private thoughts and cannot be negated.

3.3.2 Hill (2007a, 2010)

Poletto (2000) shows that certain Romance languages, especially Italian varieties, may allow for homophonous complementizers to occupy both the higher C^0 position (i.e., $Force^0$) and the lower C^0 position (Fin^0) of the same CP. Hill (2007a: 68) suggests that although the complementizer *că* 'that' may occur either in ForceP (in standard Romanian) or in FinP (in certain archaic/regional varieties), only in ForceP could *că* occur when the [MOD+COMP] construction is considered. The reason lies in the inability of post-MOD *că* to survive embedding, see (11). Specifically, Hill argues that if the adverb *sigur* 'surely' was merged as Spec,Mod(ifier)P, then the COMP succeeding it should have been in FinP, and logically there was nothing preventing (11) to be grammatical, contrary to fact.[48] The conclusion is that the post-MOD *că* should be in ForceP.

[48] See also Hill (2007a: 68) for another test using facts from object extraction.

(11) Spunea **că** ***sigur*** (***că**) va veni.
said-3SG that surely that will-3SG come
'S/he said it is sure that s/he will come.' (Romanian, Hill 2007a: 68)

For Romanian, Hill shows that sentential adverbs can occur in what is assumed to be ModP in Rizzi's (2004) Split-CP, see for example the pre-verbal *sigur* 'surely' in (12). When the complementizer *că* (head of ForceP) is added, such an adverb however must always surface to its left, but never to its right, see (13). Hill concludes that *sigur* 'surely' in (13) is outside of ForceP and is syntactically distinct from *sigur* in (12), which is internal to ForceP.

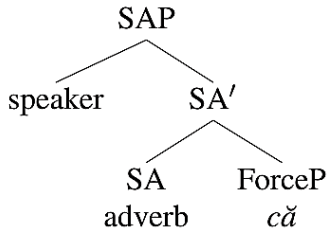
(12) ***Sigur*** va veni.
surely will-3SG come
'Of course s/he's coming.'/ 'It is certain that s/he's coming.' (Hill 2007a: 61)

(13) ***Sigur*** **că** (***sigur***) va veni mâine.
surely that surely will come tomorrow
'S/he will surely come tomorrow.' (simplified from Hill 2007a: 71)

In interpretative terms, Hill points out that when Romanian sentential adverbs merge above ForceP, the [MOD+COMP] construction has a systematic and exclusive speaker-oriented interpretation. This high position, Hill argues, has functional features that are compatible with the evaluative, evidential or epistemic features possessed by these adverbs, including "pragmatic features of sentience roles" (Hill 2007a: 73). Syntactic checking of these functional features is involved when the adverbs precede *că* as Force^0. Note that Hill claims that the adverbs in [MOD+COMP] construction have properties of a head (which cannot project an AdvP), while high adverbs as in (17) are still full-fledged phrases. See Hill (2007a: 73-77) for more discussions.

Hill further proposes to treat these adverbs as functional categories merged as head of an overt SAP (Speech Act Projection, reminiscent of Speas & Tenny's (2003) and Tenny's (2005) Speech Act Phrase) that selects *că* as Force^0. The head SA^0 matches the [+sentience] features given the strict speaker-oriented interpretation of adverbs. The tree in (14) illustrates the syntactic realization of the pragmatic field of speech acts in Romanian, which provides direct access to the discourse information of the utterance. It is maintained that the [MOD+COMP] structure as in (13) is monoclausal.

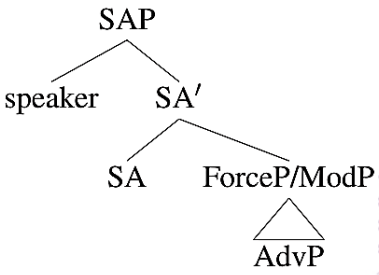
(14)



(Hill 2007a: 78)

Note that a sentence like (12) where no COMP is present can still receive a speaker-oriented interpretation. Since this reading is associated with an SAP, Hill suggests that the pragmatic layer is still activated, albeit in a covert form. The syntactic structure of (12) is illustrated in (15). The [+sentience] features of SA^0 are argued to enter a checking relation with $Force^0$, provided that $Force^0$ also agrees with Mod^0 and attracts its features. This way the lower adverb, which is a lexical phrasal element, can still be anchored to the speaker, albeit in a more indirect fashion.

(15)



(Hill 2007a: 80)

Hill (2010) makes a further observation that not only sentential adverbs but certain particles, like the injunctive *hai* or *las* 'c'mon, let's, ok' in (16), can also precede the main-clause complementizer *că*. More importantly, these particles can co-exist with sentential adverbs, each potentially followed by an instantiation of the complementizer. Hill (2010: 5) argues that *că* here "marks the border between various discourse fields derived at the left periphery of clauses, rather than typing the clause."

(16) *Hai* (**că**) ***bineînţeles*** (**că**) vine până la urmă.
PRT that obviously that comes up to end
'C'mon, s/he'll obviously come in the end.' (Hill 2010: 5)

Hill (2010) also appears to fully apply Cinque's (1999) hierarchy of mood and modal adverbs to the Romanian pre-COMP mood/modal field.[49] ForceP is thus re-iterated in a domain of conversational pragmatics, which consists of the higher injunctive field and the lower mood/modal adverbial field, see (17). As an injunctive, the particle *hai* resists embedding, see (18).

(17) [$_{\text{PartP}}$ *hai* [**$_{\text{ForceP}}$** ***că*** [$_{\text{MoodPspeechact}}$ [$_{\text{MoodPeval}}$ [$_{\text{MoodPevid}}$ [$_{\text{ModPepist}}$ [**$_{\text{ForceP}}$** ***că***….]]]

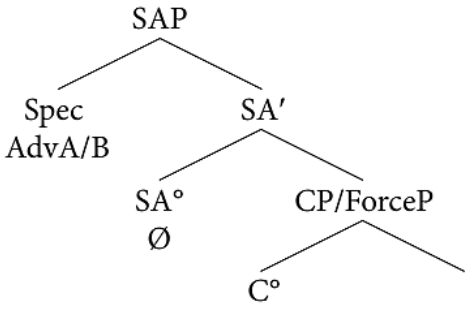
(Hill 2010: 10, quoted with minor modifications)

(18) *Ziceam că ***hai*** (**că**) vino mai repede.
said that PRT that come-2nd SG IMP more quickly
Intended: 'Come quickly, I said.' (Hill 2010: 10)

3.3.3 Cruschina & Remberger (2017, 2018)

Cruschina & Remberger (2017) claim that, in some Romance languages, both underived/unmarked adverbs (Type A) and derived adverbs (Type B) are merged as specifier of an empty head modifying the root CP. This way they can be anchored to the speaker, promoting her point of view. Following Speas & Tenny's (2003) and Hill's (2007a) postulation of a Speech Act Phrase, this functional head is labeled SA^0 and the projection it heads SAP. SAP is tasked with "encoding of speaker-oriented discourse/pragmatic features (evaluative, evidential, epistemic values)" (Cruschina & Remberger 2017: 93), see (19). COMP is taken as realizing the head C^0 of CP (or Rizzi's (1997) ForceP), functioning as the demarcator separating the higher pragmatic domain from the lower propositional domain, see (20).

(19)



(Cruschina & Remberger 2017: 93)

[49] Hill (2012) further claims that a third *că* is possible in between the Mood-related field and the epistemic modal.

(20) [AdvA/B] [CP [C] [IP]]
pragmatic field *border* *proposition* (Cruschina & Remberger 2017: 93)

Cruschina & Remberger (2018) differs from Cruschina & Remberger (2017) in at least one detail: it appears to adopt Hill (2007a, 2010), taking the ADV to merge as head, not as Spec, of SAP (see also their footnote 8). They illustrate the high position of the adverbs and the root nature of [MOD+COMP] by first showing that the construction cannot be embedded within a relative clause (21a) or within a complement clause (21b).

(21) a. *La ragazza che ***chiaro*** **che** (la) invitiamo...
the girl that clear that her= invite.1PL (Italian, Cruschina & Remberger 2018)

b. *Ho sentito che ***chiaro*** **che** la invitiamo.
have.1SG hear.PST.PTCP that clear that her= invite.1PL (Italian, Cruschina & Remberger 2018)

Second, topics, especially of the given/familiar type (GTop), are generally marginal when preceding [MOD+COMP], see (22a). In contrast, shifting/aboutness topics (ATop) are felicitously preceding the construction, see (22b). Cruschina & Remberger argue that since ATops are assumed to occupy a position higher than that of ForceP, while GTops are lower in CP, this shows that COMP occurs in Force^0, and the constituent following it is not simply a TP.

(22) a. ??Alla festa, ***certo*** **che** ci vado con Luca! [GTop]
to.the party certain that there= go.1SG with Luca
'Of course I'll go to the party with Luca!' (Italian, Cruschina & Remberger 2018)

b. Alla festa, ***certo*** **che** ci vado! [ATop]
to.the party certain that there= go.1SG
'Of course I'll go to the party!' (Italian, Cruschina & Remberger 2018)

Both Hill's (2007 et seq.) and Cruschina & Remberger's (2017, 2018) takes on the high, CP-external, position of sentential adverbs can directly account for the presence of speaker's evaluation of the proposition, with the speaker's mood/modal assessment of the proposition not temporally anchored to the reference or topic time, but to the speech time. I will demonstrate later that, despite the apparent similarity between these [MOD+COMP] constructions and the

Vietnamese [MOD+*là*] construction, the proposed CP-external position for sentential adverbs is simply too high for Vietnamese MOD. The post-MOD *là* in Vietnamese should instead be treated as the head of FinP, not of ForceP. As will be discussed in the following section, this perspective aligns well with the analyses proposed by Sato (2014) for Japanese and by Kocher (2017, 2018) for Spanish.

3.3.4 Sato (2014) and Kocher (2017, 2018)

Sato (2014) claims that Japanese complementizer *no* may immediately precede (and is c-selected by) E(pistemic)-modals, see (23). The relation between E-Mods and *no* is typically intimate, to the extent that *no* is sometimes regarded as part of modal expressions, e.g. *no-daroo* (indicating presumption) and *no-da* (indicating assertion) (cf. Noda 1987, as quoted in Sato 2014).

(23) Miki-wa uso-o tui-tei-ru **no** ***daroo***.
Miki-TOP lie-ACC tell-PROG-PRES NO Emod$_{\text{PRESUMPTIVE}}$
'Miki is likely to be telling a lie.' (Sato 2014: 310)

Further to the right of the Japanese clause are U(tterance)-modals (serving to communicate the speech act type of the utterance) and sentence-final particles (indicating the speaker's attitude and reinforce the illocutionary force specified by the U-modals). The relevant architecture of Japanese Left Periphery is illustrated in (24).

(24) Subj [[[[T $_{\text{TP}}$] **no** $_{\text{FinP}}$] E-Mod $_{\text{E-ModP}}$] U-Mod $_{\text{U-ModP}}$] (adapted from Sato 2014)

The complement of *no* is restricted to denoting propositions (Saito 2010), thus it is treated as the complementizer for propositional complements, like *que* could be for Spanish (Plann 1982). Japanese *no* (and Spanish low *que*) can be recast as Rizzi's (1997) Fin^0 (following Hiraiwa and Ishihara 2002). The E-modals, which are related to the personal judgment of an attitude holder, can only select a *no*-clause, but never occurs to the left of *no*. *No* has an unvalued feature which is valued by the locally available attitude holder, i.e. the speaker in a root environment or the matrix subject in an embedding environment. The fact that the *no-daroo* structure can be embedded, see (25), shows that both *no* and *daroo* are well within CP.

(25) Ken-wa [[Miki-wa uso-o tui-tei-ru **no** ***daroo***] to] omot-ta/it-ta.
Ken-TOP [Miki-TOP lie-ACC tell-PROG-PRES NO Emod$_{PRESUMPTIVE}$ TO] think-PAST/say-PAST
'Ken thought/said that it should be the case that Miki was telling a lie.' (Sato 2014: 310)

In short, it is shown that the modal elements immediately above the complementizer *no*, which is equivalent to Rizzi's Fin^0, should be treated as part of the CP on a par with CP-internal mood/modal adverbs in Hill (2007a). Recall Hill's remark that *că* can actually head FinP in certain varieties of Romanian.

Kocher (2017) works exclusively with the Spanish data, arguing that Hill's (2007a) proposal for Romanian in which [MOD+COMP] is merged high in the Left Periphery (with COMP identified as Force^0 and the adverbs identified as SA^0) cannot be adopted into Spanish. Evidence first comes from a linear-order fact: Spanish [MOD+COMP] follows contrastive topics, which are assumed to merge below ForceP (cf. Haegeman 2004; Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007, a.o.). See (26) for an illustration.

(26) a unos les gusta, a otros no les gusta […][$_{TopP}$ A mí mujer$_i$]
to some them like to some not them like to my mother
seguro **que** no le$_i$ gusta.
sure QUE not her like
'Some like it, and some don't like it. My mother surely doesn't like it.' (Kocher 2017: 100)

Second, if the complementizer really heads ForceP, it is perplexing as to how [MOD+COMP] could co-occur with an embedded complementizer of the subordinate clause as in (27), given that both complementizers should compete for the same position.

(27) Se lo comentaba anoche a Eme y ella me decía **que** ***seguro***
CL it commented yesterday.night to Eme and she me told that sure
que eso es algo que no me molestío en Pulp Fiction.
that this is something that not me bothered in Pulp Fiction
'I mentioned it to Eme last night, and she told me that surely this is not something that bothered me in Pulp Fiction.' (Kocher 2017: 100)

Kocher (2017) concludes that evidential and epistemic modifiers in Spanish [MOD+COMP] are merged directly as Spec,Mod(ifier)P à la Rizzi (2004). This ModP is conceptualized as a field that

has an internal structure consisting of orderly rigid projections (i.e. EvalP > EvidP > EpisP). The COMP *que* is argued to base-generate in FinP.[50]

Kocher (2017) contends that the [MOD+COMP] construction is resorted to indicate that the proposition that COMP selects is uncontroversial (i.e. part of the common ground). In (28), the presence of *que* 'that' signals that the speaker marks the proposition as a belief shared between the speech participants.

(28) *Seguramente* (**que**) viene.
surely QUE comes
'Surely he/she will come. (Kocher 2017: 84)

Kocher (2018: 114-115) further adds that this construction is preferred in contexts where the addressee's perspective is salient and often negotiated. I will show in the next section that this effect is not guaranteed for Vietnamese, as Vietnamese [MOD+*là*] can simply express the speaker's private judgment/attitude about the proposition. The perspective of the addressee is only necessarily involved if sentence-final elements, taken as part of the pragmatic/interactional layer, are invoked.

3.3 An account for Vietnamese [MOD+*là*]

This section offers an exploration into the syntactic identity of MOD and *là* in Vietnamese. I contend that Vietnamese MOD can be either a mood/modal adverb or a high universal modal auxiliary, while *là* heads FinP, marking the lower bound of CP.

3.3.1. MOD as evaluative, evidential, and epistemic adverbs

Although the copula test is not applicable to Vietnamese (as Vietnamese generally does not allow a copula before a predicative adjective), (29) shows that negative modification is prohibited with Vietnamese adverbs when they precede COMP. Note that the situation is different for (30) compared to (29b). In (30), *không may* 'unfortunately' behaves as a full-fledged adverb, where *không* does not function as an independent operator taking scope over the adverb *may* 'fortunately', but is synchronically part of the adverb itself.

[50] Kocher however suggests that *que* also moves to ModP in a head-to-head fashion as the derivation goes.

(29) a. (*Không) ***hiển nhiên*** **(là)** Tí đã đến.
NEG obviously COMP Tí ANT come
'(*Not) obviously that Tí came.'

b. (*Không) ***may mắn*** **(là)** Tí đã đến.
NEG fortunately COMP Tí ANT come
'(*Not) fortunately that Tí came.'

(30) ***Không may*** **(là)** Tí đã đến.
unfortunately COMP Tí ANT come
'Unfortunately that Tí came.'

Vietnamese high adverbs however appear to tolerate degree modification (as long as they are semantically gradable), see (31) (cf. Hill 2007a). This behavioral disparity in terms of degree modification is suggested in the next section to follow directly from the difference in syntactic status between Romance MOD and Vietnamese MOD. To wit, pre-COMP adverbs in certain Romance languages are highly grammaticalized and are head-like (Hill 2007a and Cruschina & Remberger 2018), while Vietnamese sentential adverbs are still essentially phrasal.

(31) a. Khá ***may mắn*** **là** máy móc, thiết bị tôi đã kịp quăng ngay
rather fortunately COMP apparatus device 1SG ANT on.time throw right
lên bờ
up bank
'Rather fortunately that I managed to throw all my devices onto the river bank on time'
(https://laodong.vn/xa-hoi/chuyen-di-tac-nghiep-nho-doi-1047751.ldo)

b. Hoàn toàn ***hiển nhiên*** **là** trong một nước dân chủ phán xét
totally obviously COMP in a country democratic judgment
cuối cùng […] thuộc về nhân dân
final belong to people
'Totally obviously that in a democratic country the final say […] belongs to the people.'
(https://danlambaovn.blogspot.com/2021/01/phac-thao-dan-chu.html)

Recall that the MOD elements under discussion are always high adverbs that orient towards an attitude holder. These adverbs are not of a lower level, like the ones with a method or manner

interpretation (which should align themselves with an event participant). This restriction is illustrated by the contrast in (32): the addition of the the periphrastic *một cách* '(in) a way' to adjectivals such as *rõ ràng* 'clear' can derive *v*P-level manner adverbs like *một cách rõ ràng* 'in a clear manner, clearly'; this mechanism is however impossible for high sentential adverbs. Moreover, the manner adverb in (32a) is oriented towards *Tí*, the subject and the Agent of the speaking event; in contrast, the evidential adverb in (32b) is anchored to the external speaker.

(32) a. Tí đang nói chuyện một cách ***rõ ràng***.
Tí PROG speak a way clear
'Tí is speaking clearly.'

b. (*Một cách) ***rõ ràng*** **(là)** Tí đang nói chuyện.
a way sure COMP Tí PROG speak
Int: 'Clearly Tí is speaking.'

Although the Romance languages previously mentioned in this chapter share with Vietnamese the phenomenon of root complementizers, and also a construction where a mood/modal adverb is found immediately preceding them, there are reasons to believe that the analyses proposed for these languages (regarding the status of COMP and MOD, as well as the interpretation of the [MOD+COMP] construction) cannot be (fully) applied to Vietnamese. Specifically, the Vietnamese adverbs in the [MOD+*là*] construction align quite closely with Hill's (2007a) CP-internal mood/modal adverbs in Romanian, but deviate from the behavior of the so-called head-like adverbs and particles like Romanian injunctive *hai* in (16) and Italian *chiaro* 'clearly' in (21) as posited in Hill (2007a et seq.) and Cruschina & Remberger (2017, 2018). In these studies, these head-like elements are assumed to be CP-external, with the succeeding COMP realized as Force^0. Two syntactic tests are employed to support a lower position for Vietnamese MOD and *là*.

First, Vietnamese [MOD+*là*] construction follows contrastive topics, which are generally assumed to merge CP-internally. In (33), *Tí* and *Tèo* are contrastive topics marked by the topic marker *thì*. Here the [MOD+*là*] sequences must succeed the topics. This is reminiscent of the argument made by Kocher (2017) with respect to the Spanish data, see (26), repeated here as (34).

(33) Tí (thì) ***có lẽ*** (**là**) sẽ đến, nhưng Tèo (thì) ***chắc*** (**là**) sẽ ở nhà.
Tí TOP maybe COMP FUT come but Tèo TOP certainly COMP FUT at home
'As for Tí, maybe he will come, but as for Tèo, he certainly will stay home.'

(34) a unos les gusta, a otros no les gusta […] [$_{TopP}$ A mí mujer$_i$] ***seguro*** **que**
to some them like to some not them like to my mother sure QUE
no le$_i$ gusta. (=(26))
not her like
'Some like it, and some don't like it. My mother surely doesn't like it.' (Kocher 2017: 100)

Second, Vietnamese [MOD+*là*] can be embedded. In (35), the construction is embedded inside a relative clause. In (36), it is embedded under the attitude verb *nghĩ* 'think', which can be immediately followed by another instantiation of *là* as the embedded complementizer. The embedding facts show that COMP cannot be in Force^0, and the preceding adverbs cannot merge above ForceP in Vietnamese. All in all, I contend that the high position of [MOD+COMP] as proposed by Hill (2007a et seq.) and Cruschina & Remberger (2017, 2018) cannot be extended to Vietnamese. For an exposition of the proposed syntactic analysis, see §3.2.3.

(35) a. Tí thích cô gái mà ***rõ ràng***/ ***có lẽ*** (**là**) đã có bạn trai.
Tí like CL girl REL clearly maybe COMP ANT have boyfriend
'Tí likes the girl who clearly/maybe already has a boyfriend.'

b. Cuốn sách mà ***hẳn***/ ***có lẽ*** (**là**) Tí sẽ đọc ở trên bàn.
CL book REL certainly maybe COMP Tí FUT read at on table
'The book which Tí certainly/maybe will read is on the table.'

(36) Tí nghĩ (là) Tèo ***tất nhiên***/ ***chắc chắn*** (**là**) sẽ đến.
Tí think COM Tèo of course certainly COMP FUT come
'Tí thinks that of course/certainly Tèo will come.'

3.2.2. MOD as high modal verbs of strong necessity

In previous cross-linguistic studies on the [MOD+COMP] construction, only adverbs have been considered as candidates for the position of MOD. However, as demonstrated in (4), Vietnamese modal auxiliary *phải* 'must' can also occupy this position. Two notes are relevant here. First, the

epistemic reading of *phải* is particularly clear in the presence of some (background) information that serves to justify or reinforce the belief towards the proposition that the prejacent of *phải* expresses. See (37) for some examples, either with or without the overt COMP *là*. The background clauses (as part of the argument built by the speaker to report her train of thought) are underlined in the translation.

(37) a. *Phải* yêu lắm thì mới gắn bó được tới 20 năm như thế
must love a.lot CONJ just attach gain to year like so
'[for her] to stay loyal [to the company] for 20 years like this, it *must* be the case that there is a lot of love involved'
(https://chungta.vn/cong-nghe/bon-nu-chuyen-gia-say-cong-nghe-1116607.html)

b. Nghe nói địa ngục toàn là dầu sôi, lửa bỏng, *phải* **là** nóng lắm
hear say hell all be oil boiled fire blazing must COMP hot very
'I heard that hell is full of boiled oil and blazing fire, it *must* be the case that it is very hot'
(http://lethihoainiem.blogspot.com/2013/?m=1)

c. đứa trẻ 4 tuổi mà lý luận được như này cũng *phải* **là** thông minh
CL child age CONJ reason gain like this also must COMP smart
lắm luôn.
a.lot SFP
'For a four-year-old to be able to reason like this, it *must* be the case that he is very smart.'
(https://soaicacomic.com/trong-sinh-chi-nguoc-tra-nu-vuong-chap-73/)

d. Tôi thì vẫn luôn tin - *phải* **là** có duyên thì người ta mới gặp
1SG TOP still always believe must COMP have fate CONJ people just meet
nhau, yêu nhau
each.other love each.other
'For me, I always believe that, for people to meet and love each other, it *must* be the case that they have a predestined fate.'
(https://blogradio.vn/blog-radio-335-de-tinh-yeu-that-su-lap-day-qua-khu-da-qua-md5898.html)

Second, while *phải* 'must' is not the only deontic modal of necessity in Vietnamese, it is uniquely permissible as an epistemic verb. *Nên* 'should, ought to' as the other deontic necessity modal is not attested with an epistemic construal. Furthermore, *nên* does not appear to be particularly felicitous with an ought-to-be reading. Modelling after the distinction between English *must/have to* and *should/ought* (Copley 2006; von Fintel & Iatridou 2008; see also Kratzer 1991), I assume that *nên* 'should' has a weaker universal reading than *phải* 'must'.[51] I subsequently suggest that as far as modal auxiliaries are concerned, only the strong universal *phải* can serve as MOD in the Vietnamese [MOD+*là*] construction.[52] In this position, *phải* can be interpreted as either an epistemic or an ought-to-be deontic auxiliary.

The term *ought-to-be* deontic, as opposed to *ought-to-do* deontics, goes back to Feldman 1986. This split is recast as Hacquard's (2006) distinction between subject-oriented and addressee-oriented deontics. Ought-to-do deontics have a circumstantial modal base and a deontic ordering source à la Kratzer 1981, with the obligation placed on the subject. Ought-to-be deontics instead place the obligation on the addressee (Hacquard 2006: 41). The modal *phải* in (4b), repeated here as (38), is interpreted with an ought-to-be deontic reading and is typically anchored to the addressee. As an epistemic modal, *phải* is anchored to the external speaker as in (39a), or the subject of the matrix clause when embedded, see (39b). In the capacity of an ought-to-do deontic, *phải* is nevertheless anchored to the subject of the clause containing it, see (40).

(38) Context: *A chef to a kitchen staff…*

Cá ***phải*** **(là)** còn sống nhé. (=(4b))

fish must COMP still alive SFP

'The fish must be still alive, okay? (= You must see to it that the fish is still alive.)'

[51] While both *must/have to* and *should/ought to* are universal/necessity modals, they differ in that the latter has a smaller domain of quantification: "strong necessity modals say that the prejacent is true in all of the favored worlds, while weak necessity modals say that the prejacent is true in all of the very best (by some additional measure) among the favored worlds" (von Fintel & Iatridou 2008: 119).

[52] From the perspective of diachronic syntax, it might well be the case that strong necessity *phải* is still undergoing a process of grammaticalization to become a full-fledged epistemic modal on a par with English *must*. On the contrary, weak necessity *nên* has not reached the same level of grammaticalization as *phải* and is still primarily a deontic auxiliary. Further research is required to support this hypothesis.

(39) a. Cá ***phải*** **(là)** còn sống thì mới quẫy như vậy. (=4a))
fish must COMP still alive CONJ just thrash like so
'The fish must be still alive to thrash like that.'

b. Tí nghĩ là [cá ***phải*** **(là)** còn sống thì mới quẫy như vậy].
Tí think COMP fish must COMP still alive CONJ just thrash like so
'Tí thinks that the fish must be still alive to thrash like that.'

(40) Tí *phải* đến.
Tí must come
'Tí must come. (= Tí is obliged to come.)'

Epistemics and addressee-oriented deontics (also called "true" deontics in Hacquard 2006) scope over Tense and the entire proposition, while subject-oriented deontics scope below Tense and over VP. Epistemics and ought-to-be deontics are evaluated at the speech time, ought-to-do deontics the time of the main event. The sentences in (41) illustrate this height disparity between the modals with respect to Tense.

(41) a. ought-to-do *phải* (T > *phải*)

Tí đã ***phải*** làm xong bài tập trước khi đi chơi.
Tí ANT must do finish homework before time go play
'Tí had to finish his homework before he could go out.'

b. epistemic *phải* (*phải* > T)

Tí ***phải*** **(là)** đã làm xong bài tập vì nó học rất chăm.
Tí must COMP ANT do finish homework because he study very studious
'Tí must have finished his homework because he studies very hard.'

c. ought-to-be *phải* (*phải* > T)

Context: *The speaker is talking to Tí's babysitter concerning her childcare duties.*

Tí ***phải*** **(là)** đã làm xong bài tập thì nó mới được đi chơi.
Tí must COMP ANT do finish homework then he only.then can go play
'(It must be seen to that) Tí can only go out once he has finished his homework.'

When the past tense marker *đã* precedes the modal *phải* 'must', the latter is interpreted as a root/subject-oriented deontic as in (41a). This sentence carries an *actuality entailment* (Bhatt 1999), meaning that the complement is required to hold in the actual world at the reference time (i.e., the event of Tí finishing his homework is realized). When *phải* precedes *đã*, two interpretations are possible: *phải* is either an epistemic modal (41b) or a true/addressee-oriented deontic modal (41c). Neither of these readings results in actuality entailment. Note that (41c) is most felicitous in a context where the obligation is put on the addressee, and not the subject. Following Hacquard (2006), I suggest here that both epistemic *phải* and ought-to-be-deontic *phải* are of the same height syntactically (see also Tsai 2015a). Just like epistemic *phải*, ought-to-be *phải* can also be followed by COMP. In contrast, ought-to-do *phải* does not allow COMP to follow it due to its lower structural position in the clausal spine.

3.2.3. *Là* heads Finiteness Phrase

It was previously claimed that *là* in the Vietnamese [MOD+*là*] construction is structurally below Force^0 but still resides above TP. Let us use (42a) as an illustration: the first instantiation of *là* which immediately succeeds the matrix predicate *nghĩ* 'think' realizes Force^0, the second *là* is the complementizer in question, which precedes the future tense marker *sẽ*. In terms of Rizzi's (1997) Split-CP system, I propose that the lower *là* serves to realize the head of FinP at the low end of CP. See (42b) for a rough outline.

(42) a. Tí nghĩ **(là)** Tèo ***tất nhiên*/ *chắc chắn*** **(là)** sẽ đến. (=(36))
Tí think COMP Tèo of course certainly COMP FUT come
'Tí thinks that of course/ certainly Tèo will come.'

b. … [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ *là* … [$_{\text{FinP}}$ ***là*** [$_{\text{TP}}$ …]]]

That both heads of ForceP and FinP can be filled by the same complementizer as in (42a) has been discussed for certain Romance languages (see, for example, Poletto 2000; Demonte & Fernández-Soriano 2009; Belletti 2009). COMP as head of FinP is taken to serve as the interface between the proposition (that is, TP) and the mood/modal domain (see also Sato 2014). This interfacing function of COMP is also suggested in Cruschina & Remberger (2017) and Hill (2010, 2012), for example.

Note that Duffield (2013b, 2013c) points out that *rằng* and *là* can occur side by side in cases like (43a), with the reverse order leading to ill-formedness, see (43b). This further shows that *là* as a lower COMP cannot be in the position of Force^0. Duffield (2013c) however takes it to function as head of a topic phrase, supposing that it is in a complementary distribution with topic marker *thì*, see (44).

(43) a. Phải nói **rằng** **là** thế hệ trẻ của chúng ta rất tài năng.
modal say COMP COMP generation young of PL PRN very talented
'(I) have to say that our young generation is very talented.' (Duffield 2013b: fn. 8)

b. *Phải nói **là rằng** thế hệ trẻ của chúng ta rất tài năng. (Duffield 2013c (30c))

(44) a. [Nó không học toán] **là** tốt.
PRN not study maths COMP good
'It's good that he didn't study mathematics.'

b. [Nó không học toán] **thì** tốt.
PRN not study maths TOP good
'It would be good if he didn't study mathematics.'

(Duffield 2013c (32))

I will not get into the question of whether *là* in (44) is in fact on a par with *thì* in the capacity of a topic marker, as this is not directly relevant to the current study. What I want to emphasize is that in sentence (43), *là* cannot function as a topic marker, given that there is no topicalized constituent to its left for it to topic-mark. Looking back at previous sentences featuring the [MOD+*là*] construction, it does not make much sense to assume that these MODs, whether they be adverbs or auxiliaries, serve as the topic of the respective sentences. Instead, these mood and modal markers convey the speaker's (or matrix subject's) subjective evaluation or epistemic/doxastic state regarding the propositional content expressed. Similarly, *là* also cannot head a Focus Phrase, since these MODs are clearly not in focus. Considering all factors, I maintain that *là* in the [MOD+*là*] construction most likely heads a Finiteness Phrase.

How viable is it to assume a finiteness-encoding phrase in Vietnamese, given that the language apparently lacks overt morphosyntactic marking for tense? A finite/nonfinite distinction

has in fact been argued for Mandarin as another language that exhibits no morphosyntactic tense marking (Lin 2015; Grano 2017). Bianchi (2003) proposes to take finiteness to be defined upon logophoric anchoring (with Liao & Wang (2023) suggesting adding a 'world' parameter to the logophoric center to account for finiteness marking in Mandarin). Ritter & Wiltschko (2009, 2014) further treat finite and non-finite as two instantiations of what they call INFL, whose substantive feature may be associated with tense (like English), location (like Halkomelem), or person (like Blackfoot). Amritavalli (2014) asserts that finiteness in Kannada and some other Dravidian languages is a property of a Mood Phrase which instantiates indicative mood. Rizzi (1997) himself also suggests that finite forms can be specified for mood. I assume that finiteness distinction is present in Vietnamese, and that FinP is readily available as a functional projection of the Vietnamese functional architecture.

Simply as a working hypothesis, the "dependency" of *là* upon the presence of a preceding mood/modal element might be attributed to *là* exhibiting indicative mood as head of FinP. The view that FinP exhibits features pertinent to mood/modality is endorsed by Demonte & Fernández-Soriano (2009), Sato (2014), and Corr (2016), among others. Recall that Amritavalli's (2014) MoodP marks finiteness when it is endowed with indicative mood. Incidentally, Tsai & Yang (2022) also posit for Mandarin a MoodP in the lower part of CP, which is marked with either indicative or interrogative mood features. An evidential mood marker like *yuanlai* 'turn out,' for example, is proposed to be associated with the indicative mood in MoodP. See (45) for an illustration.

(45) a. *Yuanlai* Akiu mei qu Budapesi a^0!
turn.out Akiu not go Budapest SFP
'It turns out that Akiu did not go to Budapest!' (Tsai & Yang 2022 (25), quoted with minor modifications)

b. … [$_{EviP}$ *yuanlai* Evi^0 [$_{MoodP}$ **$Mood^0$ [indicative]** … [$_{IP}$ … (Tsai & Yang 2022 (26a), quoted with minor modifications)

Tsai & Yang's (2022) MoodP is to a certain extent reminiscent of the FinP that I propose to account for the complementizer *là*: both phrases are assumed to be endowed with indicative mood in the

presence of a mood/modal marker which merges in a separate projection structurally above them.[53] I wish to return to the issues of FinP and finiteness in Vietnamese through a more comprehensive study in the future.

All in all, the previous discussion shows that when Vietnamese high adverbs and modal auxiliaries are followed by the complementizer *là*, this latter must merge low as the head of FinP, with the mood/modal elements remaining within CP. This MOD-field bears strong resemblance to Speas & Tenny's (2003) Sentience Phrase as well as Krifka's (2017, 2023) Judge Phrase.[54] The hierarchy of these mood/modal items appears to be rigid: evaluatives always occur to the left of evidentials (46a), while evidentials always precede epistemics (46b, 47a) and ought-to-be deontics (47b).[55] This hierarchy is in conformity with the proposed order of adverbs in Cinque (1999).

(46) Context: *The chef asks a kitchen staff member to check on a fish, afraid that it might be dead. The staff member, thinking he might be hearing thrashing sounds in the tank, replies:*

a. {***Hình như***} ***may mắn*** {***hình như***} **(là)** cá còn sống. [Eval > Evid]
seemingly fortunately seemingly COMP fish still come
'Fortunately it seems that the fish is still alive.'

b. {***Có thể***} ***hình như*** {***có thể***} **(là)** cá còn sống. [Evid > Epis]
maybe seemingly maybe COMP fish still alive
'It seems that maybe the fish is still alive.'

(47) *The chef to a kitchen staff member:*

[53] Recall that Roussou's (2000) modification of Rizzi's (1997) Split-CP also posits a low C_M head (corresponding to FinP) which is specified for modality and can host a group of modal particles. This C_M head is comparable to the high MoodP, featurally specified as ±indicative, in Philippaki-Warburton (1992).

[54] This postulation of Vietnamese MOD-field is in line with Tsai's (2015a) proposal to map Chinese epistemic (ad)verbs onto Rizzi's (1997) complementizer layer.

[55] It is not always an easy task to find completely natural-sounding co-occurrences of these mood/modal elements. Crucially, however, the reverse orderings are significantly more degraded compared to the orderings proposed here.

a. Cá {***phải***} ***hiển nhiên*** {***phải***} **(là)** còn sống. [Evid > Epis]
fish must obviously must COMP still alive
'Clearly it must be that the fish is still alive.'

b. Cá {***phải***} ***hiển nhiên*** {***phải***} **(là)** còn sống. [Evid > True-Deo]
fish must obviously must COMP still alive
'Clearly the fish must still be alive.'

Consequently, the architecture of the Vietnamese CP-internal mood/modal-field (hereinafter referred to as the MOD-field) is roughly illustrated in (48) (irrelevant details excluded), with epistemic and ought-to-be deontic elements residing at the lowest layer.

(48) … [$\text{Mood}_{\text{Evaluative}}$P [$\text{Mood}_{\text{Evidential}}$P [$\text{Mod}_{\text{Epistemic/True-deontic}}$P [FinP ***là*** [TP …]]]]
MOD-field

3.4. Summary

This chapter argues that the MOD elements in the Vietnamese [MOD+*là*] construction are either high mood/modal adverbs or high modal verbs of strong necessity. *Là* is also identified as the head of FinP. There is no evidence that supports treating these mood/modal elements as part of a matrix clause while the complementizer *là* heads an embedded clause. Subsequently, I contend that the [MOD+*là*] construction realizes a monoclausal configuration.

The understanding gained from this discussion concerning the architecture of the Vietnamese MOD-field, which resides squarely within CP, will be proven crucial when the syntactic characteristics of two modal particles *mà* and *lại* are discussed in Chapter 4. I will point out that these particles constitute the extended projections of the MOD-field and are distinguished from both sentential adverbs and sentence-final elements in significant ways. To foreshadow further, I suggest that the high head-like adverbs and particles as discussed previously in Hill (2007a et seq.) and Cruschina & Remberger (2017, 2018) are reminiscent of certain sentence-final particles in Vietnamese, given that they all define the pragmatic layer of Grounding in the sense of Wiltschko & Heim (2016). I return to the topic of SFPs in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 4
MODAL PARTICLES AND THE PARTICLE PHRASE

In the previous chapter, I discuss the syntactic architecture of Vietnamese mood/modal adverbs and modal auxiliaries which collectively form a MOD-field. It is claimed that they take sentential scope and can be found immediately preceding a complementizer. This complementizer is identified as the head of Finiteness Phrase (FinP), the lowest end of the Split-CP system à la Rizzi (1997). This chapter extends the discussion of the Vietnamese MOD-field by further identifying two modal particles whose interpretations are also intimately anchored to an attitude holder. I will argue that these particles make up an extended layer of the MOD-field, and are to be distinguished from homonymous sentential adverbs and conjunctives in both distributional and interpretive terms.

4.1 Introduction

This chapter argues for the existence of a category of modal particles (henceforth MP) heading independent functional projections within the CP domain in Vietnamese. This category consists of at least three items: *mà* (lit. 'but'), *lại* (lit. 'however'), and *đi* (lit. 'go'). These elements are typically found in the spoken language, i.e. in non-formal registers.[56] The particles can co-occur within the same clause, as shown in (1). However, they must be stacked in a rigid order, as schematized in (2), with no alternative linear placements attested. In this study, my focus will be on *mà* and *lại*.[57]

(1) Sao **mà** hoa **lại** **đi** héo rồi?
how MP flower MP MP wither already
'How come the flower has *unexpectedly* withered away already?'

(2) *mà* > *lại* > *đi* (the top-down hierarchy is read from left to right)

[56] Herrmann (2014) argues that MPs also occur in sign languages.

[57] See Phan (in prep.) for an investigation of the MP *đi*.

Although at first glance these MP seem to express a similar notion of unexpectedness or counter-intuitiveness, subsequent sections will demonstrate that each element has its own core interpretive contribution to the host clause. This kind of contribution is independent of the truth-conditional content: MPs typically express different degrees of probability and various flavors of an attitude holder's subjective judgment towards a proposition. Comparable to the case of high mood/modal elements, the extra "comment" added enriches the non-at-issue content of the host clause.

Vietnamese MPs are a heretofore overlooked category of mood/modality. There are at least two reasons for this. First, from a cross-linguistical perspective, MPs have been generally neglected until quite recently. Research on modality is most prominent in the more familiar categories of auxiliary modal verbs (e.g. *may*, *must*, *can*), modal adverbs (e.g. *perhaps*, *possibly*) or adjectives (e.g. *possible*, *probable*) (see Portner 2009, among others). Second, for languages rich in their inventory of sentence-final particles (SFPs) like Vietnamese (and Sinitic varieties, especially Cantonese), the limelight has been traditionally put on these right-edge particles.

Below, I will discuss in detail the syntactic and interpretive properties of *mà* and *lại* as exemplified in (1). I will argue that they all externalize distinct features associated with CP. Their status as MPs will be argued for from a comparative perspective when the two particles are compared against similar elements in other languages.

4.2 MP *mà*

Similar to MPs in other languages, MP *mà* has homonyms in other grammatical categories which correspond to distinct syntactic positions and interpretive properties.

4.2.1 Preliminaries

While clause-medial *mà* as in (3) is argued to serve as an MP, *mà* is also commonly attested as a conjunctive paraphraseable into 'but', as in (4a), or 'so/such that', see (4b) (cf. Do-Hurinville & Dao 2019). In (4c), *mà* is construed as an SFP (see §5.3.1 for more details).

(3) Sao **mà** hoa héo được? (=(6a), ch. 2)
how MP flower wither gain
'How *in the world could* the flower wither away?'

(4) a. Tí mới hái hoa sáng nay, **mà** giờ nó héo rồi. (=(6b), ch. 2)
Tí just pick flower morning this but now it wither already
'Tí just picked the flower this morning, *but* now it already withered.'

b. Ai nói gì **mà** mếch lòng nó? (Hoàng 2006: 604)
who say what such.that upset he
'Who said what *such that* he was upset?'

c. Hoa héo rồi **mà**!
flower wither already SFP
'The flower already withered away! (*I'm teling you.*)'

The interpretive contribution of MP *mà* is typically pertinent upon the context and the featured illocutionary force, thus its meaning is generally hard to pinpoint. Despite the fact that MP *mà* in principle is omissible without affecting the grammaticality of the host clause, its absence however will lead to the lack of certain speaker-oriented flavors associated with specific illocutionary forces. The same is true for MP *lại*, as to be discussed in §4.3. *Mà* as an MP is typically found in potential or unreal contexts. Sentences with an asserting force are strictly incompatible with *mà*. Below, I will discuss the three main types of context in which the use of MP *mà* is felicitous: hypothetical, non-canonical interrogative, and negative contexts. These all fall within the category of nonveridical contexts, as defined by Giannakidou (1998, 1999); see also Ernst (2008). Additionally, I will point out the parallels between MP *mà* and German MPs *doch* (lit. 'but, however') and *denn* (lit. 'then') in interpretive terms.

4.2.2 *Mà* in tentative/hypothetical contexts

MP *mà* is found in a wide range of tentative/hypothetical contexts. In these contexts, *mà* resides within the adverbial dependent clause. In (5a), *mà* follows the conjunction *nếu* 'if' of the conditional clause. Its presence typically intensifies the sense of improbability regarding the actualization of the situation expressed by its prejacent. *Mà* is also compatible with a counterfactual situation as in (5b).

(5) a. Nếu **mà** trời mưa tôi sẽ ở nhà
if MP sky rain 1SG FUT stay home
'If it rained, I would stay home.'

b. Nếu **mà** trời mưa tôi *đã* ở nhà.
if MP sky rain 1SG ANT stay home
'If it had rained, I would have stayed home.'

The use of *mà* in (5) fits one of the dictionary descriptions of *mà* in Hoàng (2006), which states that it functions to "convey that the event following it is a hypothesis from which a conclusion or judgment is drawn" (p. 604). In fact, the sole presence of *mà* is sufficient to guarantee a hypothetical reading, as exemplified in (6).

(6) a. Bây giờ **mà** đi bộ thì không kịp. (Hoàng 2006: 604)
now MP walk then NEG in.time
'If we chose to walk now then we would be late.'

b. Tôi **mà** ở địa vị của anh, tôi không để thế. (Hoàng 2006: 604)
1SG MP at place POSS you 1SG NEG let.be so
'If I were in your place, I would have not let it be so.'

Mà in conditionals is in fact remarkably reminiscent of Classical Chinese *ér* whose presence "imparted a hypothetical meaning to the clause" (Simon 1952: 183), see (7). Like Simon (1952), Pulleyblank (1995: 151) also claims that this particle invariably surfaces in the post-subject position (which sets it apart from other *if*-particles like *rú* and *ruò*), exhibiting the properties of an unemphatic, enclitic form. Besides these similarities, *ér* and *mà* can both function as conjunctives with comparable meanings.

(7) a. Zǐchǎn **ér** sǐ, shuí qí sì zhī.
Zichan ER die who will inherit him
'If Zǐchǎn dies, who will succeed him?' (*Zuǒ* Xiāng 30/*fù* 6)

b. Yān yǒu rén rén zài wèi, wǎng mín **ér** kě wéi yě?
how have benevolent man at throne entrap people ER can do SFP
'How is there a benevolent man on the throne if entrapping the people can be practiced?
(*Mèng* 1A/7)

(Pulleyblank 1995: 151; glosses mine)

Interestingly, van Kemenade & Links (2020: 9) also suggest the Old English MP *þone* (a "discourse particle" in their terminology), cognate of German MP *denn* (lit. 'then', to be returned to shortly), functions to strengthen the condition in a conditional clause already signaled by the conjunction *gif* 'if'. See (8).

(8) (LawAfEl:17.44)

Gif	he	**ðonne**	sie	idæges	dead,	ðonne	sitte	sio	scyld	on him.
if	he	PRT	is	on.the.same.day	dead,	then	sits	the	guilt	on him

'If he should be dead that same day, the guilt rests on him.'

(van Kemenade & Links 2020: 5)

Phan & Tsai (2022) propose that MP *mà* functions to transform a 'future neutral vivid' conditional into a 'future less vivid' conditional (terms coined in Iatridou 2000), i.e. conditionals with low probability. Using Declerck & Reed's (2001) terminology, MP *mà* turns an "open-P conditional" (where the fulfilment of the supposition is deemed a real possibility) into either a tentative or counterfactual conditional. The 'unlikelihood' component of the English tentative/counterfactual conditional is illustrated through the contrast in (9).[58] Note that tentative conditionals in English are typically marked with the past tense on the main verb of the *if*-clause (or a *were/was to* + infinitive according to Declerck 2010). In (9a), the extension '*and I think he will*' (marking the speaker's bias towards the realization of the situation depicted) is felicitous, while in (9b) it is not. Unsurprisingly, the same is observed for Vietnamese in (10). This is why MP *mà* lends itself easily to contexts like (11a) when the event at issue is believed to be unlikely. See also (11b) for a comparison.

[58] It is worth knowing that the future-less-vivid conditional can also be employed to highlight the speaker's true ignorance with respect to the the possibility of realization of the situation expressed (Iatridou 2000), see (i). MP *mà* patterns in a similar way, see (ii).

(i) I don't know whether John will come to the party, but if he came, we would have a great time.
(Iatridou 2000: 234)

(ii) Tôi không biết Tí sẽ đến hay không, nhưng nếu **mà** nó đến, chúng tôi sẽ rất vui.
1SG NEG know Tí FUT come CONJ NEG but if PRT 3SG come 1PL FUT very happy
'I don't know whether Tí will come, but if he came, we would be very happy.'

(9) a. If John **comes** to the party, *and I think he will*, we will have a great time.

b. #If John **came** to the party, *and I think he will*, we would have a great time.

(Iatridou 2000: 234)

(10) a. Nếu Tí thi đậu, *và tôi nghĩ chuyện đó sẽ xảy ra*, thì mình sẽ đi ăn mừng.
if Tí test pass CONJ 1SG think affair that FUT occur then 1PL FUT go celebrate
'If Ti passes the exam, and I think he will, then we will go celebrate.'

b. #Nếu Tí **mà** thi đậu, *và tôi nghĩ chuyện đó sẽ xảy ra*, thì mình sẽ đi ăn mừng.
if Tí MP test pass and 1SG think affair that FUT occur then 1PL FUT go celebrate
'If Tí passed the exam, and I think he will, then we would go celebrate.'

(Phan & Tsai 2022: 178)

(11) a. Tí **mà** thắng mới lạ.
Tí MP win then strange
'I'd be surprised if Tí won.'

b. I'd be surprised if David **should** win. (Portner 2009: 7)

This view is well aligned with Hoàng's (2006: 666) claim that *mà* following *nếu* 'if' is a "construction expressing a hypothesis that is less likely or which exhibits something abnormal or contra to reality".

(12) Nếu **mà** sai thì tôi xin chịu trách nhiệm. (Hoàng 2006: 666)
if MP wrong then 1SG would.like accept responsibility
'If I was wrong – *and that is unlikely*, I would take all the blame.'

In this respect, *mà* patterns functionally with other devices which indicate the low likelihood of the dependent event taking place. For example, it is comparable with the use of past or perfect forms of the subjunctive mood in English, see (13).

(13) a. If I **did** this, I would surely die.

b. If I **were** to do this, I would die.

c. If I **had done** this, I would die.

(Givón 2001: 334)

If *mà* signifies a low probability then we can predict that it is infelicitous in reality conditionals (Thompson et al. 2007; Schachter 1971), also known as event conditionals (Haegeman 2003 et seq.). In (14), the *if*-clauses refer to real present, habitual/generic and past situations.

(14) a. Present

If it's raining out there, my car is getting wet

b. Habitual/generic

If you step on the brake, the car slows down

c. Past

If you were at the party, then you know about Sue and Fred

(Thompson et al. 2007: 255)

This prediction is borne out. With reality contexts, the examples in (15) are infelicitous in the presence of *mà*.

(15) a. Context: *Tí walks into the office and tells Tèo that it is raining outside. Seeing rain drops on Tí's clothes, Tèo believes his words are true and utters the following.*

#Trời **mà** mưa thì xe mình ướt rồi.

sky MP rain then car self wet already

'If it rains then my car is already wet.'

b. Context: *Tí is teaching Tèo the general difference between the brake and the gas pedal.*

#Nếu **mà** em đạp thắng, xe sẽ giảm tốc độ.

if MP 2SG hit brake car FUT reduce speed

Nếu **mà** em đạp ga, xe sẽ tăng tốc.

if MP 2SG hit gas.pedal car FUT increase speed

'If you hit the brake, the car slows down. If you hit the gas pedal, it speeds up.'

c. Context: *Tí mentions to Tèo that he was at a party yesterday. Tèo knows about this party and utters the following.*

#Nếu **mà** anh đã dự bữa tiệc đó, anh chắc chắn có quen Mai.
if MP 2SG ANT attend CL party that 2SG for.sure ASR know Mai
'If you were at that party, then you for sure know Mai.'

All in all, MP *mà* seems to be exclusively compatible with Thompson et al.'s (2007) unreality conditionals (or "non-fact" in Givón's (2001) terminology). They refer to unreal situations that are either imagined (imaginative conditional) or predicted (predictive conditional). The former can be further categorized into hypothetical conditional, referring to situations that might happen (16), and counterfactual/irrealis conditional, referring to those that could not or did not happen (17).

(16) a. Nếu **mà** sai thì tôi xin chịu trách nhiệm. (Hoàng 2006: 666) (=(12))
if MP wrong then 1SG ask accept responsibility
'If I was wrong – *and that is unlikely*, I would take all the blame.'

b. Nếu **mà** trời mưa tôi sẽ ở nhà. (=(5a))
if MP sky rain 1SG FUT stay home
'If it rained, I would stay home.'

(17) a. Tôi **mà** ở địa vị của anh, tôi không để thế. (Hoàng 2006: 604) (=(6b))
1SG MP at place POSS you 1SG NEG let.be so
'If I were in your place, I would have not let it be so.'

b. Nếu **mà** trời mưa tôi đã ở nhà. (=(5b))
if MP sky rain 1SG ANT stay home
'If it had rained, I would have stayed home.'

Unsurpringly, MP *mà* is also compatible with 'speech act' adverbial clauses headed by *if*, also known as biscuit conditionals (Austin 1961) or speech-event conditionals (Haegeman & Schönenberger 2023). This type of *if*-clauses functions to modify or qualify not the main clause, but the speech act performed in uttering the main clause (Thompson et al. 2007: 267), as in (18a). In (18b), *mà* turns the subordinate clause into a low-probability clause.

(18) a. If you're interested, the Lakers just won (Thompson et al. 2007: 267)

b. Nếu (**mà**) anh đói, bên kia có bánh mì.
if MP 2SG hungry side there have banh.mi
'If you are(/were) hungry, we have banh mi over there.'

It is also instructive to note that *mà* with a particle use is unattested in both clause-initial or clause-final positions. That is, *mà* must be sandwiched between other elements at all time, a feature shared with modal particles in other languages (cf. van Kemenade & Links 2020). In (18), when *nếu* 'if' is present, *mà* can be found preceding or following the subject. Once *nếu* is dropped in (19a), *mà* is banned from the clause-initial position. If placed after the subject, as in (19b), *mà* alone is sufficient to signal the tentative/hypothetical reading of the clause. Recall the aforementioned similitude between *mà* and Classical Chinese *ér*. In its hypothetical use, *ér* is also found exclusively in a clause-medial position. To wit, Méi (2019: 190) claims that in a hypothetical subordinate clause, *ér* must appear between a predicate and its subject in a strict [Subj *ér* Pred] configuration, with the subject unomissible.

(19) a. ***Mà** trời mưa, tôi sẽ ở nhà.
MP sky rain 1SG FUT stay home
Int: 'If it rained, I would stay home.'

b. Trời **mà** mưa, tôi sẽ ở nhà.
sky MP rain 1SG FUT stay home
Int: 'If it rained, I would stay home.'

Recall further that MP *mà* is also attested in counterfactual contexts. It is constructive to note that specialized counterfactual markers are observed in many other languages. Von Prince (2017) takes Daakaka distal marker *=t/tV* to be instrumental for marking counterfactuality, see (20a). [59] This marker can be used to communicate counterfactual developments in the past, present or future. Note that the conditional reading is preserved even without the presence of the complemetizer/subordinator *ka* 'if', see (20b), similar to the Vietnamese case.

[59] Daakaka distal as an enclitic has the form of *=t*, and *tV* if it is monosyllabic (von Prince 2015).

(20) a. [ka lisepsep **te** me], te nye ka na=p ka
COMP lisepsep DIST come DISC 1S MOD 1S=POT fly
'if the lisepsep comes, then I will fly away.' (4496) (von Prince 2017: 975 (17))

b. [ki=**t** me a=tak] ka na w=ane kimim
2P=DIST come LOC.DEM=PROX MOD 1S POT=eat 2P
'if you come here, then I will eat you!' (3133) (von Prince 2017: 975 (18))

Other counterfactual markers are found in certain Oceanic languages. Nafsan (South Efate) has *mer* marking past and future counterfactuality in the subordinate clause of conditionals. Krajinović (2018) shows that (21a) is an instance of future counterfactual, as the relevant event is considered to be unacomplished in the future, while (21b) represents a past counterfactual reporting on an unaccomplished event in the past.[60]

(21) a. [a=f **mer** mes matool], go nfag nen kin i=to
1SG.REAL=COND CF play tomorrow and sore that REL 3SG.REAL=stay
naar-u-k, taos, a=tai nakn-i-k ke=fo mer makot
arm-V-1SG.DP like 1SG.REAL=cut finger-V-1SG.DP 3SG.IRR=PSP.IRR again break
'If I played tomorrow, then the sore on my hand, that I cut on my finger, would break again.' (AK1-098, 00:03:39.185-00:03:57.063) (Krajinović 2018: 7)

b. [ka=f **mer** pei p̃i bol nanom], ka=fo lom usrek.
1SG.IRR=COND CF first kick ball.BI yesterday 1SG.IRR=PSP.IRR wet completely

[60] North Ambrym, another Oceanic language, has the counterfactual marker *to* that exclusively marks past counterfactual conditionals, see (i).

(i) a. ō **to** yene Adam lo mwena-mrō mane te lam.
2SG CF marry Adam then POSS.CL-2DL.POSS money NREC.PST big
'If you had married Adam, you two would have been rich.' (at1-fortune-na.24) (von Prince et al. 2019: 199)

b. Na **to** rrō plei bol lo na-rr loo.
1SG CF CONT play ball then 1SG-NREC.PST get.wet
'If I had played football, I would have gotten wet.' (at1-lafet-na) (von Prince et al. 2019: 199)

‘If I had played soccer yesterday I would have gotten soaking wet.’ (AK1-004-01, 00:01:57.691-00:02:13.145) (Krajinović 2018: 8)

The MP use of *mà* is confirmed in *if-only* clauses with *phải* or *giá*, see (22). Interestingly enough, in this context *mà* patterns well with German MP *doch* (lit. ‘but’) in what Abraham (2020) dubs “conditional irrealis exclamatives,” like those in (23). Nafsan *mer* (South Efate) can also serve to express counterfactual wishes, see (24). Recall that *mà* is also likely related to the conjunction *mà* ‘but, however’ diachronically (cf. Mandarin *ér*).

(22) *Giá*/*phải* **mà** ai cũng tốt như nó.
if.only MP who also kind like 3SG
‘If only everybody were as kind as him.’

(23) a. Ach, hätte ich **doch** Flügel!
oh had I MP wings
‘Oh, if only I had wings!’ (Abraham 2020: 279)

b. Wäre ich **doch** ein berühmter Schauspieler!
‘If only I were a famous actor!’ (Bross 2012: 189)

(24) Ka=f **mer** pei patlas-i-ø.
1SG.IRR=POT CF first meet-TR-3SG.OBJ
‘If only I had met him.’ (Elicited, AK1-045-01) (Krajinović 2018: 12)

Other contexts felicitous with MP *mà* include *even-if* (concessive conditional) clauses (25a), *whether-or* (alternative/disjunctive conditional) clauses (25b), *unless* (negative conditional) clauses (25c), *in-case* clauses (25d), *supposing*-clauses (25e), comparative conditional (25f), tentative/counterfactual wish clauses (25g),[61] and *rather-than* (substitutive) clauses (25h).

(25) a. *Dầu* **mà** trời đất phân chia. Đôi ta như khoá với chìa đừng rơi.
even.if MP sky earth split couple 1PL like lock and key do.not drop
‘Even if the sky and the earth split apart, we should just be like a lock and its key, never to part.’ (Folk poem)

[61] See Declerck & Reed (2001) for a detailed discussion of these types of conditional.

b. *Dù* **mà** em có tới hay không thì anh cũng sẽ đợi.
whether MP 2SG have come or NEG CONJ 1SG also FUT wait
'Whether you are coming or not, I will wait for you.'

c. *trừ phi* **mà** cái trình dịch của mình không đáp ứng được công việc của mình
unless MP CL compiler POSS self NEG meet can work POSS self
'Unless one's compiler did not meet one's work requirements'
(http://www.dientuvietnam.net/forums/forum/vi-điều-khiển-mcu-bộ-điều-khiển-tín-hiệu-số-dsc/từ-pic-tới-dspic/129957-thắc-mắc-về-trình-biên-dịch-cho-pic)

d. *rủi* **mà** mưa thì làm sao?
in.case MP rain then do what
'In case it should rain, what could we do?'

e. *Giả sử* **mà** nàng nói được thì sao nhỉ?
suppose MP she speak can then how SFP
'Suppose she [the Mermaid] could speak, then what would happen?'
(http://queviet.eu/van-hoc/truyen-cuoi/92669-nang-tien-ca-thanh-huyen-thoai-nho-bi-cam)

f. Xe **mà** chạy *càng* nhanh thì sẽ *càng* mau tới.
car MP run the.more fast CONJ FUT the.more quick arrive
'The faster the car runs, the sooner it will arrive.'

g. *Ước gì* **mà** ai cũng tốt như nó.
wish what MP who also kind like 3SG
'I wish everybody were as kind as him.'

h. *thay vì* **mà** ngồi trông ngóng anh Mark xoắn
rather.than MP sit wait.for brother Mark curly
'rather than sitting around waiting for Curly Mark'
(https://startupvn.vn/phu-thuoc-vao-chay-quang-cao-facebook-co-thuc-su-on-khong/)

That MP *mà* contributes a hypothetical reading to the host clause is further shown with the case of concessive *dù*-clause in (26-27). In (26) *dù* is ambiguous between a hypothetical *even-if* reading

and a factual *even-though* reading. However, in the presence of MP *mà*, only the hypothetical reading survives, as shown in (27).

(26) *Dù* trời mưa thì Tí vẫn đi học.
even.if/though sky rain CONJ Tí still go study
'Even if it rained, Tí would still go to school.'
'Even though it rained, Tí still went to school.'

(27) *Dù* **mà** trời mưa thì Tí vẫn đi học.
even.if/though MP sky rain CONJ Tí still go study
'Even if it rained, Tí would still go to school.'
NOT: 'Even though it rained, Tí still went to school.'

When *dù* is followed by the complementizer *là* or *rằng* 'that', the string has a factual and concessive/admissive interpretation 'even though, although', see (28). This environment, which Thompson et al. (2007) dub 'definite' concessive adverbial clause, forbids MP *mà*, as shown in (29).[62]

(28) Tôi sẽ làm, *dù* **rằng** tôi không muốn (Hoàng 2006: 265)
1SG FUT do even.though COMP 1SG NEG want
'I will do it, even though I do not want to.'

(29) Tôi sẽ làm, *dù* {***mà***} **rằng** {***mà***} tôi không muốn
1SG FUT do even.though MP COMP MP 1SG NEG want
'I will do it, even though I do not want to.'

Another good contrast is with *giả sử* 'suppose', whose interpretation can be ambiguous between a hypothesis known or believed to be false and a hypothesis assumed to be true. With the latter reading, *giả sử* is typically followed by the complementizer *là* or *rằng*, see (30). In such an environment, MP *mà* cannot be found (unlike (25e)). This selectional restriction further consolidates the view that MP *mà* functions to bring forth an unlikelihood flavor and is thus incompatible with propositions taken to be true by the attitude holder.

[62] *Dù mà* and *dù rằng* are thus not synonymous (*contra* Nguyen & Phan 2018).

(30) Giả sử **rằng** f là hàm số liên tục […]
suppose that f COP function continuous
'Suppose that f is a continuous function…'
(https://hoc24.vn/cau-hoi/gia-su-rang-f-la-ham-so-lien-tuc-va-thoa-man-3-x-5-96.291082593823)

Indeed, factual contexts like (31), which feature *cho* 'granted, suppose'[63] do not tolerate MP *mà*, although they allow the complementizers *là* and *rằng*.

(31) a. Ừ thì cứ cho **rằng** mỗi con người có một số phận.
uhm CONJ keep grant that each person have one fate
'OK, granted for now that each person has their own fate.'
(https://e.baonghean.vn/nguoi-ta-lam-duoc-tai-sao-minh-khong/)

b. Cho **là** nó có tài (Hoàng 2006: 165)
grant that he have talent
'Granted that he has talent'

c. *Cho **mà** nó có tài
grant MP he have talent

Note in passing that sequences such as *nếu mà* (roughly 'if') and *giá mà* (roughly 'if only') should not be taken as lexical variations of *nếu* 'if' and *giá* 'if only' respectively, despite their apparent high affinity. As (32) shows, a nominal can appear between the conjunctives and *mà*.

[63] I take *cho* in (36) to be a grammaticalized form with an "evidentiary use" (Givón 2001) on a par with the English *suppose* in (ia). The latter is in contrast with a full lexical verb as in (ib). Similarly, the former is to be distinguished from *cho* as a lexical verb, as in (ii).

(i) a. *Suppose* we do it my way, OK?
b. They all *supposed* he was wrong (Givón 2001: 64)

(ii) Tí tự cho là nó thông minh
Tí REFL suppose COMP 3SG smart
'Tí thinks that he himself is smart.'

(32) a. *Nếu* <u>trời</u> **mà** mưa tôi sẽ ở nhà.
if sky MP rain 1SG FUT stay home
'If it rained, I would stay home.'

b. *giá* <u>bố</u> **mà** giỏi và tinh như Ma Xó trong truyện cổ tích Mường
if.only father MP good CONJ clever like spirit corner in tale fairy Muong
'If only his father were as smart and clever as the Corner Spirit in Muong fairy tales'
(https://vanhaiphong.com/phia-ngoai-cổng-truyện-dai-cho-thieu-nhi-của-ngọc-chau-2/)

Interestingly, the noun phrase preceding the MP is necessarily interpreted as the topic of the clause, whereas its topic status is not guaranteed in a position following *mà*. Compare (32a) with (18), and (32b) with (33). This point will be returned to in §4.2.5.

(33) *giá* **mà** <u>bố</u> giỏi và tinh như Ma Xó trong truyện cổ tích Mường
if.only MP father good CONJ clever like spirit corner in tale fairy Muong
'If only his father were as smart and clever as the Corner Spirit in Muong fairy tales'

4.2.3 *Mà* in non-canonical interrogative contexts

Mà is also attested in a number of non-canonical interrogative constructions with, for example, rhetorical or (surprise-)denial/disapproval interpretation (see Phan & Tsai 2022 and citations therein), as well as exclamative interpretation. In (34-37), MP *mà* is optional, although its presence significantly affects the default information-seeking reading for both *yes/no* questions and *wh*-questions, resulting to a strong bias towards a rhetorical construal.

(34) a. Tí giỏi à?
Tí good SFP?
'Tí's good? (Please confirm.)'

b. Tí **mà** giỏi à?
Tí MP good SFP
'Tí's good? (*I find it unlikely*. Please confirm.)'

(35) a. Tí thích gì?
Tí like what
'What does Tí like?'

b. Tí **mà** thích gì?
Tí MP like what
'What *would* Tí ever like?'

(36) a. Ai nghĩ Tí giỏi?
who think Tí good
'Who thinks Tí's good?'

b. Ai **mà** nghĩ nó giỏi?
who MP think 3SG good
'Who *would ever* think that Tí's good?'

(37) Nó láo thế, ai **mà** tha được?
he insolent so whoever that forgive okay
'He was so insolent, who *on earth* can forgive him?' (Nguyễn 1997: 241)

The inclusion of MP *mà* accentuates an attitude holder's subjective evaluation of the situation portrayed as having a low likelihood of realization. This is in contrast to the pragmatic effect world knowledge has on the interpretation of (38) as rhetorical questions. As noted by Bayer & Struckmeier (2017), given that there is no (overt) linguistic device to enforce the rhetorical construal (that 'no on like to be criticized'), interpreting (38) as information-seeking questions, although more far-fetched, is technically possible. However, if *mà* enters the equation in (38b), the rhetorical reading (i) will be significantly enforced, while the pure inquisitive reading (ii) will be even further suppressed.

(38) a. Who likes to be criticized? (Bayer & Struckmeier 2017: 1)

b. Ai thích bị phê bình?
who like PASS criticize
i. 'Who likes to be criticized? (No one.)' [default reading]
ii. 'Who likes to be criticized? (I wonder.)' [forced reading]

Given the type of subjective evaluation that *mà* introduces, it is understandable why this MP is often associated with a sense of astonishment (or mirativity) in interrogatives. It is however important to point out that I consider this sense of astonishment simply as a "by-product" and not as the primary interpretive contribution of *mà* to the host clause. Regardless, *mà* once again aligns

with German *denn* and OE *þonne* in this respect: the latter MPs can also bring about a sense of surprise according to van Kemenade & Links (2020). This point is illustrated in (39-40). Note how these examples are generally not perceived as neutral in pragmatic terms in the presence of *denn* and *þonne*.

(39) Jo: Willst du morgen mitkommen zum Baden?
will you tomorrow come-along to-the pool
'Will you come to the pool tomorrow?'
Mia: Hast du **denn** zur Zeit Urlaub?
have you PRT at-that time holiday
'Do you have time off then?'
(van Kemenade and Links 2020: 3)

(40) (ÆCHom_I, 13:285.127.2466)
Context: *Then said Mary to the angel, "how may that be that I have a child, for I have known no man? I had resolved to end my life in maidenhood;"*
hu mæg it **þonne** gewurðan þæt ic butan weres gemanan cynnan scyle?
how can it PRT happen that I without man's connection bring forth shall
'So how can it be that I, without connection to man, will give birth?'
(van Kemenade & Links 2020: 9)

Van Kemenade & Links (2020) observe that German *denn* usually occurs in rhetorical questions. Bayer & Obenauer (2011) find *denn* to be highly felicitous in *why*-like *what*-questions with a (surprise-)denial/disapproval construal (SDQ for short), as shown in (41). The employment of *denn* in this context is typically recommended, as *denn* appears to support the SDQ reading. In other words, the preferred reading of (41) would be that of information seeking without *denn*. This use greatly parallels that of MP *mà* in an SDQ context like (42).

(41) Was lachst du **denn** so dumm?!
what laugh you DENN so stupidly
'Why do you laugh so stupidly?! (You should not laugh so stupidly!)' (Bayer & Obenauer 2011: 468)

(42) Mày khóc gì **mà** khóc?!
2SG cry what MP cry
'What are you crying for?! (You shouldn't cry!)' (Phan & Tsai 2022: 169)

As exemplified in (39-41), German *denn* and OE *þonne* also bring about a sense of vexation or disapproval besides a surprisal flavor, given that the speaker displays a negative or critical concern about the value of the *wh*-variable (Bayer & Obenauer 2011; van Kemenade & Links 2020). Relatedly, the subjective attitude that MP *mà* can signal (as a by-product) in non-canonical interrogatives like (42) is typically negative in nature, which could be anything from annoyance or irritation to aggressiveness (for more discussion, see Phan & Tsai 2022). Interestingly, Lau & Tsai (2020) assert that MP *leh* in a TSM "whining" construction (a type of SDQ) like (43) also expresses a speaker's exasperation and general negativity.

(43) I sī **leh** khàu án-tsuánn?!
he SI LEH cry how
'What the heck is he crying for?' (Lau & Tsai 2020: 257)

Note in passing that, in certain constituent questions, expressive devices like *on earth* or *the hell* as might appear to function quite similarly to MPs like *mà* in enforcing a rhetorical interpretation. The two are not entirely comparable, however. It is true that a range of expletives such as *quỷ* 'devil' or *con mẹ* 'hag' could be modified by *wh*-word *gì* 'what' to yield what Pesetsky (1987) and Huang & Ochi (2009) refer to as *what-the-hell* forms, highlighting the speaker's impatience and/or annoyance typically found in special questions (cf. Phan & Tsai 2022). It is also true that the presence of such expletives is only attested in non-canonical contexts (Giorgi & Dal Farra 2019), and they can co-exist naturally with MP *mà*. Nevertheless, the mere presence of these expletives only adds an expressive/emotional dimension to the host sentence (cf. Bayer & Struckmeier 2017), indicating that the speaker is vexed, irritated, impatient, or the like. As demonstrated in (44), these expletives are insufficient to preclude a plain information-seeking reading in these contexts, as they do not necessarily imply the speaker's evaluation of the situation portrayed as unlikely or improbable. On the contrary, the core contribution of MP *mà* ensures a bias towards a rhetorical construal.

(44) Tí thích cái quái gì?!
Tí like CL devil what

'What the hell does Tí like?' [expressive standard question]

'Tí does not like anything!' [SDQ]

Besides rhetorical questions and SDQs, MP *mà* is also found in certain exclamatives, like those featuring the high adverb *sao* 'how' in (45). Such a sentence is somewhat reminiscent of SDQs in appearance, but it has an exclamative clause type. Again, MP *mà* conveys a sense of low likelihood, which aligns well with the exclamatory construal of the sentence.

(45) Sao **mà** con Mỹ-Khuê giống mẹ nó thế!
how MP girl Mỹ-Khuê resemble mother her so
'Mỹ-Khuê looks so much like her mother!' (Nguyễn 1997: 243, with minor modification)

Last but not least, it is noteworthy that MP *mà* may appear in confirmational questions like (46a), but not in purely inquisitive *yes*/*no* questions like (46b).

(46) a. Tí **mà** giỏi à/ ư/ chăng/ sao?
Tí MP good SFP
'Tí is good?' (*I find it unlikely*. Please confirm.)'

b. *Tí **mà** giỏi không/ chưa?
Tí MP good NEG not.yet
Int: 'Is Tí good?/ Has Tí become good? (*I find it unlikely*.)'

A default *yes*/*no* question as (46b), marked as neutral by the neutral Q-particle *không* 'not' or *chưa* 'not yet' (Phan & Starke 2022), by definition does not register the personal epistemic commitment or evaluation of the speaker (cf. Farkas & Bruce 2010). Confirmational questions as (46a) on the other hand are biased as the speaker already has an assumption about the answer. Such biased questions allow for the attitude holder to express their personal attitude (be it disbelief, skepticism, annoyance, or else) towards the prejacent. This explains why standard polar questions simply reject MP *mà* while confirmationals are compatible with it. I will return to the distinction between pure inquisitive questions and confirmationals in Chapter 5.

4.2.4 *Mà* in negative/affective contexts

Recall that MP *mà* is naturally compatible with SDQs, which are non-standard interrogatives featuring a denial/refutatory construal to derive an external negation interpretation (Phan & Tsai

2022). In the previous section, the first type of SDQs was introduced (see (42)). The other type of SDQs feature the *wh*-adverbs *gì* 'what', *sao* 'what' and *đâu* 'where'. See (48) for an illustration.[64]

(48) Tí gì/ sao/ đâu **mà** giỏi?!
Tí what/what/where MP good
'It is not the case that Tí is good!"

It is therefore logically predicted that *mà* will also be tolerated in other contexts of external negation. This prediction is borned out below: *mà* is attested following quantification adverbs like *chưa bao giờ* 'never before' (49a), *không/chẳng bao giờ* 'never' (49b), *hiếm/ít khi* 'seldom, rarely' (49c) (all of which are capable of licensing negative polarity items (NPIs)).

(49) a. chưa bao giờ **mà** nhà hội R.T.T.T. Cần-thơ ngờ cái vinh hạnh đặc biệt ấy.
never MP club R.T.T.T. Cần-thơ expect CL honor special that
'Never have we at the Cần-thơ R.T.T.T. Club expected such a special honor.'

b. Chẳng bao giờ **mà** sẽ đặng nữa.
never MP FUT gain again
'Never will we have it again.'
(http://baochi.nlv.gov.vn/baochi/cgi-bin/baochi?a=d&d=WMVW19420415.2.7&e=-------vi-20--1--img-txIN------#)

c. Ít/ hiếm khi **mà** Tí trễ.
rarely MP Tí late
'Tí is rarely late.'

Other contexts include those featuring elements like *khó* (lit. 'difficult') (or its semantic equivalent *dễ gì* 'not easy' (lit. 'easy what')), which can also license *mà* as in (50) when interpreted with an improbability reading.[65] Together with the previous mentioned quantification adverbs, elements like *khó* belong to Ladusaw's (2002) class of "affectives" which license NPIs.

[64] See also Tsai (2008) and Phan (2023) for an in-depth discussion on denial *how*s in Mandarin (*zenme*) and Vietnamese (*sao*).

[65] Cf. Portuguese *dificilmente* (lit. 'difficultly') (and its Spanish cognate) which expresses the unlikeliness of the occurrence of the event specified (Olbertz & Dali'Aglio Hattnher 2018).

(50) a. Khó **mà** biết được tại sao (Hoàng 2006: 604)
difficult MP know gain why
'It's difficult/unlikely to know why'

b. Dễ gì **mà** làm được (Hoàng 2006: 604)
easy what MP do gain
'It's not (very) likely for it to be done'

MP *mà* is also attested in negative imperatives, also known as prohibitives. As shown in (51), *mà* can follow imperative markers *đừng* and *chớ*, both are semantically equivalent to the English *don't*.

(51) a. Đừng có **mà** đi đến đấy vào ban đêm! (Ngo 2021: 103)
IMP ASR MP go to there at night
'Do not go there at night!'

b. chớ có **mà** chê bóng đá
IMP ASR MP criticize football
'Do not criticize football'
(https://tienphong.vn/tu-chuc-cho-co-ma-che-bong-da-post600383.amp)

Incidentally, affirmative imperatives, for example those hosting the affirmative imperative marker *hãy*, prohibit the addition of *mà*, as evidenced by (52).

(52) a. Hãy (***mà**) đi đến đấy vào ban đêm!
IMP MP go to there at night
'Do go there at night!'

(i) E preciso dizer que **dificilmente** frei Damiao
COP.3SG necessary say.INF that difficultly monk Damiao
saira com vida", admitiu seu medico [...]
leave.FUT.3SG with life admit.PST.PFV.3SG his medical-doctor [...]
'It must be said that Father Damiao will *hardly* come out of this alive", his medical doctor [...]
admitted.' (CdP, Press, Brazil, 1997) (Olbertz & Dali'Aglio Hattnher 2018: 136-7)

b. Hãy (***mà***) chê bóng đá!
IMP MP criticize football
'Do criticize football!'

Ngo (2021: 103) claims that *mà* follows the string *đừng có* "to make a warning sounds stronger." MP *mà* in this case functions as a carrier of "emotive emphasis" (cf. Potsdam 1998), highlighting the speaker's negative attitude, specifically their disapproval, towards the proposition at issue. This attitude, in turn, contributes to the resulting warning force (Han 1999) of the utterance.

A question might arise as to whether the string *có mà* in (51) is simply a fossilized unit of some sort, and *mà* itself is not an MP. This treatment is untenable in light of data in which *có* and *mà* are separable by a third element like the NPI *bao giờ* 'ever' (itself an emphatic marker) (53a), or where *mà* directly follows the polarity marker *chớ* (53b).

(53) a. các bạn đừng có bao giờ **mà** ngụy biện trong những tình huống như thế này
PL friend IMP ASR ever MP prevaricate in PL situation like way this
'Do not ever prevaricate in situations like this'
(http://trungtamhoahoctro.com/cach-noi-chuyen-co-duyen/)

b. chớ **mà** bỏ phí
IMP MP discard wasted
'Do not waste'
(https://nongson.quangnam.gov.vn/webcenter/portal/nongson/pages_tin-tuc/chi-tiet-tin?dDocName=PORTAL153253)

All in all, the previously mentioned licensing contexts in this chapter all indicate that MP *mà* signifies a deviation from what the attitude holder personally considers likely or expected in their ideal world. This core interpretive contribution is typically accompanied by a sense of exasperation. In the next section, I will discuss where MP *mà* is located in the clausal spine.

4.2.5 Mapping *mà* syntactically

In Chapter 2, I propose to analyze MPs as functional heads that project a Particle Phrase (PrtP). This head is assumed to be of the minor category, hence the term "minor functional heads" in the sense of Rothstein (1991). A Particle Phrase of this nature has been argued for in the literature on

modal particles in various languages (see Bayer & Obenauer 2011 for German, van Kemenade & Links 2020 for OE, Lau & Tsai 2020 for TSM, a.o.). Syntactically, I take MP *mà* to locate in the CP layer of the clause. The first piece of evidence comes from the relative position of MP *mà* with respect to TP-level elements. To wit, *mà* always precedes temporal adverbials like *ngày mai* 'tomorrow' and tense markers like *sẽ* which marks futurity, see (54).

(54) Tí **mà** *ngày mai* *sẽ* về Sài Gòn à?
Tí MP yesterday FUT return Sài Gòn SFP
'Tí will go back to Sài Gòn tomorrow?'

Faring against other CP-level elements, *mà* appears to be higher than epistemic modal *có thể* 'can' of the MOD-field, but lower than *tháng Bảy* 'July' of a Topic Phrase in (55a). See (55b) for a schematization. See 4.3.3 for more discussion on this topic position.

(55) a. Context: *A says that it is cold in July, to which B disagrees:*
Sao tháng Bảy **mà** trời có thể lạnh chứ?
how July MP temperature can cold SFP
'As for July, how could it be cold then?'

b. [C-TopP *tháng Bảy* Top° [PrtP ***mà*** [MP$_{Epi}$ *có thể* [TP …]]]]

Furthermore, it necessarily precedes evaluatives like *may mắn* 'fortunately' as in (56). Since evaluatives are structurally higher than both evidentials and epistemics (see Chapter 3), *mà* must scope over all three types of sentential adverbs by transitive law. Consequently, I contend that MP *mà* is merged high in the MOD-field but still well within CP.

(56) Context: *A reporter asks a lottery ticket buyer what he would do if he won the lottery. He replies…*
Nếu {*may mắn} **mà** {may mắn} trúng độc đắc, tôi sẽ bỏ việc.
if fortunately MP fortunately hit special.prize 1SG FUT quit job
'If I fortunately won the lottery, I would quit my job.'

Interestingly, that MP *mà* merges above all the mood/modal adverbs discussed in Chapter 3 is strikingly reminiscent of TSM *leh*. Lau & Tsai (2020) claim that *leh* strictly precedes evaluatives, evidential, and epistemic adverbs. The examples in (57) illustrate this linear ordering.

(57) a. [*leh* > evaluative]

After a failed assassination, the mastermind hears the news report in A and says to B…

A: Hó-ka-tsài I ū siám…
fortunately he have dodge
'Fortunately he dodged.'

B: Khóo-ònn! I sī {**hó-ka-tsài*} **leh** {*hó-ka-tsài*} ū siám án-tsuánn?!
abominable he si fortunately leh fortunately have dodge how
'Damned it! How come he fortunately dodged?'

(Lau & Tsai 2020: 271, quoted with minor modifications)

b. [*leh* > evidential]

A: I bîng-bîng sī **leh** tsau-that --lán.
he evidently si leh humiliate we
'Evidently he was humiliating us.'

B: Kuè-hūn! I sī {**bîng-bîng*} **leh** {*bîng-bîng*} tsau-that lán án-tsuánn?!
excessive he si evidently leh evidently humiliate us how
'That's too much! What the heck does he humiliate us for?'

(Lau & Tsai 2020: 271-2, quoted with minor modifications)

c. [*leh* > epistemic]

A: In huān-sè sing tsáu --ah.
they perhaps first run ASP
'Perhaps they have left.'

B: In sī {**huān-sè*} **leh** {*huān-sè*} sing tsáu án-tsuánn?!
they si perhaps leh perhaps first run how
'How come have they left before for!?'

(Lau & Tsai 2020: 272, quoted with minor modifications)

As the final remark, it is important to clearly distinguish between MP *mà* and *mà* as either a conjunctive or an SFP. Cross-linguistically, MPs seem to be products of grammaticalization, often

having "living cousins" in other syntactic categories. For example, Bayer (2012) claims that German *denn* is diachronically related to conjunction *denn* 'then', whereas TSM *leh* is developed from a homonymous marker of progressive aspect according to Lau & Tsai (2020). [66] It thus seems reasonable to assume *mà* as an MP is historically connected to *mà* as a conjunctive and an SFP. Note that conjunctive *mà* 'but' is always clause-initial, see (58).[67] SFP *mà* on the other hand only appears clause-finally, see (59).

(58) Tí muốn về. **Mà** trời thì đang mưa.
Tí want return CONJ sky TOP PROG rain
'Tí wants to go home. *But* it is raining outside.'

(59) Tí muốn về **mà**.
Tí want returne SFP
'Tí wants to go home. (*I'm telling you*.)'

As an MP, *mà* is however exclusively observed in a clause-medial position. In other words, it must be sandwiched between overt elements at all times. Interestingly, this seems to be an idiosyncracy found in MPs of other languages. To illustrate this point further, when the conjunction *nếu* 'if' is present, see (60a), *mà* can either precede or follow the subject. However, MP *mà* can only follow the subject if *nếu* is absent, see (60b).

(60) a. Nếu **mà** trời mưa tôi sẽ ở nhà. (=(5a))
if MP sky rain 1SG FUT stay home
'If it rained, I would stay home.'

b. {***Mà**} trời {**mà**} mưa tôi sẽ ở nhà.
MP sky MP rain 1SG FUT stay home
'If it rained, I would stay home.'

[66] See Thurmair (1989) and Coniglio & Zegrean (2012) for further examples of MPs whose root is traced back to conjunctions.

[67] For more discussion on how to tell apart MP *mà* and conjunctive *mà*, see Phan & Tsai (2022).

Interestingly enough, a similar pattern is observed for OE *ðonne*. For concreteness, *ðonne* can either follow the subject (61) or precede it (62), but it is not attested sentence-initially. See van Kemenade & Links (2020) and Phan & Tsai (2022) for potential explanations of this phenomenon.

(61) (LawAfEl:17.44)

Gif	he	**ðonne**	sie	idæges	dead,	ðonne	sitte	sio	scyld	on	him.
if	he	PRT	is	on.the.same.day	dead,	then	sits	the	guilt	on	him

'If he should be dead that same day, the guilt rests on him.'

(van Kemenade & Links 2020: 5)

(62) (ÆLS_[Basil]:333.672)

[*Let us lock up this church, and seal the lock, and do ye all afterward watch three nights, continuing in prayer, and if the church be opened through your prayers, ye shall have it ever afterward, and give no thanks to us*.]

Gif	**þone**	se	ælmihtiga	God	nelle	hi	eow	geopenian,	þonne	wacie	we
if	PRT	the	almighty	God	not-wille	it	you	open	then	wake	we
ane	niht,	þone	ælmihtigan	biddende	þæt	he	us	geopenige	þa	geinsæglodan	cyrcan.
one	night	the	almighty	praying	that	he	us	open	the	sealed	church

'If the almighty God will not open it to you, then we will watch one night, praying to the Almighty that he will open to us the sealed church.' (van Kemenade & Links 2020: 10)

4.3 MP *lại*

Vietnamese *lại*, a cognate of the Sinitic *lái* 'come, come around', can be found with various functions corresponding with a wide array of semantic/pragmatic specifications. That *lại* seems to be able to surface anywhere in the lexical/functional spectrum suggests a typical case of proliferation via a long process of grammaticalization.

4.3.1 Preliminaries

As a full lexical element, *lại* is a directional motion verb meaning 'come', indicating a motion towards the deictic center. See (63) for an example.

(63) Mai tôi sẽ **lại** anh chơi. (Hoàng 2006: 537)
tomorrow 1SG FUT come 2SG play
'I will come to visit you tomorrow.'

Verbal *lại* belongs to the class of most basic verbs of motion, together with *đi* 'go' which denotes a motion away from the deictic center. Verbal elements like *lại* and *đi* fit the description of "weaker" motion verbs in the sense of Ritter & Rosen (1996) as they are the most basic in semantic terms. When the deixis is backgrounded or absent, *lại* is typically associated with a motion in the opposite direction to a preceding motion, see (64).[68]

(64) Qua qua **lại** **lại** trước cổng (Hoàng 2006: 537)
pass.by pass.by come.around come.around front gate
'Passing back and forth at the gate'

I contend that *lại* as an MP could be ultimately traced back diachronically to these fundamental motion-denoting verbal tokens.[69] MP *lại* is argued to communicate an attitude holder's unexpectedness or a sense of counterintuition, see (65). Hoàng (2006) defines this use of *lại* as "expressing the nonconformity to common sense of a state of affairs or a phenomenon" (pp. 537-538). This expression of mirativity (a term coined by DeLancey (1997); see also Lazard 1999, among others) is also commonly attested in MPs of other languages, including German (Abraham 2020).

[68] *Lại* can be a repetitive adverb (or a restitutive adverb) as shown (7) in Chapter 2 (see also Phan 2013: 94). It can also serve as a conjunctive marker that connects two propositions, reminiscent of the Mandarin conjunction *yòu* (Wei 2020: 31-32). Both can be translated as either "meanwhile," "additionally," or "moreover." See Hoàng's (2006) entry on *lại* for a list of meanings commonly attributed to it.

[69] The development from verbs to MPs is attested cross-linguistically. For example, it is claimed that Basque MPs *ahal*, *ei*, *omen* and *ote* also originate from verbs (Lakarra 2019; Monforte 2020). See (i) (** marks reconstructed forms).

(i) a. ***bo*(*c*)*-te* ('yielding') > *ote* [epistemic particle]
b. ***enin* ('to give') > *ei* [evidential particle (western dialect)]
c. *emon* ('to give') > *omen* [evidential particle (central and eastern dialects)]
(Lakarra 2019, quoted from Monforte 2020)

(65) a. Sao em **lại** mắng nó?
why 2SG MP scold 3SG
'Why would you scold him? (*This is unexpected*.)'

b. Không ai **lại** mắng nó.
NEG who MP scold 3SG
'No one would ever scold him. (*It would be surprising if anyone did it*.)'

4.3.2 Contexts and interpretations

The interpretive effects MP *lại* introduces to the host clause is demonstrated with the contrast in (66). In the absence of *lại*, the default reading in (66a) is that of standard information-seeking. In (66b), *lại* enforces a sense of unexpectedness. This sense of unexpectedness could potentially contribute to a bias towards a rhetorical interpretation for the question, although there is no guarantee that the question must be interpreted rhetorically.

(66) a. Ai mắng nó?
who scold 3SG
'Who scolded him? (I am wondering.)'

b. Ai **lại** mắng nó?
who MP scold 3SG
'Who *would ever* scold him? (*It would be surprising if anyone did it*.)'

With regards to its felicity in rhetorical contexts, MP *lại* is to a certain extent reminiscent of what Wei (2020) dubs discourse modal *yòu* in Mandarin. The addition of *yòu* is argued to turn a standard question into a rhetorical one, as exemplified in (67). Besides positive rhetorical contexts, *yòu* is also found in *yes*/*no* and constituent negative rhetorical contexts, see (68a) and (68b) respectively.

(67) a. Shéi xiǎng qù guàngjié ne?
who want go shopping SFP
'Who wants to go shopping?'

b. Shéi **yòu** xiǎng qù guàngjié ne?
who YOU want go shopping SFP
'Who wants to go shopping? (No one wants to go shopping.)'

(Wei 2020: 34)

(68) a. Zhè **yòu** bú shì xīshēng ma?
this YOU not be sacrifice yes-no
'Isn't this sacrifice? (This is sacrifice.)'

b. Shéi **yòu** méi yǒu fùdān ne?
who YOU not have burden SFP
'Who doesn't have burden? (Everyone has burden.)'

(Wei 2020: 34)

It should be noted that MP *lại* is felicitous with negative questions, see (69), as long as these questions are not of the standard *yes*/*no* type with Q-particles *không* and *chưa*, see (70). Like MP *mà*, MP *lại* is banned from a non-biased interrogative, where the speaker's subjective attitude or evaluation cannot be expressed.

(69) a. Đây **lại** chẳng phải là hy sinh ư?
this MP not right COP sacrifice SFP
'Isn't this a sacrifice? (*It would be surprising if this isn't a sacrifice*.)'

b. Ai **lại** chẳng có gánh nặng chứ?
who MP not have burden SFP
'Who doesn't have a burden? (*It would be surprising if someone doesn't have a burden.*)'

(70) Đây (***lại**) có phải là hy sinh không?
this MP have right COP sacrifice SFP
'Is this sacrifice?'

Another similarity between these MPs is that are not stressed (a property shared among MPs cross-linguistically); when stressed, they are interpreted as a repetitive adverb meaning 'again'. However, the comparability between *lại* and *yòu* seems not to go beyond these points. The contexts in (71-72) are felicitous for *yòu* (the *a*-sentences) but strictly disallow the use of *lại* (the *b*-sentences). When *lại* is present, it must have adverbial readings similar to those of English *again* or *moreover*.

(71) Context: *At a restaurant, the office director said to the professor: "Professor, the dishes here are all very tasty." The professor replied:*

a. Nǐ **yòu** bú shì wǒ lǎopó, nǐ zěnme zhīdào wǒ ài-bú-ài chī? (CCL)
you YOU not be my wife you how know I like-not-like eat
'You are not my wife. How could you know whether I like to eat (the food) or not?' (Wei 2020: 33)

b. Cô lại không phải vợ tôi, cô làm sao biết tôi thích ăn không?
2SG moreover NEG right wife 1SG 2SG how.come know 1SG like eat NEG
'Moreover, you are not my wife. How could you know whether I like to eat (the food) or not?'

(72) Context: *A post on social media: "I was enjoying the sunshine by the window, but he walked over and closed the curtains…"*

a. (Tàiyáng) **yòu** shài bú dào tā. (BCC)
sun YOU shine.on not arrive he
'He was not in the sunlight.' (Wei 2020: 33)

b. Nắng **lại** chiếu không tới nó. (BCC)
sun moreover/again shine.on not arrive he
'*Moreover*, he was not in the sunlight.'
'He was *again* not in the sun.'

Further, while *yòu* may occur clause-initially (with the subject assumed to be *pro*) as in (73a), *lại* is generally found succeeding the (overt) subject of the clause, see (73b, 74); in the clause-initial position, *lại* is strictly an adverb.

(73) Context: *Tom and Jerry were going to a conference. Tom went to Jerry's home, so they could go together. While Tom was waiting, Jerry took his time shaving and choosing outfit. Tom became inpatient and said:*

a. **Yòu** bú shì qù xiāngqīn.
YOU not be go blind.date
'You are not going to a blind date.' (Wei 2020: 45)

b. **Lại** không phải đi coi mắt.
moreover/again NEG right go blind.date

‘Moreover, you are not going to a blind date.’

‘You are again not going to a blind date.’

(74) Sao {***lại**} hoa {**lại**} héo rồi?
how MP flower MP wither already
‘How come the flower already withered away?’

There is, however, one caveat. MP *lại* can, in fact, appear clause-initially under one condition: if the main predicate of the clause does not license an external argument. This occurs when the predicate is the existential verb *có* ‘have’ (75a) or a verb of appearance/disappearance such as *xảy ra* ‘happen’ (75b) or *chết* ‘die’ (75c).[70]

(75) a. **Lại** có người tốt như vậy ư/à?
MP have person good like so SFP
‘There is someone that kind?’ (*It’s surprising*.)

b. **Lại** có thể xảy ra chuyện đó ư/à?
MP can happen affair that SFP
‘That thing could happen?’ (*It’s surprising*.)

c. **Lại** có thể chết nhiều người vậy ư/à?
MP can die many person so SFP
‘So many people could die like that?’ (*It’s surprising*.)

An immediate question that may arise here is whether *lại* in (86) is just an instantiation of the adverb *lại* ‘however’. This is a legitimate question given the ongoing debate concerning whether the so-called MPs indeed constitute an independent category, or whether they are simply (a special interpretation of) adverbs (Cardinaletti 2015; Manzini 2015).[71] In the following part, I will argue that MP *lại* behaves differently compared to conjunctive adverb *lại,* which means either ‘however’ or ‘additionally, moreover’.

Let us first compare MP *lại* and the adversative adverb *lại* ‘however’. As an adverb, *lại* is comparable to Mandarin *què* ‘however’, which marks an adversative or contrastive relation

[70] See Huang (1987) for a discussion about existential sentences in Mandarin.

[71] But see Struckmeier (2014) a.o. for a view against the adverbial treatment.

between the clause hosting the adverb and the other associated clause (Huang 2017: 112). When such an associated clause exists (regardless of whether it is dependent or independent), the addition of adverb *lại* or *què* is unproblematic, see (76). When no associated clause is present, as in (77), these adverbs are not permitted. Note that without these adverbs, (77) is felicitous as an answer to a question like "What do you think about him?".

(76) a. Nó tuy học vị cao, năng lực **lại** rất tầm thường.
3SG although degree high competence however very mediocre
'Although he has a high academic degree, his competence is however very mediocre.'

b. Tā de xuélì hěn gāo, nénglì **què** hěn yībān.
3SG POSS academic.qualifications very high ability however very average
'He's very well-educated, but his ability is average.'
(https://resources.allsetlearning.com/chinese/grammar/The_"however"_adverb_"que"_)

(77) a. Nó năng lực (***lại**) rất tầm thường.
3SG competence however very mediocre
'His competence is very mediocre.'

b. Tā nénglì (***què**) hěn yībān.
3SG ability however very average
'His ability is average.'

Importantly, this associated clause must always precede the one hosting adverb *lại* for *lại* to associate with it. If the position of the two clauses in (77) is reversed, *lại* is barred from occurring, see (78).

(78) Nó năng lực (***lại**) rất tầm thường, tuy học vị cao.
he competence however very mediocre although degree high
'His competence is very mediocre, although he has a high academic record.'

MP *lại*, on the contrary, does not have these requirements. Recall that while Diewald (2013) notes that some MPs do exhibit a "backward pointing" function, this function should be distinguished from that of true anaphorical elements like conjunctives, since what MPs refer back to is a "non-expressed propositional and illocutionary entities which are assumed as given" (Diewald 2013:

23). In (79), when *lại* is treated as an MP, i.e. when it obligatorily signals a deviation from speaker's expectation, both positions of the subordinate *if*-clause are unproblematic. Furthermore, the sentence is fine even if the *if*-clause is omitted.

(79) a. (Nếu học vị nó cao) tại sao năng lực nó **lại** tầm thường?
if degree 3SG high why competence 3SG MP/*however mediocre
'(If he has a high academic record,) why is it that his competence is mediocre?'

b. Tại sao năng lực nó **lại** tầm thường (nếu học vị nó cao)?
why competence 3SG MP/*however mediocre if degree 3SG high
'Why is it that his competence is mediocre (if he has a high academic record)?'

Note that unlike MP *lại*, adverb *lại* (and also Mandarin *què*) in (76) does not actually communicate an attitude holder's unexpectedness, but simply contrasting two facts commonly viewed as incompatible with each other. This explains why the addition of evaluative adverb *quả nhiên* 'as expected' or an extension like *nhưng tôi không ngạc nhiên lắm* 'but I'm not very surprised' to (76a) yields complete grammaticality for adverb *lại* in (80). MP *lại* is strictly incompatible with such expressions, see (81).

(80) a. Nó tuy học vị cao, năng lực quả nhiên **lại** rất tầm thường.
3SG although degree high competence as.expected however very mediocre
'Although he has a high academic degree, his competence is however very mediocre, *as expected*.'

b. Nó tuy học vị cao, năng lực **lại** rất tầm thường.
3SG although degree high competence however very mediocre
(*Nhưng tôi không ngạc nhiên lắm*.)
but 1SG NEG surprise very
'Although he has a high academic degree, his competence is however very mediocre. (*But I'm not very surprised*.)'

(81) a. Tại sao năng lực nó (**quả nhiên*) **lại** tầm thường?
why competence 3SG as.expected MP mediocre
'Why is it that his competence is mediocre (**as expected*)?'

b. Tại sao năng lực nó **lại** tầm thường? (*#Nhưng tôi không ngạc nhiên lắm*.)
why competence 3SG MP mediocre but 1SG NEG surprise very
'Why is it that his competence is mediocre?' (*But I'm not very surprised*.)

Note in passing that while Vietnamese has *lại* as both a conjunctive adverb and an MP, MP uses of Mandarin *què* is unattested, despite the close resemblance between conjunctive *lại* and conjunctive *què*. Indeed, the contexts felicitous for MP *lại* as in (82) do not permit *què*, see (83).

(82) a. Tại sao em **lại** nghĩ như vậy?
why 2SG MP think like so
'Why would you think so?'

b. Nó sao **lại** ở đây?
3SG how MP at here
'How come he is here?'

c. Không ngờ nó **lại** nói như vậy.
NEG expect 3SG MP say like so
'I did not expect him to say so.'

(83) a. *Nǐ wèishéme **què** zhème xiǎng?
2SG why QUE like.this think
Int: 'Why would you think so?'

b. *Tā zěnme **què** zài zhèlǐ?
3SG how QUE at here
Int: 'How come he is here?'

c. *Méixiǎngdào tā **què** zhème shuō.
unexpectedly 3SG QUE like.this say
Int: 'I did not expect him to say so.'

From a comparative perspective, MP *lại* seems to overlap significantly with German MP *etwa*, which belongs to the core class of German MPs according to Weydt (1969), Helbig & Buscha (2001), and Diewald (2007), a.o. *Etwa* is deemed to contribute to the host clause a sense of surprise

(Weinrich 1993) and a speaker's negative expectation, given that the use of *etwa* invites a negative answer (König 1997), see (84).

(84) a. Willst du **etwa** dieses Kleid kaufen? (Ich hoffe, nicht)
want you ETWA this dress buy I hope NEG
'Do you want to buy this dress? (I hope not!)' (Gast 2008; glosses and translation mine)

b. Weißt du **etwa** nicht, dass ich mir eine Kreuzfahrt wünsche?
know you ETWA NEG that I me a cruise desire
'Don't you know that I want a cruise?' (Gast 2008: 153; glosses and translation mine)

Gast (2008) claims that (84a) entails that some piece of information in the actual context leads the speaker to believe that the hearer will not (be able to) buy the dress in question. Similarly, the speaker has the expectation that the hearer knows about his desire in (84b). Given that *lại* serves to indicate that the attitude holder takes the at-issue proposition to be surprising or unexpected, it lends itself naturally in these contexts, see (85). Note further that just like *lại*, *etwa* is also ambiguous between an adverb and an MP (König 1997).[72]

(85) a. Em **lại** muốn mua cái đầm này à? (Anh hy vọng là không!)
2SG MP want buy CL dress this SFP 1SG hope that NEG
'Do you want to buy this dress? (I hope not!)'

b. Em **lại** không biết anh muốn đi du thuyền à?
2SG MP NEG know 1SG want go cruise SFP
'Don't you know that I want a cruise?'

[72] To a certain extent, MP *lại* is also reminiscent of MP *po* in Northern Italian dialect of Pagotto, as in (i). For a discussion of *po* in (Northern Italian) Dolomitic Ladin varieties, see Hack (2014). *Po* in both clause-medial and clause-final position generally expresses surprise or astonishment, occurring mainly in emotive questions or non-canonical interrogatives (Hack 2014: 54).

(i) Parché **po** éli 'ndadi via?
why PO have-they gone away
'Why have they gone away?' (Munaro & Poletto 2003: 381)

König (1997), in classifying German MPs with respect to their communicative functions, proposes to group *doch* and *etwa* together as they both identify contradictions or inconsistencies. That is, both of them convey conflicting assumptions or information in the propositional background on the part of the interlocutors. Gast (2008) also asserts that both *doch* and *etwa* point out an inconsistency in the locutor's inferential system. We observe something similar in Vietnamese: MPs *mà* and *lại* are both concerned with an attitude holder's subjective evaluation of the at-issue proposition as not/less likely or counterintuitive. The two are also often seen co-existing, as already shown in (1).[73]

4.3.3 Mapping MP *lại* syntactically

First of all, MP *lại*, as shown in (86a), must merge below MP *mà*. This linear order is rigid as placing *lại* in front of *mà* necessarily results in ungrammaticality, see (86b).

(86) a. Hôm nay mà **lại** mưa à?
today MP MP rain SFP
'It will rain today? (*That would be unlikely/unexpected*.)'

b. *Hôm nay **lại** mà mưa à?
today MP MP rain SFP
Int: 'It will rain today? (*That would be unlikely/unexpected*.)'

Second, a DP like *hoa* 'flower' in (87) may occur between *mà* and *lại*. I suggest that this DP merges in a Topic Phrase. Coupled with the potential presence of a topic to the left of *mà* (see §4.2), this indicates that at least two distinct topic positions can be identified within CP.[74] If this line of thinking is correct, we predict that these two topics can co-occur in Vietnamese, a prediction confirmed by the data in (88).[75]

[73] Thurmair (1989: 223) claims that *doch* and *etwa* cannot be stacked from a distributive perspective, as *etwa* may appear in imperatives and declaratives only with a preceding *nicht* 'not'. This restriction however does not stem from a semantic incompatibility.

[74] The possibility for the iteration of topics is claimed as early as Rizzi (1997).

[75] As a first approximation, I suggest that the DP preceding *lại* is discourse-linked and functions as a Familiar/Given Topic. In contrast, the DP preceding *mà* behaves as a Contrastive Topic as it generally

(87) Sao **mà** hoa **lại** héo rồi?
how MP flower MP wither already
'How come the flower has *unexpectedly* withered away already?'

(88) Sao *cây này* **mà** hoa **lại** héo rồi?
how plant this MP flower MP wither already
'How come for this plant the flowers have *unexpectedly* withered away already?'

In the lower bound, MP *lại* must merge above TP since it precedes future markers *sẽ*, see (89). This suggests that, like MP *mà*, MP *lại* is also part of the CP domain. This line of thinking is proven to be on track when *lại* is compared against MOD-field adverbs. Specifically, *lại* consistently precedes epistemics like *có thể* 'can' and evaluatives like *may mắn* 'fortunately' and *không ngờ* 'unexpectedly', see (90).

(89) Sao nó **lại** sẽ đi nước ngoài?
how 3SG MP will go abroad
'How come s/he will go abroad? (*That would be surprising*.)'

(90) a. Sao hôm nay **lại** có thể mưa?
how today MP can rain
'How come it could rain today? (*That would be surprising*.)'

b. Thế ông là ai mà **lại** may mắn được ở cái chỗ an toàn thế này?
so 2SG COP who such.that MP fortunate get.to live CL place safe like.this
'So who are you such that you could fortunately stay in such a safe place like this?'
(https://vanhaiphong.com/con-tau-ma-truyen-ngan-cua-nguyen-hieu/)

c. tưởng mọi chuyện êm xuôi thì cô bạn **lại** không ngờ gặp một
thought every affair smooth CONJ CL friend MP unexpectedly meet one

exhibits a contrastive value by inducing alternatives (Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl 2007). Accordingly, in (88), *cây này* 'this plant' is the Contrastive Topic, while *hoa* 'flower' is a Familiar Topic. This aligns with Frascarelli & Hinterhölzl's (2007) proposal that Contrastive Topic merges above and takes scope over Familiar/Given Topic in languages like German and Italian.

người có cùng "chí lớn."
person have same aspiration big
'My friend thought that things went smoothly, but unbeknownst to her there was another person who happened to have the same "great idea."
(https://afamily.vn/nu-sinh-am-tham-len-mang-dao-van-mau-tuong-duoc-diem-cao-ngat-nguong-ai-ngo-cuoi-chay-nuoc-mat-voi-cai-ket-20200606180101678.chn)

When *lại* surfaces after the epistemic marker *có thể* 'can, maybe' or TP-internal elements like future maker *sẽ* or negator *không* 'not', it can only receive a repetitive adverb reading, see (91-93). This is straightforward since the adverb *lại* 'again' can be merged in the (outer) aspectual projection below TP (cf. Cinque 1999), which makes it part of the inflectional layer, unlike MP *lại*.

(91) Sao hôm nay có thể **lại** mưa?
how today can again rain
'How come it could rain again today?'
#'How come it could rain today? (*That would be surprising*.)'

(92) Sao nó sẽ **lại** đi nước ngoài?
how 3SG will again go abroad
'How come s/he will go abroad again?'
#'How come s/he will go abroad? (*That would be surprising*.)'

(93) a. Sao nó không **lại** đi nước ngoài?
how 3SG NEG again go abroad
'How come s/he does not go abroad again?'
#'How come s/he does not go abroad? (*That would be surprising*.)'

b. hy vọng không **lại** mơ thấy anh
hope NEG again dream see you
'… hopefully [I] will not dream of you again…'
(https://trainghiemsong.vn/mo-ve-mot-nguoi-nghia-la-nguoi-ay-dang-dan-quen-ban/)

All things considered, the syntactic positioning of MP *lại* in relation to MP *mà* and MOD-field adverbs is roughly illustrated in (94). Given the interpretive effects these two MPs introduce to the

prejacent, I take *mà* and *lại* to project independent Particle Phrases within the extended layers of MOD-field. As components of the MOD-field, these mood/modal elements all relate to an attitude holder's personal judgments toward the propositional content at issue.

(94) [$_{(TopP)}$ [$_{PrtP}$ ***mà*** [$_{(TopP)}$ [$_{PrtP}$ ***lại*** [$_{MoodP/ModP}$ ***may mắn/ rõ ràng/ có thể*** [$_{FinP}$ . . .]]]]]

(extended) MOD-field

4.4 Summary

In this chapter, I argue for the existence of a small class of modal particles occurring clause-medially in Vietnamese. Two members of this class, *mà* and *lại*, have received close scrutiny in the previous sections. I contend that *mà* generally contributes to the clause a sense of unlikelihood, while *lại* introduces a sense of counter-expectation with regard to the propositional content. These MPs are assumed to merge above the mood/modal elements discussed in Chapter 3, although they are still part of CP. This proposed merge position is aligned with many recent studies on MPs, which generally suggest having Particle Phrases located above the TP domain.

I take the two MPs to form the extended layers of MOD-field. This is due to the fact that these MPs and the mood/modal elements of the lower projections all concern an attitude holder's subjective attitude about the proposition at issue. As will be shown in Chapter 6, these MOD-field elements also pattern with each other in syntactic terms when embedding facts are considered. Interestingly enough, Frey (2023) also proposes to group German modal particles with mood/modal adverbs, taking them to be associated to a judge. This judge is meant to refer to the attitude holder to whom the subjective judgments on the propositional content are anchored.

Cross-linguistically, MPs appear to be attested only in a restricted range of illocutionary types. Coniglio (2011) and Coniglio & Zegrean (2012) assume that MPs ("discourse particles" in their terminology) serve to calibrate the illocutionary force to reflect the speaker's intention or attitude. Abraham (2020) discusses felicity conditions for MP-selection in terms of compatibility between MPs and Searle's (1969) illocutionary acts. Other authors that treat MP as modifiers of a speech act or illocutionary operator include Thurmair (1989), Jacobs (1991), and Bayer & Obenauer (2011). Frey (2012: 414) however finds the claim that MPs only occur in clauses constituting an independent speech act to be too strong, suggesting that it is more fitting to state

that they can be found in clauses that exhibit an "illocutionary *potential*," which is dependent on the illocutionary force of a main clause. Frey (2023) further dismisses a direct relation between MPs and speech-act modification. Using an array of embedding tests to be introduced in Chapter 6, he suggests that the presence of MPs does not necessarily guarantee that its host clause encodes a speech act.

While MPs like *mà* and *lại* as part of the (extended) MOD-field are found exclusively in a clause-medial position, it is observed that other subjective particles, known collectively as sentence-final particles, cluster around the sentential right-edge. The next chapter will discuss these SFPs, which are all anchored to the speech participants and exhibit an interactional nature. It will be shown that these SFPs can be divided into two main layers corresponding to two distinct (although related) functions of negotiating the common ground and engaging the addressee. I further suggest that the number of elements naturally belonging to these interactional layers are potentially much larger than assumed in previous studies on the topic.

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CHAPTER 5
SENTENCE-FINAL PARTICLES AND THE INTERACTIONAL DOMAIN

This chapter delves into the syntactic representation of Vietnamese sentence-final particles (SFPs), which collectively constitute the so-called *interactional domain* (Wiltschko 2021) of the functional architecture. These particles coalesce at the extreme right edge of the sentence, taking scope over the entire constituent to their left, including the core proposition (TP) and the CP-internal MOD-field previously discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. These SFPs have no contribution to how the content of an attitude holder's personal thought is formed, but are crucial for the exchanges of these thoughts between the speech participants. Specifically, they communicate how propositional content (plus the non-at-issue content private to the speech participants) is promoted and negotiated in a conversation, and how the speech participants are verbally cued to interact with each other via their turns. Vietnamese SFPs are taken to be full-fledged functional heads, constituting part of the narrow syntax.

5.1 Introduction

Wiltschko (2022) claims that language is just as much for interpersonal communication as it is for thought, and for language both propositional and interactional aspects are grammatically configured. Ross's (1970) performative hypothesis was the first formal attempt to syntacticize the pragmatic/interactional aspects of language with the postulation of a superordinate structure responsible for encoding illocutionary act. Recent efforts to breathe new life into this "performative" approach, evidenced by a growing body of literature resurrecting Ross's insights (Speas & Tenny 2003; Hill 2007; Haegeman & Hill 2013; Tang 2015b, among many others), generally assume the existence of high pragmatic functional (shell) structures beyond the traditional CP. Such a functional architecture (rather than a performative matrix clause à la Ross 1970) is where information concerning the speech participants is encoded. In this study, I align with this "neo-perfomative" view on the syntacticization of use-conditional elements and advocate for the syntacticization of Vietnamese SFPs. Given their structure-dependence, fixed ordering,

constrained distribution, and possible paradigmatic contrast, I take these SFPs to be part of the narrow syntax, despite their apparently marginal status in the Vietnamese clause.

Many properties are shared between SFPs and the MOD-field elements discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. All of them are expressive (Đ.H. Nguyễn 1997) and not truth-conditional: they are not challenged if the truth value of the proposition comes under question. Furthermore, they are also too high in the functional spine to be scoped over by tense and negation. The most significant difference that separates SFPs from MOD-field elements is the interpersonal value of the former: they are directly anchored to a specific speech event. That is, they communicate the speaker's public commitment or attitude towards the content of their proposition (or that of the other interlocutor), and also signal the interactional relation between the speaker and the addressee ("engaging" and "bonding" functions). On the contrary, MOD-field elements are personal in nature as they encode the private judgment (or inner attitude) of an attitude holder towards his proposition (corresponding roughly to those merged in Krifka's (2015, 2023) Judgment Phrase), and therefore not anchored to a specific speech event. That is, they do not presuppose a conversational environment in which the speaker and the addressee actually come into contact. Recall that MOD-field elements are also not necessarily anchored towards a speech participant, but only towards an attitude holder. It is predicted that sentence-final (SF) elements, in contrast to MOD-field elements, appear only in dialogual contexts (self-talks included, cf. Ritter & Wiltschko 2021).

This chapter discusses four groups of SFPs with distinct structural and interpretive properties. These four groups are assigned to one of the two projections within Wiltschko's (2021) interactional structure.[76] I refer to the lower projection as CommitP (Commitment Phrase), following Krifka (2017, 2023), and the higher projection as SAP (short for either Speech Act Phrase à la Speas & Tenny (2003) or Speaker-Addressee Phrase à la Miyagawa (2022)). The SAP concerns the speaker and addressee representations and is partially comparable to Wiltschko & Heim's (2016) Responding Phrase, while the CommitP marks or modifies the public commitment

[76] I prefer to use Wiltschko's term of *interactional* over Miyagawa's (2022) *expressive* to characterize the domain above CP, as Vietnamese data shows that CP-internal elements of the MOD-field are also expressive, in the sense that they do not contribute to the truth value of the utterance but reflect the epistemic state of an attitude holder.

of the speaker regarding the propositions to be negotiated.[77] This chapter is not intended to cover every aspect of the topic of Vietnamese SF elements, but only focuses on demonstrating how these SF elements are arranged into distinct functional projections in a hierarchical order relative to each other and also to elements in the MOD-field.

5.2 SFPs and (public) commitment

Certain SFPs inherently concern a public commitment. Such a commitment could belong to the speaker (speaker's commitment) or is imposed to the addressee by the speaker (addressee's commitment). By targeting the addressee's commitment, the speaker could propose to update the addressee's ground with a propositional content (in case of an assertion) or the addressee's To-Do List with a desired outcome (in case of a directive). Regardless, SFPs communicate commitments of the public kind, in contrast with the type of commitments conveyed by mood and modal elements of the CP domain, which is private to the speaker and is not subject to potential social sanctions. The interactive dimension of SFPs is also indirectly acknowledged by Lê & Nguyễn (2001: 108) in their argument that certain SFPs pertain to "truth appraisal." According to these authors, specific SFPs are employed to convey the speaker's commitment or assurance regarding the truth of the proposition, aiming to persuade or influence the addressee. The observation that some SFPs communicate the speaker's stance goes back at least to Cao (1991/2006).

[77] Lê & Nguyễn (2001) and Nguyễn (2001) suggest categorizing Vietnamese SFPs into three groups based on their relationship with the "speech acts" expressed. Group 1 include the SFPs that only communicate a specific speech act and are found in a specific sentence type (interrogative, directive, or declarative). Group 2 features those that are "unstable" with respect to the speech acts they could indicate, i.e. they are compatible with more than one speech act. Group 3 consists of the SFPs that are not directly related to the communication of speech acts, but serve to urge the addressee to perform an act or to maintain a relationship between the speech participants. Judging solely based on the stated criteria, this third group strongly resembles the set of SFPs suggested for SAP in my analysis. There is however a significant disparity between the two accounts in terms of the specific SFPs assigned to these two categories.

5.2.1 Marking speaker's commitment

This section mainly concentrates on comparing two SFPs *đây* (lit. 'here') and *vậy/thế́* (lit. 'so, then').[78] I contend that they serve to mark the speaker's public commitment to the truth of the proposition or modify the strength of such commitments, thereby potentially influencing the addressee's *epistemic vigilance* (after Sperber et al. 2010; see also Wilson 2011). The two SFPs are attested in both declaratives and interrogatives, see (1-2). Structurally, I suggest that they merge as head of the lower layer of the CommitP which is reserved for encoding speaker's commitment.

(1) a. Tôi đang bệnh **đây**.
1SG PROG sick SFP
'I'm sick at the moment. *I'm telling you./ You see?*'

b. Em muốn ăn gì **đây**?
2SG want eat what SFP
'*(I assume you want to eat.) Tell me now*, what do you want to eat?'

(2) a. Tôi đi bộ **vậy**.
1SG walk SFP
'I will go on foot *then*.'

b. Sao mày đi bộ **vậy**?
why 2SG walk SFP
'Why are you going on foot? (*I'm curious about the answer*.)'

T.H.Q. Nguyen (2021) suggests that *đây* as a "demonstrative" SFP concerns the speaker's attitude towards her proposition and exhibits two readings. First, following Bui (2014), *đây* is "often related to the speaker's actions and plans" (T.H.Q. Nguyen 2021: 121) when the speaker is the agent, patient, or experiencer in the event depicted, see (3). Second, *đây* marks a prediction, "signaling that the speaker has firm beliefs in the propositional content" (T.H.Q. Nguyen 2021: 121), see (4).

[78] *Vậy* is interchangeable with *thế́* in most contexts. The analysis provided for *vậy* is broadly extended to *thế́*. They however still differ in several respects, a point that will be revisited shortly.

(3) Tôi đang làm việc công ty giao **đây**.
1SG DUR do things company assigned DEM.PROX
'*I believe* I'm doing things assigned by the company.' (T.H.Q. Nguyen 2021: 121; quoted with minor modifications)

(4) Trời lại sắp mưa **đây**.
sky again soon rain DEM.PROX
'*I think* it's going to rain again.' (T.H.Q. Nguyen 2021: 121; quoted with minor modifications)

I concur with T.H.Q. Nguyen (2021) that the examples (3) and (4) illustrate two distinct readings *đây* has in declaratives, although our characterizations of these readings differ in several aspects. First, while the intuition that speaker participation is pivotal for the use of *đây* in (3) (termed "speaker-centered" in Adachi 2013) is accurate, T.H.Q. Nguyen's (2021) description remains ambiguous regarding the interpretive effects of *đây*, with the felicitous contexts for its usage left largely undefined. Here Hoàng's (2005: 303) interpretation of *đây* as highlighting "the reality and immediacy of the topic being discussed" (rough translation provided in Le 2015: 56) becomes relevant: I assume that by employing *đây*, the speaker presents the prejacent as a perceivable reality anchoring to the *hic et nunc* of the speaker. With this reading, *đây* can mark an announcement concerning what the speaker intends to do shortly after the utterance time, see (5). The speaker's *here and now* is also prominent with the interrogative in (1b). In both cases, the speaker is committed publicly to the proposition expressed, even when this proposition is only partial in the case of *wh*-questions.

(5) Tôi về **đây**.
1SG return SFP
'I'm leaving now. *I'm telling you*.'

T.H.Q. Nguyen's (2021) example in (3) does not fit the description I have for (5). Instead, this instantiation of *đây* appears to be felicitous only in a responding move as an objection against some previous premise, typically serving to argue against or to correct a contextually salient proposition. For instance, native speakers can naturally conjure up a scenario where (3) is articulated in response to an accusation that the speaker has been negligent at work or has not attended to tasks assigned by the company's management. Given this interpretation, the use of "I

believe" to translate the pragmatic effect of *đây* in (3) is also rather misleading: a better paraphrase for this SFP in a responding move might be "you see" or "I'm telling you" as in (1).

Second, I take the example (4) from T.H.Q. Nguyen (2021) to be felicitous in an initiating move, i.e. it can be uttered in an out-of-the-blue context. As part of an initiating move, it typically conveys the speaker's weak commitment towards the truth of the proposition. This explains *đây*'s effect of marking a prediction about a future event as claimed in T.H.Q. Nguyen (2021: 121). It should be noted however that *đây* can also mark a conjecture based on some form of evidence that the speaker acquires about an event that is ongoing, see (6) for an example.

(6) chắc do mất trật tự quá, nên thầy giận **đây** mà
probably because lose order too CONJ teacher upset SFP SFP
'Maybe the teacher is upset because the students have been too rowdy in class, *I think*.'
(https://kenh14.vn/doi-song/dong-phong-ha-vu-ki-cuoi-201342411823230.chn)

In this capacity, *đây* does not signal the speaker's "firm beliefs in the propositional content," *contra* T.H.Q. Nguyen (2022: 121), but instead lessens the speaker's commitment towards the truth of the prejacent. In other words, *đây* serves as a commitment modifier, essentially turning the hosting utterance into some sort of conjecture without fully committing to its truth. Note how *đây* freely allows the option of co-occurring with epistemic adverbs like *chắc* 'probably' in (6) and *có lẽ* 'maybe' in (7) without a substantial change in interpretation.

(7) Có lẽ trời lại sắp mưa **đây**.
maybe sky again about.to rain SFP
'Maybe it's about to rain again, *I think*.'

Another SFP specialized in marking a conjecture is *quá* (lit. 'exceed'), which also naturally co-occur with epistemics like *chắc* 'probably', see (8). As will be shown in Chapter 6, these two types of elements at the two ends of the clause in fact behave differently in syntactic terms, with only the SFPs resisting embedding.

(8) Chắc trời lại sắp mưa **quá**.
perhaps sky again about.to rain SFP
'Perhaps it's about to rain again, *I guess*.'

The use of these commitment modifiers is reminiscent of what Cantonese *gwaa3* communicates in (9). Wakefield (2020: 111) claims that *gwaa3* can be paraphrased into "I think/guess...," signaling the speakers' stance that she "does not have a strong commitment" about the propositions.

(9) Keoi5 hai2 Waan1zai2 faan1 gung1 **gwaa3**.
3SG at Wanchai return work SFP
'I think maybe s/he works in Wanchai.' (Wakefield 2020: 110)

Now let's talk about *vậy* (lit. 'so, then'). The presence of *vậy* to the further right of a pure *yes/no* question supplies the question with an epistemic commitment/bias, see the contrast in (10).[79] Note that this speaker's commitment is necessarily tentative, which fits the description of Malamud & Stephenson's (2015) *projected commitment*. The speaker thus still relies on the addressee for confirmation before the commitment is officially registered in her set of current commitments.

(10) a. Em muốn mua gì không?
2SG want buy what NEG
'Do you want to buy something? (*I have no idea*.)'

b. Em muốn mua gì không **vậy**?
2SG want buy what NEG PRT
'(*I assume you want to buy something*.) Do you want to buy something?'

A note in passing: even though they share a commonality in expressing public commitment, *vậy* and *đây* as afore-discussed can still be distinguished in interrogative contexts. First of all, they differ in tone, as *đây* sounds more direct compared to *vậy*. Second, the use of *vậy* does not invoke the speaker's *hinc et nunc*, making it compatible with interrogatives inquiring to both past, present, and future events. This is in contrast with interrogatives with *đây*, which are restricted to only present events. See (11) for an illustration.

(11) Đêm qua tôi đã làm gì **vậy**/***đây**?
night last 1SG ANT do what SFP SFP
'What have I done last night? (*I'm curious about the answer*.)'

[79] *Không* in (10) functions to type a clause as a *yes*/*no* question. See §5.4 for more discussion.

Previously in fn. 4, it is claimed that *vậy* and *thế* are generally interchangeable. There are at least two environments where the two behave differently. First, only *vậy* is allowed in declaratives, see (12). With this reading, *vậy* still exhibits a commitment towards the proposition while additionally conveying a concessive tone.[80] An affirmative tone for *vậy* is also attested in older texts, as evidenced by (13), which is considered archaic in Present-day Vietnamese. Second, *vậy* and *thế* can in fact co-occur (in that order), see (14), in which case *thế* is assumed to function to call on the addressee to engage with the utterance, realizing the lower layer in the SAP domain.[81] I will return to this point in §5.3.1.

(12) Tôi đi bộ **vậy/ *thế**.
1SG walk SFP SFP
'I will go on foot *then*.'

(13) đó là số trời **vậy**.
that be fate heaven SFP
'That *is* the Mandate of Heaven.'
(https://xuanay.vn/co-mot-van-mieu-tien-nho/)

(14) Khi nào ra phần 2 **vậy thế** bác NDĐC
when out part SFP SFP uncle NDĐC
'When will Part 2 be released, NDĐC?'
(https://fireant.vn/bai-viet/776575a7-76d3-4041-a0fd-e3395215b530/12940913/thich)

Kia (lit. 'there') and its variant *cơ* can also be counted among the SFPs marking speaker's commitment towards what she takes to be surprising, extraordinary, or going beyond her

[80] *Vậy* in (12) is somewhat reminiscent to the German particle *eben* as in (i). In such contexts, *eben* has an inquiry-terminating or issue-resolving function, marking as evident the propositional content of its utterance (Zimmermann 2024: 354).

(i) a. Evi: Today is a bit complicated! I still have so much to do.
b. Pit: Gut, komm ich **eben** morgen. So dringend ist es ja nicht.
P: Alright, come I PRT tomorrow. So urgent is it PRT not
'Alright, I will come tomorrow, *then*. It's not that urgent after all.' (Zimmermann 2024: 351).

[81] The observation that *vậy* and *thế* can co-occur goes back to at least Duffield (2019).

expectation (Adachi 2013; T.T.N. Nguyen 2021; T.H.Q. Nguyen 2021), see (15). In an interrogative like (15b), *kia/cơ* conveys a projected commitment that awaits confirmation from the addressee. I will briefly return to this particle in §5.2.2.

(15) a. Nó thậm chí là giáo sư **kia**/**cơ**.
3SG even COP professor SFP
'*You know what*, he's a professor.'

b. Nó là giáo sư **kia**/**cơ** à?
3SG COP professor SFP SFP
'He's a professor? (*It's surprising.*)'

5.2.2 Marking addressee's commitment

In contrast to the afore-discussed SFPs whose primary function is to mark or "calibrate" speaker's commitment towards a proposition, some other SFPs target or solicit the addressee's commitment, proposing to update the addressee's commitment set. In this section, I address two such particles: *đấy* (lit. 'there') and *đi* (lit. 'go').

Đấy (and its Southern variant *đó*) is previously characterized as serving to "reach out to the addressee" (Le 2015: 66) and to "target the addressee's epistemic state" (T.H.Q. Nguyen 2021: 121). See (16) for an example. Reframing this intuition within the framework adopted in this study, *đấy* functions to suggest an amendment to the addressee's commitment set. This allows for the common ground shared between the participants in the conversation to be updated upon the addressee's acceptance of the proposal. That *đấy* targets the addressee's commitment instead of the speaker's is shown by the possible co-occurrence between *cơ/kia* and *đấy* (strictly in that order), see (17). *Cơ/kia* expresses the speaker's commitment towards the propositional content of the prejacent, while *đấy* proposes to update this content to the addressee's commitment slate. The two particles are represented structurally in (18).

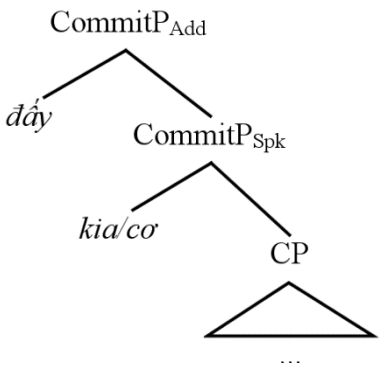
(16) Nó là giáo sư **đấy**.
3SG COP professor SFP
'(*I'm telling you/ you know,*) he's a professor.'

(17) a. Nó là giáo sư {**kia/cơ đấy**}/ {***đấy kia/cơ**}.
3SG COP professor SFP SFP SFP SFP
'(*You know what,*) he's a professor. (*It's surprising*.)'

b. Nghe đâu ông ấy có 4, 5 lô đất ở khu đồng Áng **cơ đấy**!
hear where 3SG have piece land at area field Áng SFP SFP
'(*You know what,*) I heard that he has 4 or 5 plots of land at the Áng field area. (*It's surprising.*)'
(https://baoquangninh.vn/ban-be-mot-thuo-2440240.html)

c. Vậy mà tôi tưởng vài tháng rồi **kia đấy**.
yet 1SG presume several month already SFP SFP
'(*You know what,*) Yet I thought it has been several months already. (*It's surprising*.)'
(https://blogradio.vn/truyen-online/tinh-lo/174469)

(18)



Another type of addressee's commitment is realized with *đi* in directives, see (19). *Đi* is a verb-based particle, developed from the verb of motion *đi* 'go'. I contend that in directives, an injunctive SFP like *đi* publicly propose to commit the addressee to an Outcome à la Beyssade & Marandin (2006), i.e. a state of affairs not presently realized but is sought by the speaker. Like *đấy*, *đi* is addressee-oriented as it targets the addressee's commitment slate. *Đi* however differs from *đấy* in terms of the type of commitment involved (which corresponds to different illocutionary force): the latter commits the addressee to a proposition, while the former commits the addressee to an outcome (see §2.4.2).

(19) Cho em ăn **đi**!
let 1SG eat SFP
'Let me eat!'

Đi is to a certain extent comparable to the Romanian injunctive *hai* (derived from the Turkish imperative form *(h)ajda* 'go!') as in (20).[82] Miyagawa (2022) also proposes to associate Romanian *hai* as an injunctive with CommitP.

(20) **Hai** să citim.
hai SUBJ read.1PL
'C'mon, let's read.' (Haegeman & Hill 2013: 378)

Forming a paradigm with *đi* are *coi* (lit. 'see, look') and *với* (lit. 'reach'). While *đi* has a rather neutral tone, *coi* (mainly attested in the Southern dialect) has an overtly informal tone. *Với* (lit. 'reach' as a verb and 'with' as a preposition) does not impose but rather suggests the addressee to commit to the imperative content, given that the speaker is not in a position of authority to demand such a commitment from the addressee. On a diachronic note, the use of SFP *với* seems to be relatively recent compared to the use of *cùng*, which in its most basic meaning reads as 'together'. See (21) for some examples. I will return to these injunctive particles in §5.4, arguing that they do not type a clause as imperative, but indirectly modify the resulting illocutionary force of the utterance.

(21) a. Tôi lạy Rất Thánh Đức Bà thương lấy tôi **cùng**.
1SG kowtow very holy Dame take.pity take 1SG SFP
'I kowtow to the Most Holy Lady, please take pity on me!'
(*Contemplations on Major Holidays*, p. 169, mid-17th century)

b. Ơn Thầy thương lấy tôi **cùng**
grace teacher take.pity take 1SG SFP

[82] Two other injunctive particles derived from a verb of motion are Flemish *allé* and *gow* ('come on'). The former traces its origin from French *allez*, the imperative of *aller* 'go', functioning to either enhance or weaken the strength of command (Haegeman & Hill 2013). The latter is claimed to derive from *gaan* 'go' in collocation *weg* 'away' (Haegeman 2014).

‘Please take pity on me, Your Grace!’

(*Igesico Văn Tín’s letter in 1659*)

c. Bầu ơi thương lấy bí **cùng**.
gourd VOC love take squash SFP
‘Oh Gourd please love the Squash!’
(*Lý Hạng Fork poetry*, 4b, early 20th century)

5.2.3 Interim conclusion

The SFPs covered in this section are posited to share a commonality of being associated with commitment, which justifies their syntactic assignment to CommitP. They nevertheless vary in terms of whose commitment slate is being targeted, and what kind of content is proposed to be updated (i.e., a proposition, an outcome, etc.). CommitP is split into a lower $\text{CommitP}_{\text{Spk}}$ and a higher $\text{CommitP}_{\text{Add}}$ to accommodate a finer-grained distinction between the SFPs marking speaker’s commitment and those encoding addressee’s commitment, respectively. Using Beyssade and Marandin’s (2006) terminology, the SFPs merged in $\text{CommitP}_{\text{Spk}}$ encode speaker’s only commitment, whereas those merged in $\text{CommitP}_{\text{Add}}$ are responsible for interactive commitment, the kind of commitment the speaker submits to the addressee.

Le (2015) and T.H.Q. Nguyen (2021) are the two other syntactic accounts that address the SFPs covered so far in this chapter. Le (2015) lumps *đây*, *đấy*, *vậy/thế*, and *kia/cơ* together (along with quite a number of other nonhomogeneous SFPs including *lận*) under the cover term “deictic” particles, assigning them to a DeikP that can iterate. The rationale behind this label is clear for the case of *này* (lit. ‘this’), *đây* (lit. ‘here’), *đấy* ‘that, there’, and *kia* (lit. ‘(over) there’), given that they are spatiotemporally deictic in their most fundamental meaning. Nonetheless, *vậy* and *thế* (lit. ‘so, then) are anaphoric but not deictic in their basic meaning; *cơ* and *lận* (both expressing speaker’s astonishment towards the propositional content) are also unattested with a deictic reading. Furthermore, while Le’s (2015) adoption of the label DeikP is influenced by Li (2006) and Sybesma & Li (2007), it is essential to note that DeikP in these studies is associated with the anchoring of the sentence to the speech time and is structurally T-related. This stands in contrast to Le’s account, where DeikP is instead concerned with psychological distance relative to the speech participants.

Note further that Le's DeikP is assumed to allow iteration to account for cases of co-occurrence as in (22). It however remains unclear in her account what dictates the syntactic distributions of these presumed deictic particles. The analysis I propose here does not depend on the concept of deixis and can explain the co-occurrence (in a fixed order) between these SFPs. More specifically, these SFPs can co-occur because they are hosted by distinct projections, each targeting a distinct commitment slate: the leftward one focuses on the speaker's commitment, while the rightward one centers on the addressee's commitment.

(22) Nó học hai chuyên ngành **kia** **đấy**.
3S study two major Deik Deik
'She studies two majors.' (Le 2015: 99)

T.H.Q. Nguyen's (2021) also advocates for a distinction between speaker's commitment and addressee's commitment. She however groups *đấy* (which I also take to be associated with the addressee's commitment) with *này* (lit. 'this') and *kìa* (lit. '(over) there), the latter two serve to call for the addressee's attention. By this, T.H.Q. Nguyen (2021) appears to confound two distinct functions: committing an addressee to a proposition (*đấy*) and calling on the addressee to take up the utterance (*này* and *kìa*). My analysis aims to distinguish between these two functions, proposing to assign each function to a different syntactic projection. For more on *này* and *kìa*, see §5.3.1.

Table 3 summarizes the commitment markers discussed in this section.

Speaker's commitment	Addressee's commitment
đây: marking or weaken the strength of Spk's commitment to a proposition	*đấy/đó*: committing Add to a proposition
vậy, *thế*: marking Spk's public commitment to a proposition	*đi*: committing Add to an outcome, neutral tone
quá: weakening the strength of Spk's commitment to a proposition	*coi*: committing Add to an outcome, informal tone
kia/co: marking Spk's public commitment to a proposition taken as extraordinary or awaiting Add's confirmation	*với*, *cùng*: suggesting Add to commit to an outcome

Table 3: Vietnamese commitment SFPs and their pragmatic contribution(s)

5.3 SFPs and the speaker-addressee relation

This section discusses the SFPs that either mark the speaker's "call on the addressee" (CoA henceforth) as advocated in Beyssade & Marandin (2006),[83] or perform a "bonding" function through the reinforcement of the speaker-addressee relationship. Structurally speaking, the CoA SFPs are suggested to merge below the bonding SFPs within a split-SAP domain. I will begin by examining the first group of SFPs, whose primary function is to prompt the addressee to engage with the statement the speaker puts forth.

5.3.1 Calling on the addressee

In this section I mainly discuss the following SFPs: *thế́* (§5.2.1), *này*, *kìa* (§5.2.3), *mà* (lit. 'but'), *chứ* (lit. 'but, rather than, or else'), *à*, and *ư*. A commonality shared among these SFPs is that they all prompt the addressee to engage with the public commitment ascribed to either of the conversation participants. All of them exclusively appear to the right of the SFPs marking commitment in the previous section; see (23-24) for some examples.

(23) a. Khi nào ra phần 2 **vậy** **thế́** bác NDĐC (=(14)) [*vậy* < *thế́*]
when out part SFP SFP uncle NDĐC
'When will Part 2 be released, NDĐC?'
(https://fireant.vn/bai-viet/776575a7-76d3-4041-a0fd-e3395215b530/12940913/thich)

b. Đi đâu mà từ hồi chiều tới bây giờ **vậy** **kìa**? [*vậy* < *kìa*]
go where so from time afternoon to now SFP SFP
'Where has she been since the afternoon until now?'
(https://vi.wikisource.org/wikiÔng_Cử/Chương_4)

(24) Trả lời **đi** **này**/ **kìa**/ **mà**/ **chứ**! [*đi* < *này*/ *kìa*/ *mà*/ *chứ*]
answer SFP SFP SFP SFP SFP
'Answer! (*I'm calling on you*.)'

Note in particular that this analysis of *này* and *kìa* is consistent with my previous characterization of injunctive *đi*, which assumes that *đi* targets the addressee's commitment in directives. That *đi* can co-occur with *này* and *kìa* is unsurprising if they in fact do not compete for *đi*'s position in

[83] The term was later adopted in Wiltschko & Heim (2016) and subsequent works.

Commit$_{Add}$P. This would however go against T.H.Q. Nguyen's (2021) take that *này* and *kìa* mark addressee's commitment (i.e. assuming that they are on a par with *đấy*). The fact that these CoA particles must appear to the right of the commitment SFPs further reveals their higher position within the functional spine compared to the SFPs accommodated in CommitP.

The postulation of the strict hierarchy of SFPs so far also directly goes against several claims made by Le (2015). First, *contra* Le (2015), the sentence-final *thế kia* (lit. 'way that') in (25a) can only be interpreted as a degree/intensity adverb meaning 'that way; so, such', on a par with Mandarin *nàme* 'that way; so, such' as in (25b) (cf. Badan & Cheng 2015; Paul 2015), and never as a sequence of two SFPs *thế* and *kia*. Vietnamese *thế kia* as an adverb forms a paradigm with *thế này* 'this way; so, such,' much like the relationship between Mandarin *nàme* and *zhème* 'this way; so, such'. Given that *cơ* is a variant of *kia* as an SFP (see §5.2.1), the fact that *cơ* cannot co-occur with *thế* in place of *kia*, as shown in (26), further demonstrates that *kia* in (25a) is not an SFP. The impossibility of the SFP sequence *thế kia* is straightforward in my analysis: *kia* as a commitment marker must scope under *thế*, which marks a call on the addressee; *kia* therefore cannot linearly surface to the right of *thế*.

(25) a. Sao mà chán **thế kia**.
how such boring Deik Deik
'How boring!' (Le 2015: 99)

b. Zěnme **nàme** wúliáo
how that.way boring
'How boring!'

(26) *Sao mà chán **thế cơ**.
how such boring SFP SFP

Second, Le's hierarchy in (27), repeated from (34) of Chapter 2, and the categorization of SFPs in her Table 2 (Le 2015: 93) predict that *à* and *ư* should scope under and thus preceding *đấy*/*đó* (lit. 'that; there') as the former are presumably hosted in the lower ForceP and the latter in the higher

DeikP. Examples like (28) however reveal that only the reverse linear order is possible.[84] My analysis makes the right prediction: *à* and *ư* are CoA SFPs, and thus they scope over and linearly succeed *đấy* and its variant *đó* as markers of commitment.

(27) DiscourseP > $\text{Mood}_{\text{Informative}}$P > $\text{Mood}_{\text{Eval}}$P > DeikP_1 > DeikP_2 > ForceP (Le 2015: 148)[85]

(28) Con vừa về {**đấy**/**đó**} **à**/**ư** {***đấy**/***đó**}?
child just return SFP SFP SFP
'Have you just returned, my child?'

[84] Le (2015) considers ForceP to be the projection where information concerning clause type is codified, including particles like *à*, *ư*, *không* 'not', *chưa* 'yet' in this category. As will be further discussed in §5.4, I contend that only *không* and *chưa*, both structurally merged in CP, are true markers of interrogative clause type. SFPs like *à* and *ư* do not serve to type clauses but call on the addressee to confirm the truth value of their prejacent. The two groups should not be placed in the same category of ForceP as they are quite distinct in interpretive and syntactic terms. Phan & Starke (2022) argue that *không* and *chưa* are "pragmatically pure" question particles and allow embedding, whereas markers such as *à* and *ư* are associated with the pragmatic domain and resist embedding.

[85] It is sometimes unclear what motivates the use of certain labels in Le's analysis. For instance, Le uses the label MoodP for a range of SFPs (*với*, *mà*, *chứ*/*chớ*, *nào*, and *nhỉ*) which have little to do with mood-marking. First of all, Vietnamese already has a range of mood adverbs (e.g. *may mắn* 'fortunately', *quả nhiên* 'expectedly') in a clause-medial position as part of CP (see Chapter 3). Even if we adopt Le's characterization that MoodP here is intended to accommodate particles conveying the speaker's attitude toward the proposition, many of the SFPs (e.g. *với*, *nào*, *nhỉ*) presumably associated with this MoodP (and it two sub-projections $\text{Mood}_{\text{Informative}}$ and $\text{Mood}_{\text{Eval}}$) seem not to (directly) pertain to the speaker's stance on the propositional content. For example, *nào* and *nhỉ* concern more with the engagement of the addressee than with the communication of "noteworthiness," the kind of information $\text{Mood}_{\text{Informative}}$ is expected to codify (Sybesma & Li 2007). If $\text{Mood}_{\text{Informative}}$ is to be retained as a useful label, it may be used for SFPs like *đấy*/*đó* (lit. 'there; that'), originally associated with Le's DeikP, which can present the prejacent proposition as noteworthy (cf. Cantonese *wo*; see also Luke 1990; Matthews & Yip 1994). It is also perplexing that, despite Le modeling MoodP and its two sub-projections after Sybesma and Li (2007), there is a clear discrepancy in how their respective accounts address these projections. Specifically, Sybesma and Li's Mood projections all merge below ForceP, while in Le's account, Mood projections are found at the highest part of the Vietnamese functional architecture, taking scope over ForceP.

Third, that *với* (lit. 'reach') and *chứ* (lit. 'however') are both labeled $\text{Mood}_{\text{Eval(ulative)}}$ in Le (2015) should lead to the prediction that they compete for the same structural position and cannot co-occur. This, however, is contrary to fact, as seen in (29). My analysis attributes this co-occurrence to the distinct projections in which these SFPs merge: *với*, as an injunctive marker, is hosted by $\text{CommitP}_{\text{Add}}$, while *chứ* must be structurally above it as it engages the addressee.

(29) Mau **với** **chứ**, vội vàng lên **với** **chứ**[86]
quick SFP SFP hurry up SFP SFP
'Quick, hurry up'

Finally, contra Le (2015), example (26) should not allow *chứ* and *nè* (a variant of *này*) to co-occur, regardless of whether *chứ* precedes or follows *nè*. In my analysis, both SFPs function to call on the addressee, thus they compete for the same structural position.

(26) Tôi có biết đâu cơ **chứ** **nè**.
1S have know Force Deik $\text{Mood}_{\text{Informative}}$ Deik
'I do not know.' (Le 2015: 99)

It is constructive to note that CoA SFPs differ in terms of their interpretive effects and pairing possibilities with lower particles despite their similarity in merge position. *Thế* (when succeeding *vậy*), *này* and *kìa* are typically employed to direct the addressee's attention to the content of the prejacent. The use of these SFPs as "attention drawers" is reminiscent of what is argued for West Flemish SFP *zè* (diachronically derived from verbal *zien* 'see') in Haegeman & Hill (2013), see (27). *Này* can only pair with the lower *đây*, *while kìa* goes only with *kia/cơ* (cf. T.H.Q. Nguyen 2021), see (28).

(27) Valère is doa **zè**.
Valère is there zè
'Valère is there, *as you see*.' (Haegeman & Hill 2013: 372)

(28) a. Tôi đang bệnh **đây** **này/ *kìa**.
1SG PROG sick SFP SFP SFP
'I'm sick at the moment. (*You see?/ Look!*)'

[86] https://www.thivien.net/ Xuân-Diệu/Giục-giã/poem-8rHN0q7k-J-5Rf5R658kPQ

b. Nó đang bệnh **kia** **kìa/ *này**.
3SG PROG sick SFP SFP SFP
'He's sick at the moment. (*You see?/ Look!*)'

In declaratives, *mà* generally persuades, while *chứ* urges the addressee to take up the utterance and accept the propositional content as true (especially when there is a contextually salient proposition contradicting the proposition at issue), leading to an insisting tone. See (29) for an example.

(29) Tí giỏi **mà**/ **chứ**.
Tí good SFP SFP
'Tí is good. (*Contrary to what is thought/expected*.)'

Interestingly enough, *chứ* (although not *mà*) can also appear in confirmational questions as in (30). With this context, *chứ* calls on the addressee to take up the proposition and confirm if it is true or false. Note that this proposition must be committed by the speaker, although such a commitment is only contingent or projected (Gunlogson 2008; Malamud & Stephenson 2015), given that it can be withdrawn if not ratified by the addressee. The same characterization is extended to SFPs like *à* and *ư*, which Phan & Starke (2022) treat as "pragmatically loaded" question particles. I will however show in §5.4 that SFPs like *chứ*, *à*, and *ư* are to be distinguished from question particles like *không* 'not' and *chưa* 'yet', because only the latter can assume a clause-typing function.

(30) a. Tí giỏi ***mà**/ **chứ**?
Tí good SFP SFP
'Is Tí good? (*I assume so, but please confirm*.)'

b. Tí giỏi **à**/ **ư**?
Tí good SFP SFP
'Tí is good? (*I assume so, but please confirm*.)'

Table 4 summarizes the CoA SFPs discussed in this section. Although all of them function to call on the addressee, their specific pragmatic contributions vary based on the original clause type involved and the specific commitment markers each CoA SFP selects.

thế: calling on Add to answer a *wh*-question
này: calling on Add to accept a proposition as true or actualize an outcome

kìa: calling on Add to accept a proposition, answer a *wh*-question, or actualize an outcome
mà: persuading Add to accept a proposition as true or actualize an outcome
chứ: urging Add to accept a proposition as true, confirm if it is true, or actualize an outcome
à, ư: calling on Add to confirm if a proposition is true

Table 4: Vietnamese CoA SFPs and their pragmatic contribution(s)

5.3.2 Bonding with the addressee

Finally, there are a group of SFPs that can only be found at the furthest right of the Vietnamese sentence. Two representative particles of this group are *nhỉ* and *ạ*, both of which maintain or improve a 'bonding' relationship between the speaker and the addressee. See (31) for an illustration. *Ạ* is traditionally labeled as a marker of politeness (Nguyễn 1996; Lê & Nguyễn 2001; Phan & Starke 2022, a.o.), employed to overly show respect to the addressee given the addressee's seniority or social status. *Nhỉ* serves to consolidate the speaker-addressee relation through the act of seeking a confirmation or agreement from the addressee.

(31) a. Tí giỏi **ạ**.
Tí good SFP
'Tí is good. (*I say this with respect to you as my addressee.*)'

b. Tí giỏi **nhỉ**?
Tí good SFP
'Tí is good, *eh*?'

It is constructive to note that bonding SFP *nhỉ* is not to be confused with CoA SFPs like *à*, *ư*, and *chứ*, as previously discussed in §5.3.1. At first glance, it appears as if both groups are indistinct in terms of function and syntactic behavior as they are all involved in the marking of confirmational questions. A closer inspection reveals that this is not the case. For concreteness, only the bonding SFPs *nhỉ* is compatible with pure *yes-no* questions and *wh*-questions. As shown in (32), the maximal constituents preceding *nhỉ* are purely inquisitive questions, which cannot be transformed further into confirmational questions upon combining with this bonding SFP.

(32) a. Tí có giỏi không **nhỉ**?
Tí have good NEG SFP
'Is Tí good?'

b. Tí đang làm gì **nhỉ**?
Tí PROG do what SFP
'What is Tí doing?'

On the contrary, CoA SFPs like *à*, *ư*, and *chứ* are strictly incompatible with these types of canonical questions, see (33). This is straightforward as *à*, *ư*, and *chứ* require a declarative clause as the base upon which a confirmational question is built. Confirmational questions cross-linguistically appear to exhibit the same pattern: see the contrast with an English tag question in (34) for an example.

(33) a. *Tí có giỏi không **à**/ **ư**/ **chứ**?
Tí have good NEG SFP SFP SFP
Int: 'Is Tí good? (*I assume so, but please confirm*.)'

b. *Tí đang làm gì **à**/ **ư**/ **chứ**?
Tí PROG do what SFP SFP SFP
Int: 'What is Tí doing? (*I assume so, but please confirm*.)'

(34) a. Tí is good, isn't he?

b. *Is Tí good, isn't he?

It is constructive to note that the mentioning of "bonding" as a function of certain clause-final particles goes back to Haegeman & Hill (2013) and Haegeman (2014). Haegeman & Hill (2013) claims for West Flemish an articulated speech event architecture with two projections (both in the form of a double shell structure): an attention-seeking layer (*sa*1/SAP1) and a consolidating/bonding layer (*sa*2/SAP2); *sa*P1 structurally dominates *sa*P2. See (35a) for an an example, and (35b) for an illustration of this articulated speech act phrase. Note that the two particles *né* (information-seeking) and *wè* (consolidating/bonding) are hypothesized to raise from the head of a lower SAP to the head of a higher *sa*P of the same shell structure (analogously to a V-to-*v* movement), and VOC marks a vocative merged in either of the two specifier positions.

(35) a. K'een a gedoan **wè** Valère **né**
I have finished wè Valère.VOC né
'Look Valère, I have finished.' (Haegeman & Hill 2013: 386)

b. [*sa*1P [*sa*1 *né*] [SAP1 VOC [SA1 ~~*né*~~]
[*sa*2P [*sa*2 *wè*] [SAP2 VOC [SA2 ~~*wè*~~] [ForceP]]]]]
(Haegeman & Hill 2013: 386)

Essentially, with West Flemish data, the attention-seeking layer merges above the bonding layer. The opposite appears to be the case for Vietnamese: the bonding SFPs always scope over the CoA SFPs (which in turn scope over commitment SFPs). Below I present some attested examples with triple particle clusters to illustrate the hierarchy of SFPs in Vietnamese, showing that bonding SFPs *nhỉ* and *ạ* are always found furthest to the right.[87]

(36) a. Đẹp **đấy chứ nhỉ**!
pretty SFP SFP SFP
'Pretty, right?'
(https://vi.wiktionary.org/wiki/chứ)

b. Sao bạn lại xem thường thế hệ trẻ **vậy thế nhỉ**?
why 2SG MP look.down generation young SFP SFP SFP
'Why do you look down on the young generation?'
(https://linkhay.com/link/6086632/bang-kieu-khan-gia-cua-toi-deu-la-nguoi-giau)

c. tôi có thuộc **đấy chứ ạ**
1SG have learn.by.heart SFP SFP SFP
'I do remember it, sir'
(https://tienphong.vn/benh-da-vang-post508413.tpo)

d. Bị dạ dày thì nên kiêng những gì **vậy thế ạ**?
contract stomach then should abstain PL what SFP SFP SFP

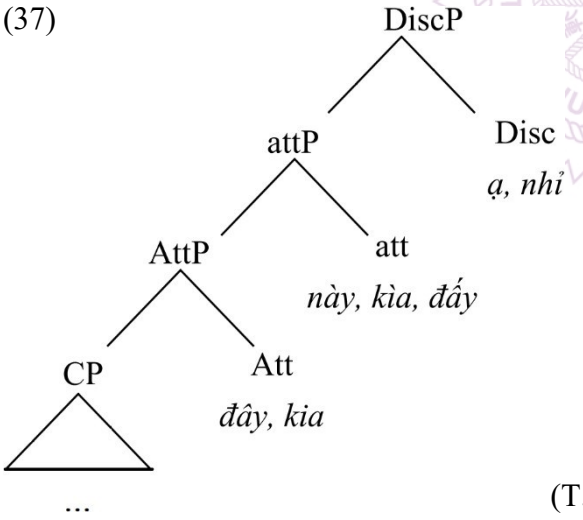
[87] The observation that SFPs can be stacked into clusters of at most three particles goes back to Phan (1985). See also Le (2015: 102) for more examples of this type of clusters.

‘What should one avoid doing if one has a stomach pain?’

(https://thuocdantoc.vn/benh/dau-da-day)

T.H.Q. Nguyen (2021) also take *nhỉ* and *ạ* to merge in the highest layer of the Vietnamese peripheral architecture, which she labels Disc(ourse)P, see (37). However, I disagree with her characterization of these particles as markers of the speaker’s call on the addressee. This function fits better with SFPs such as *chứ*, *à*, and *ư*, which in my analysis serve to engage the addressee to take up and respond to an utterance. T.H.Q. Nguyen’s hierarchy leaves no room to account for these CoA SFPs. What’s more, considering her hierarchy, we would predict that no SFP could occur between, for example, *đấy* in attP and *nhỉ* in DiscP. However, this expectation contradicts the observed fact: as demonstrated in (38), the CoA SFP *chứ* can indeed be sandwiched between *đấy* and *nhỉ*. T.H.Q. Nguyen’s (2021) account appears to pattern with some other analyses, including Wiltschko & Heim (2016 et seq.) and Woods (2021), which postulate a single projection marking a speaker-addressee relation above a double-layered projection encoding commitment. Empirical facts concerning the interpretive and distributional properties of Vietnamese SFPs call for a more articulated architecture within this Speaker-Addressee projection.

(37)



(T.H.Q. Nguyen 2021: 130)

(38) Đẹp **đấy** **chứ** **nhỉ**![88]

pretty SFP SFP SFP

‘Pretty, eh?’

[88] https://vi.wiktionary.org/wiki/chứ

5.4 SFPs do not type clauses

Previously in §2.5, I proposed a Clause Type Phrase (CTP) at the higher end of CP (cf. Alexiadou 2001; Ginsburg 2009; Coniglio & Zegrean 2012, a.o.) to account for the CP-level elements that serve to "type" clauses into basic types such as interrogative and imperative. A point of importance in the current study is the disentanglement of illocutionary force from basic clause-type. It is uncontroversial that a clause type is by default associated with a specific sentential force (Sadock & Zwicky 1985). To be more specific, declarative, interrogative, and imperative clause types are conventionally associated with asserting, asking, and requiring force, respectively. Chierchia & McConnell Ginet (2000) however advocate for a differentiation between sentential force (or sentence mood à la Reis 1999) and utterance force. This utterance force is what Portner (2004) refers to as "the ultimate illocutionary force" (see also Zanuttini & Portner 2003), reflecting what the speaker intends to communicate (cf. Searle 1965). Illocutionary force in this sense is the resulting force once the context and the speaker's communicative intention is accounted for, and is only indirectly related to the more basic clause types.

Vietnamese Clause Type Phrase as part of CP codifies information concerning clause type and host elements that mark structural clause types. Let us first talk about interrogatives. I assume that, in Vietnamese, interrogative clause type is associated with pure question particles like *không* 'not' (Phan & Starke 2022) in polar questions and *wh*-adverbs and null operators in constituent questions. Le (2015) and Liao & Lin (2023) propose that the negative particle *không* is base-generated as the head of a Negative Phrase (Duffield 2013b) and is later raised to C in polar questions. See (35) for an illustration. The latter authors assume this Neg-to-C movement of *không* is motivated by the valuation of interrogative featured in a C head (Chomsky 1995a, 2021). Within the framework I adopted for this study, I identify this C head with Clause Type.

(35) a. Tí giỏi **không**?
Tí good NEG
'Is Tí good?'

b. [CP ***không*** [TP ***~~không~~*** [NegP ***~~không~~*** [*v*P ...]]]]

In constituent interrogatives, Clause Type Phrase is assumed to host either *wh*-adverbs or a null operator that unselectively binds *v*P-level *wh*-nominals. The *wh*-adverb/*wh*-nominal dichotomy

goes back to Tsai (1994, 1999) where it is argued that, for Mandarin as a *wh*-in-situ language, *wh*-nominals are licensed through unselective binding by a covert Q-operator in Spec,CP. A similar dichotomy is proposed for Vietnamese in C.-Y. Tsai (2009) and Phan (2023). This CP is also identified with Clause Type Phrase in the current study. Accordingly, *sao* 'why' in (36a) is a full-fledged *wh*-adverb merged directly in Spec,CTP, whereas *sao* 'what' in (36b) is a *wh*-nominal bound by a null Q-operator in Spec,CTP.[89] Q-particle *không* as well as *wh*-adverb *sao* and a null unselective binder are elements that mark a clause as standard inquisitive interrogative. Syntactically, they are hosted in Clause Type Phrase as either its head (*không*) or its specifier (*wh*-adverb *sao* and null Q-operator).

(36) a. **Sao** Tí đi Đài Bắc?
why Tí go Taipei
'Why did Tí go to Taipei?'

b. Tí đi Đài Bắc làm **sao**?
Tí go Taipei do what
'How did Tí go to Taipei?'

On the contrary, Call-on-Addressee SFPs such as *chứ*, *à*, and *ư* as discussed in §5.3.1, see (37), are not responsible for clause-typing. They instead contribute to the resulting illocutionary force by calling on the addressee to take up the utterance, which is presented in the form of a declarative, and confirm its truth-value (cf. Gunlogson 2008; Malamud & Stephenson 2015; see also Ituarte 2022). In other words, these CoA SFPs operate on the declarative clause type, giving rise to the illocutionary force of inquiring by seeking the addressee's confirmation.

(37) Tí giỏi **à**/ **ư**/ **chứ**?
Tí good SFP SFP SFP
'Tí is good? (*I assume he is, but please confirm./ Tell me.*)'

[89] For an analysis of the sequence *làm sao* (lit. 'do what'), see Phan (2023).

Bruening & Tran (2006) and C.-Y. Tsai (2009) propose that the SFPs *thế* and *vậy* (commitment SFPs in my analysis) as in (38) are only compatible with constituent questions, directly or indirectly related to the typing a clause as *wh*-interrogative.[90]

(38) Tân mua gì **thế**?
Tan buy what PRT
'What did Tan buy?' (Bruening & Tran 2006: 334)

I suggest in Phan (2023) that this is not true, as *vậy* and *thế* can also appear in *yes*/*no* questions (see also Duffield 2019), as exemplified in (39). What is more, recall that the presence of *vậy* does not guarantee an illocutionary force of inquiring, see (40a). This is similar to the case of CoA SFP *chứ* in (40b). My position is that *vậy* and *thế* are not related to clause-typing, but instead serve to modify the speaker's public commitment towards the propositional content expressed.

(39) Tí giỏi không **vậy**/**thế**?
Tí good NEG SFP
'Is Tí good *then*?'

(40) a. Tôi đi bộ **vậy**. (=(12))
1SG walk SFP
'I will go on foot *then*.'

b. Tí giỏi **chứ**.
Tí good SFP
'Tí is good. (*Contrary to what is thought/expected*.)'

Next, let us delve into imperatives. I suggest in §5.2.2 that SFP *đi* as in (41a) and other injunctives (i.e. *coi* and *với*) publicly propose to commit the addressee to an Outcome à la Beyssade & Marandin (2006). Although *đi* is sometimes regarded as similar to the left-edge directive marker *hãy* (labeled "directive predicate" in Lê & Nguyễn 2001) in terms of the pragmatic effects they incur, see (41b), they should not be confused with each other.

[90] Bruening & Tran (2006: 337-338) take *thế* to license the (matrix) null Q particle in *wh*-questions as head of some functional projection above CP.

(41) a. Im miệng **đi**!
shut.up mouth SFP
'Shut your mouth!'

b. Hãy im miệng **đi**!
IMP shut.up mouth SFP
'Shut your mouth!'

To wit, only *hãy* is attested in written language where it communicates an instruction concerning how to perform an action, see (42). *Hãy* therefore can be used felicitously without a specific addressee in mind. This is in contrast with injunctive SFPs like *đi*, which must target a specific addressee and are anchored to a specific speech event.

(42) Context: *From a math exercise…*

Dựa vào biểu đồ dưới đây, **hãy** trả lời câu hỏi sau
rely on graph below here IMP answer question follow
'Based on the following graph, answer the question below'
(https://vietjack.com/giai-toan-lop-4/bai-1-trang-164-1-sgk-toan-4.jsp)

Haegeman & Hill (2013) note that one should make a distinction between particles selecting certain clause types and particles providing the typing themselves. I assume *hãy* serves to mark the imperative clause type (cf. Bùi 2003) and is therefore associated with the Clause Type Phrase. Negative imperative markers like *đừng* and *chớ* 'do not', see (43) are also regarded as merging in this projection. In the imperative context, Clause Type Phrase is identified with the Jussive Phrase à la Zanuttini (2008) or SeP à la Isac (2015).[91] SFPs like *đi* are on the other hand simply sensitive towards the imperative clause type, not serving to identify or determine this clause type. What particles like *đi*, *coi*, and *với* do is to contribute to the directive illocutionary force by conveying a proposal to place a commitment (to an Outcome) on the addressee.

(43) **Đừng**/**chớ** về.
do.not return
'Do not go home.'

[91] See also Bennis (2006) and Liao & Wang (2023) for compatible analyses for imperatives.

Another difference between injunctive SFPs and imperative markers pertains to their syntactic behavior regarding embedding. For concreteness, only the latter can be embedded, whereas the former resist embedding altogether. See the contrast between (44) and (45).

(44) a. Anh chỉ khuyên em **hãy** lắng nghe ý kiến của mẹ mình.
1SGonly advise 2SG IMP listen.carefully opinion POSS mother self
'I only advise you to listen carefully to your mother's opinion.'
(https://vnexpress.net/huyen-hay-ton-trong-y-kien-cua-me-2816385.html)

b. Tôi nhắc nó **hãy** gọi cho tôi thường xuyên hơn […]
1SG remind 3SG IMP call give 1SG frequent more
'I reminded him to call me more frequently […]'
(https://ngoisao.vnexpress.net/thanh-long-hiem-khi-ngot-ngao-voi-con-trai-2629823.html)

(45) a. *Anh chỉ khuyên em [lắng nghe ý kiến của mẹ mình **đi**].
1SG only advise 2SG listen.carefully opinion POSS mother self SFP
Int: 'I only advise you to listen carefully to your mother's opinion.'

b. *Tôi nhắc nó [gọi cho tôi thường xuyên hơn **đi**]
1SG remind 3SG call give 1SG frequent more SFP
Int: 'I reminded him to call me more frequently'

Interestingly, when we compare the elements responsible for interrogative clause type like *không* and the SFPs found in utterances with an inquiring force, a similar pattern is observed. Specifically, only the former can be embedded, while the latter are forbidden in all embedded contexts (cf. Phan & Starke 2022). As will become clear in Chapter 6, Vietnamese clause-typing devices pattern with left-edge MOD-field elements as far as embedding facts are concerned. This similarity is assumed to stem from their closeness in structural terms: they are all assumed to be part of CP, while SFPs cluster in the domain above CP where speech act information is encoded.[92]

[92] Murasugi (2014) also contends that Japanese SFPs *ne*, *na*, and *yo* are located outside CP and are not clause-typers themselves. They all take scope over *ka* which types a clause as interrogative (Saito 2013). A similar claim is made for West Flemish SFPs like *wè* and *zè* (as discussed in Haegeman 2010 and Haegeman & Hill 2011, a.o.). Relatedly, Lin (2010: 70) also treats Mandarin SFPs like *ma* and *ne* as "mood particles

5.5 SFPs are not always monosyllabic

Although the majority of sentence-final elements in Vietnamese are monosyllabic, I contend that there are also several bisyllabic particles at the right edge of the utterance with comparable functions. To wit, they also act as modifiers of the strength of the speaker's commitment, on a par with the SFPs like *đây*. The three bisyllabic elements to be covered in this section are *cũng nên* 'maybe (lit. 'also become') as in (46), *thì phải* 'so it seems' (lit. 'then right) as in (47),[93] and *thì có* 'on the contrary' (lit. 'then have') as in (48). The latter two are classified within the category of "conventionalized" modal expressions in Nguyễn (1994), albeit without an analysis.

(46) Tí đi học rồi **cũng nên**.
Tí go study already SFP
'Tí already went to school. (*Maybe, I think*.)'

(47) Tí đi học rồi **thì phải**.
Tí go study already SFP
'Tí already went to school. (*So it seems, I think*.)'

(48) A: Muộn mất rồi.
late lose already
'It's already late.'
B: Muộn gì, có phần sớm **thì có**.
late what have part early SFP
'It's not late; *on the contrary* it's a bit early. (*I'm telling you*.)'
(Hoàng 2006: 938; glosses and translation mine)

Viewing Vietnamese from the perspective of functional grammar as a quintessential topic-prominent language, Cao (1991/2006: 334–337) treats combinations like *cũng nên* and *thì phải* as consisting of topic/comment markers (*thì* 'then' and *cũng* 'also') and modality-denoting elements

that are somewhat specialized in expressing questions," merging in a higher projection than the question particle Q responsible for tying an interrogative clause.

[93] Hoàng's (2006) dictionary defines *cũng nên* as "expressing a speculation with an assertive note" (p. 224) and *thì phải* "expresses an unassertive affirmation, as if one still wishes to re-check their memory or claim, or wishes to receive a confirmation of what they have just said from the other interlocutor" (p. 937).

formally marked as the comment component of a sentence. Cao claims that these elements, dubbed *pseudo-comments* or *modality comments*, are distinct from regular comments in expressing only the speaker's attitude or judgment towards what is conveyed in the preceding component. Based on his observations, these comment-like expressions are usually characterized as visibly restricted in terms of configuration.

My position differs from Cao's in how these expressions should be characterized syntactically, although I largely share with Cao his insight on the interpretive effects they have on the hosting utterance. To wit, diachronically, the constituent left to these SFPs has as its predecessor a clausal subject, while these SFPs were once predicate phrases providing various kinds of information about their subject. In this configuration, the clausal subject is typically marked for topicalization, either with or without the overt topic marker *thì* heading a Topic Phrase. See (49) for an illustration. A subsequent process of reanalysis then turns this typical topic-comment configuration into one where the topicalized subject CP becomes the root CP. Concurrently, the topic marker *thì* or the comment marker *cũng* (in Cao's 1991/2006 sense) together with the comment component (i.e., *nên* in (49a) and *phải* in (49b)) are reanalyzed as an inseparable sentence-final element with pragmatic import. (50a) and (50b) represent the post-grammaticalized (46) and (47) respectively. A similar process of reanalysis is assumed for *thì có*.

(49) a. [$_{\text{TopP}}$ [$_{\text{CP}}$ *Tí đi học rồi*] **Top** [$_{\text{TP}}$ ***cũng*** [$_{\text{VP}}$ ***nên***.]]]

b. [$_{\text{TopP}}$ [$_{\text{CP}}$ *Tí đi học rồi*] ***thì*** [$_{\text{TP}}$ [$_{\text{VP}}$ ***phải***.]]]

(50) a. [$_{\text{CommitP}}$ [$_{\text{CP}}$ *Tí đi học rồi*] ***cũng nên***.]

b. [$_{\text{CommitP}}$ [$_{\text{CP}}$ *Tí đi học rồi*] ***thì phải***.]

Recall that Cao (1991/2006) notes that constituents like *thì phải* and *cũng nên* differ from regular comments in their unique ability to express the speaker's attitude or judgment and are very much modal in nature. This insightful remark receives a straightforward explanation if these elements already underwent a process of grammaticalization and are now merged high up in the functional spine of the clause, thus directly associated with the speaker. To highlight their functional nature, it is instructive to compare these presumably lexicalized elements from string-identical phrasal instantiations in the diachronic data. Below I present two examples of the strings *thì phải* and *thì*

có in a standard topic-comment configuration. These sentences are extracted from literature dating back to the mid-17th century.

(51) Nữ trung bà có phúc lạ **thì phải**, vì các người khác xa lắm,
female among dame have bliss unusual TOP right because PL you different far very
mà kẻ đồng trinh thì chẳng có con, kẻ có con chẳng có đồng trinh.
but person virgin TOP NEG have child person have child NEG have virgin
'*It is right that* 'blessed art thou [Maria] amongst women', because you all are so different (from her), as virgins do not bear children, and those bearing children are not virginal.' (*Primer on Catholicism*, p. 113)

(52) Bởi nhiều người giục vác Câu-rút **thì có**, nhưng le chẳng thấy
because many person urge carry.on.back cross TOP have but NEG see
một người nào an ủi sốt.
one who which comfort at.all
'Because *it truly happened that* many people urged Him [Jesus Christ] to carry the cross, but not a single person comforted Him.'
(*Story of Jesus*, vol. 8, p. 110)

In (51), *thì phải* is still construed as comprising of the topic marker *thì* and the predicative adjective *phải* 'right, correct'; together, they function to emphasize the truthfulness of the biblical claim that Mary is 'most blessed among women.' This sequence is distinct in interpretive terms from the string-identical SFP *thì phải*, which necessarily communicates the speaker's lesser degree of commitment about the truth of their expressed proposition, hence the rough translation 'so it seems' in (47).

The sequence *thì có* in (52) consists of the topic marker *thì* and the existential predicate *có* 'have'. Together they function to assert the claim that 'many people urged Jesus to carry the cross,' thus contrasting it to the other claim that 'not a single person comforted Him.' The use of this string-identical phrase differs from the use of SFP *thì có* in (48), which expresses the speaker's commitment towards the proposition (that 'it's a bit early'), the opposite of a proposition previously promoted by the addressee (that 'it's late'). I suggest that SFP *thì có* is best treated as a marker of speaker's public commitment. It functions to endorse the speaker's confidence towards

their proposition, through which an opposite proposition previously added by the other interlocutor is rejected from the shared common ground.[94]

Syntactically, the bisyllabic SFPs *cũng nên*, *thì phải*, and *thì có* are assumed to be lexicalized units merging in the CommitP to either modify or mark the public commitment of the speaker towards their proposition, on a par with monosyllabic SFPs like *đây* and *vậy* in §5.2.1. *Cũng nên* and *thì phải* are commitment modifiers (in the sense of Krifka 2017, 2023) given that they serve to alter the speaker's commitment strength. In fact, just like the case of monosyllabic *đây*, *cũng nên* and *thì phải* can co-occur naturally with a left-edge epistemic adverb, see (53).

(53) a. Có lẽ Tí giận rồi **cũng nên**.
maybe Tí upset already SFP
'*Maybe* Tí is already upset. (*Maybe, I think*.)'

b. Hình như Tí giận rồi **thì phải**.
seemingly Tí upset already SFP
'*It seems like* Tí is already upset. (*So it seems, I think*.)'

This apparent likeliness between the two categories could be the rationale behind Cao's (1991/2006) characterization of the SF elements discussed here as modality-denoting. Regardless, I contend that while their interpretive similitude is undeniable, Vietnamese MOD-field elements and these SFPs are different animals. MOD-field elements concern the speaker's private beliefs, while these SFPs, no matter whether they are monosyllabic or polysyllabic, communicate openly the degree of confidence/commitment about the truth of the speaker's utterance.

5.6 SFPs and the issue of head-directionality

There are currently two camps with regard to the head-directionality of SFPs across languages. The first camp simply advocates for a right periphery to which SFPs merge. The argument for a right peripheral domain for sentence-final particles (SFPs) has primarily been made in the context of Japanese, given the radically head-final nature of the syntax in this language (see, for example, Davis 2011). Pan & Paul (2016) and Paul & Pan (2017), disregarding the Final-over-Final

[94] Đ.D. Nguyễn (1996: 294–295) characterizes the use of *thì có* as the objection of a previous proposition Q whose truth value is the reverse of P's by way of asserting P, P being the prejacent of *thì có*.

Constraint, suggest that Mandarin SFPs are merged as such, citing the lack of substantial motivation for a comp-to-spec movement. A right periphery for SFPs is also adopted by Tang (2020) for Cantonese and by T.H.Q. Nguyen (2021) for Vietnamese.

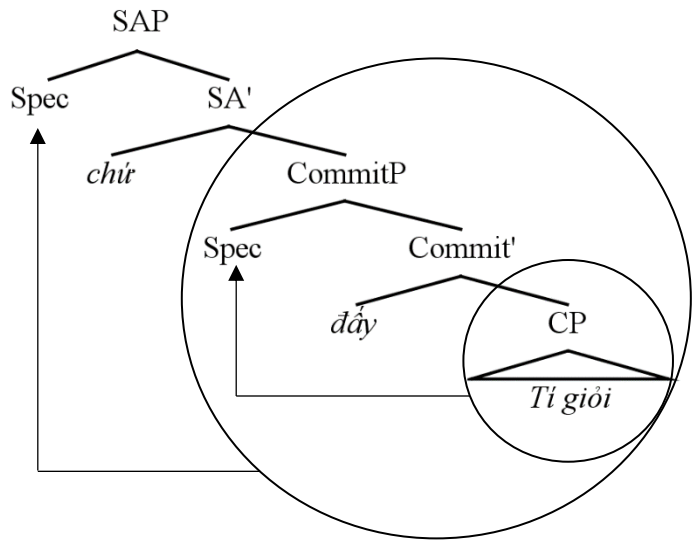
The other camp proposes deriving SFPs from an underlying head-initial projection, in compliance with Kayne's (1994) Antisymmetry thesis, thus circumventing the problem posed by the FOFC. In the case of co-occurrence between SFPs, successive movement is postulated. To wit, the sentence-final position of SFPs is assumed to be derived through the raising of their complement to their specifier position. Early proponents of this movement analysis include Sybesma (1999) and Hsieh & Sybesma (2008, 2011) with their accounts of Mandarin SFPs. See also Haegeman & Hill 2013 for their analysis of West Flemish and Romanian peripheral particles. Different from his earlier accounts, Pan (2021, 2022) advocates to derive the Chinese head-final order by postulating that each projection headed by an SFP constitutes a phase (a domain defined by Chomsky's (2000) Phase Impenetrability Condition).

Li (2006) and Sybesma & Li (2007) are among the authors who explicitly state that their account of Chinese SFPs does not delve into the issue of head-directionality, and that their analysis works with either of the approaches. Le (2015) does not take a stance concerning the question whether Vietnamese SFPs are left-branching or right-branching for the same reason. Erlewine (2017: 44) also stays neutral with respect to how the Mandarin SFPs are linearized to the right. Given that this current research concerns more about the hierarchical ordering of non-at-issue elements (syntactically merged high in functional spine) and the big picture regarding the division of labor between roughly two domains above TP, I will remain agnostic regarding the head-directionality of Vietnamese SFPs. My position is that either of the scenarios can be explained with the Vietnamese data.

Let us discuss the first scenario. If Vietnamese is indeed a radical head-initial language (Duffield 2013b) and that SFPs are also head-initial, the rightward position of SFPs can be derived through successive movement in a "roll-up" fashion. See (54a) for an example and (54b) for the proposed derivation (irrelevant details excluded).

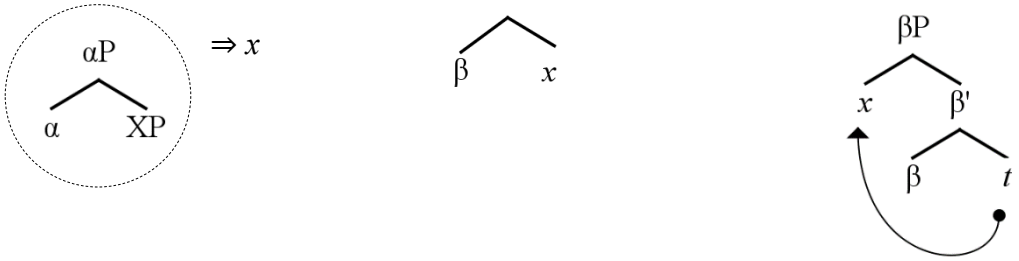
(54) a. Tí giỏi **đấy** **chứ**.
Tí good SFP SFP
'Tí is good. (*I'm telling you.*)'

b.



With respect to what motivates this type of successive movement, there are currently two approaches: movement for symmetry-breaking reasons (Hsieh & Sybesma 2011; see also Erlewine 2017) and movement for feature-checking purposes (Pan 2022, a.o.). Hsieh & Sybesma (2011) adopt Moro's (2000: 28) view of movement as being derived "by the search for antisymmetry," suggesting that after a phrase (let's call it αP here) is sent to Spell-Out, it becomes a "syntactic atom" *x* without an internal structure. When this syntactic atom *x* is merged with another phase head (call it β) as its complement, the phase head must front *x* to solve a linearization problem, given that the two are originally in a mutual c-command relation. The derivation illustrating this symmetry-breaking operation is outlined in (55).

(55) a. Spell out αP (⇒ *x*) → b. Merge β with *x* → c. Symmetry-breaking movement

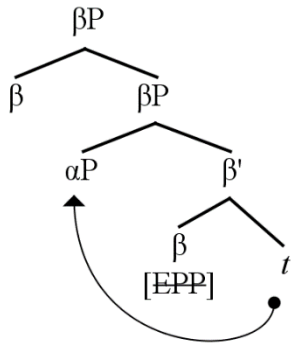


(adapted from Hsieh & Sybesma 2011: 73-74)

Another way of viewing this issue is to assume that movement is motivated by the need for feature-checking. Pan (2022) for example takes Mandarin SFPs to be phase heads, each bearing an EPP feature. The EPP feature is satisfied, as a last resort, through the obligatory movement of the

complement of these phase heads to the specifier position. In (56), β is a phase head whose EPP feature is checked by the comp-to-spec movement of αP across it.

(56)



Now, considering the second scenario. If Vietnamese SFPs are instead head-final, the Final-over-Final Condition (FOFC) can be circumvented if we take this condition to apply to phases rather than extended projections as in the restricted version in (57).[95] In other words, as a cross-linguistic condition, structures that violate FOFC are banned from occurring within, but not across, phasal/Spell-Out domains. This is the approach advocated for in Richards 2016 (Chapter 5) and Erlewine 2017. As Biberauer (2017) points out, this version of FOFC is even more restricted than the restricted version in (56), given that FOFC domains are now reduced to spellout domains.

(57) The FOFC (restricted version)

> A head-final phrase αP cannot dominate a head-initial phrase βP where α and β are heads *in the same Extended Projection*. (Biberauer et al. 2014: 171; emphasis mine)

Erlewine (2017) take the SFPs like *ma*, *ba*, *ne* in Mandarin (which Paul (2014, 2015) identifies with Force) to merge in the position of a phase head. The complements that these SFPs select, i.e. the lower head-initial projections, are identified as Spell-Out domains (Chomsky 2000, 2001). Given that these SFPs are not part of the lower Spell-Out domains, that they are head-final should not constitute a violation of the FOFC if it is based on the concept of Spell-Out domain instead of extended projection. Now, if we assume that Vietnamese SFPs also belong to a Spell-Out domain

[95] In its original conception, FOFC is stated as follows:

(i) The FOFC (unrestricted version)

> If a phrase α is head-initial, then the phrase β immediately dominating α is head-initial. If α is head-fnal, β can be head-final or head-initial. (Holmberg 2000: 124)

separate from the lower projections, then FOFC (in Erlewine's sense) is not enforced: the SFPs can freely form head-final projections even if the domains below stay head-initial.

Erlewine argues that the motivation for this revised FOFC can be found from the mechanisms of Spell-Out. To wit, if one adopts a cyclic Spell-Out model (Uriagereka 1999; Chomsky 2000, 2001), then after the complement αP of a phase head β undergoes Spell-Out, αP becomes syntactically opaque (i.e. Hsieh & Sybesma's (2011) "syntactic atom").[96] As its internal structure is invisible post-Spell-Out, the information regarding its headedness is also inaccessible to the outside, thus allowing the selecting head β to be head-final without violating FOFC. See (58) for an illustration of this derivation.

(58) a. Merge αP with β (a phase head) → b. αP undergoes Spell-Out

(Erlewine 2017: 68)

All in all, I have demonstrated that both the head-initial analysis and the head-final analysis can be used to account for the linearization to the right of Vietnamese SFPs. I therefore remain neutral regarding the headedness of these SFPs, and will stick to head-initial tree diagrams throughout this study solely for the sake of convenience.

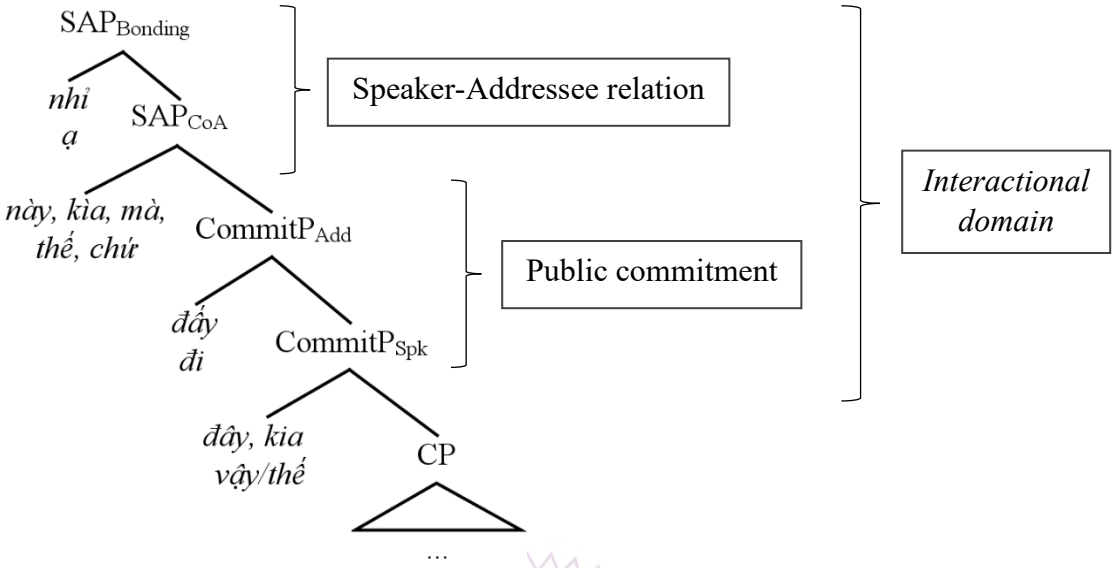
5.7 Summary

This chapter is devoted to the study of SFPs, which cluster at the very right edge of Vietnamese sentences. It is claimed that these SFPs all belong to what Wiltschko (2021) dubs the interactional

[96] Erlewine (2017) notes that certain details concerning phasehood and and Spell-Out in his account differ from Hsieh & Sybesma's (2011). To wit, Hsieh & Sybesma (2011) takes Spell-Out to target the whole phase, with the phase head and its specifier included (see also Bošković 2016). Erlewine (2017) follows the standard assumption that Spell-Out targets only the complements of phase heads. The phasal spell-out is put forth in Chomsky (2000), while the phasal complement spell-out first appears in Chomsky (2001).

domain, which goes beyond the traditional CP. An articulated architecture of this domain is outlined in (59).

(59)



This interactional domain is assumed to be comprised of two projections: the lower CommitP encoding public commitment and the higher SAP encoding the speaker-addressee relation. Each of the projections is further split to capture the finer-grained distinctions between SFPs that exhibit both distributional and interpretive differences. CommitP is proposed to consist of a lower CommitP$_{Spk}$ for speaker's commitment and a higher CommitP$_{Add}$ for addressee's commitment. SAP displays two layers: SAP$_{CoA}$ and SAP$_{Bonding}$. The former occupies a lower position, hosting the SFPs that engage and/or call on the addressee to take up the utterance in a certain way. The latter hosts the SFPs that serve to maintain or consolidate a relation between the speech participants during the conversation.

The picture previously painted for Vietnamese SFPs with respect to their hierarchy in the interactional architecture is based largely on their co-occurrence possibilities and relative linear ordering. Beyssade & Marandin (2006: 55) claim that speaker's commitment and speaker's call on addressee are closely related but "need not be identical," although both of them can sometimes be realized with the same particle. It is in fact plausible that a Vietnamese SFP can be syntactically associated with more than one projection in certain contexts. I hypothesize that this effect can be achieved through movement for the purpose of feature-checking. Regardless of where an SFP is

merged in the domain, what is clear is that they are all vital in dialogue moves, and necessarily interactional.

The functions previously ascribed to Vietnamese SFPs make them fit the description of illocutionary-force modifiers, given that their presence affects the resulting force of the utterance in nontrivial ways. It is constructive to note that modifying illocutionary force is not the same as typing clauses, the latter of which is the function of genuine clause-typing devices like the negative Q-particle *không* 'not'. In Vietnamese, these clause-typers are structurally located in the Clause Type Phrase within CP (either through base-generation or movement), while SFPs are above CP.

Although SFPs are mostly monosyllabic, I also show in this chapter that some of them can be bisyllabic. These bisyllabic SFPs receive the same treatment as more familiar monosyllabic particles, given their similarity in syntactic behavior and pragmatic functions. It should be noted that polysyllabic SFPs are also observed in Chinese varieties such as Mandarin and Cantonese; see, for example, Tang (2015). My analysis however differs from Tang's in that I treat these bisyllabic SFPs as fully lexicalized items that can no longer be decomposed into component morphemes synchronically.

Table 5 categorizes the SFPs discussed in this chapter according to the four projections within the interactional domain.

Spk's commitment	Add's commitment	Call-on-Addressee	Bonding
đây, *vậy*, *thế*, *quá*, *kia/cơ*, *cũng nên*, *thì phải*, *thì có*	*đấy/đó*, *đi*, *coi*, *với*, *cùng*	*thế*, *này*, *kìa*, *mà*, *chứ*	*nhỉ*, *ạ*

Table 5: Vietnamese SFPs in four categories

CHAPTER 6
TWO TYPES OF ROOT PHENOMENA

This chapter discusses an array of embedding facts with respect to two types of embedded environments: complement clauses of factive/non-factive predicates and central/peripheral adverbial clauses. I will demonstrate that in Vietnamese, SFPs are strictly non-embeddable, while MOD-field elements allow embedding in certain contexts. Adopting Frey's (2023) terminology, the former are regarded as strong root phenomena, the latter weak root phenomena. This disparity corresponds to the distinction between the interactional/interpersonal nature of SFPs and the personal nature of MOD-field elements. MOD-field adverbs and auxiliaries can be anchored to either the matrix subject or the external speaker; SFPs are strictly anchored to the external speaker, requiring the presence of an architecture above CP where information about the speech participants is encoded.

6.1 Root phenomena

6.1.1 What is "root phenomena"?

Root phenomena, also known as main-clause phenomena, are linguistic phenomena only attested in root/main-clauses as well as in a small set of dependent clauses that are "root-like".[97][98] Frey (2011) lists as representative examples of root-like dependent clauses the complement clauses of the so-called non-factive predicates, including verbs of saying (e.g. *say*, *think*, *claim*; alternatively known as *verba dicendi*), verbs of mental attitudes (e.g. *believe*, *hope*), and perception verbs (e.g. *discover*, *find out*, *feel*). On the contrary, classic examples of non-root-like dependent clauses

[97] But see Miyagawa (2012) who see main-clause phenomena and root phenomena as two separate categories, the latter of which are assumed to be strictly unembeddable.

[98] The root/non-root distinction is traced back to Emonds (1969, 1976). A definition of "root" is as in (i). See Aelbrecht et al. (2012) for an overview of the phenomena.

(i) Root

> A root will mean either the highest S in a tree, an S immediately dominated by the highest S or the reported S in direct discourse. (Emonds 1969: 6)

include complement clauses of factive predicates (e.g. *regret*, *be surprised*) and of inherently negative predicates (e.g. *avoid*, *be impossible*).

Often cited instances of root phenomena include cases of preposing and topicalization in English (Hooper & Thompson 1973) and verb-second (V2) phenomenon in Dutch and German (Emonds 1976). German for example distinguishes between verb-final (Vf) complement clause introduced by the complementizer *dass* 'that' and V2 complement clause without *dass*. Under a predicate of saying like *glauben* 'think', both Vf and V2 complement clauses are permitted, see (1). When a factive predicate like *bedauern* 'regret' is used, V2 complement clause is not allowed, see (2), showing its true colors as a root phenomenon.

(1) a. weil Max *glaubt*, dass Maria kommen **wird** [Vf]
because Max thinks that Maria come will
'because Max thinks that Maria will come'

b. weil Max *glaubt*, Maria **wird** kommen [V2]
because Max thinks Maria will come

(Frey 2023: 364)

(2) a. weil Max *bedauert*, dass er zu spät **kam** [Vf]
because Max regrets that he too late came
'because Max regrets that he came too late'

b. *weil Max *bedauert*, er **kam** zu spat [V2]
because Max regrets he came too late

(Frey 2023: 364)

A note on terminology is in order. In Emond's (1970) original conception, root phenomena are restricted to syntactic transformations (i.e. operations modifying the structural representation of a clause) that are observed only in root contexts. In the current implementation, root phenomena are generally understood to also include linguistic phenomena that do not necessarily involve such syntactic operations, for example discourse/modal particles and interjections (Aelbrecht et al.

2012).[99] For the purposes of this study, I adopt this practice and use the term "root phenomena" to refer to any syntactic operations or linguistic elements that exhibit root properties.

6.1.2 Vietnamese MOD-field items and SFPs as root phenomena

In the previous chapters, I have mentioned on several occasions the apparent similitude between certain left-edge MOD-field elements, especially evidential and epistemic adverbs, and SFPs on the right edge. It is constructive to note that in the traditional Vietnamese literature, it is customary to categorize SFPs as "modal expressions" (Phan 1985; Lê & Nguyễn 2001; Phạm 2002, a.o). Recall how Cao (1991/2006) also takes expressions like *thì phải* 'so it seems' and *cũng nên* 'maybe' (argued to be bisyllabic SFPs here) to have a modal nature. MOD-field elements and commitment SFPs can naturally co-occur, sometimes with apparently little difference in interpretation. See (3) and (4) (repeated from (7-8) and (52) of Chapter 5) for an illustration.

(3) a. Có lẽ trời lại sắp mưa **đây**.
maybe sky again about.to rain SFP
'Maybe it's about to rain again. (*I think.*)'

b. Chắc trời lại sắp mưa **quá**.
perhaps sky again about.to rain SFP
'Perhaps it's about to rain again. (*I guess*.)'

(4) a. Có lẽ Tí giận rồi **cũng nên**.
maybe Tí upset already SFP
'Maybe Tí is already upset. (*Maybe, I think.*)'

b. Hình như Tí giận rồi **thì phải**.
seemingly Tí upset already SFP
'It seems like Tí is already upset. (*So it seems, I think.*)'

Interestingly, Krifka (2023) also claims that, from a semantic perspective, commitment modifiers and judgment modifiers are not easily distinguished due to their possible similarity in interpretive effect. Note that Krifka's (2023) commitment modifiers and judgment modifiers correspond

[99] The claim that modal particles belong to the root phenomena goes back to Bayer 2001 (see also Coniglio 2009).

roughly to commitment SFPs and MOD-field elements, respectively, in my analysis. He suggests that a sentence like *perhaps Max will snore* can be interpreted "either as an assertion of a subjective-epistemically modified proposition, or as a weak assertion of an epistemically non-modified proposition" (Krifka 2023: 141).[100]

What is more, these non-at-issue items, regardless of whether they modify private judgments or public commitments, all fit the description of root phenomena, given that they cannot occur in non-root embedded clauses. For Vietnamese, this restriction is illustrated in (5). Specifically, within the embedded clause introduced by a factive predicate like *hối hận* 'regret' (5a), neither left-edge MOD-field elements nor right-edge SFPs are permitted to occur (5b,c).

(5) a. Tí *hối hận* [đã không giúp Tèo].
Tí regret ANT clause Tèo sad
'Tí regrets not helping Tèo.'

b. Tí *hối hận* [(*có lẽ) đã không giúp Tèo (***cũng nên**)].
Tí regret maybe ANT NEG help Tèo SFP
'Tí regrets (*maybe) not helping Tèo (**maybe, I think*).'

c. Tí *hối hận* [(*hình như) đã không giúp Tèo (***thì phải**)].
Tí regret seemingly ANT NEG help Tèo SFP
'Tí regrets (*seemingly) not helping Tèo (**so it seems, I think*).'

For German, both commitment modifiers and judgment modifiers are banned inside embedded clauses that are verb-final and introduced by the complementizer *dass* (Krifka 2023). This point is exemplified in (6), where *ehrlich* 'truly' is a commitment modifier, while *sicherlich* 'certainly' is a judgment modifier.

(6) Unsere Schlaf wurde dadurch *gestört*, dass [$_{TP}$ jemand ***ehrlich** / ***sicherlich**
our sleep was through.that disturbed that someone truly certainly

[100] Krifka (2023: 142) hypothesizes the possibility for an operator to undergo a diachronic change, through which it transitions from the category of subjective epistemic adverbial to the category of commitment or assertive strength marker.

laut geschnarcht hat].
loud snore have
Int: 'Our sleep was disturbed by the fact that somebody *truly*/*certainly* snores loudly.'
(Krifka 2023: 124, glosses mine)

Frey (2023) takes the complement clause of a non-root-inducing predicate to project only to the level of TP. Such a structural deficiency can straightforwardly explain why CP-level MOD-field items and CP-external SFPs in Vietnamese are both prohibited from occurring inside these embedded contexts. The absence of German commitment and judgment modifiers in such embedded contexts can be attributed to the same reason. To wit, the former are merged in ComP, and the latter in JP; as shown in (7), both projections are located above TP.[101]

(7) ActP > ComP > JP > TP

Moreover, both MOD-elements and SFPs are banned from occurring inside a temporal *when*-clause as in (8). This type of adverbial clause is categorized as central adverbial clauses (CACs), in contrast with peripheral adverbial clauses (PACs) by Haegeman (1984 et seq.). CACs are merged in TP, patterning with regular TP-level adverbs and modifying the matrix event (Frey 2018; Badan & Haegeman 2022).

(8) a. Tí giận *khi* Tèo (*có lẽ) đã không giúp mình (***cũng nên**).
Tí upset when Tèo maybe ANT NEG help self SFP
'Tí got upset when Tèo (*maybe) didn't help him (**maybe, I think*).'

b. Tí giận *khi* Tèo (*hình như) đã không giúp mình (***thì phải**).
Tí upset when Tèo seemingly ANT NEG help self SFP
'Tí got upset when Tèo (*seemingly) didn't help him (**so it seems, I think*).'

For Frey 2018 and Frey & Meinunger 2019, CACs have a completely truncated CP just like factive complement clauses, leading to their incompatibility with MOD-elements and SFPs as observed

[101] Haegeman & Schönenberger (2023) take TP to encode the propositional/at-issue content of the clause, while Judge Phrase à la Krifka (2017, 2023) codifies proposition-external, non-at-issue content.

in (8). Besides temporal clauses, event conditional adverbial clauses are also examples of CACs.[102] The internal and external syntax of PAC and non-integrated adverbial clauses (the third type of adverbial clauses) will be discussed in §6.1.3.

Despite the similarities with respect to embedding, Krifka (2023) asserts that the two categories of commitment and judgment modifiers are still distinct in interpretive and structural terms in German. Specifically, judgment modifiers express privately held judgements and beliefs, while commitment modifiers calibrate public commitments that are subject to social sanctions. Structurally speaking, when both commitment modifiers and judgment modifiers occur, the latter scope over the former. In (9a), the commitment specifier *bei Gott* 'by God' in Commitment Phrase precedes and takes scope over the judgement modifier *ganz sicher* 'definitely' in Judge Phrase, which expresses the speaker's high degree of certainty in the proposition. Having the judgment modifier preceding the commitment modifier leads to ill-formedness, see (9b).

(9) a. [$_{ActP}$ *Max* [$_{Act'}$ *hat*$_0$ [$_{ComP}$ ***bei*** *Gott* [$_{JP}$ ***ganz sicher*** [$_{TP}$ t$_1$ *das Geld nicht gestohlen* t$_0$]]]]]

Max have by God definitely the money NEG stolen

'By God, Max definitely didn't steal the money.'

(Krifka 2023: 142; glosses and translation mine)

b. *Max hat **ganz sicher bei Gott** das Geld nicht gestohlen.

Max have definitely by God the money NEG stolen

(Krifka 2023: 142; glosses mine)

A similar picture is observed for Vietnamese: the distinction between MOD-field elements and SFPs is not merely interpretive, as it is also evident in structural terms. MOD-field elements are assumed to scope under SFPs, given that the former cluster inside CP, while the latter merge above CP. The two categories form two separate domains corresponding to the distinction between private judgements and public commitment (as well as engagement). Besides, when more

[102] An event conditional expresses "a condition on the realization of the eventuality encoded in the associated clause" (Haegeman & Schönenberger 2023: 275-276). See (i) for an example. I will return to the issue of conditionals shortly.

(i) If your back-supporting muscles tire, you will be at increased risk of lower-back pain.

(Haegeman & Schönenberger 2023: 276)

embedded environments are considered, it becomes clear that SFPs and MOD-field elements do not behave the same syntactically. To foreshadow, SFPs are a lot more restricted with respect to the embedded environments in which they can occur, as opposed to MOD-field elements which are laxer in this respect. This observation necessitates a further differentiation between two types of root phenomena in Vietnamese.

6.1.3 "Root phenomena" is not fine-grained enough

Frey (2011), Frey & Meinunger (2019), and Frey (2023) claim that root phenomena should be distinguished in a finer-grained manner, namely into weak and strong root phenomena. For Frey (2023), modal particles, epistemic and evaluative adverbials as part of the Judge Phrase à la Krifka (2017, 2023) exemplify weak root phenomena. Strong root phenomena are elements merged in the higher Commitment Phrase (ComP) and Speech Act Phrase (ActP), part of the interactional domain in my analysis. Weak root phenomena are allowed in all root contexts, including main clauses and peripheral adverbial clauses (PACs). Strong root phenomena can occur only in main clauses and in a small set of non-integrated dependent clauses (NonICs) à la Frey (2011), i.e. dependent clauses that are "syntactically unintegrated in their host clauses" (Frey 2023: 368).

Recall that CACs only project to TP. Frey & Meinunger (2019) and Frey (2023) take PACs to be bigger in size. To wit, PACs are assumed to project up to Krifka's JP (where mood and modal elements are hosted).[103] This proposed internal syntax of PACs can account for the fact that MOD-field may appear in these contexts, but SFPs may not. Note that Endo & Haegeman (2019) propose that there is a correlation between the external syntax and the internal syntax of adverbial clauses, such that "the more structure is manifested in the adverbial clause, the higher it is merged" (p. 1). Accordingly, they suggest that PACs are merged TP-externally (see also Badan & Haegeman 2022). Two often cited examples of PACs are adversative and concessive adverbial clauses.

NonICs are in a way a subset of PACs: they are PACs that are separated from the host clause by a prosodic break, and have their own sentential contour, a type of "syntactic orphan" (in the sense of Haegeman 1991/2009; Frey 2005). Badan & Haegeman (2022) call NonICs 'recycled' integrated adverbial clauses. NonICs link up with the host clause at the discourse level. In terms

[103] CACs are often assumed to be more syntactically integrated than PACs, in the sense that they are embedded more deeply inside the host clause (Frey 2023).

of internal syntax, NonICs must project to the level of Krifka's ActP (Frey 2018, 2023). In my analysis, this is equivalent to the highest layer of the interactional domain where the most rightward SFPs are hosted.

Frey (2023) suggests that elements qualified as strong root phenomena are, among others, German tag questions (e.g. *nicht wahr?* 'right?') or interjections (like *Mann* 'man'), West Flemish discourse particle *né* 'take that' (as discussed in Haegeman & Hill 2013), sentential particles in Venetian dialects (Munaro & Poletto 2009), and Japanese discourse particles *yo* and *ne* (Endo 2012). In (10a), Geman *Mann* 'man' is allowed in an *even-if*-clause if it is construed as a NonIC (and not a regular PAC), as marked by a pause (represented as "\ /") between the two clauses. In (10b), the tag *nicht wahr?* is also allowed in a *since*-clause as long as the clause is construed as syntactically unintegrated (and prosodically independent) from the host clause.

(10) a. Ich komme nicht\ – [/selbst wenn du mich auf Knien bittest, **Mann**].
I come not \ – /even if you me on knees beg man
'I'm not coming even if you beg me on your knees, man.'

b. Du solltest Maria um Hilfe bitten \ [/da du es allein nicht schaffst, **nicht wahr**?]
you should Maria for help ask \ /since you it alone not manage not true
'You should ask Maria for help because you cannot do it alone, can you?'

(Frey 2023: 373)

Frey's strong/weak dichotomy of root phenomena overlaps to a great extent with Miyagawa's (2012) distinction between main-clause phenomena and "genuine" root phenomena: the former may occur in main clauses and a small set of embedded clauses, whereas the latter are strictly non-embeddable, occurring in root clauses only. Miyagawa's (2012) "genuine" root phenomena are assumed to encode the relationship between the speech participants, thus syntactically depending on the availability of a speech act projection, a structural domain beyond CP where the anchoring of the utterance to the conversation speaker happens. Linguistic phenomena like left peripheral particles encoding discourse information and interjections can be counted towards "genuine" root phenomena in Miyagawa's sense (Aelbrecht et al. 2012: 9).

I propose that Frey's (2023) strong/weak dichotomy of root phenomena (or Miyagawa's (2012) differentiation between main-clause phenomena and "genuine" root phenomena) can be

largely extended to Vietnamese. As demonstrated in §6.2, Vietnamese SFPs exemplify strong root phenomena, whereas MOD-field elements are characterized as weak root phenomena.

6.2 MOD-field items and SFPs as weak and strong root phenomena

In this section, complement clauses and adverbial clauses as two types of embedded contexts are employed to tease out the distinction in syntactic behaviors between MOD-field elements and SFPs in Vietnamese.

6.2.1 Testing ground 1: Non-factive and factive complements clauses

Recall that factive predicates like *hối hận* 'regret' ban both MOD-field elements and SFPs from its complement clause, see (5), repeated here as (11). When non-factive predicates replace factive ones, the ban is however lifted for MOD-elements.[104] The examples in (12) with the predicate of mental state *đoán* 'guess' illustrate this point. Complement clauses of non-factive predicates are assumed to pattern with PACs in projecting to the level of Krifka's JP.

(11) a. Tí *hối hận* [(*có lẽ) đã không giúp Tèo (***cũng nên**)]. (=(5))
Tí regret maybe ANT NEG help Tèo SFP
'Tí regrets (*maybe) not helping Tèo (**maybe, I think*).'

b. Tí *hối hận* [(*hình như) đã không giúp Tèo (***thì phải**)].
Tí regret seemingly ANT NEG help Tèo SFP
'Tí regrets (*seemingly) not helping Tèo (**so it seems, I think*).'

(12) a. Tí *đoán* [có lẽ trời lại sắp mưa (***đây**)].
Tí guess maybe sky again about.to rain SFP
'Tí guesses that maybe it's about to rain again (**maybe, I think*).'

b. Tí *đoán* [chắc trời lại sắp mưa (***quá**)].
Tí guess perhaps sky again about.to rain SFP
'Tí guesses that perhaps it's about to rain again (**I guess*).'

[104] See Hacquard & Wellwood (2012) for a compatible claim concerning the embedded contexts for epistemics.

c. Tèo *đoán* [có lẽ Tí đi học rồi (***cũng nên**)].
Tèo guess maybe Tí go study already SFP
'Tèo guesses that maybe Tí already went to school (**maybe, I think*).'

d. Tèo *cảm thấy* [hình như Tí giận rồi (***thì phải**)].
Tèo feel seemingly Tí upset already SFP
'Tèo feels that it seems like Tí is already upset (**so it seems, I think*).'

Mood and modal adverbs are not the only MOD-field elements that survive non-factive clauses but not factive clauses. The contrast in (13) demonstrates that the epistemic auxiliary *phải* 'must' also exhibits the same pattern.

(13) a. Tèo *đoán* [cá **phải** còn sống].
Tèo guess Tí must still alive
'Tèo guesses *it must be that* the fish is still alive.'

b. Tèo *tiếc* [cá (***phải**) còn sống].
Tèo regret Tí must still alive
'Tèo regrets (**it must be that*) the fish is still alive.'

Modal particles appear to exhibit a similar behavior. The contrast in (14) shows that German MP *ja* (lit. 'yes') can occur in a (root-like) complement clause selected by the non-factive *einfallen* 'occur', but is banned from a (non-root-like) clause selected by the factive *leugnen* 'deny'.

(14) a. Maria *fiel ein*, dass Hans (**ja**) längst hier sein müsste.
to-Maria occurred that Hans MP long-ago here be should
'It occurred to Maria that Hans should have been here by now.'

b. Er *leugnete*, dass er die Zeugin (***ja**) unter Druck gesetzt habe.
he denied that he the witness MP under pressure put have-SUBJ
'He denied that he had put pressure on the witness.'

(Thurmair 1989: 109; glosses by Frey (2011: 59); translation mine)

For Vietnamese, this contrast can be illustrated with both MPs *mà* and *lại*, see (15). Following Giannakidou (2006), I assume that *biết* 'know' is a factive predicate, while *tự hỏi* 'wonder' is a

non-factive predicate. The two MPs are banned in the complement clause of the factive *biết* (15a), but not in the complement of the non-factive *tự hỏi* (15b).

(15) a. Tí *biết* [ai (***mà**)(***lại**) thích Tèo].
Tí know who MP MP like Tèo
'Tí knows who (**in the world*) likes Tèo.'

b. Tí *tự hỏi* [ai **mà** **lại** thích Tèo].
Tí wonder who MP MP like Tèo
'Tí wonders who *in the world* likes Tèo.'

Note that, unlike MPs, SFPs are prohibited in both embedded contexts. Observe the contrast in (16). Specifically, while the call-on-addressee SFP *chứ* is felicitous in the main clause context in (16a), its presence strictly results in ill-formedness when its host clause is embedded (16b, c).

(16) a. Ai thích Tèo **chứ**?
who like Tèo SFP
'Who likes Tèo? (*Tell me*.)'

b. Tí *biết* [ai thích Tèo (***chứ**)].
Tí know who like Tèo SFP
'Tí knows who likes Tèo (**tell me*).'

c. Tí *tự hỏi* [ai thích Tèo (***chứ**)].
Tí wonder who like Tèo SFP
'Tí wonders who likes Tèo (**tell me*).'

In brief, the previous tests with factive and non-factive predicates indicate that MOD-field elements, which survive root-like clauses selected by non-factive verbs, are qualified as weak root phenomena, while SFPs should be counted among strong root phenomena for resisting all the embedded contexts.

6.2.2 Testing ground 2: Central and peripheral adverbial clauses

Earlier in this chapter, it has been suggested that the environments allowing the embedding of MOD-elements are identified as PACs, whereas those prohibiting the occurrence of these elements are categorized as CACs. SFPs are banned in both, and can only be found in either main clauses

or NonICs. A similar pattern regarding this weak/strong asymmetry also emerges when complement clauses are employed as testing grounds in §6.2.2. Before I illustrate how MOD-field elements and SFPs behave differently in adverbial clause contexts, let us first highlight further the distinction between PACs and CACs in syntactic terms.

Recall that Endo & Haegeman (2019) take the internal syntax of adverbial clauses to pattern with their external syntax. For concreteness, a CAC projects to TP and also merges to TP of its host clause, whereas a PAC projects to JP and merges in JP of its host (Frey 2016 et seq.; Haegeman & Schönenberger 2023). This hypothesis about the external syntax of adverbial clauses receives further support in Frey 2023. For example, Frey (2023) suggests that binding from the host clause is much easier for German CACs compared to the case of PACs. As an illustration, the temporal *when*-clause with *als* in (17a) allows binding from the main clause, while binding into the concessive *although*-clause with *obwohl* as in (17b) is blocked. If an *obwohl*-clause is merged in JP of the host clause, then the matrix subject *keiner* 'nobody' in TP does not c-command the embedded subject *er* 'he'. This explains straightforwardly why binding into this concessive adverbial clause (as a PAC) is impossible.

(17) a. Keiner$_1$ wurde heute bleich, *als* er$_1$ erschrak.
no-one$_1$ got today pale when he$_1$ frightened-was
'Nobody$_1$ turned pale today when he$_1$ was frightened.'

b. *Keiner$_1$ wurde heute bleich, *obwohl* er$_1$ erschrak.
no-one$_1$ got today pale although he$_1$ frightened-was
Int: 'Nobody$_1$ turned pale today although he$_1$ was frightened.'

(Frey 2023: 366; translation mine)

Vietnamese appears to exhibit a similar contrast. That is, a Vietnamese *when*-clause as in (18a) readily allows for binding from the main clause, whereas binding into an *although*-clause is difficult, see (18b).

(18) a. Không đứa bé$_i$ nào khóc *khi* nó$_i$ bị dọa.
NEG CL child which cry when 3SG PASS scare
'No baby cried when s/he was scared.'

b. *Không đứa bé$_i$ nào khóc *dù* nó$_i$ bị dọa.
NEG CL child which cry although 3SG PASS scare
Int: 'No baby cried although s/he was scared.'

Frey (2023) also observes that a CAC may be in the scope of a constituent negation appearing in the matrix clause, whereas a PAC may not (see also Badan & Haegeman 2022). The contrast in (19) exemplifies this point. A similar pattern is attested for Vietnamese, see (20), consolidating the claim that an *although*-clause is a PAC, while a *when*-clause is a CAC. This observation is again well aligned with Endo & Haegeman's (2019) proposal of treating CACs as merging in TP, given that sentential negation scopes over TP; PACs on the other hand merge in JP, thus scoping over negation. For more discussions about the scope phenomena that can distinguish between CACs and PACs, see Haegeman (2012) and Haegeman & Schönenberger (2023).

(19) a. [NEG > *when*-clause]

Max ist **nicht** gegangen, *als* Maria kam, sondern *als* die Musik schlecht wurde.
Max is not left when Maria came but when the music bad became
'Max did not leave when Maria came (but when the music got bad).'

b. [* NEG > *although*-clause]

*Max ist **nicht** gegangen, *obwohl* Maria kam, sondern *obwohl* die Musik gut war.
Max is not left although Maria came but although the music good was

(20) a. [NEG > *when*-clause]

Tí **không** [bỏ về *khi* Mai đến] (nhưng bỏ về *khi* nhạc vừa lên).
Tí NEG leave when Mai come but leave when music just up
'Ti did not leave when Mai came (but left when the music was just on).'

b. [* NEG > *although*-clause]

*Tí **không** [bỏ về *dù* Mai đến] nhưng bỏ về *dù* nhạc vừa lên).
Tí NEG leave although Mai come but leave although music just up

Now let us see how different root phenomena behave syntactically with respect to these two embedded environments. Frey (2023) suggests that CACs do not allow root phenomena but PACs

do. This point is illustrated with the contrast in (21). Specifically, a *while*-clause with *während* disallows the modal particle *ja* (lit. 'yes') when interpreted as a temporal clause (i.e. a CAC), see (21a). *Ja* is however readily allowed if the *während*-clause has an adversative construal, see (21b). Moreover, Frey (2011, 2023) argues that CACs also forbid evaluative adverbials like *leider* 'unfortunately' and epistemic adverbials like *wahrscheinlich* 'probably', in contrast with PACs which may host these mood and modal elements. MP *ja*, evaluative *leider*, and epistemic *wahrscheinlich* are therefore instances of weak root phenomena.

(21) a. [temporal *while*-clause]

Während Max (***ja**) vorgetragen hat, wurde er unterbrochen.
while Max MP presented has was he interrupted
'While Max was presenting he got interrupted.'

b. [adversative *while*-clause]

Während Max **ja** gestern bei der Unterbrechung nervös wurde,
while Max MP yesterday at the interruption nervous got
blieb er heute ruhig.
stayed he today calm
'While Max got nervous yesterday at the interruption, he stayed calm today.'

(Frey 2023: 367)

That CACs cannot host modal particles but PACs may is confirmed with the Vietnamese data. Recall that event conditional adverbial clauses are taken as CACs (Frey 2023; Haegeman & Schönenberger 2023). Event conditionals are understood here as conditional clauses that codify "an eventuality whose realization has a causal connection with the realization of the eventuality in the associated clause" (Haegeman & Schönenberger 2023: 279). It is shown in (22a) that an *if*-clause can be in the scope of negation if interpreted as an event conditional clause. The addition of MP *mà* however prohibits negation from scoping over the *if*-clause in (22b). As discussed in §4.2.2, MP *mà* has the effect of turning a neutral event conditional to a tentative/hypothetical conditional. The *if*-clause in (22b) is assumed to be an instance of PAC, not CAC.

(22) a. [NEG > event *if*-clause]

Tí **không** [bỏ về **nếu** Mai đến] (nhưng sẽ bỏ về **nếu** nhạc lên).
Tí NEG leave if Mai come but FUT leave if music up
'Tí will not leave if Mai comes (but will leave if the music is on).'

b. [*NEG > tentative/hypothetical *if*-clause]

* Tí **không** [bỏ về nếu **mà** Mai đến] (nhưng sẽ bỏ về nếu **mà** nhạc lên).
Tí NEG leave if MP Mai come but FUT leave if MP music up
Int: 'Tí will not leave if Mai ever comes (but will leave if the music is ever on).'

Recall also that binding facts can be used to test whether an adverbial clause is a CAC or a PAC. In German, a ban on binding in the presence of a modal particle or a modal adverb is observed (Frey 2023). See the contrast in (23), with MP *ja* and evaluative adverb *leider* 'unfortunately'.

(23) a. Fast jeder$_1$ hat protestiert, weil er$_1$ unterbrochen wurde.
almost everyone has protested because he interrupted was
'Almost everyone has protested because he got interrupted.'

b *Fast jeder$_1$ hat protestiert, weil er$_1$ **ja**/**leider** unterbrochen wurde
almost everyone has protested because he MP/sadly interrupted was)

(Frey 2023: 368)

For Vietnamese, I show in (24) that when MP *mà* (24b) or evaluative adverb *không may* 'unfortunately' (24c) is added to a conditional clause, binding into this *if*-clause is also not possible. This impossibility for binding is straightforward if these MOD-field elements are weak root phenomena (like their German mood/modal counterparts), marking their host as PACs (which are structurally outside the scope of the matrix subject in TP).

(24) a. Mọi đứa bé$_i$ sẽ khóc nếu nó$_i$ bị dọa.
every CL child FUT cry if 3SG PASS scare
'Every baby will cry if s/he is scared.'

b. *Mọi đứa bé$_i$ sẽ khóc nếu {**mà**} nó$_i$ {**mà**} bị dọa.
every CL child FUT cry if MP 3SG MP PASS scare
Int: 'Every baby will cry if s/he is ever scared.'

c. *Mọi đứa bé$_i$ sẽ khóc nếu {**không may**} nó$_i$ {**không may**} bị dọa.
every CL child FUT cry if unfortunately 3SG unfortunately PASS scare
'Every baby will cry if s/he unfortunately is scared.'

How about SFPs? Vietnamese SFPs have been shown in the previous section to be strong root phenomena, completely resisting embedding. Frey's (2023) observation regarding the compatibility of strong root phenomena and NonICs, i.e. non-integrated dependent clauses, see (10), is also confirmed with the Vietnamese data. Below I use the two bisyllabic SFPs *thì phải* 'so it seems' and *cũng nên* 'maybe', to illustrate this point. Specifically, these two SFPs (treated as merging in CommitP in my analysis) may not occur inside reason clauses (25) and adversative clauses (26), which are instances of PACs. These SFPs are nevertheless allowed inside these adverbial clauses if they are prosodically marked as syntactically non-integrated, see (27) and (28).

(25) a. Tí còn giận [dù Tèo đã xin lỗi nó (***thì phải**)].
Tí still upset although Tèo ANT apologize 3SG SFP
'Tí is still mad, although Tèo already apologized to him (**so it seems, I think*).'

b. Tèo trông lo lắng, [dù Tí hết giận rồi (***cũng nên**)].
Tèo look worry although Tí exhaust upset already SFP
'Tèo looks worried, although Tí is no longer mad (**maybe, I think*).'

(26) a. Tí còn giận, [vì Tèo chưa xin lỗi nó (***thì phải**)].
Tí still upset because Tèo not.yet apologize 3SG SFP
'Tí is still mad, because Tèo hasn't apologized to him (**so it seems, I think*).'

b. Tèo trông lo lắng, [vì Tí còn giận (***cũng nên**)].
Tèo look worry because Tí still upset SFP
'Tèo looks worried because Tí is still mad (**maybe, I think*).'

(27) a. Tí còn giận\, [/dù Tèo đã xin lỗi nó **thì phải**].
Tí still upset although Tèo ANT apologize 3SG SFP
'Tí is still mad, although Tèo already apologized to him (*so it seems, I think*).'

b. Tèo trông lo lắng\, [/dù Tí hết giận rồi **cũng nên**].
Tèo look worry although Tí exhaust upset already SFP
'Tèo looks worried, although Tí is no longer mad (*maybe, I think*).'

(28) a. Tí còn giận\, [/vì Tèo chưa xin lỗi nó **thì phải**].
Tí still upset because Tèo not.yet apologize 3SG SFP
'Ti is still mad, because Tèo hasn't apologized to him (*so it seems, I think*).'

b. Tèo trông lo lắng\, [/vì Tí còn giận **cũng nên**].
Tèo look worry because Tí still upset SFP
'Tèo looks worried, because Tí is still mad (*maybe, I think*).'

Note that these prosodically independent adverbial clauses can also be uttered by the other speech participant, not just by the speaker. In short, SFPs still generally resist embedding because they are strong root phenomena. NonICs allow for SFPs to be embedded within them precisely because they are similar to main clauses in having their own illocutionary force and syntactically projecting up to the highest domain, i.e. Krifka's ActP (Frey 2023).

6.3 A note on some non-root phenomena

Previously in Chapter 1, it is claimed that a range of Vietnamese particles at a sentence-final position are excluded from this study given that they are not subjective and do not exhibit non-at-issue content. Incidentally, these particles are the ones that generally permit embedding, in stark contrast with the interactional SFPs discussed in this work. Phan & Starke (2022), while studying a group of right-edge particles in *yes/no* questions, make a distinction between pragmatically neutral *yes/no* markers (*không* 'not' and *chưa* 'not yet') and what they dub "pragmatically loaded question markers" (including *à*, *ư*, *sao*, and *chăng*) as part of the highest domain of the clause. The latter of the two are instances of interactional SFPs, the former are not. See (29) for some examples of the two types.

(29) a. John thích học tiếng Việt **không**/**chưa**?
John like study language Vietnamese Q Q
'Does John likes to study Vietnamese/ yet?' (Phan & Starke 2022: 192, quoted with minor modifications)

b. John thích học tiếng Việt **à**/ **ư**/ **sao**/ **chăng**?
John like study language Vietnamese Q Q Q Q
'Does John likes to study Vietnamese? (*Can you confirm that*)' (Phan & Starke 2022: 192, quoted with minor modifications)

These two types of particles differ in how they behave with respect to embedding. Interactional SFPs, assumed to be further right-peripheral and have access to the pragmatic/interactional domain, are root phenomena and thus non-embeddable. *Không* and *chưa* as pragmatically neutral particles can be embedded in various contexts, making them non-root phenomena. The observation traces back to Trinh (2005), see (30) for a contrast.

(30) a. Tôi muốn biết nó có đọc sách **không**
I want know he CO read book KHONG
'I want to know whether he reads books'

b. *Tôi muốn biết nó đọc sách **à**
I want know he read book Q
Intended: 'I want to know whether he reads books'

(Trinh 2005: 31)

Other embedding contexts proposed in Phan & Starke (2022) include left-dislocated objects (31), and sentential subjects (32). These tests further confirm the claim regarding the embedding asymmetry between non-root question particles and root-only SFPs.

(31) a. [John thích học tiếng Việt **không**/**chưa**], Mary chẳng biết
John like study language Vietnamese Q Q Mary NEG know

b. *[John thích học tiếng Việt **à**], Mary chẳng biết
John like study language Vietnamese Q, Mary NEG know
'Whether John likes to study Vietnamese (yet), Mary doesn't know'

(Phan & Starke 2022: 203)

(32) a. [John thích học tiếng Việt **không**/**chưa**], chẳng quan trọng
John like study language Vietnamese Q Q NEG important

b. *[John thích học tiếng Việt **à**], chẳng quan trọng
John like study language Vietnamese Q, NEG important
'Whether John likes to study Vietnamese isn't important.'

(Phan & Starke 2022: 203)

Also surviving embedding are tense/aspect-related elements (e.g. *rồi* 'already', *xong* 'finish') and exclusive/additive particles (like *thôi* 'only' and *nữa* 'also, more'), which are excluded from my study of SFPs. They are other instances of non-root phenomena. See (33), which features the factive predicate *biết* 'know', for an illustration.

(33) a. Tí *biết* [Tèo đã đọc sách **xong rồi**]
Tí know Tèo ANT read book finish already
'Tí knows Tèo has finished reading the books.'

b. Tí *biết* [Tèo đọc sách **thôi / nữa**]
Tí know Tèo read book only also
'Tí knows Tèo only/ also reads books.'

Non-root phenomena particles at the linear right edge are also observed for Mandarin. Authors like Tang (1998), Paul (2014, 2015), Pan (2015, 2019), and Erlewine (2017) all remark that low SFPs like exclusive focus *éryǐ* 'only' and aspectual *le* can occur in embedded contexts, see (34-35), although the high SFPs (encoding speaker's attitude or subjective opinion) resist embedding. Structurally speaking, the latter merge above the former. This distinction is proposed to be captured by the so-called Subjectivity Scale Constraint which states that "the higher a peripheral projection is located, the more subjective its interpretation becomes and the less likely it is to be embedded" (Pan 2022: 135).

(34) Wǒ gàosù-le yī gè háizi [tā kěyǐ chī yī gè dàngāo **éryǐ**]
I told-PERF one CL child s/he can eat one CL cake ONLY
'I told a child [that s/he can *only* eat one cake].' (Erlewine 2017: 42; quoted with minor modification)

(35) Zhangsan xiangxin [wo bu ai ta **le**] ma?
Zhangsan believe I NEG love him LE $Q_{yes/no}$
'Does Zhangsan believe that I no longer love him?' (Pan 2022: 135)

6.4 Summary

This chapter has illustrated that, concerning the non-at-issue phenomena examined in this study, there are two types of root phenomena: MOD-field elements exemplify weak root phenomena, whereas SFPs exemplify strong root phenomena. As strong root phenomena, SFPs may only occur in main clauses and a special type of adverbial clauses dubbed syntactically non-integrated dependent clauses (NonICs). SFPs structurally locate in CommitP and SAP and can only be anchored to the speaker. Frey (2016 et seq.) take Krifka's JP to be the locus of weak root phenomena. These mood and modal elements are assumed to be "semantically anchored to a judge and belong to a judgment" (Frey 2023: 377). The judge here can be either the subject of the matrix clause or the external speaker.

Frey (2023) further suggests that PACs, despite having a larger syntactic size than CACs, still do not exhibit independent illocutionary force, given that they are still embedded inside a host clause. Such environments never allow strong root phenomena to occur within them, although weak root phenomena are permitted. In both German and Vietnamese, MPs are assumed to exemplify weak root phenomena, behaving syntactically in the same way as high mood/modal elements as far as embedding is concerned. Recall that Frey (2023) contends that the presence of German MPs says nothing about the availability of a speech act in the host clause. Although this view goes against the accounts proposing that MPs are speech act modifiers or illocutionary operator (Bayer & Obenauer 2011; Coniglio 2011; Coniglio & Zegrean 2012, a.o.), such a treatment of MPs, nevertheless, appears to well align with the Vietnamese facts concerning the (extended) MOD-field.

CHAPTER 7
CONCLUSION

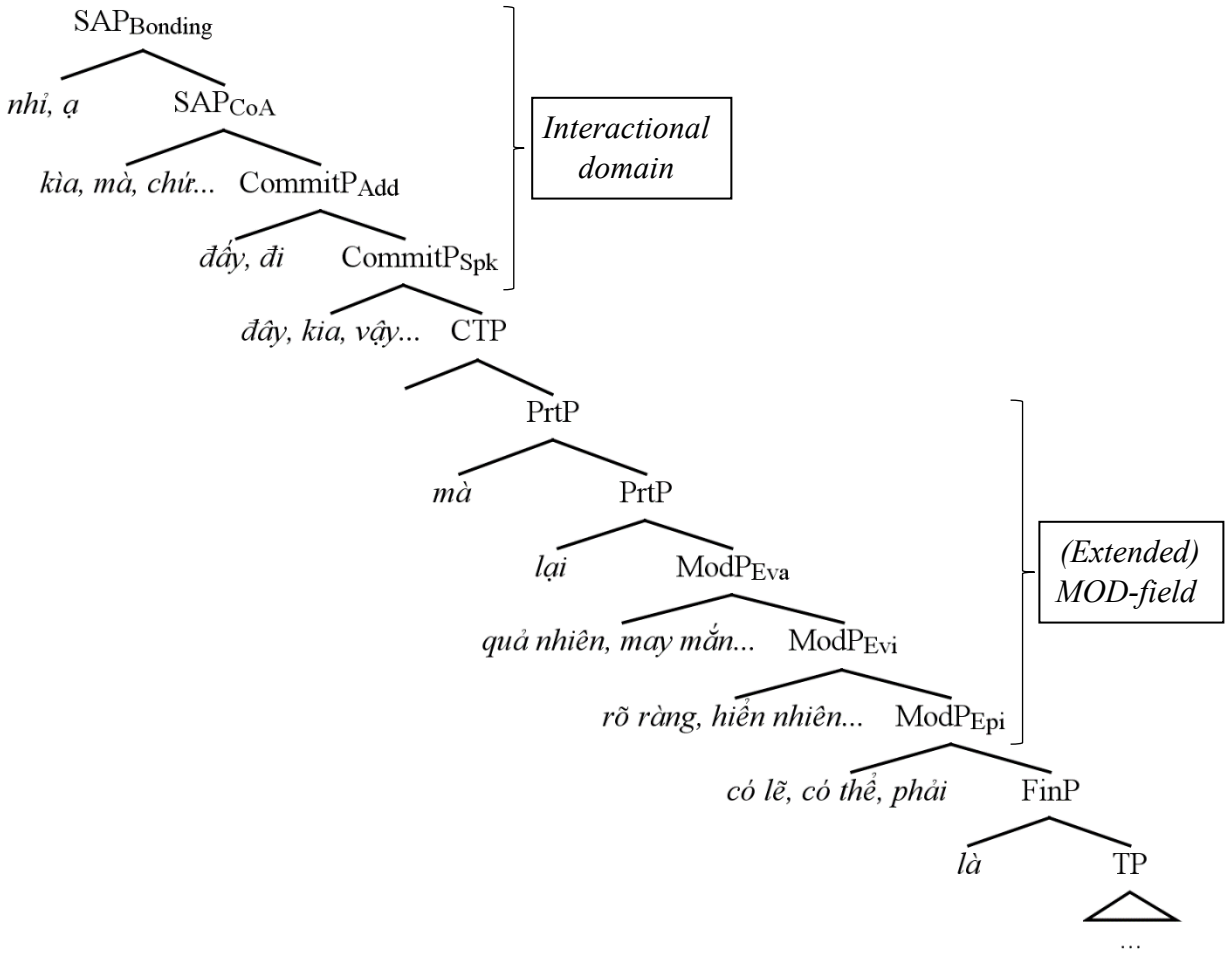
This study is tasked with mapping out the syntactic hierarchy of mood/modal elements on the linear left edge and interactional elements on the linear right edge of the Vietnamese sentence, approaching what is a largely syntactically uncharted domain. The left-edge elements are proposed to form the so-called MOD-field that correspond roughly to Speas & Tenny's (2003) Sentience Phrase and Krifka's (2017, 2023) Judge Phrase. This MOD-field accommodates an array of evaluative, evidential, and epistemic markers which can immediately precede and license an overt main-clause complementizer *là*. This complementizer is identified as the head of Finiteness Phrase, the lower end of Rizzi's (1997) Split-CP. The MOD-field is further extended to account for two modal particles (*mà* and *lại*) which I assume to head their own phrases within CP as minor categories (in the sense of Rothstein 1991). Elements of the MOD-field are taken to express the private beliefs and judgments of the speaker (or of the matrix subject, if there is one).

The right-edge elements are normally dubbed sentence-final particles, although I restrict the range of particles discussed by excluding the items that do not exhibit an interactional aspect (e.g. tense and aspect markers). This interactional dimension is assumed to stem from the ability of SFPs to establish a direct anchoring to the speaker thanks to their height. Structurally, SFPs are clustered inside the interactional domain (in the sense of Wiltschko 2021) above the traditional CP. Taking into consideration the syntactic distribution and interpretive properties of these SFPs, I propose an articulated architecture of the interactional domain which comprises two projections: the lower CommitP encoding public commitment and the higher SAP encoding the relation between the speech participants. CommitP is further split into two layers, the lower of which ($\text{CommitP}_{\text{Spk}}$) hosts the particles marking speaker's commitment, while the higher one ($\text{CommitP}_{\text{Add}}$) hosts the particles that commit the addressee instead. SAP is also split into two layers: the lower layer (SAP_{CoA}) represents a call on the addressee to engage with the utterance; the higher layer ($\text{SAP}_{\text{Bonding}}$) serves to maintain the relation between the speaker and the addressee. SFPs communicate commitments of the public kind, in contrast with the type of commitments conveyed by MOD-field elements of the CP domain, which is private to the speaker, thus is not

subject to potential social sanctions (cf. Krifka 2023). I further contend that SFPs are not responsible for clause-typing. Information regarding clause type is instead encoded in a distinct Clause Type Phrase (CTP) at the higher part of the traditional CP.

The proposed cartographic map of the elements discussed herein is outlined in (1). As previously noted, I remain agnostic whether SFPs project head-initial or head-final projections in the interactional domain.

(1)



Although all the non-at-issue elements covered in this study are root phenomena, they can be further categorized into two types: MOD-field items are weak root phenomena, while SFPs are strong root phenomena. Only SFPs, which merge high in the interactional domain and resist embedding, are strictly anchored to the external speaker. MOD-field items can be embedded in certain environments (non-factive complement clauses and peripheral adverbial clauses) and allow anchoring to either the subject of the matrix clause or the external speaker.

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