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**Imperatives: minimal but modalized**

Do imperatives involve a modal operator? Under the minimal approach (Portner 2004, 2007, von Stechow & Iatridou 2016 a.o.), imperatives do not involve a modal operator in their semantics and their ‘directive’ force is due to the special function of the imperative clause type. Under the modal approach (Schwager 2006/Kaufmann 2012, Grosz 2009, Condoravdi & Lauer 2012 a.o.), imperatives have a modal operator in their semantics. In this talk, I present evidence from scope facts showing that *imperatives involve a modal operator*. Moreover, I show that this operator is a possibility modal which under certain conditions can be strengthened to a universal.

However, I take this modal operator not to be an integral part of the *imperative form*. Instead, I argue that imperatives should be treated as *mood-Phrases*, bearing *imperative mood* which requires a modal operator with a bouletic ordering source (cf. Condoravdi & Lauer 2012). In this sense, imperatives start out as minimal and are then modalized due to the requirements posited by the imperative mood. I show that under this analysis, paired with some further assumptions, we can explain the variable quantificational force of imperatives as well as their ability to combine with overt operators encoding different quantificational strength.