

**Syntactic Perspectives
on Directive Speech Acts:
a Contrastive Study.**

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List of Abbreviations

CCP	Cross-Cultural Pragmatics
CCSARP	Cross-Cultural Speech Act Realization Project (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989)
DCE	Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (Mayor, ⁵ 2009)
DCT	Discourse Completion Task
<i>df</i>	Degrees of freedom (cf. Gries, 2008: 159)
OALD	Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (Hornby, ⁸ 2010)
OED	Oxford English Dictionary (OED online)
<i>p</i>	Probability value in statistical significance test
SD	Standard Deviation
ST	Source Text
TT	Translated Text

0 Introduction

⁹ Six days you shall labor and do all your work, ¹⁰ but the seventh day is a sabbath to the LORD your God. On it you shall not do any work, (...) ¹² "Honor your father and your mother, so that you may live long in the land the LORD your God is giving you. ¹³ "You shall not murder. ¹⁴ "You shall not commit adultery. ¹⁵ "You shall not steal. ¹⁶ "You shall not give false testimony against your neighbor.

(Exodus, 20:9-16, New International Version)

⁹ Sechs Tage darfst du schaffen und jede Arbeit tun. ¹⁰ Der siebte Tag ist ein Ruhetag, dem Herrn, deinem Gott, geweiht. An ihm darfst du keine Arbeit tun: (...) ¹² Ehre deinen Vater und deine Mutter, damit du lange lebst in dem Land, das der Herr, dein Gott, dir gibt. ¹³ Du sollst nicht morden. ¹⁴ Du sollst nicht die Ehe brechen. ¹⁵ Du sollst nicht stehlen. ¹⁶ Du sollst nicht falsch gegen deinen Nächsten aussagen.

(Exodus, 20:9-16, Einheitsübersetzung)

This extract from the Ten Commandments serves to introduce the idea behind the notion 'directive speech acts'. It is safe to say that there are no other directive utterances as deeply embedded in our cultural memory as this collection of guidelines. We could as well call them the archetypes of directives. Of course we have a very special case at hand: the commandments are only available to us in written form. The 'speaker' or rather author of the commandments is an entity beyond our grasp. The addressee is not a single person, but an entire religious community. The content of the commandments are very general guidelines how to lead our lives. We have to consider how directive utterances differ from this when they take place in a communicative situation where speaker and addressee find themselves talking to each other face-to-face, engaging in their everyday discourse.

The commandments are also highly interesting with respect to formal aspects. Both the English and the German version seem very archaic although I did not even choose older versions as e.g. the King James Bible or the *Lutherbibel*. Yet this archaic quality may be part of the concept we have of the specific text on our hands, namely the Bible, and quite likely a colloquial version of present-day English or present-day German would seem equally odd to many readers. But what would less archaic utterances with similar functions look like as we use them in present-day English and present-day German? In the Ten Commandments, the pervasive syntactic form in both languages is the declarative containing the modal verb *shall/sollen*. The imperative, which is often regarded the prototypical realization of directives, hardly plays a role. The last formal observation may be stating the obvious but is highly relevant for this thesis: both the English and the German version of the Ten Commandments are translations – the original language of the Old Testament is Hebrew.

This just goes to show how important translations are in mediating our culture and supports the methodological decisions of this thesis.

From the very beginnings of speech act theory, directive speech acts and similar concepts have received a great deal of attention for various reasons: they exhibit a highly complex relation between form and function, which can partly be explained by the fact that they constitute face-threatening acts in the sense of Brown/Levinson (1978). There have been extensive (though mostly theoretical) discussions about their nature and also their boundaries, some of which I will touch upon in Chapter 2 of this thesis (Searle 1969; Schiffer 1972; Wunderlich 1976; Bach/Harnish 1979; Searle/Vanderveken 1985; Sperber/Wilson 1986; Liedtke 1998). I use the term “directive speech act” for utterances in which the speaker asks one or more addressee(s) to carry out an action.

Directives and other speech acts have also been part of a contrastive and cross-cultural discussion, most prominently by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989). In recent years, there have been complaints about the narrow methodological range in cross-cultural pragmatics, especially in terms of data collection. Consequently, there were demands for a methodological triangulation (cf. Geluykens 2007). This thesis tests untried ways of data collection by using the dialogue from dramatic plays and their translations as the data source for research in contrastive or cross-cultural pragmatics. Questions of data collection and corpus building will be addressed in detail in Chapter 3.

This thesis aims to add new perspectives to the relationship between the functional unit ‘directive speech act’ and its formal realizations. Of course I do not wish to conflate the terms utterance and sentence – on the contrary, I will show the importance of realizations without sentence-status in Chapter 10. The general questions are: which forms do we find in the respective languages? How frequent are the forms? And: how do they relate to each other? These questions will be answered in Chapters 4-10.

The lion’s share of the analysis will concern the forms that are not prototypically used directly and therefore need more explanation. Imperatives are generally considered to be prototypically directive – but under which conditions can other clause types (e.g. declaratives, *yes-no* interrogatives and *wh*-interrogatives) or syntactic forms be used directly? Do English and German differ significantly in this respect? A detailed qualitative analysis of individual cases tries to answer these questions.

1 Previous research – an overview

The research field of cross-cultural pragmatics is basically committed to two research traditions: it goes back to both contrastive linguistics and linguistic pragmatics. Both are relatively young traditions within the realm of linguistics as both were established only in the second half of the twentieth century.

The initial idea of **contrastive linguistics** was to use evidence from linguistic research to increase the efficiency of foreign language teaching. The basic assumption was that differences between a mother tongue and a foreign language will cause problems due to the interferences from the mother tongue. These interferences are also called negative transfer – positive transfer, on the other hand, would be caused by similarities between the two languages. Comparisons of language pairs should help predict learners' mistakes and serve as a basis for developing adequate teaching material. Yet the euphoria of the sixties and seventies, when this research agenda was developed, was clouded as it turned out that interferences alone can hardly be held responsible for all mistakes made by learners of a language. As a consequence, the goals of contrastive linguistics have shifted and the immediate link between contrastive linguistics and foreign language teaching has been severed or at least loosened. Foreign language teaching may still profit from contrastive studies, but it is no longer the sole purpose of contrastive analysis. (cf. König/Gast, 2009:1ff)

Linguistic Pragmatics as we know it today (after the so-called *pragmatic turn*) is based on the work of a few eminent researchers, namely John L. Austin (1962), John Searle (1969) and Paul Grice (1975), although the philosophical tradition can be traced back much further to the rhetorics of classical antiquity. The term pragmatics goes back to the Greek word *πρᾶγμα* (*pragma*) 'action, deed' and this term already implies what linguistic pragmatics is about: it is about actions we perform by using language – or, as Austin has accurately put it: *How to Do Things with Words*. The realm of linguistic pragmatics contains several branches. Following Levinson (1983), they are deixis, conversational implicatures, presuppositions, speech acts and conversational structures. I will mostly focus on the sub-branch of speech acts in my work here, although of course implicatures are vital in understanding indirect speech acts.

As both Austin and Searle assume speech acts to be universals of language, it seems only a logical consequence that these speech acts and their realizations should be contrasted and compared across languages. Depending on the point of view, this was either achieved by

including topics from pragmatics in the field of contrastive linguistics or the contrastive perspective was introduced into pragmatics. No matter how one sees it, studies in **contrastive pragmatics** began in the early 1980s.

One of the first scholars to systematically show possible research perspectives was Philip Riley (1981): he suggests both a form-to-function mapping to “compare the range of functions which a structure in one language can realise with the range of functions a similar structure in another language can realise” (131), as well as a function-to-form mapping in which he suggests to “take one particular function (...) and look at some of the various realisations which can occur” (133) in different languages. He also already suggests comparing “sentences/functions (...) in sequence”. (134)

Surely the most influential project in terms of **speech act realization** (the aforementioned function-to-form mapping) has been the *Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project* (CCSARP) by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989). It comprised the eight languages or varieties Australian English, American English, British English, Canadian French, Danish, German, Hebrew, and Russian. The project investigated the two speech acts ‘requests’ and ‘apologies’ and pursued, roughly speaking, goals on three levels. The first level was the situational variability – how different social constraints influenced the speakers’ patterns of realization in each of the languages. The eight different social situations used for requests vary in terms of dominance and social distance, e.g. a policeman asks a driver to move her car – the speaker is clearly in the more dominant position by virtue of his occupation and the social distance is high as the interlocutors do not know each other. In another situation, a student asks his roommate to clean up the kitchen. Here the interlocutors are rather close and there is no one-sided dominance in the relationship. The second level was the cross-cultural variability – how the speakers of the eight given different languages would act under the same social constraints, e.g. in the policeman-scenario. On a third level, the focus was rather on interlanguage pragmatics, as the study compared behaviour of native and non-native speakers (e.g. learners of English as a foreign language) under the same social constraints.

In the following, I will summarize the chapters from *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies* (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989) which are most relevant for my work. The question of methodology and especially of data collection will be addressed separately in detail in Chapter 3.1.1.

In Chapter 1 of their book, Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989a) introduce the project and the ideas behind it in general. One of their major aims is to engage in the discussions in cross-cultural pragmatics, e.g. concerning the notion of *indirectness* from an empirical perspective. Until this point, researchers like Searle (1975) or Sperber/Wilson (1986) kept the debate on a theoretical level. Searle favours the idea of *conventionality* in indirectness. This conventionality mainly relies on the speaker's and hearer's mutually shared background information (both linguistic and nonlinguistic). Sperber/Wilson, in contrast, focus on *relevance* as the most important factor. Their principle of relevance says that every act of ostensive communication provides the most relevant stimulus that the speaker thinks is necessary to communicate his ideas to the addressee. Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper also give reasons for their specific choice of speech acts (namely requests and apologies), as both constitute face-threatening acts and consequently allow for a multitude of linguistic forms as realizations to cope with the social intricacies. These reasons are still valid today and also motivate my research project on directives as I mentioned in Chapter 0. In the following, the authors describe their methodology using discourse completion tests and the process of data analysis. They close by stressing once more the relevance of studies approaching questions of cross-cultural pragmatics empirically.

In Chapter 2, Blum-Kulka (1989) focuses on conventionality in indirectness. According to Searle (1975), a speech act is indirect if the speaker's utterance meaning and sentence meaning differ. Blum-Kulka classifies three levels of directness, namely direct (e.g. *Clean up the kitchen.*), conventionally indirect (e.g. *Would you help me clean up the kitchen?*) and nonconventional indirect (e.g. *You've left the kitchen in a mess.*). She claims that especially the category of conventional indirectness has universal character across languages. Conventional indirect utterances are characterized by their pragmatic duality, as they allow for both a literal and a conventional interpretation. On the literal level, strategies can appeal to the hearer's ability (*Can you do X?*) or the hearer's willingness (*Would you do X?*). Furthermore, they can predict the hearer's future action (*You will do X.*) and questioning the reason for not doing something (*Why don't you do X?*), though these strategies may vary from culture to culture. According to Blum-Kulka, the strategies vary in two aspects, namely the conventionality of form and the illocutionary transparency.

In Chapter 3, Weizman (1989) focuses on a different level of directness, namely requestive hints that are indirect but nonconventional. The main potential of hints is that

they give both the speaker and the hearer a possibility to opt out, i.e. the speaker may deny having made a request and the hearer may claim not to have understood it as such. Weizman describes the need to negotiate meaning and the possible range in illocutionary opacity from being completely opaque (referring to related components) to relatively transparent (referring to the requested act). Unlike conventionally indirect requests, hints do not correlate with politeness. The main reason for using hints at all is, according to Weizman, their high deniability potential.

In Chapter 4, House (1989) investigates the functions of *please* and *bitte* as means of expressing politeness in English and German. The initial assumption is that *please* and *bitte* are used exclusively in requestive contexts, and the paper looks for the conditions of use. The use seems to depend on the request strategy, e.g. hints are never used with *please/bitte*. It also depends on the circumstances: especially 'standard situations' with a high obligation to comply with the request, a low degree of difficulty in performing it and a strong right of the speaker to pose the request favour the use of *please/bitte*. In the conclusion, House suggests describing *please* and *bitte* rather as requestive markers than as markers of politeness.

In Chapter 5, Blum-Kulka and House (1989) collaborate in describing cross-cultural and situational variation in requesting behaviour. There are some strong cross-cultural differences in directness findings: speakers of Argentinian Spanish and Hebrew were found to be most direct, whereas speakers of Australian English used the least direct forms. Speakers of German and Canadian French were somewhere in the middle of the continuum. Yet Blum-Kulka and House stress that all languages make use of all levels of directness, so the phenomenon is to be understood rather gradual than categorical – the differences arise in the frequency of forms depending on the contextual variables. In some contexts, the differences were also more pronounced than in others.

In Chapter 7, Wolfson, Marmor and Jones (1989) reflect on general problems of comparing speech acts across cultures. They fundamentally challenge the working assumption of the CCSARP that speech acts like requests and apologies can be 'translated' from one language into the other. They focus mainly on apologies, where it is unclear whether a situation that elicits an apology in one language will really do so in the other.

One of the authors of the CCSARP and the eminent scholar for the **language pair English-German** in the field of contrastive or rather cross-cultural pragmatics throughout the

1980s and 1990s is Juliane House. In several publications (1981, 1986, 1989, 1996, 1998), she continually expands and refined her findings. She describes the following five dimensions as a consistent pattern of cross-cultural differences between German and English. It goes without saying that the results represent general tendencies rather than absolute rules for individual instances of language use:

Table 1. Cross-cultural differences between German and English

German		English
Directness	↔	Indirectness
Orientation towards Self	↔	Orientation towards Other
Orientation towards Content	↔	Orientation towards Addressees
Explicitness	↔	Implicitness
Ad-Hoc Formulation	↔	Verbal Routines

(House, 1996: 347)

The table can be summarized like this: German speakers typically tend to interact more directly, show an orientation towards themselves and the content, are explicit about their messages and use rather creative ad-hoc formulations. English speakers, in contrast, tend to interact rather indirectly, have an orientation towards the interlocutor, express their messages rather implicitly and use prefabricated expressions, so-called verbal routines.

Rightly, it may be questioned when and why contrastive pragmatics became **cross-cultural pragmatics**. The main idea is that comparing speech acts or other communicative acts between two languages is more than just substituting words, phrases, idiomatic expressions and sentences in one language with equivalent words, phrases, idiomatic expressions and sentences from the other language. We are dealing with different systems of communication and different cultures of communication. This neo-Whorfian point of view is represented best by Wierzbicka: “In different countries, people may speak in different ways – not only because they use different linguistic codes, but also because their ways of using the codes are different.” (1991: 67) She wishes to cast doubt on the assumptions by Searle and others that “the ways of speaking characteristic of mainstream white American English represent ‘the normal human ways of speaking’” (1991: 67) are self-centered but not reflecting the diversity in the world’s cultures and languages. Trosborg sums up the change as follows: “With a growing concern with the influence of culture on the realization of speech acts, contrastive pragmatics has developed into the particular field of cross-cultural pragmatics concerned with contrasting pragmatics across cultural communities.” (1995: 40)

Consequently, every analysis should take into consideration both etic and emic perspectives in the Pikean sense (Pike: 1967). The former investigates the different forms a culture uses. The latter, in contrast, is interested in the functions of these forms within the cultural frame.

The following two studies have had less impact on the research tradition of cross-cultural pragmatics, but their use of and the interest in translations is remarkable: Both Kussmaul (1990) and Schreiber (2004) investigate the speech act realizations in instruction manuals (a rather restricted text type), comparing original instruction manuals and translations into other languages. Especially Schreiber stresses the general benefits of investigating translations for illustrating the differences between source language and target language (2004: 55). The discussions in the field of **translation studies** are less relevant for my study, as I use translations as a data source, but the primary focus of my study is not on the translations as such or the process of translation. Instead, I am only interested in the product that stands at the end of translation process. The discussion about equivalence is for my study rather a question of methodology. In my study, translations are merely understood as a given that contains certain implications for the scope of my results. Nevertheless, I regard both the original and the translation as a primary source.

The first part of Kraft/Geluykens (2007) provides interesting theoretical perspectives on cross-cultural pragmatics, especially the chapter by Geluykens on methodology (2007). He criticizes that “*data collection* and data elicitation techniques in CCP have not been sufficiently varied” (2007: 22). Yet the paper by Breuer and Geluykens (2007) in the same volume relies on the use of discourse completion tasks just like the CCSARP. As mentioned before, I will address questions of methodology in more detail in Chapter 3.1.

In recent years, contrastive linguistics has experienced a renewed interest which can be seen by the installment of the journal *Languages in Contrast* by Benjamins in 1999. This journal contains also articles in the field of cross-cultural pragmatics and even on speech act realization, e.g. the article on challenges by Fetzer (2009).

However, one of the most recent bigger publications in the field of contrastive linguistics concerning the language pair English-German by König/Gast only “concentrates on structural aspects of comparison. Issues of ‘cross-cultural pragmatics’ (...) are not taken into account” (2009: 5). It is this gap which my research tries to add insights to.

2 Directivity

My project focusses on the realization of one particular speech act. My perspective is a function-to-form mapping. In order to investigate the possible forms for the function in question, I first need to define which function I am looking at or rather for. In the following, an outline of previous theoretical research will be given that concentrates on the speech act “directive” by Searle (1969). Various other models and terms can be found in the literature (Schiffer 1972, Wunderlich 1976, Bach/Harnish 1979, Sperber/Wilson 1986, and Liedtke 1998). After this outline, I will present a definition of the directive speech acts which I consider in my investigation.

2.1 Directive Speech Acts according to Searle

The term directive speech acts was first used by Searle. Searle and Vanderveken define directive illocutionary force as follows:

“Its only propositional content condition is that the propositional content represents a future course of action of the hearer. Its sole preparatory condition is that the hearer be able to carry out the course of action represented in the propositional content and its sole psychological state is desire.” (1985: 60f)

According to their definition, a directive speech act is every utterance that is used to get a hearer to perform a certain action. Its felicity conditions are the preparatory condition of the hearer’s ability to carry out that action and the sincerity condition of the speaker’s honest wanting the hearer to carry out the action (cf. Chapter 3.3.2). In the initial model (1969), Searle described “its characteristic linguistic form [as] (...) the complete sentence.” (Sbisà, 2009: 233). This restriction narrowed directives down to only a limited set of possible utterances. With the introduction of indirect speech acts, this view could no longer be held up. By now we “view utterances as acts. An utterance is the production (oral or in writing) of a token of a linguistic structure which may or may not correspond to a complete sentence.” (Sbisà, 2009: 231) My data will confirm the necessity to widen the perspective and to not look at complete sentences exclusively (cf. Chapter 10). But these considerations rather concern the formal realization and not so much the functional boundaries of directives.

So once again: what are directive speech acts? Which utterances count as directive? And where are the boundaries of this group? According to Searle, the group of directives includes requests for action like *Can you pass the salt?* as well as questions that demand an

answer like the following example: *How old are you?* Bublitz finds it necessary to emphasize that the second type is also part of the group of directive speech acts as he writes:

„Searle zählt zu diesem Typ auch Sprechhandlungen, die in anderen Modellen als erotematische (d.h. fragende) Handlungen bzw. Interrogativa klassifiziert werden, wie ASKING WHETHER, QUESTIONING, INTERROGATING, EXAMINING, da er sie als Aufforderung versteht, eine ergänzende sprachliche Handlung zu vollziehen, also eine Antwort zu geben.“ (Bublitz, ²2009: 119)

Bublitz stresses that questions are speech acts that in Searle's model fall into the category of directive speech acts. This may be due to two factors: on the one hand, this inclusion was not fully understood by Searle's audience. On the other side, there are quite a few alternative models that make a point of differentiating between utterances like *Can you pass the salt?* and *How old are you?* functionally. Chapter 2.2 retraces parts of this discussion.

2.2 Alternative theoretical models

In this chapter I will follow the second interpretation of Bublitz's explanation and take some alternative theoretical models of speech act classification into account, mainly that of Schiffer (1972), Wunderlich (1976), Bach/Harnish (1979) Sperber/Wilson (1986), and Liedtke (1998). Although they take completely different approaches towards the matter of directive speech acts in Searle's sense, they have at least one thing in common. They separate Searle's directives into at least two subgroups. The two examples I mentioned above, namely *Can you pass the salt?* and *How old are you?*, would fall into two different subgroups in each of these alternative models. The latter example is the request for information by means of a verbal response, the former is a request for a non-verbal action. I am aware that this differentiation of actions into verbal and non-verbal is like turning back the clock to pre-Austin times. The elimination of this distinction is one of the most basic assumptions of pragmatics as seen in the title of Austin's book "How to Do Things with Words" (1962). The assumption is that by saying things we perform actions. So for directive speech acts it should not matter whether the re-action is verbal or non-verbal. But all the alternative classifications make a point of differentiating one from the other.

Schiffer's model of speech act types (1972) distinguishes two general classes, which he calls "the assertive class" (1972: 95) and "the imperative class" (1972: 95). His

terminology here may be misleading, but it is obvious that his imperative class is nothing but Searle's directives:

"A kind of illocutionary act *I* is an ! kind of illocutionary act if and only if, for any *S* and any *x*, *S* performed any act of kind *I* in uttering *x* only if, for some *A* and some ψ , *S* meant that *A* was to ψ by uttering *x*. Ordering, requesting, entreating, and asking are examples of ! kinds of illocutionary acts." (1972: 95)

But he does not stop there. He goes on to divide this general 'imperative' class into three subclasses. The most important subgroup seem to be requests for action: "Almost every ! kind of illocutionary act is a ρ -identifiable kind of illocutionary act: advising, commanding, entreating, ordering, requesting, prescribing, and telling to, to name but a few of the members of this class." (1972: 99) Requests for information fall into a second subgroup in his model: "The only examples of ψ -and- ρ -identifiable kinds of illocutionary acts that I have been able to think of are of the interrogative sort, i.e., such speech acts as asking (whether, when, etc.), interrogating, and questioning. Perhaps this is why there is an interrogative mood." (1972: 99) The third theoretical subclass remains empty in Schiffer's model ("I can think of no verb which *names* a ψ -identifiable kind of illocutionary act." (98)) and is therefore not relevant for my purpose. What is relevant for my study is that Schiffer's model distinguishes clearly between requests for action and requests for information.

Wunderlich (1976) enters the discussion from a different angle as he investigates the nature of questions. He briefly states:

"Fragen bilden einen eigenen Typ von Sprechakten. In vielen Fällen können Fragen zwar als spezielle Aufforderungen verstanden werden (nämlich als Aufforderungen, eine Antwort zu geben), jedoch trägt diese Auffassung nichts dazu bei, die Natur der Frage zu klären, weil das Konzept des Antwortgebens nach wie vor auf das Konzept der Frage verweist." (1976: 191)

So he agrees that questions carry some directive force, but they form a class *sui generis* to him. Although he does not investigate functions but rather forms, he supports my point here: Questions are often not regarded as directives, but as a distinct functional class by their own right. The argument that questions have a formal counterpart in interrogatives, however, is not proof in itself yet.

Bach/Harnish (1979) take up Searle's notion of directive, as it "is both to the point and conveniently vague, being broad enough to cover the six kinds of acts that belong in this category." (1979: 47) When we look at their six subtypes, however, it becomes obvious that

they too differentiate between verbal and non-verbal responses. Their six subgroups are *requestives*, *questions*, *requirements*, *prohibitives*, *permissives*, and *advisories*. In the description of the subgroups of *requestives*, *requirements* and *prohibitives* they continuously use the wording “*H* (not) do *A*” (1979: 47). For the description of *permissives* and *advisories*, no verb is used at all: “entitles *H* to *A*” (1979: 47) or “reason for *H* to *A*” (1979: 48). In their subgroup of *questions*, however, they strongly deviate from these general patterns and use the following wording instead: “*H* tells *S* whether or not *P*” (1979: 47) So they too make a difference between verbal responses (*tell*) and non verbal responses (*do*). They conclude that “*Questions* are special cases of requests, special in that what is requested is that the hearer provide the speaker with certain information.” (1979: 48)

Sperber/Wilson (1986) use the distinction of *telling to* and *asking whether* – “*telling to* is simply a general, action-requesting type of directive, and *asking whether* is simply a general, information-requesting type of directive” (1986: 246). They regard this classification as a general tendency: “Speech-act theorists tend to analyse interrogative utterances as a special sub-type of directive speech act: specifically, as requests for information (...).” (1986: 251)

Liedtke (1998) introduces two subsets of Searle’s directives very similar to the distinction made by Sperber/Wilson:

„Um Namen für die unterschiedlichen Typen von PETITIVA zur Verfügung zu haben, die den anderen Bezeichnungen entsprechen, seien Aufforderungen mit dem Searleschen Begriff des DIREKTIVS belegt und Fragehandlungen mit dem des QUAESITIVS. Wir haben dann zwei Typen von PETITIVA, nämlich DIREKTIVA und QUAESITIVA.“ (168)

Liedtke uses the term *Petitiva* for the whole group of Searle’s directives and reserves the term *Direktiva* exclusively for requests for action. His classification ends with six types of speech acts, namely *Deklarationen*, *Expressive*, *Assertive*, *Kommissiva*, *Direktiva* and *Quaesitiva*. So the only terminological change in comparison to Searle is taking requests for information (=Fragehandlungen) away from the group of directives and naming them *Quaesitiva*.

Interestingly enough, the list of different speech acts Searle/Vanderveken (1985) provide to illustrate the type of directive speech act does not contain acts that explicitly aim for verbal responses like *question* or *interrogate*. “Some English directives are: ‘request’, ‘ask’, ‘order’, ‘command’, ‘solicit’, ‘incite’, ‘invite’, ‘beg’, ‘suggest’, ‘advise’, ‘recommend’, ‘supplicate’, ‘entreat’, and ‘pray’.” (1985: 39) In a later chapter, they discuss illocutionary

verbs: “The directives we will analyze are: *direct, request, ask, urge, tell, require, demand, command, order, forbid, prohibit, enjoin, permit, suggest, insist, warn, advise, recommend, beg, supplicate, entreat, beseech, implore, and pray.*” (1985: 198) The search for verbs like *to question* or *to interrogate* that would demand a verbal response is in vain. So it seems Searle himself did not regard questions as a central type of directive speech acts.

In an earlier publication, Searle himself treats questions as an illocutionary type by its own right (cf. table on page 1969: 66f). He then limits the validity of this first classification and states that

“certain kinds of illocutionary acts are really special cases of other kinds; thus asking questions is really a special case of requesting, viz., requesting information (real question) or requesting that the hearer display knowledge (exam question). This explains our intuition that an utterance of the request form, ‘Tell me the name of the first president of the United States’, is equivalent in force to an utterance of the question form, ‘What’s the name of the first President of the United States?’ It also partly explains why the verb ‘ask’ covers both requests and questions, e.g., ‘He asked me to do it’ (request), and ‘He asked me why’ (question).” (1969: 69)

Although he allots directive force to questions and therefore includes them in the larger class of directives, he clearly distinguishes between requests and questions with actual examples and so will I.

These different theoretical approaches of classifying speech acts (or similar concepts) into certain types struggle to integrate requests for action and questions for information into one large category. Although Searle provides clear rules for each category and thereby also clear category boundaries, the concept remains somewhat fuzzy. In their list of speech act verbs, Searle/Vanderveken only include verbs that request an action on the side of the hearer – apparently these verbs are the best examples to illustrate the class of directives. Requests for action seem to form a prototypical core of the directive class, whereas requests for information seem to be rather peripheral examples of this class.

2.3 Treatment of directives in empirical research and corpus-based grammars

My assumption that requests for information are rather peripheral examples in the class of directives is also supported by empirical studies, among them the work of Blum-Kulka et.al – when they constructed the discourse completion tests (DCTs) for their research, they created seven situations where requests for action were necessary:

- S1 A student asks his roommate to clean up the kitchen the latter had left in a mess the night before. (...)
- S3 A young woman wants to get rid of a man pestering her on the street. (...)
- S5 A student asks another student to lend her some lecture notes. (...)
- S7 A student asks people living on the same street for a ride home. (...)
- S11 A policeman asks a driver to move her car. (...)
- S13 A student asks a teacher for an extension on a seminar paper. (...)
- S15 A university professor asks a student to give his lecture a week earlier than scheduled. (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 14f)

In only one situation (S9 An applicant calls for information on a job advertised in a paper.) a request for information was necessary (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 14f). Requests for action make up the dominant aspect of the work on requests in their project as well.

I should also take into account how grammars illustrate the connection between clause types and their functions in discourse as it is my major aim to investigate the relationship between speech acts and their syntactical forms. Quirk et al. name four classes of discourse functions which are associated with the four sentence types: STATEMENTS, QUESTIONS, DIRECTIVES, and EXCLAMATIONS (1985: 803f). Huddleston/Pullum use five clause types and connect each type with a characteristic use. These characteristic uses are statement, closed question, open question, exclamatory statement, and directive (2002: 853). So the grammars also make a clear point of distinguishing between questions on the one side and directives on the other.

2.4 Directives in a dialogical perspective

My study does not rely on monological data as Searle had in mind. Instead I will be working with utterances from dramatic discourse, so I would like to add a perspective from discourse analysis regarding the decision not to treat questions like *How old are you?* as directives.

A central element in discourse analysis are adjacency pairs. Any question is the first part of an adjacency pair and the answer to this question is the second part of the adjacency pair. So does that mean that every first part of an adjacency pair is a directive utterance? Strictly speaking, it is, as it demands a re-action on the side of the hearer. If you greet someone with *Good morning!*, you expect and want them to greet you in return. If people do not greet you back, you might be slightly annoyed – which just goes to show your expectation they do. So greeting someone would count – in the strictest sense – as a

directive, too. We can still take this further by looking at the functions of discourse elements like filled pauses: one of the functions of utterances like *erm* or *uh* certainly is to show the interlocutor that one wishes to hold the floor. So these elements could be regarded as directives asking the hearer to remain silent and continue to listen. On the other hand, the falling tone at the end of a speaker's utterance may actively encourage the hearer to add his or her own contribution to a topic without the speaker's explicit request to do so. Hence taking Searle's definitions seriously would leave us with a sheer endless group of directives. Yet examples like *erm* and *uh* were most certainly not what Searle had in mind when he defined directive speech acts. Under a broad definition, everything becomes directive and if everything becomes directive, then it is no longer a useful category. As a consequence and in order to be able to work with a functional group of reasonable size, I will limit the cases I am looking at to a subgroup within the group of directives in Searle's sense.

2.5 Directives in my analysis

After these different perspectives on directives as a functional category and especially the problem of the boundaries of this category, I shall now give a definition how I use this category. I want to emphasize at this stage that my method of data collection (Chapter 3.1) forces me to these detailed theoretical considerations. Unlike the authors of the CCSARP, who were free to construct their DCTs, I have to deal with cases that are not always clear cut.

In my analysis, I will only look at the prototypical core of directives, at requests for action. I will investigate utterances that express the speaker's wish that the hearer carry out an action that goes beyond a verbal response to a question.

The practical implications of my definition and its relevance for constructing the corpus will be discussed in detail in Chapter 3.3.

3. Methodological Issues

3.1 Data collection

3.1.1 Data Collection in CCP so far

In previous research in Cross Cultural Pragmatics, most data was collected through so-called Discourse Completion Tasks (DCTs), where participants were given a specific situation and asked to produce (in most cases: to write down) a certain speech act that was required in this situation. The most influential project so far, the CCSARP project, describes this method as follows: “The test is designed to elicit the realization of specific speech acts; each item consists of a brief description of the situation and a scripted dialogue from which one turn has been omitted. Respondents are asked to fill in the missing turn, thereby providing the speech act aimed at.” (Blum-Kulka et.al., 1989: 273)

The author’s description already shows certain methodological problems: participants were asked for their *explicit* responses. We know that self-disclosures such as these are not fully reliable (e.g. Wolfson/Marmor/Jones, 1989: 181) – informants tend to say one thing about their own linguistic behavior and do the other. Therefore it would be methodologically sounder to elicit data (more) *implicitly* – or at least without an explicit focus on a specific task at hand. The aim would be to collect data in such a way that does not contain the informants’ biased self-disclosures.

The experimental setting quite likely influences the results in general – the observer’s paradox as described by William Labov in the context of sociolinguistics. He states that “the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain this data by systematic observation.” (1972:209) So it would be advisable for further research to avoid experimental settings altogether and to collect data in a completely different way where the researcher has no influence on informants as in an experimental setting. Experiments are very practical for research as they allow for effective data collection and variable control, but will always remain an experimental setting. Geluykens describes the dilemma like this:

“Researches tend to go for methods that enable them to gather data in the most economical and systematic manner possible. However, there is a growing awareness that other types of data need, at the very least, supplement such controlled data, if one wants to make claims about actual language in discourse.” (2007: 23)

Some authors have suggested collecting data from TV programmes, especially recent formats of reality TV. Using these programmes as the basis for a corpus would certainly have

its advantages over experimental settings. Still, the people in these shows are to some extent aware that they are being monitored, and so we have to keep in mind that this data might again be influenced by the sheer presence of an observer – even if it is ‘only’ a camera.

The question of the medium must also be addressed. The CCSARP focuses on spoken language, yet the subjects were asked to write down their answers. The respondents *wrote* down what they thought they would say in this situation and they wrote it down in complete sentences – just as they were all trained to do by their school education. Actual discourse, however, contains ellipses, break-offs and many more characteristics of spoken language. So if we want to investigate language as we use it – first and foremost spoken – we should not rely on what people write that they would say. The ideal here would be to have a look at real interaction.

The problem of overly syntactic completeness mentioned above is maybe also due to the fact that in the DCTs used in the CCSARP, the eight examples for requests were always the initial part of sequences. As a logical consequence, they had to contain a lot of contextual information. Fragmentary utterances depending on a previously established context were therefore underrepresented in the data. But it is not only the lack of verbal context that is problematic. The communicative situation portrayed in general is quite contextless, so there is nearly no social context for the producers of speech acts. Participants in CCSARP were given just enough context to know what was expected of them. This may be adequate for some of the situations investigated, especially those where characters in the experiment did not know each other (a policeman and stranger on the street). But is it possible to create a real context for closer relationships (like that of flat mates, or the lecturer-student relationship) with just a few baseline instructions? That is very doubtful. If we want to get closer to real interaction within more intimate relationships, more contextual information and more context than just an instruction and an (already known) reaction would be useful. Consequently I will be using data with more contextual information, provided both by previous sequences, i.e. the verbal context, and by a general knowledge of the situation, i.e. the social context. As an effect the percentage of fragmentary utterances as realizations for the speech acts I am looking at should definitely be higher.

The production of the elicited data in CCSARP was also not very spontaneous, but the participants had time to think about and write down their answers. Surely, they also thought

about the task and the expectations at hand. So I presume that the given answers were biased by the factor of social desirability – the respondents gave answers that they thought would be the ‘correct’ answers. So quite likely the results are biased towards the polite end of the (im)politeness scale. The participants did not only try to save face and preserve a positive self-image as participants of the given communicative situation but also in the situation where they knew researchers would look at their answers. To avoid this bias of the informants, it would be desirable to look at the production of these speech acts without this being the informants’ centre of attention.

Geluykens sums up the problems like this: The ways of collecting data “have not been sufficiently varied. Production questionnaires (also labeled Discourse Completion Tasks, or DCTs) are still regarded as the norm, due to the impact of the CCSARP project, and authentic interaction is not receiving sufficient attention.” (2007: 22)

I regard my thesis partly as a response to this awareness that data collection in CCP needs more variation. I am not using data collected in an experimental setting in order to avoid influencing informants. Instead I will use dramatic texts and their translation as the source for my investigation.

3.1.2 Dramatic texts as data source

The first question must be: why did I choose this specific text type? Why did I choose dramatic texts as the data base for my analysis?

My foremost intention was to avoid the problem of influencing the data in the process of data collection. The texts as such are stable and are surely not altered by the fact that I use them to investigate speech acts that are used in these texts. The authors of the plays (and later the translators) may have many things in mind when they penned the plays and the utterances are certainly constructed to some extent – but one thing we can be sure about is that they certainly did not pay special attention to the topic under investigation here, namely directive speech acts. So in this respect my data will quite likely be more authentic than data from experiments where participants are trained to produce a specific speech act.

Using dramatic texts also controls the problem of social desirability to some extent, for as Pfister notes „eine dramatische Replik hat nicht nur zwei Adressaten [Dialogteilnehmer und Publikum], sondern auch zwei Aussagesubjekte – als fiktives

Aussagesubjekt die dramatische Figur und als reales Aussagesubjekt den Autor.“ (2001: 149)

That is to say dramatic texts contain two levels of communication. I am only looking at the fictional communication within the plays. This distinction or rather separation of the author and the characters in a play makes it much more likely that impolite utterances will be part of the corpus as well. A writer can always distance him- or herself from what he or she lets characters say in a play unlike a participant in a DCT who is asked for his or her own projected linguistic behaviour. The author of a dramatic text can ‘hide’ behind his characters and let them say things that informants in CDTs, for example, would probably refrain from saying. So the spectrum of utterances should be much wider than in traditional ways of data collection.

These dramatic texts also provide more context for the utterances and their investigated functions. The speech acts I will be looking at are of a much broader variety both in terms of topics and in terms of context. The topics are virtually unlimited in plays. The social context that characters in a play are in is much more authentic than the bits and pieces of context in DCT-instructions. Characters in a play that know each other well may refer to shared background knowledge – something participants in DCTs cannot. There is also more variation in the area of the verbal context. Directives may appear as initial parts in communication sequences like in DCTs, but also as non-initial parts, e.g. as responses to alternative questions.

There is even one more striking advantage of dramatic text over DCTs. The dialogue in DCTs in the CCSARP was always a one-on-one exchange. Plays, again, allow for more variation. Pfister describes the difference between a dialogue with two participants and a dialogue with more than two as follows:

„Der Unterschied zwischen einem Dialog mit zwei und einem mit mehr als zwei Dialogsprechern geht ja nicht einfach in der quantitativen Differenz auf, sondern bedeutet einen qualitativen Sprung; im Mehrgespräch sind Relationen möglich, die das Zwiegespräch nicht kennt (...). Von daher sind Mehrgespräche potentiell semantisch komplexer als Zwiegespräche (...).“ (2001: 197)

I would like to add that these conversations are not only semantically but also pragmatically more complex than duologues. Plays contain verbal exchanges with more than two participants. This adds a new quality to my study that former research carried out by DCTs lacked. The following example from *Abigail's Party* illustrates the relation that a speaker is ostensibly talking to someone, her neighbour Angela, while actually she expresses

the wish that her husband – who is also listening – should involve her in the process of buying a car.

But I'm his wife, Ang, and I reckon I should have a little say in the choosing of a car. (Leigh, 1979: 8)

The next example illustrates another aspect of this versatility. Within a single turn, several people can be addressed either one after another or all at the same time. The example demonstrates the former case. The speaker, Beverly, gives her neighbour Susan some advice on how to educate her teenage daughter and immediately asks the other participant of the conversation, Angela, for support.

Mind you, I reckon you're better to let her go out with as many blokes as she wants to at that age rather than sticking to the one. Don't you agree with me, Ang? (Leigh, 1979: 15)

A nice side effect of working with dramatic texts is that the data is easily accessible. It is possible to collect data by buying and reading a book, looking for the occurrence of certain communicative instances. There is no need to find enough informants for each language. Instead I accessed data that was readily available. Especially as my dissertation is a one-man project, the allocation my limited resources was a crucial issue.

Of course, of all written texts, dramatic dialogue is the closest to spoken language as it is in the truest sense written-to-be-spoken. Therefore, it allows conclusions to be drawn with regard to speech better than other written texts. Furthermore, it is much richer in dialogue than prose and therefore also richer in speech acts, as Pfister points out:

Eine Figur erteilt einen Befehl, verrät ein Geheimnis, stößt eine Drohung aus, gibt ein Versprechen, stimmt eine andere Figur um usw. – in jedem dieser und ähnlicher Sprechakte vollzieht sie sprechend eine Handlung, durch die die Situation und damit die Relation der Figuren untereinander intentional verändert wird. Solch sprechendes Handeln, solch aktionales Sprechen, findet sich in dramatischen Texten sehr häufig (...). (2001: 169)

It also seems that I am not the first linguist to work with dramatic texts as data base, as Schneider points out: “**dramatic dialogue** has been used by discourse analysts working with fictional material. The preference of drama over prose can be explained by the fact that interactional behaviour can be better observed in drama data.” (1988: 114 – bold print in the original)

Now one might ask why I would choose a text form as ‘old fashioned’ as dramatic plays and not forms closer to the cultural mainstream we live in, e.g. screenplays of TV

productions or movies – or even better, the actual ‘performance’ of these screenplays in the final TV production or movie? Other authors have rightly investigated the language of television, e.g. Quaglio (2009) or Bednarek (2010). The answer depends strongly on the process of translation involved because my study is not a monolingual one but essentially contrastive. When translating dramatic texts, translators are relatively free in their choice of forms in the target language. The synchronizations of TV productions and movies, however, depend strongly on the movement of the speaker’s lips (cf. Manhart in: Snell-Hornby, 1998: 265), so the choice of forms is very limited. The other problem with TV shows or movies would have been, again, the availability. While German synchronizations of English films and TV programmes are widely available, this is much less the case the other way around. If German films or TV productions find an English-speaking audience, they are mostly broadcast with subtitles only.¹

I also thought about using theatrical performances as a data source. Yet I regard each performance of a play as ‘text’ by its own right. As such, the status as equivalent to a performance in another language can be postulated with much less impetus than with the written texts where we can guarantee that the one is based directly on the other. And as each performance is a text by its own right, it would be another problem to decide which specific performance. Furthermore, using performances of the plays would again reduce the accessibility.

The obvious problem with plays is, of course, that they are texts written by an author with a certain artistic interest. Some researchers might therefore consider dramatic text as unsuitable as data for questions of pragmatic analysis. I regard plays as an approximation towards spoken interaction. They are written to be spoken on stage, so they are at least close to spoken discourse. The data collected by DCTs is also written but the intended purpose was for analysis and not for speaking. Therefore I dare say that what actors are supposed to utter on a stage actually shows more qualities of spoken language than the results of DCTs.

Using scripted dialogue like plays has also been suggested before despite its obvious drawbacks:

“scripted dialogue might still have its uses. (...) film dialogue could be a valuable tool (...). Similar arguments could be developed for other ‘literary’ genres such as plays

¹ This is not meant as a critique of English-speaking audiences. The idiosyncratically German practice of dubbing stands in contrast to the international standard of subtitles.

and TV soaps. All these genres, incidentally, have the additional advantage that they contain non-verbal information (which is, of course, also scripted in varying degrees). However, one must keep in mind that this type of data does not constitute authentic interaction by any stretch of imagination.” (Geluyskens, 2007: 42)

What Geluyskens describes here as a theoretical possibility has already been implemented by others in one way or the other (Rey: 2001; Quaglio: 2009).

Rey calls popular media in general “fertile ground” (2001: 138) for research. He goes on to say that “the media often reflect social and cultural attitudes. While the language used on television is obviously not the same as unscripted language, it does represent the language scriptwriters imagine that real women and men produce.” (2001: 138)

This claim also holds for dramatic writing. The language in plays certainly represents the language writers imagine that real people produce. As I noted above, I regard the language used in dramatic texts as an approximation to what ‘real’ spoken interaction is like and I do not claim that the two are actually the same. It is one of many possible angles from which we can approach language in its use.

3.1.3 Translations as data source

I discussed the usability of dramatic texts in pragmatic analysis above; but because my focus lies on cross cultural pragmatics, it is necessary to investigate at least two languages simultaneously. The texts under scrutiny should be comparable to say the least, in the best case the texts are equivalent in function. There are basically two ways of obtaining data like this: we can either use parallel texts or we can use translations. My study is based on translation.

So the question must be: why do I use texts that are merely translations? Of course, the question already implies certain judgements about the quality of my data. First of all, I do not rely on translation exclusively. As my texts originate from both English and German, translation is not the only relevant aspect. My corpus can be regarded as a parallel corpus that contains two plays in German and two in English. It also contains translated texts that again could be considered a parallel corpus. Now these translations can each be matched directly to the originals in the other language. Table 2 illustrates the relationship of original and translation for the texts that I used.

My whole point is: my corpus is both a translation corpus AND a parallel corpus, so I do not ‘only’ use translations. Yet in my further analysis, I focus mainly on the use as a

translation corpus. The reason why I do so is because I want to compare utterances in exactly the same communicative contexts. From a statistical point of view, the context is the variable that can be controlled and it is the variable that I try to keep constant so I do not compare apples and oranges when I look at the utterances in German and English.

Table 2. Relationship between source text and translated text

	German	English
Original	Brecht & Dürrenmatt	Leigh & Osborne
Translation	Leigh & Osborne	Brecht & Dürrenmatt

Translations are readily available for dramatic texts as I use them, which is one of the reasons why I chose this genre in the first place. I chose dramatic texts in their written version for two reasons: the first and rather mundane was that a written version was already on hand and there was no need for a transcript of the spoken text. The other and more important reason was that translations in dubbed films are much more restricted in their choice of forms as the lip movements have to fit the utterances. Manhart describes this process like this:

„Auf der Grundlage der Rohübersetzung erstellt er [der Synchronregisseur] den Synchrondialog. Hierbei versucht er, auffällige Lippenbewegungen bei Vokalbildungen sowie Gestik und Mimik durch den Dialog abzudecken oder – wie es im Fachjargon heißt – den Darstellern den Text ‚auf die Lippen zu schreiben‘.“ (1998: 265)

In contrast to the process described by Manhart, the translations of plays do not suffer from this aesthetic restriction.

When translations are used as a data source for pragmatic analysis, two problems have to be faced: the problem of equivalence and the problem of translationese. The concept equivalence has been heavily discussed for decades in translation studies and some researchers even go as far as calling it an illusion:

“In this study the view is also taken that equivalence is unsuitable as a basic concept in translation theory: the term equivalence, apart from being imprecise and ill-defined (even after a heated debate over twenty years) presents an illusion of symmetry between languages which hardly exists beyond the level of vague approximations and which distorts the basic problems of translation.” (Snell-Hornby, 1988: 22)

I am aware of this general problem of equivalence. For my study, however, I will and must assume that the speech acts uttered by the characters in the English and the German

version of the plays are functionally equivalent, even when they are uttered in different languages, one of which is the product of translation.

The other and in my eyes more severe problem is the problem of translationese. This basically means that “the target language is influenced by the structure of the source language, (...) a well-known phenomenon” (Gellerstram, 1996: 53). To keep this problem under control, I will use translations in both directions. I will also differentiate in my later statistical analysis between examples that were produced in the source language or in the target language. Despite this obvious problem, using translations might also help us for the following reason: Translations across all media and forms are a part of our culture and of our everyday linguistic experience. So it is not only the data in my study that is influenced by translationese, but also our lives. So translations represent the world we live in. Gellerstram describes the situation in his country and draws conclusions accordingly: “Translations form a substantial part of written texts in Sweden today and they are part of the verbal environment of most people. This fact should be reflected in corpus research.” (1996: 53) I dare say that this also holds true for Germany. Many TV-programmes are dubbed and lots of popular books are translations. So when we analyze language, how it is used, we should not discard of translations entirely but accept them as part of our linguistic reality.

Mauranen argues similarly on behalf of translation as a source for contrastive studies when she writes: “Translations should be recognized as the normal part of a natural language that they are.” (2002: 161) She goes on to criticize the view that there may be languages totally free from foreign influences:

“As we all know, languages influence each other in many other ways than through translation. Perhaps the nearest we could get to truly independent languages would be to try to choose two that never have any contact with each other. English would be a disfavoured choice in the contemporary world.” (2002: 165)

In essence, she argues for a neutral view on translations in contrastive analysis and concludes: “[Translation] is a part, not all of a language. Therefore, there will always be a place for comparable corpora in contrastive study.” (2002: 166)

The big alternative to using translations as the basis for analysis would be using parallel texts. They would arguably be the better source, as they are originally created in their language and are therefore free from ‘foreign’ influences. But instead we would have to answer questions of comparability and, come to think of it, equivalence. Do parallel texts share enough content and function? If we look at only a few parallel texts we would face

immense variations. In order to control these variations we would have to expand the corpus enormously. Yet my corpus does not have the statistical power to do this.

In a way, my corpus is a mixture of translations and parallel texts as was suggested by Aijmer/Altenberg/Johanson (1996). I have used two plays from German and English each, which in their original language form mini-version of a parallel-corpus. In addition I use their respective translations into the other language. This way I hope to avoid the most dangerous pitfalls.

3.1.4 Choice of specific texts

Why four plays? The next relevant question is: How many texts should the corpus constitute of? I chose four plays. The most basic idea is that both languages should be equally represented in the corpus in order to counterbalance the effects of translationese. Consequently, I could not only work with a single play but needed an even number of plays. The other effect I wanted to control is the stylistic idiosyncrasy of an individual author, so I needed at least two examples to represent each language.

Having texts from both languages and two authors for each language were my minimal requirements. Beyond that, the general rule is: the more data, the better. Analysing the four plays, however, already turned out to be quite rewarding, as the nearly 1000 examples show.

To effectively control the problem of translationese, I would have needed decidedly more than just 'a few more' texts, which would have been more than my resources allowed for. I believe having four plays to meet minimal requirements and remaining wary of possible problems should be a good and realistic compromise.

Why these plays? The last question is: Why would I, of all available texts, choose exactly these four plays? The first and foremost criterion is a practical one, namely the availability, especially the availability of a translation in the other language². So the texts should neither be too obscure nor too recent. The plays must have a certain prominence and

²To show that the question of availability is not a problem pulled out of thin air, I will indulge in a minor excursion: In the case of *Abigail's Party* by Mike Leigh, the translation was especially hard to come by. The translation by Folke Braband that I use in my corpus is not even available in bookshops or at online retailers, because the publishing company Jussenhoven&Fischer usually only supplies playhouses with copies. I was able to convince Jussenhoven&Fischer to provide me with a copy for which I am very grateful.

success in the first place to be translated so I could only choose from the mainstream as it were.

Apart from that, I tried follow Schneider's (1988) suggestions. Schneider names four basic criteria to determine "if dramatic dialogue is regarded as modeled conversation and used in studies of interactional structure and communicative processes (...)." (1988: 115) First, the plays should not be too old if your goal is to say something about present-day English and present-day German. Schneider puts it like this: "only contemporary drama should be used. I propose to take twentieth century drama, preferably post-World War II. Generally speaking, the principle holds, the newer, the better, since casual language is used increasingly." (1988: 115) The plays I use range from the 1940s to the 1970s with one play from each decade, so they seem to meet Schneider's demands here.

The next suggestion by Schneider is: "plays (...) set in the past, sometimes even in the distant past, should not be taken, as historical language is often imitated. Neither should plays be used that imitate dialects" (1988: 115) There is no denying that Brecht's *Mutter Courage und Ihre Kinder* falls into this undesirable category as it is set in the Thirty Years' War in the 17th century. There is, however, no evidence of the use of historical structures in the characters' language; at the most we find peculiarities in the field of lexis, as historical objects are named accordingly, e.g. the use of *Kugelbüchse* (Brecht, 1999: 100) in German or *musket* (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 108) in the English translation. These lexical peculiarities appear in both the original and the translation, so I do not see them as a problem. The more pressing question is whether we regard the language in *Mutter Courage und Ihre Kinder* as dialect. It is obvious that many characters use a non-standard variety that I would characterize as colloquial. A common feature is the elision of unstressed word-final sounds as e.g. the schwa-sound [ə] denoting the first person singular inflection in verbs: "ich vertrag keine Ungerechtigkeit." (Brecht, 1999: 55) This is a feature typical for colloquial spoken German (cf. Schwitalla, 2011: 38). Regionally, the variety can probably be identified as Southern German. It bears features of Southern German in the fields of lexis and syntax. Examples for such regional lexical items would be *Bankert* (Brecht, 1999: 17) or *Butzen* (Brecht, 1999: 15). The former denotes a bastard, a child born out of wedlock. The latter denotes the core of an apple. Both are marked as *landschaftlich* in the Duden (Scholze-Stubenrecht, 2011), which means they are used regionally; they are not necessarily dialectal forms, though. The following example appears syntactically Southern German to me:

“Bleibst stehn!” (Brecht, 1999: 93) I discuss this example in more detail in the chapter on imperatives as its English translation is an imperative. If I encounter such problems anywhere in my project, I will point them out to make my decisions transparent. In sum, I dare say that the non-standard variety in *Mutter Courage und Ihre Kinder* is a regional, namely Southern German variety but not a dialect. It can be assumed that Schneider had plays in mind along the lines of the *Komödiantenstadel* when he suggested not using plays containing dialects. The plays performed in the *Komödiantenstadel* make excessive use a local – in this case, Bavarian – vernacular and would therefore not be representative sources for the linguistic analysis of the German language. In contrast to that, the slight regional traces in Brecht’s play can be neglected.

The third suggestion that Schneider makes is that “Verse plays are (...) unsuitable, since the restrictions imposed by formal principles impede (near-) natural language.” (1988: 115) The plays I use are in prose and the few stretches in Brecht’s *Mutter Courage und Ihre Kinder* where characters sing – partly in verse form – are not taken into account for the analysis.

As “the Theatre of the Absurd on principle does not intend to portray language use in a realistic way, but rather focuses on defective discourse”, (Schneider, 1988: 116) I agree with Schneider that “absurd drama should at least not be used exclusively.” (ibid.) Due to the low number of texts, I have tried to avoid using absurd drama. Dürrenmatt is sometimes named as being at least influenced by the Theatre of the Absurd. Dürrenmatt himself explicitly distanced himself from the theatre of the absurd (cf. Mingels, 2003: 310). What is important to me is that unlike in plays by e.g. Samuel Beckett we do not encounter a total breakdown of communication in *Die Physiker*.

3.1.5 Data Collection as a General Issue

I would like to emphasize that data collection is a general problem of linguistic analysis. Every way of collecting data has its advantages and its drawbacks and so I fully agree with Geluykens: “there is no such thing as an ‘ideal’ data instrument for doing CCP.” (2007: 43) What is important is a methodological awareness of the limitations of the conclusions’ validity to be drawn from each data set.

I consider my analysis as a contribution to CCP by focusing on one specific data resource: scripted dramatic texts and their translations. Dramatic texts are one possible way

of transporting linguistic information. The results of this study will have to be compared with results drawing on other data sets. Only then will it be possible to evaluate to what extent dramatic texts reflect actual language use within CCP.

This untried methodological approach goes actually hand in hand with the whole idea of triangulation:

“A growing realization of the problems associated with DCTs has triggered an interest in the potential of combining various types of data. In particular, the notion of ‘triangulation’ has regularly been invoked as a way to avoid the pitfalls that ‘traditional’ CCP research has hitherto fallen.” (Geluykens, 2007: 43)

Triangulation in its original sense is a form of field measurement in geography. An area is split into multiple triangles in order to make the whole area measurable. The term was later adopted by the social sciences and is now used metaphorically to denote the idea that multiple measurements and methods are necessary to increase the validity of results. As my way of data collection represents a new methodological approach in terms of data collection, it can be regarded a way of methodological triangulation.

3.2 Description of the texts

This chapter serves to introduce the texts that the corpus consists of. They are all dramatic texts from the middle and the second half of the twentieth century. I will describe each text by giving a short synopsis. In this synopsis, the characters will be named as they appear in the original text. If the original text uses a profession as the character’s name, I will do the same, e.g. I will call the cook from *Mutter Courage und Ihre Kinder* ‘Koch’ and use this profession like a proper noun as his name without an article.

As a next step, I will introduce the main characters according to their importance in my analysis. This means, I will concentrate on the characters that either use many directives as speakers or often serve as addressees of directives. Most relevant characters fall in both categories. I set the threshold for the ‘frequent’ function of a character as speaker or addressee at ten occurrences. Characters that meet this threshold neither as speaker nor as addressee will not appear in the diagrams.

A preliminary remark on the texts in general: they are not equal in length and therefore the number of utterances relevant for this study from each text differs. They range from 158 examples in Dürrenmatt’s case to 285 examples in Leigh’s case. The average number of examples per play is 226.5 (SD 53.16).

Table 3. Number of cases per language and play

German Originals		English Originals	
Brecht	Dürrenmatt	Leigh	Osborne
244	158	285	219
402		504	
906			

3.2.1 German texts

Bertolt Brecht: Mutter Courage und Ihre Kinder. Bertolt Brecht’s play “Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder” had its world premiere in 1941 in Zurich, which makes this text the oldest in the corpus. The version of the text I use follows the Frankfurt edition from 1949. The corresponding English translation by Eric Bentley is from 1955.

Synopsis. The play is set in the Thirty Years’ War, and the subtitle of the German edition even calls it *eine Chronik* (i.e. a chronicle). The central character is the eponymous Mutter Courage who is not so much of a good mother to her children, but first of all a tradeswoman. Throughout the play, she loses her three children due to her greed for profit.

Her first son, Eilif, is recruited by the army against her will while she is busy negotiating a deal. Some years later, she sees him again when he is honoured by his General for his feats in war. His mother, however, tells him off for the risks he has taken as a soldier.

Again much later, her second son, Schweizerkas, works as a paymaster for the Protestant army. When a Catholic attack causes chaos in the Protestant camp, Mutter Courage and *Feldprediger* change the insignia on her wagon from Protestant to Catholic. Schweizerkas gets caught by Catholic troops in the attempt to hide the regiment’s pay box. Mutter Courage tries to rescue him with the help of Yvette, the camp prostitute, but hesitates as this will cost her money. When she finally reaches a decision, it is already too late. Being shown the corpse of her own son, Mutter Courage denies even knowing him to save herself.

In a later scene, Mutter Courage is faced with the fact that peace has broken out which may damage her business. She leaves Katrin in charge of the wagon and goes to find out more. At the same time, Eilif comes to the wagon. He is held captive by soldiers and subsequently executed for killing civilians. His mother never finds out.

After Koch and Mutter Courage have followed the army around the country together, he offers her to come with him to Utrecht, where he has inherited an inn. His only condition is that Katrin can not come with them, which Mutter Courage does not accept and so they part.

Later still, Mutter Courage's wagon stands outside a Protestant town, while Mutter Courage herself is away trading. Katrin wakes up when Catholic soldiers try to sneak into town early in the morning. She takes a drum from the wagon and climbs onto the roof of a farmer's hut. There she beats the drum to warn the townspeople. She is successful in waking the town, but is shot by the soldiers. Her mother returns to find her daughter dead and then once again follows the regiment.

Characters. The character list names 28 characters (cf. Brecht, 1999: 8), but not all of them actually speak – a very prominent example for this is Katrin, the mute daughter of Mutter Courage. Consequently, the number of speakers who utter the directives in my corpus is lower than that: there are 24 speakers (or groups of speakers). The character who utters most directives is, of course, Mutter Courage herself: 108 cases out of the total 245 directives are produced by her. Koch and Feldprediger follow with 20 cases each and Fähnrich with 19 cases. All other characters use directives less than 10 times.

As directives in dialogic situations involve not only the speakers of these speech acts but also the addressees, we should also take into account who the characters are that function as the addressees of directives. In 45 cases, Mutter Courage is addressed, in 43 cases Katrin, in 25 cases Feldprediger, in 20 cases Koch, in 18 cases Eilif, in 16 cases Yvette, in 10 cases Schweizerkas. In all remaining 67 cases, there is either more than one addressee or a character who is addressed less than 10 times.

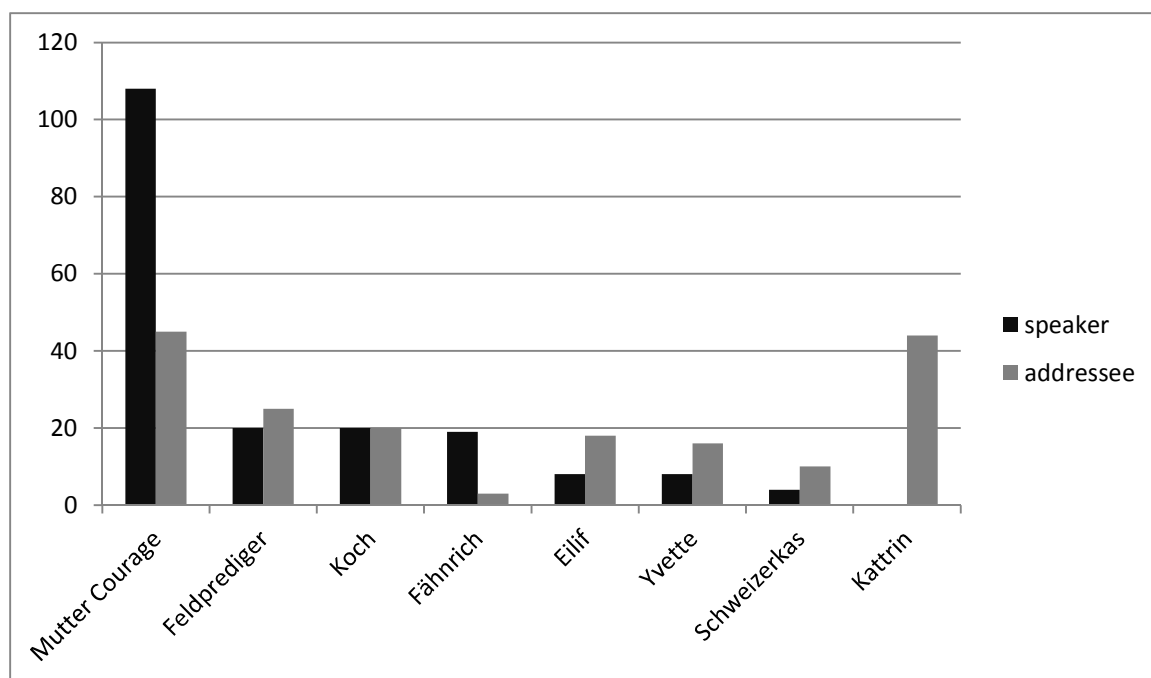


Figure 1. Brecht's characters' roles as speaker and addressee of directive speech acts

Figure 1 first and foremost serves to highlight the participants which are important in this study that concerns itself with directive speech acts. Of course the numbers may be used to establish a kind of 'pecking order', a social hierarchy as it were. Yet as we are talking only about absolute numbers here this is highly hypothetical. We would definitely have to put these absolute numbers of directives per character in relation to the character's general share of utterances throughout the play. Still, we should be aware that one character alone utters 45% of directives of this play.

Friedrich Dürrenmatt: Die Physiker. Friedrich Dürrenmatt's play "Die Physiker" had its world premiere in 1962 in Zurich. The English translation by James Kirkup is from 1964 and is based on the early German version, not the revised version from 1980.

Synopsis. The whole play takes place in the drawing room of a sanatorium for mentally ill people under the care of the psychiatrist Mathilde von Zahnd, from now on referred to as Fräulein Doktor. The only patients appearing in the play are the three titular physicists – Einstein, Newton and Möbius. The two former are named after the physicists they apparently believe to be, the latter is a physicist who claims to get visits from King Salomon.

The play begins just after Einstein has killed a nurse and the police are there to investigate. Because the assailant is already a patient in an asylum, the full process of prosecution is not carried out. As this is already the second killing of a nurse in just a few months – the first had been committed by Newton – Fräulein Doktor promises *Inspektor* to replace her nurses with male attendants the next day.

Later on, Möbius' ex-wife, his three sons and his ex-wife's new husband visit Möbius to bid him farewell, as they will be leaving for the Marianas where her new husband will work as a missionary. When his sons start playing the flute for him, Möbius has a fit and therefore the family is asked to leave. Nurse Monika remains behind and confesses her love to Möbius. When she reveals her plan to leave the asylum with him and mentions that she wants his manuscripts to be examined by his old teacher, he strangles her.

The second act starts again with the police who investigate the killing. Both *Inspektor* and Fräulein Doktor are shocked by this chain of events but cannot do anything about it. After a short conversation with Möbius, *Inspektor* leaves once again without being able to arrest the assailant.

Over dinner, it turns out that none of the three physicists is actually mad. Möbius uses the asylum as a refugee to make sure his findings do not fall into the wrong hands. Einstein and Newton are spies from two opposing countries looking for Möbius' documents. They both murdered the nurses to protect their undercover activities. Neither of the two is successful in convincing Möbius to come with him, however. Instead, he persuades them that his findings are too horrible a threat to mankind which is why he burned all his documents. They all agree to remain in the asylum.

In the end, it turns out that all their sacrifices were in vain. Fräulein Doktor reveals that she knows about Möbius' secret and has copied all his documents behind his back in order to exploit his discoveries. She tells them that she did so at King Salomon's behest, making her, the psychiatrist, the only lunatic in the asylum. The play ends with the three "patients" introducing themselves to the audience as Einstein, Newton and Salomon.

Characters. The list of characters is much shorter than in Brecht's play. There are only 11 speakers who utter directives. The character who utters the most directives is *Inspektor*: 34 cases out of the total 157 directives are his. Möbius follows with 29 cases, then Fräulein Doktor with 24 cases, Newton with 18, Schwester Monika with 13, Einstein with 11 and then

Oberpfleger and Oberschwester with 10 cases each. All other characters use directives less than 10 times.

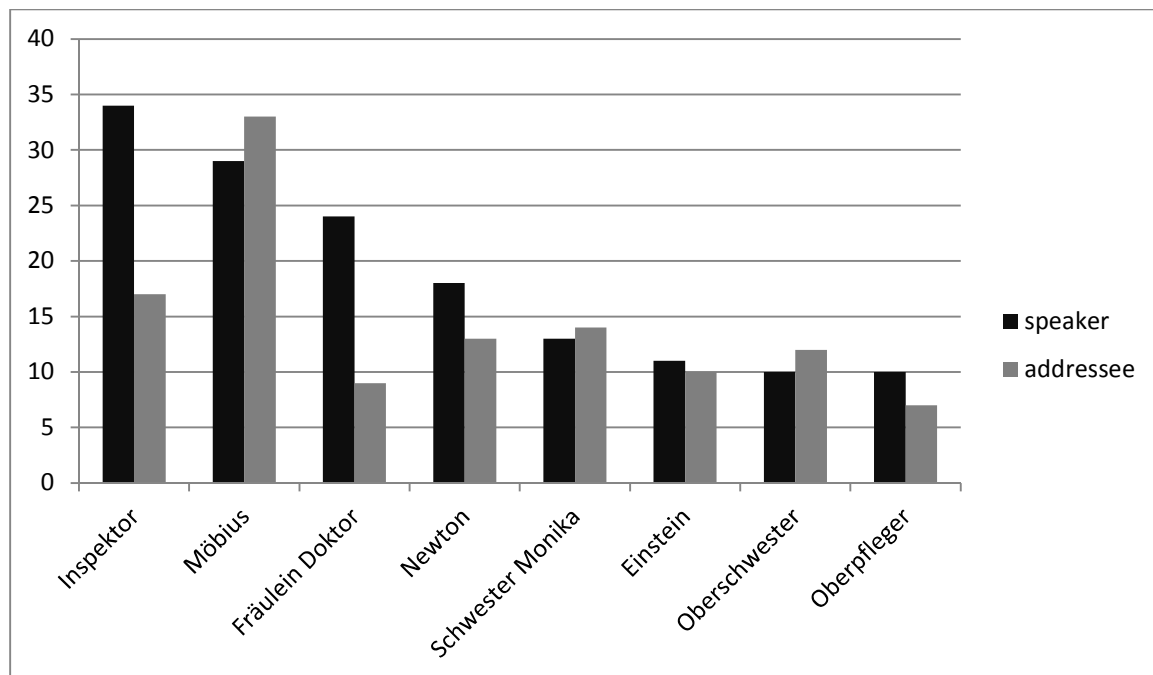


Figure 2. Dürrenmatt's characters' roles as speaker and addressee of directive speech acts

These speakers also serve as addressees: Möbius in 33 cases, Inspektor in 17 cases, Schwester Monika in 14 cases, Newton in 13 cases, Oberschwester in 12 cases, and Einstein in 10 cases. In the remaining 47 cases, we have either more than one addressee or characters that are addressed less than 10 times.

As discussed above, Figure 2 serves to highlight the participants which are important in this study that concerns itself with directive speech acts.

3.2.2 English texts

Mike Leigh: Abigail's Party. Mike Leigh's play "Abigail's Party" had its world premiere in 1977 in London, which makes this text the most recent in the whole corpus. The German translation is by Folke Braband but the publishing company gives no year of publication. The translation follows the pre-1996 spelling rules (most prominently the use of <ß> after short vowels), which can be taken as a rough indicator that the date of the translation's origin was also before 1996.

Synopsis. The play is set in the home of the couple Beverly and Laurence Moss. Beverly invites the couple Angela and Tony, who recently moved in down the road, over for drinks that night. The other invited guest is the divorced Susan, whose fifteen-year-old daughter Abigail is having a party back home.

The first act starts with Beverly's husband returning late from work. Very soon she starts nagging him for things he does wrong according to her. The first guests arrive – Angela and Tony – and Beverly gets carried away trying to be the perfect hostess. From their conversation we learn that they really know hardly anything about each other. Laurence then leaves to pick up a key from a business partner and to get even more drinks. Shortly after, the third guest, Susan, arrives and is also attended by the hostess. It soon turns out, however, that Beverly does not accept a 'no' for an answer, especially when it is a matter of the drinks or cigarettes the guests should consume, and so the alcohol soon starts taking effect. Susan expresses her worries about her daughter's party back in her house but Beverly does not allow her to go and check. Instead she makes Tony and her recently returned husband go down the street and look after Abigail's party. Right after they leave, Susan is sick due to the amount of alcohol she had.

The second act starts with Susan being nursed by Beverly and Angela. Still, Beverly neither accepts that Susan may leave nor Angela's expertise as a trained nurse. Then Laurence returns and some time later also Tony. Both assure Susan that nothing is out of the ordinary at her house. In the following, Beverly flirts more and more openly with Tony, and Laurence tries to establish common ground with Susan. While his behaviour seemed very sensible to begin with, he gets more and more annoyed with Beverly's constant nagging. The fighting culminates in a dispute about art. To prove her point and despite Laurence's protest, Beverly brings an erotic kitsch-painting down from their bedroom. While she is upstairs, he suffers a heart attack. Although Angela immediately performs CPR on him, he dies.

Characters. The list of characters includes only 5 speakers, all of whom utter directives throughout the play. The character who utters the most directives is Beverly: 114 cases out of the total 285 directives are hers. Angela follows with 56 cases, then Susan with 42 cases, Tony with 40 cases, and Laurence with 32 cases. In 1 case, Angela, Tony and Susan utter one directive together, as they speak at the same time.

The same characters also serve as the addressees of the directives. In 83 cases, Beverly is the addressee, in 62 cases Laurence, in 50 cases Tony, in 44 cases Susan and in 30 cases Angela. In the remaining 16 cases, more than one person is addressed.

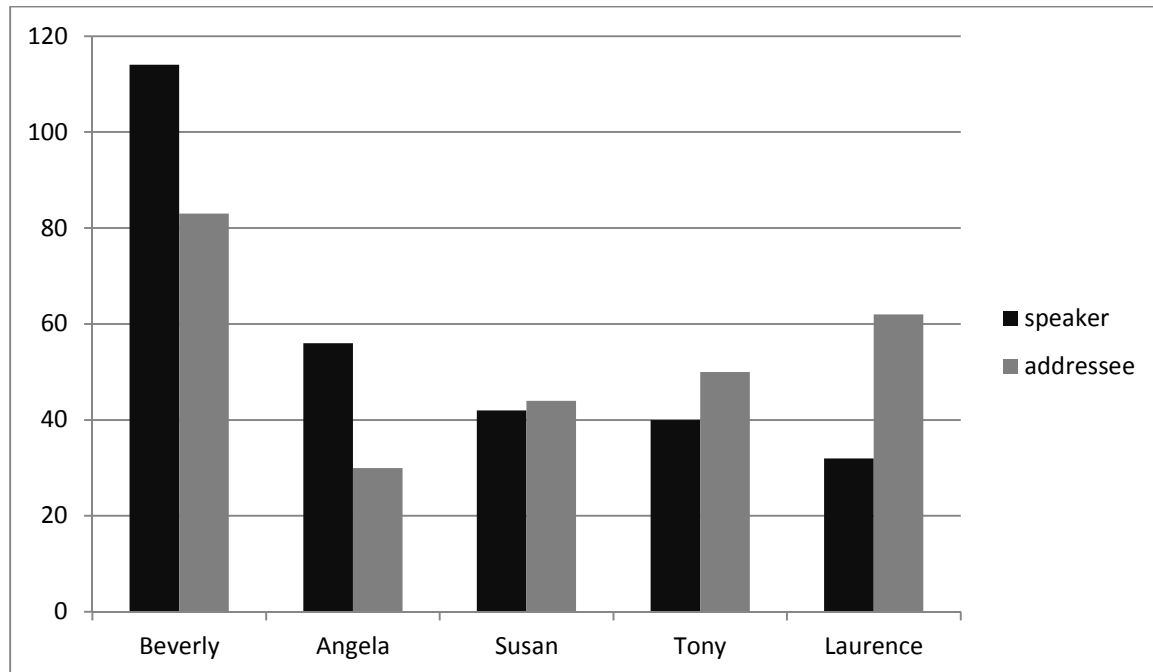


Figure 3. Leigh's characters' roles as speaker and addressee of directive speech acts

As discussed above, Figure 3 also serves to highlight the participants which are important in this study that concerns itself with directive speech acts.

John Osborne: Look Back in Anger. John Osborne's play "Look Back in Anger" had its world premiere in 1956 in London. The German translation by Hans Sahl is from 1958.

Synopsis. The entire play is set in the one-room flat of Alison and Jimmy Porter, which is a large attic room. The first act opens on a Sunday afternoon with Jimmy and Cliff reading the Sunday papers while Alison is busy doing the ironing and consequently only listening with one ear to the ongoing conversation. Through this conversation we learn about their different social background – Alison is from an upper-middle class family, while Jimmy's family is working-class, which is why they had to marry against the will of her parents. Furthermore, we learn that the only income they have is from a stall at the local market where Jimmy sells sweets, an occupation decidedly below his education. In the course of the conversation, it becomes clear what grudges Jimmy harbours against Alison

and her family, as he uses every opportunity to insult and belittle her. The verbal attacks culminate in a physical fight between Jimmy and Cliff in which Alison's ironing board topples over and her arm is burnt. Jimmy leaves while Cliff tenderly cares for Alison's arm. In this situation she confides to him that she is pregnant and Jimmy does not know about it. Cliff advises her to tell Jimmy. After Jimmy's return, Alison breaks different news, however: her friend Helena is coming over to stay with them. Jimmy makes clear that he hates Helena even more than his wife and leaves fuming with anger.

Act Two starts out with Alison and Helena preparing a meal. Here we learn more about Alison's reasons for marrying Jimmy in the first place – at least partly a rebellion against her parents. Helena urges her to either fight Jimmy or leave him. Over tea, Jimmy's attacks start again, only this time Helena is his main target. When Helena and Alison are about to leave for church, Jimmy receives a phone call. In his absence, Helena reveals that she telegraphed Alison's parents asking them to pick Alison up. Alison agrees to go. Jimmy's phone call turns out to be from a hospital and he is utterly destroyed when he learns a woman who was once good to him suffered a stroke. When he asks Alison to support him by coming with him to the hospital, she leaves for church. In the next scene, Alison's father is there to pick her up. Much to Alison's surprise, Helena has no intention of coming with them. Alison gives Cliff a letter for Jimmy, who passes it on to Helena and leaves as well. Only moments later Jimmy enters and starts reading Alison's goodbye letter. When Helena tells him about Alison's pregnancy, he is surprised but immediately goes on ranting. Eventually, Helena and Jimmy start kissing passionately on the bed.

Act Three opens similar to Act One, only this time Helena is ironing. The atmosphere, however, is much less aggressive. Cliff lets Jimmy and Helena know that he will look for an own place to stay. They decide to go out together that night but the moment they want to leave, Alison is standing in the door looking terrible. Jimmy leaves the room without taking care for his wife. In the next scene, Alison reveals to Helena that she lost her baby. The two women make up. Helena understands what she did was wrong and therefore decides to leave. She calls Jimmy to let him know her decision and leaves. At the end of the play, Jimmy and Alison seem to reconcile or at least ready for a truce.

Characters. The list of characters includes 5 speakers, all of whom utter directives throughout the play. The character who utters most directives is Jimmy: 79 cases out of the total 219 directives are his. Cliff follows with 67 cases, then Alison with 36 cases and Helena with 35 cases. Alison’s father, the Colonel, utters only 2 directives and does not appear in Figure 4.

Of course, these characters are also the addressees of the directives. In 70 cases, Jimmy is addressed, in 59 cases Cliff, in 43 cases Alison and in 35 cases Helena. In the remaining 12 cases, either the Colonel is addressed by the directive or more than one person.

As discussed above, Figure 4 also serves to highlight the participants which are important in this study that concerns itself with directive speech acts.

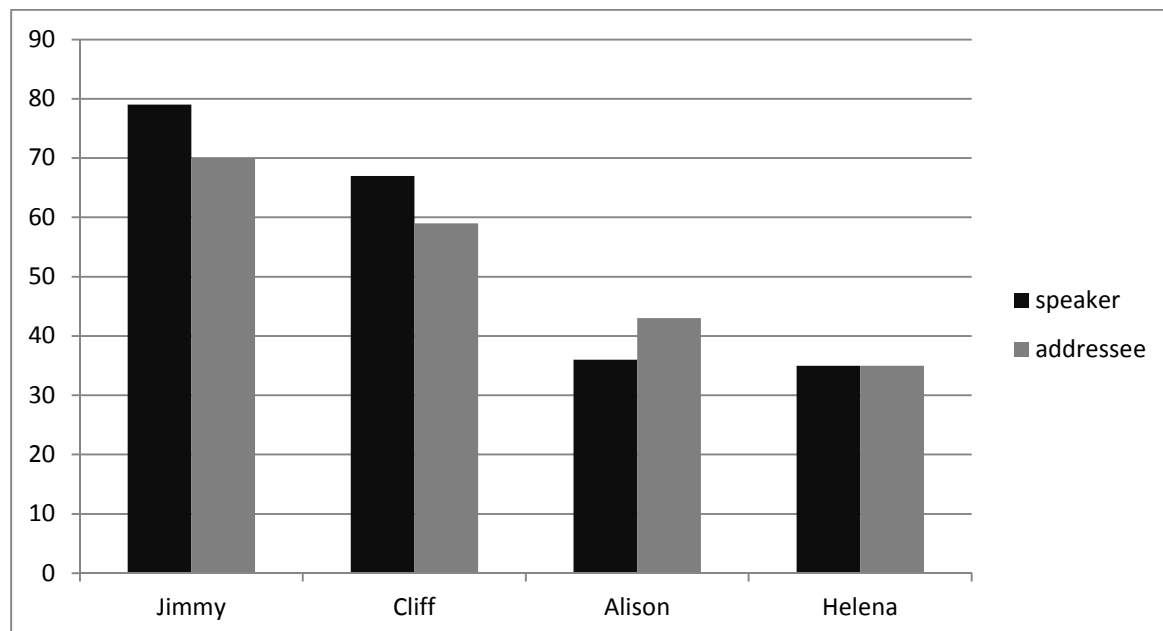


Figure 4. Osborne’s characters’ roles as speaker and addressee of directive speech acts

3.3 Building a corpus: Directive speech acts

After discussing the problem of data collection and introducing the four plays used, I now want to engage in a more practical discussion concerning my actual corpus. Which utterances are part of the corpus and will therefore be analyzed in detail in the main part of the study? This depends of course heavily on the concept of directivity as discussed in Chapter 2. Some utterances may be regarded as directives at first glance but do not find entrance into the corpus for more complex reasons.

3.3.1 Communicative situation

One first general observation is about the nature of utterances. Only verbal utterances are included in the corpus. There may be other ways for a 'speaker' to express his wish for an addressee to carry out a certain action, e.g. gestures (cf. publications in the TOGOG-project: www.togog.org), facial expressions, actions or even silence (cf. Schubert: 2010), but these types deserve their own studies and my focus is a different one. With verbal utterances, I really only mean spoken utterances, which also rules out the songs that appear in *Mutter Courage und Ihre Kinder* (e.g.: Brecht, 1999: 27f).

More specifically, I only include verbal utterances where speaker(s) and addressee(s) are in direct contact which rules out conversations over the phone as they occur in the text *Abigail's Party* (e.g. Leigh, 1979: 2f). The main reason for this decision is that half the conversation is not present in the text and therefore not available for the analysis. I deliberately avoid the term face-to-face communication as the interlocutors in the plays that I use are not necessarily always in the same room or can see each other at all times. Yet they are always within earshot, even if they are not in the same room, like e.g. in *Look Back in Anger* (Osborne, 1996: 90) and their replies are included in the interaction.

One other aspect should be noted concerning the communicative situation in the plays that I used. Most of the time, we have rather simple communicative situations where the roles of speaker and hearer/addressee are clearly defined as we have only two interlocutors. Yet sometimes, there are several characters present on the stage at the same time and consequently the conversation is more than just a duologue. In these cases the person that seems to be only an overhearer or eavesdropper (cf. Goffman, 1981) may in fact be the addressee of an utterance. We find situations like this in *Mutter Courage und Ihre Kinder* (Brecht, 1999: 19) or in *Abigail's Party* (Leigh, 1979: 26).

3.3.2 Rules for Directive Speech Acts

After these general remarks concerning the communicative situation(s) under scrutiny, we should now come back to questions of directivity. They mostly concern the four felicity conditions by Searle (1969: 66), namely the propositional content rule, the preparatory rule, the sincerity rule, and the essential rule. In the following, I will describe each of the four rules shortly and explain the relevance of these rules for the cases in my corpus.

The propositional content rule says that the content of the utterance must refer to something that has not happened yet or is about to happen anyway, regardless of the utterance. In essence, the utterance must refer to an action in the future. In some cases, it is hard to tell whether they really refer to future acts of the hearer as Example 1 demonstrates.

(1) Why haven't you told him you're going to have a child? (Osborne, 1996: 44)

Example 1 refers to the past and to events that cannot be changed any more, yet it could also be implied that the addressee, Alison, should 'correct' her past mistake in the future and tell Jimmy as soon as possible that she is pregnant. In the given context, however, the criticism for not having done so already seems to be the dominant aspect of the utterance which is why I did not include it in the corpus.

The preparatory rule says that the addressee must be able to carry out the desired action. The addressee must be e.g. physically capable of carrying out that action and the desired action must not be something that will happen anyway. Example 2 demonstrates a case where the addressee is no longer in control of what she is doing.

(2) Bring it all up. (Leigh, 1979: 31)

In the given situation, Sue has drunk too much alcohol in too short a time and now she is throwing up in the bathroom. If we interpret the given utterance as directive, we would assume that Sue is still in control of her body which she is clearly not. Yet the body may not be the only thing whose control is in question as Examples 3 and 4 show:

(3) Now, please don't be offended when I say this, but, what colour lipstick are you wearing? (Leigh, 1979: 10)

(4) Don't worry, Sue. (Leigh, 1979: 33)

Being offended (Example 3) and worrying about something (Example 4) both concern psychological states involving emotions. I doubt that these states can be willingly controlled. We either are worried or we are not. We either feel offended or we do not. Of course, some people may be able to hide that they are worried or offended but that is not what these two imperatives demand. Consequently, utterances like these two are not part of the corpus.

Example 5 illustrates another borderline case for the preparatory rule for an altogether different reason.

(5) Und die Schuh hat sie sich angezogen, diese Babylonische! Herunter mit die Schuh! *Sie will sie ihr ausziehen.* (Brecht, 1999:37)

Mother Courage urgently wants her daughter to take off the red shoes that actually belong to a prostitute. She is so desperate that she does not even give Kattrin a chance to take off the shoes directly after the utterance. Instead, she tries to take them off Kattrin's feet herself. If Mother Courage was successful in taking them off, we could doubt whether the utterance fulfills the preparatory rule. Yet she fails to take them off and so Kattrin has plenty of time to comply with the utterance. Consequently this utterance fulfills this rule and is part of the corpus.

The sincerity rule says that the speaker must genuinely want the hearer to carry out the action. This rule presents the greatest difficulties: how are we supposed to know what somebody who we talk to, let alone a fictional character really wants? We can only try to make sense of how this person acts in general and take in as many clues as possible, but it remains a question of interpretation. Of course there are some cases where it is obvious that it is very unlikely that the meaning of the utterance expresses the honest wish of the speaker as Example 6 illustrates:

(6) Why don't you drop dead! (Osborne, 1996: 77)

Example 6 is readily interpretable as imprecation but hardly as directive that sincerely asks somebody to die. Of course obvious cases as Example 6 are not part of the corpus. Yet in many other cases I found it hard to determine for sure whether an utterance was meant seriously or whether I faced a case of irony. This was especially problematic in Osborne's *Look Back in Anger*.

The essential rule says that the utterance counts as an attempt to get the hearer to carry out the action. As the formulation *counts as* already implies, this rule is a constitutive rule which rather sums up the other conditions and forms a general definition.

Although I tried to be as strict as possible in the process of building the corpus and deciding whether the individual utterances meet the relevant criteria, there may still be liminal cases left in the corpus that may have been ruled out by other researchers. As we have a functional category at hand, there may always be cases that require interpretation and do not allow for clear-cut decisions.

Just as important as the question whether an utterance qualifies as directive is the question whether this utterance is a directive only. I encountered quite a few utterances that fulfill other functions as well. For example, many of the conditional constructions containing *if* (cf. Chapter 6.2.2) reflect not only a directive aspect but also a commissive

aspect. The speaker simply performs two actions at the same time. I regard this as a fascinating aspect of these utterances and do not see this as a reason to exclude these utterances from the corpus.

3.3.3 Segmentation: Head Act and Supportive Moves

Before I turn to the actual analysis of my data, some terminological issues must still be resolved. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) have pointed out that directive utterances (or requests in their study) often consist of a sequence of linguistic units that are more complex than necessary to identify them as directive. Therefore they suggest segmenting utterances into subunits they call *Head Act*, *Supportive Moves*, and *Alerters*. A “*Head Act* is the minimal unit which can realize a request; it is the core of the request sequence.” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 275 – italics in the original) This core can occur on its own or be accompanied by other nonessential parts. Most textbooks only show utterances that consist exclusively of the Head Act (cf. Chapters 6.2.1, 7.2.1, and 8.2.1). Yet the cases in my data are often – similar to the cases in the CCSARP – more complex than that. Examples 7-10 demonstrate that.

(7) Zerbrechen Sie nicht die Gläser, es sind nimmer unsre. (Brecht, 1999: 51)

(8) Don't break the glasses, they're not ours. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 62)

(9) Leg das Brett weg, sonst schmier ich dir eine, Krampen! (Brecht, 1999: 61)

(10) Put that board down or I'll let you have one, you lunatic! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 71)

In all four examples, the first part of the orthographical sentence would be the Head Act. The second part of each sentence would consequently be a Supportive Move. The coding manual of the CCSARP defines supportive moves as “a unit external to the request, which modifies its impact by either aggravating (...) or mitigating (...) its force.” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 276) In Examples 7/8, the supportive move rather mitigates the force of the directive, as the speaker gives reasons why the addressee should comply. In Examples 9/10, however, the supportive move aggravates the force as it even threatens negative consequences if the addressee does not comply.

If there is no direct form such as an imperative in the utterance, then the “[c]ontextual information relevant to the performance of a request can, if it occurs on its own, i.e., in the absence of a requestive Head Act, assume itself the status of a request (...). Thus, (...) the supportive moves, when occurring on their own, can be raised to the status of

requestive Head Acts.” (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 276) Examples 11/12 demonstrate such a case:

(11) Yeah? Laurence, Angela likes Feliciano. Tony likes Feliciano, I like Feliciano, and Sue would like to hear Feliciano: so please, d'you think we could have Feliciano on? (Leigh, 1979: 27)

(12) Laurence, Angela hört gerne Feliciano, Tony hört gerne Feliciano, ich höre gerne Feliciano, und auch Sue möchte gerne mal Feliciano hören. Meinst du, wir könnten vielleicht Feliciano hören, ja? (Leigh/Braband: 43)

Beverly does not ask her husband Laurence explicitly to put the desired music on. Instead she states that all the other people like this particular record and finally asks him for his opinion on the matter.

The third item that Blum-Kulka segment in their data are *Alerters*. “An *Alerter* is an opening element preceding the actual request, such as a term of address” (1989: 276). This classification as opening element rules out terms of address that are found in non-initial position which is problematic. Now the CCSARP only investigates the initial moves in request sequences where it seems sensible that a speaker should open his or her utterance by addressing the person who they want to carry out the desired action. My data, on the other hand, shows forms also in non-initial positions and contains directives that do not open a sequence but are reactions to previous utterances. Consequently, I avoid this term and do not use *Alerters* as an extra segment. I will, however, discuss forms of address as vocatives in Chapters 7.2.2 and 10.

In general, my analysis concentrates on the investigation of the head act or core of utterances. Yet as I work with written data, I use orthographical sentences. Sometimes an orthographical sentence may contain not only the head of the utterance but also supportive moves as we have seen in Examples 7-10 above. In other cases, the core of an utterance can stretch over more than one orthographical sentence as in Examples 11/12. Blum-Kulka et al. call this type multiple-headed (cf. 1989: 276).

The examples that I discuss in Chapters 5-9 and 11 always contain the Head Act of the utterance. Sometimes, they also contain supportive moves which can easily be seen and which I will mention individually. Yet in cases where the Supportive Move is not part of the

same orthographic sentence as the Head Act, I will only discuss the Head Act.³ I still discuss nearly 80% of all utterances in their entirety as Table 4 shows.

Table 4. Segmented utterances

	Pre-posed Supportive Move	Head Act only	Post-posed Supportive Move
English	106	716	105
German	98	715	110

The numbers do not add up to the total 906 cases in the corpus as some utterances contain both pre-posed and post-posed supportive moves in separate orthographic sentences. The important point to be seen in Table 4 is that 716 of the English and 715 of the German cases consist only of the sentence(s) containing the Head Act which is the vast majority (79%) of utterances.

³ The only exceptions from this rule are made if English and German differ strongly in their punctuation, e.g. if one language contains a very long sentence whose equivalent in the other language consists of more than one orthographical sentence.

4 Analysis: syntactic perspectives

4.1 General remarks

As the main analysis of my work, I will describe the directive utterances in my corpus from a syntactic perspective. The first and most obvious observation is of course that not all utterances are fully fledged grammatical sentences. This is mostly due to the nature of my data. The plays are written to be spoken and therefore show characteristics of spoken language.

Nevertheless, all utterances can be described in syntactic terms like parts of speech and phrases to say the least. Sometimes there is an apparent underlying syntactical relationship, e.g. a combination of adverbial and object (cf. Quirk, 1985: 843), though the whole utterance can hardly be described as a regular sentence. The majority of utterances, however, are regular sentences, containing a subject, predicate and all necessary complements.

Therefore, the most basic classification of the examples in syntactic terms is whether they are regular sentences, irregular sentences (cf. Quirk, 1985: 838ff) – if certain parts are missing, but the structure is still recognizable, e.g. in an ellipsis – or non-sentences (cf. Quirk, 1985: 849ff).

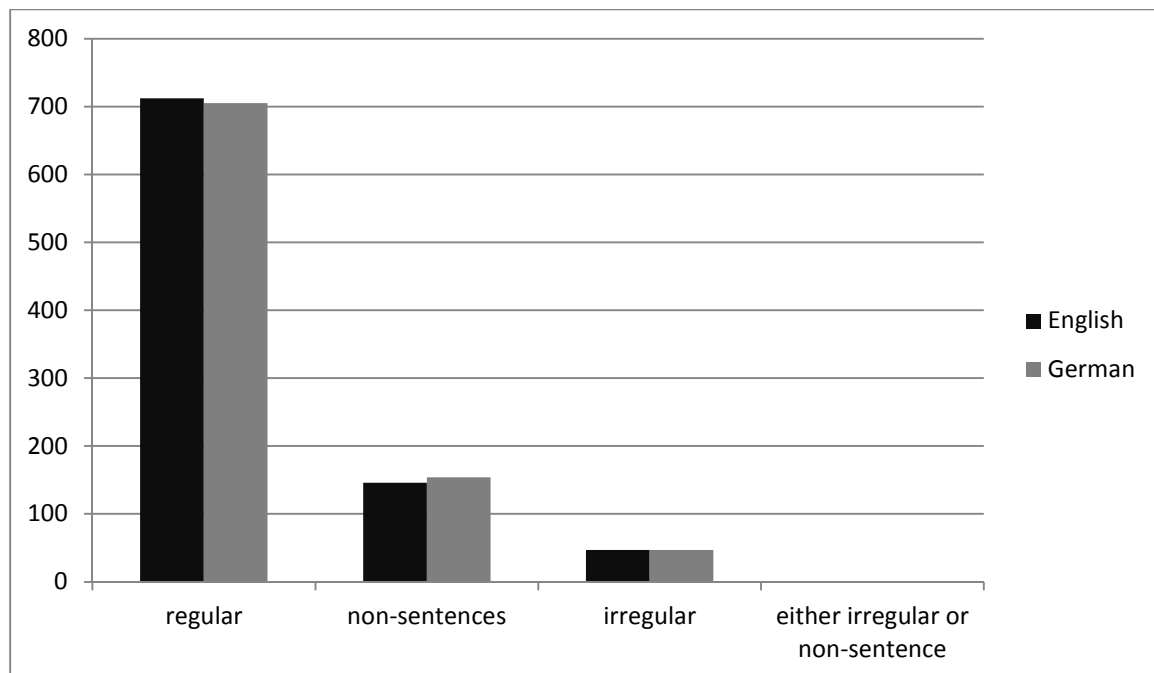


Figure 5. Distribution of regular sentences, non-sentences and irregular sentences

The picture we get is this: The clear majority of utterances, ca. 78% for both languages, are regular sentences. But there is still a large number of utterances that are realized as non-sentences (17% of the German examples and 16% of the English examples). The important point for these utterances is that they are not sentences from a formal perspective, but utterances with a clear (independent) function. In the German secondary literature, the terms *satzwertig* or *satzäquivalent* can be found for this concept (cf. Eisenberg, 2005: 909). The irregular sentences amount to the smallest part (5% English and 4% German), but cannot be ignored.

All the three groups appear in all four texts and their translations respectively. None of the three types can be regarded as the idiosyncrasy of a single author or translator. This also holds true for the languages: all three groups appear in both original languages (or source texts) and so this phenomenon cannot be caused by translationese.

Now at a first glance both languages seem to behave pretty much the same and the differences seem to be marginal. But the numbers in Figure 1 do not reveal whether the translation of a regular English sentence, for example, is also a regular sentence in German. How do they correspond to one another?

The following three tables serve to illustrate the correspondences. Table 5 demonstrates the correspondence between English and German for regular sentences; Table 6 shows the correspondences for non-sentences; Table 7 shows the correspondences for irregular sentences.

Table 5. Correspondence of English regular sentences and German regular sentences ⁴

	G +regular	G -regular	
E +regular	674	38	712
E -regular	31	163	194
	705	201	906

Table 6. Correspondence of English non-sentences and German non-sentences

	G +non-sentence	G -non-sentence	
E +non-sentence	133	13	146
E -non-sentence	21	739	760
	154	752	906

⁴ Table 5 and the following tables are to be read like this: the lines and columns saying +[form] list the number of cases that are realized as this particular form, e.g. the imperative. The lines and columns saying –[form] list all other cases. G stands for German, E stands for English.

Table 7. Correspondence of English irregular sentences and German irregular sentences

	G +irregular	G -irregular	
E +irregular	20	27	47
E -irregular	27	832	859
	47	859	906

On the whole, both languages correspond to each other very clearly. Especially for the two most frequent groups the correspondences are strong. To test the significance of the correspondences or rather correlations, the chi-square test⁵ was calculated (cf. Gries, 2008, 159). So if there is a regular German sentence in a certain context, it is quite likely that in the English version, a regular sentence will be used too: $\chi^2(1\%; df=1) = 546,75; p < .01$. The same holds true for non-sentences: $\chi^2(1\%; df=1) = 616,75; p < .01$. The results for irregular sentences, however, are not as straightforward but still significant: $\chi^2(1\%; df=1) = 140,72; p < .01$. Here the deviations make up the larger part and in less than half the possible cases, both languages use an irregular sentence. This result might be due to the fact that in the two languages, there are different criteria as to what qualifies as a syntactic irregularity.

The most interesting cases are of course the deviations, the cases where the two languages behave differently, where one shows e.g. regularity and the other one does not. Although these cases are the quantitatively less striking, they show the qualitative difference between English and German.

4.2 Clause type: a terminological problem

As a next step, I will describe the group of regular sentences in more detail. Before I do that, some terminological issues have to be solved. Some reference grammars (cf. Quirk et.al. 1985: 803) use terms like *sentence type* to describe the different formal types we find. This is problematic because this label implies that each sentence should fall neatly into one of these categories. It does not allow for sentences that contain more than one type. More recent grammars have dealt with the problem by using the term *clause* instead, such as Biber et.al: “An **independent clause** is not part of any larger structure, but it may contain embedded clauses or be coordinated with clauses on the same level” (1999: 202 – emphasis

⁵ There is a general problem for statistical test like this with my data. The test treats the utterances in the two languages as independent events. But of course they are not independent as they are translations of each other. So the results must be taken with a grain of salt.

in the original). Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 853) also use the term *clause type* for the different formal types we find when we describe sentences.

I will follow this classification, although I will use the orthographical sentence as the starting point in my analysis. This differentiation between *sentence* on the one hand and *clause* on the other is important, as one orthographical sentence may equal one clause as in Example 1, but may also contain more than one clause as in Example 2, which contains an imperative and a declarative:

- (1) Keep that cigarette out of his face! (Leigh, 1979: 52)
- (2) Hold her back, the roof may fall in! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 71)

But before I use terms like imperative or declarative any further, the clause types that appear in my corpus should first be introduced and defined. The inventory for the two languages is slightly different. Both languages make use of the clause types imperative/Imperativ, declarative/Deklarativ, *wh*-interrogative/*w*-Frage and *yes-no* interrogative/*Ja-Nein* Frage. German allows for two additional sentence type *sui generis* in my corpus: the adhortative and the infinitive. I will ignore other clause types like *exclamative/Exklamativ*, as they do not appear in my corpus.

The more recent German grammars avoid the terms Deklarativsatz, Interrogativsatz etc. and label them negatively as "[t]raditionell" (Eisenberg, 2005: 902). Instead they limit themselves to the three sentence types *Verbzweitsatz*, *Verberstsatz* and *Verbletztsatz*. These terms are of course a purely formal classification in order to avoid any connection to functions. My aim, however, is to investigate exactly these connections. Furthermore, this classification only works according to the place of the verb in the sentence and does not take into account any other qualities like lexical items (*wh*-items), the presence and absence of certain clause elements (like the subject), or intonation. This might be enough for a formal description of German sentences. Yet for a contrastive analysis, a different classification is crucial, although there will be cases which cannot be clearly labelled. For this reason, I shall stick to the traditional classification. Eisenberg (2006) differentiates between the traditional and the non-traditional classification by introducing a second set of terms. He uses the term *Satztypen* for the triad *Verbzweitsatz*, *Verberstsatz* and *Verbletztsatz*. For the traditional classification, however, he uses the term *Satzarten* and emphasizes that he uses this term "wenn von Sätzen bestimmter Form unter funktionalem Aspekt die Rede ist." (2006: 396) As I will look at sentences or rather clauses from exactly this functional point of view, I see no

problem using terms such as imperative and the like in my analysis for both English and German.

Although my classification of clause types with nearly the same terms for English and German implies certain equivalences, at this point I only mean equivalences in terminology and (some) formal aspects. I do not mean to say at this point that they are functionally equivalent.

To avoid obscurity, I will define each clause type as I use the term and give at least one example for each type. These examples (#3-14) are not taken from my corpus but are invented for reasons of clarity. To focus on the syntactical differences, I will stick to the same lexical content and formulate them so all **could** be understood as directives. I will, however, refrain from using lexical items like the English *just* or *please* or the German *doch* or *mal* in these examples. These items would of course support and facilitate a directive interpretation, but at the same time draw attention away from the actual focus of the examples, which is in this case the syntactical form as such.

4.3 Clause types: the inventory

4.3.1 Imperative

The English imperative usually takes no overt subject although exceptions are possible. The understood subject usually refers to the 2nd person. The verb is used in the base form and the auxiliary *do* is obligatory for negation, even with *be* and *have* as lexical verbs.

(3) Close the windows.

The German imperative also usually has no overt subject. The understood subject usually refers to the 2nd person. For the singular, there is a specific inflectional form, the verb stem (Example 4). In certain irregular verbs, the vowel of the stem changes (e.g. *helfen* – *hilf*). For the plural, the indicative form is used as can be seen in Example 5. There is also a polite form with *Sie*, which then uses the inflection of the 3rd person plural of the present tense (Example 6).

(4) Mach die Fenster zu.

(5) Macht die Fenster zu.

(6) Machen Sie die Fenster zu.

4.3.2 Declarative

The English declarative contains a subject which is followed by the verb. Many grammars call it “the default clause type” (Huddleston/Pullum, 2003: 855) and define it by the absence of special properties.

(7) You will close the windows now.

The German Deklarativ “hat gewöhnlich die Form eines Verbzweitsatzes” (Eisenberg, 2005: 903) and contains a subject. The verb is in the second position in the sentence, though not necessarily preceded by the subject.

(8) Du machst die Fenster zu.

4.3.3 Yes-no Interrogative

The English *yes-no* interrogative is characterized by the subject-operator inversion. The intonation is usually rising.

(9) Will you close the windows?

The German *Ja-Nein* Frage is characterized by the finite verb in initial position. It could literally be answered with *Ja* or *Nein*, hence the name.

(10) Machst du die Fenster zu?

4.3.4 Wh-Interrogative

The English *wh-* interrogative contains a *wh*-element (*who, when, where* etc.) in the initial position. So if the *wh*-element is not the subject of the sentence, the result is a subject- operator inversion. The intonation is usually falling.

(11) Why don't you close the windows?

The German *w-Frage* contains an initial *w*-Phrase and is followed by the verb in the second position.

(12) Warum machst du nicht die Fenster zu?

4.3.5 Adhortative

The adhortative is a special formal case that can only be found in German. It has the finite verb in initial position which is followed by *wir*. The intonation is falling.

(13) Machen wir doch die Fenster zu.

4.3.6 Infinitive

The infinitive as a formal type can also only be found in German. Its status as a clause type will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 9.2. With respect to its formal criteria, we can say that the verb is used in the infinitive form without the particle *zu* and stands in final position. The infinitive construction contains no overt subject.

(14) Fenster zumachen!

4.4 Clause types: frequencies in the corpus

Figure 2 shows the frequencies of each clause type for English and German respectively. The total number is lower than in Figure 1, as only regular sentences are taken into account here.

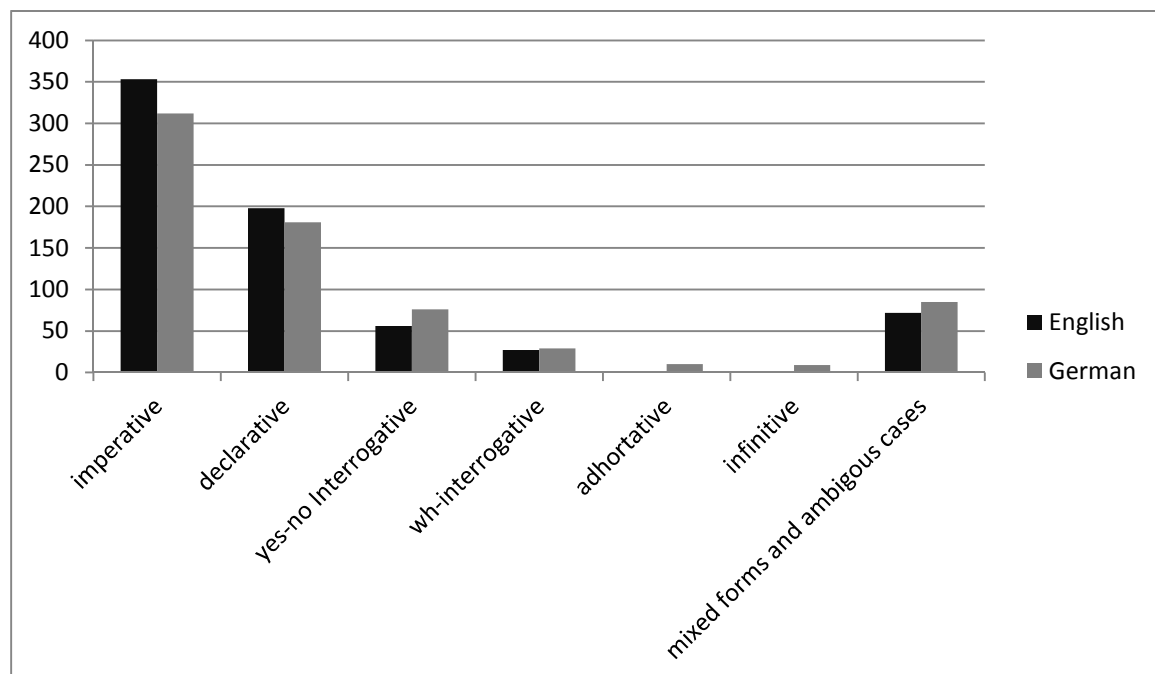


Figure 6. Frequencies of clause types

The relative frequencies are the same for English and German. The imperative is the most frequent clause type among directives with 353 cases in English and 312 in German. It

is followed by the declarative (198 in English and 181 in German), then the *yes-no* interrogative (56 in English and 76 in German), and finally the *wh-* interrogative (27 in English and 29 in German). The exclusively German clause types adhortative and infinitive are the least frequent. The adhortative appears only ten times and the infinitive only nine times.

Some cases are labelled ambiguous, as they could be classified e.g. as either declarative or imperative with a subject. There are also a number of sentences which contain at least two different clause types but are orthographically not separated into different sentences. They are therefore classified as mixed forms. This use of mixed forms is especially frequent in the original text “Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder” but it also appears in the other three sources. Often this is a combination of imperative, which names and calls for the desired action, and a declarative, which gives reasons for doing so. This is also a common pattern for imperative clauses that form sentences by themselves, yet the mixed forms in Figure 2 seem to emphasize this close causal connection between desired action and reason for doing so even more.

4.5 Clause types: Correlation English – German

So far we have only looked at the large scale results, not so much at individual forms or specific examples. We have established that there are similar clause types in German and English concerning their form and terminology. We have also established that the clause types are nearly equally frequent in both languages and the imperative is the most frequent in both languages.

The question as to the function of these clause types has not been addressed so far. The basic question is: If a clause type, like the imperative for example, shares formal properties and also its name in the two languages, does it also have the same function? Or in other words: If speakers of one language use the imperative in a specific context with a certain intention, will speakers of the other language also use the imperative in this context with the same intention? Or would they go for another form or its variations?

I will address this question in the following by looking at the correlations between the English and the German examples. I will start with the most frequent clause type, the imperative, and work my way down to the less frequent clause types from there. For each case, I will first look only at regular sentences that can clearly be identified as a certain

clause type. Cases where no clear decision was possible and where ellipses occur will be labelled as not belonging to that clause type. As a second step, I will also take irregular sentences (like ellipsis) and regular sentences that contain more than one clause type into account.

Although regular sentences and clause types are the starting point of my description, their equivalences in the other language are not necessarily regular sentences. I will still describe these cases in terms of word classes, phrases and if possible clause elements. As a rule, I shall follow the terminology by Quirk et al. (1985) in my description for these cases. If I deviate from their terminology, I will mention it.

5 Imperatives

5.1 Correlation: quantitative aspects

This chapter deals with the case of regular imperative sentences in German and English and their mutual counterparts in the other language. Table 8 will provide us with a first overview.

Table 8. Correspondence of English imperatives and German imperatives

	G +imperative	G -imperative	
E +imperative	267	86	353
E -imperative	45	508	553
	312	594	906

What we can see for the clause type imperative in English and German in Table 8 is this: there is a strong correspondence between the two. χ^2 (1%; $df=1$) = 434,80, $p < .01$. Thus if English uses an imperative, then the German translation is likely to use one too (Examples⁶ 1 and 2) and vice versa (Examples 3 and 4). This occurs in 267 cases. It should be noted that these 267 cases match in relation to their clause type, but there may still be differences in other areas.

- (1) Let go of my foot, you whimsy little half-wit. (Osborne, 1996: 29)
- (2) Laß meinen Fuß los, du lächerlicher Mensch. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 33)
- (3) Hol ein Glas Branntwein fürn Koch, Katrin! (Brecht, 1999: 69)
- (4) Bring a glass of brandy for the cook, Katrin! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 85)

Of course, the correspondence holds as well for the instances in which English does not use an imperative. In this case, German is likely not to use one either. This occurs in 508 cases, but these cases are of no interest here.

In addition to this purely quantitative analysis, we have to take a qualitative stance as well. Although English and German, generally speaking, seem to behave similarly concerning the use of the imperative, there are also visible differences. In 86 cases, English uses an imperative and German does not. In 45 cases, German uses an imperative and English does not. These are the cases that need to be investigated further to establish the differences between English and German. I will do this bottom-up, first carrying out a microanalysis of individual cases, and then seeing whether patterns emerge.

Quite likely, there is also another difference that is not visible in Table 8 but important nonetheless: in 267 cases both languages agree in using the imperative, but there

⁶ When I give contrastive examples like these, I always put the source text (=ST) first.

may still be differences beyond the level of clause types, presumably on the level of lexical items.

5.2 Agreement in clause type

The general function of imperatives has been discussed in great detail by Davies (1986), Donhauser (1986) and deClerck (2006) so I will not go into detail at this stage in my thesis. In sum, we can say that the standard function of imperatives is to be directive. Huddleston/Pullum put it like this: “imperatives are prototypically concerned with carrying out some future action. Imperatives are characteristically used as directives” (2002: 929). There are of course limits to a directive interpretation, as Huddleston/Pullum demonstrate:

Say what you like, it won't make a difference. (2002: 931)
Win \$60,000 for an extra \$1.10. (...)
Sleep well. (2002: 933)

The first case rather constitutes an expressive statement than a directive. Another exception is the non-agentive use of imperatives in advertising as in the second case or as good wish in the third case. In the two latter cases, the addressee is not in control of the future action and therefore does not fulfil the criteria for directives. Consequently, examples like these are not part of the corpus (cf. Chapter 3.3.2).

As imperatives are prototypically used as directives both in English and in German, I will rather concentrate on the cases where English and German differ and leave aside the 270 cases of agreement for now. Yet I will come back to the imperative in Chapter 11. At the moment the imperative seems to be a clear case, but maybe after discussing the other clause types and non-sentences, there will be new questions.

One thing that must be said about the use of imperatives in the corpus is how many imperatives occur in each language and especially which language they originate from. This is what Table 9 demonstrates:

Table 9. Source languages for imperatives

	English	German
original	147	120
translation	120	147
total	267	267

At first glance it may seem that English uses the imperative more often than German because the originally English cases account for 55% of the 267 cases where English and German agree in using imperatives. Yet this difference must be seen in relation to the frequency of directives in the original languages of the whole corpus. These frequencies are illustrated in Table 10.

Table 10. Source languages in the overall corpus

	English	German
original	504	402
translation	402	504
total	906	906

In the overall corpus, the proportion of originally English utterances (56%) is higher than the proportion of originally German utterances (44%). So although in absolute numbers there are more imperatives from English than from German, in relative numbers the imperative occurs equally frequent in both languages, and the difference is only due to the different proportions of the two languages in the whole corpus.

5.3 Non-imperative equivalents

5.3.1 English imperatives and German non-imperative equivalents

First, I shall have a look at the 86 English imperatives whose German equivalences are not realised as imperatives. The majority, 54 of them are from originally German texts and therefore translated or target text (TT). 32 of these examples are from originally English texts and therefore source text (ST). Because differences arise between the original languages and the individual authors, I will describe characteristics of each author first, starting with the two German authors where this phenomenon is more frequent. Brecht shows 34 cases, Dürrenmatt 20, Leigh 21, and Osborne eleven.

Within the group of Brecht's utterances, the most frequent syntactical form does not consist of a single clause type but is rather a combination of different clause types or syntactical forms in one orthographical sentence. There are 18 examples for this and 15 of them contain an imperative: nine are a combination of imperative and declarative as in Example 5 and four are a combination of declarative and imperative (in this reversed order) as in Example 7.

(5) Lauf und handel nicht herum, es geht ums Leben. (Brecht, 1999: 49)

(6) Now run and no haggling, remember his life's at stake. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 61)

(7) Katrin, du putzt die Messer, nimm Bimsstein. (Brecht, 1999: 50)

(8) Katrin, go and clean the knives, use pumice stone. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 61)

All other combinations occur only once. In one case, three clause types are combined, namely imperative, declarative and *wh*-interrogative (Example 9). In another case (Example 11), there is a combination of an imperative together with a form that can only be described on a level of clause elements, namely an adverbial followed by a *mit*-phrase (in analogy to the *with*-phrase Quirk et al., 1985: 843).

(9) Laß dir Zeit und quatsch nicht, nimm die Hände, ich mag nicht wenn du wie ein Hund jaulst, was soll der Feldprediger da denken? (Brecht, 1999: 43)

(10) Now take your time and don't try to talk, use your hands. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 55)

(11) Nun, mein Sohn, herein mit dir zu deinem Feldhauptmann und setz dich zu meiner Rechten. (Brecht, 1999: 22)

(12) Sit at my right hand, you happy warrior! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 35)

The three remaining cases are combinations without an imperative, namely one combination of *yes-no* interrogative and declarative (Example 13) and one in reversed order (declarative and *yes-no* interrogative) (Example 15) and finally one case of adhortative and declarative (Example 17).

(13) Willst du gleich den Deckel abnehmen, du bist wohl übergeschnappt? (Brecht, 1999: 37)

(14) Take it off this minute! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 50)

(15) Auf der Stelle gibst ihn der Mutter, sonst hab ich wieder einen stundenlangen Kampf, bis ich ihn dir herausgerissen hab, hörst du nicht? (Brecht, 1999: 62)

(16) Give it to its mother this minute! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 72)

(17) Reden wir nicht Schlechtes von die Obristen, sie machen Geld wie Heu! (Brecht, 1999: 81)

(18) Don't let's speak ill of colonels. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 89)

What we can see from Examples 5-12 is that the initial classification as non-imperative was somewhat flawed. Although the German sentence is not an imperative in its pure form, it contains an imperative together with another form; they are separated or rather combined by a comma. This combination of two sentences (or clauses) is nothing unusual. It has been described in detail already by Blum/Kulka et al. (1989). However, due to their method of data collection, they only describe the two forms in separated sentences, whereas cases like Examples 5 and 7 combine the two clauses in one sentence.

The communicative function seems to be a softening device in a social sense: instead of just using the bare force of the imperative, the additional declarative often justifies the

desired action, as can be seen in Example 16. The addressee is asked to run and the urgency for compliance is stressed by remarking that it is a matter of life and death. Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) would call the imperative in my example the *core* of the speech act and the succeeding declarative a *supportive move*.⁷

In Brecht's play, however, two clauses are often combined without a full stop in writing between them, which would typically indicate a speech pause. Instead, it could be interpreted as a means of emphasizing the aforementioned softening because this way, the two clauses are more closely connected. Alternatively, this may be regarded as a stylistic device by the author to characterize the characters' manner of speaking as breathless. The characters hardly make a speech pause, but rather speak without any interruption – or, as the Germans say, literally *ohne Punkt und Komma*. This effect is partly lost in the translation, which leaves us with the impression that in these cases, we have an imperative in the TT that was not there in the ST.

In Examples 13-17, we also find combinations of different clause types in one sentence, though not with an imperative. The combination of clauses to long sentences in the German original can again be interpreted as stylistic device expressing breathlessness. The English translation reduces the length of the sentences that form the core of the directive by cutting the utterances in two or more shorter sentences. At the same time, the translations make the desire of the speaker (in all three cases Mutter Courage) more explicit by relying on the force of an imperative.

The next most frequent syntactical form with eight cases is the declarative. Unlike the imperative, this clause type has no prototypical directive function. Consequently the directive force must have some other source. In two cases, this is due to speech verbs, namely *befehlen* (Example 19) and *ermahnen* (Example 21).

(19) Ich befehl dir, schmeiß die Trommel runter! (Brecht, 1999: 99)

(20) Throw down the drum. I order you. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 107)

(21) Ich ermahn euch, daß ihr euch ruhig verhaltet, sonst, beim geringsten Lärm, gibt's den Spieß über die Rübe. (Brecht, 1999: 95)

(22) I'm warning you. Keep quiet. One sound and we'll crack you over the head with a pike. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 103)

⁷ As I start my description with formal aspects, such a clear partition of the speech act into core and supportive moves is not always easy. My data does not consist of controlled and isolated speech acts but is part of larger units of meaning, namely the plays. They contain idiosyncrasies of authors or translators such as punctuation. This may seem arbitrary at times, but it is the only formal ground to base my decisions on which elements to take into account in my analysis. I address the topic of segmentation in Chapter 3.3.3.

Both Examples 19 and 21 consist of two parts: The first is in both cases a meta-statement on the performed act mentioning the speaker *ich*, the addressee *dir/euch* and the force of the performed act: *befehlen* or *ermahnen*. The second part is in both cases the desired action. In Example 19, the second part could constitute an utterance on its own and would then formally be an imperative. In the given example, however, it is dependent on the preceding declarative. In Example 21, this dependence is even more pronounced as the desired action is mentioned in the subordinate clause only. In both cases, the dependence structure is lost in the translation as can be seen in Examples 20 and 22, although both keep speech verbs – *order* and *warn* - as a lexical item next to the imperative. Example 22 thus creates a similar effect to the original, by first labelling the performed action as *warning* and then using the imperative to carry out the action. Example 20, however, even changes the order of the units. It starts with the imperative and labels it as an order afterwards.

In one other case (Example 23), the directive force is expressed by the modal verb *müssen*. As a direct parallel to the German original with its double use of the declarative containing *müssen*, the classification of the second sentence in the English translation as an imperative seems worth re-evaluating. It is at least possible that the form at hand is an elliptic declarative. The missing form would be the initial *we must* in analogy to the preceding declarative. This would mean, however, that an easy and obvious classification (the imperative) is replaced by a much more complicated model (the elliptical declarative) depending on additional rules. From a methodological perspective, this alternative interpretation is highly problematic and it would undermine the whole concept of the imperative as an independent clause type.

(23) Wir müssen den Hof anzünden. Ausräuchern müssen wir sie. (Brecht, 1999: 100)

(24) We must set fire to the farm. Smoke her out. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 108)

For the five remaining cases of declaratives, there is no further indicator of the illocutionary force – it seems in some cases the pure stating of a future action is sometimes sufficient if it is done with enough authority. Interestingly, in all five cases the speaker is the very dominant character Mutter Courage, who is head of her family and in charge of her enterprise and can therefore order her children and customers by merely stating future actions.

(25) Und jetzt steigen wir auf und fahren weiter. (Brecht, 1999: 18)

(26) Now let's climb on the wagon and move on. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 32)

(27) Du zahlst. (Brecht, 1999: 62)

(28) Then pay for it! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 72)

Examples 25/26 are addressed to her family, which are her children and herself – thus the *wir*. Examples 27/28 are addressed to a single soldier about to steal a bottle from her supplies. In both cases her resolute demeanour in the original text seems enough to make her will understood.

The next most frequent syntactical form with three cases is the *yes-no* interrogative. In Example 29, the will of the addressee is put into question and the preferred answer to this question – and therefore the desired action – is indicated by the modal particle *wohl*. In contrast to that, there is no indicator like a modal particle in Example 31. There are, however, other clues. Firstly, the action asked for is *helfen*, an activity that will have a positive connotation and consequently a positive reply would be expected. Moreover, the word order is exactly the same as in the corresponding imperative – the only difference is the intonation. A third clue is again the fact that Mutter Courage is the speaker and it seems unlikely that the addressee should not do her bidding, especially in a situation of urgency. In this concrete context, they have to leave in a hurry to follow the army, so all the goods must be stowed in the wagon. The speaker, Mutter Courage, utters the directive and starts packing at the same time herself.

(29) Willst du ihn wohl in Ruhe lassen? (Brecht, 1999: 14)

(30) Let him alone! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 28)

(31) Helfen Sie mir beim Packen? (Brecht, 1999: 85)

(32) Help me with the packing. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 93)

After these groups of fully-fledged grammatical sentences, we are left with five examples that do not easily fall into any of the other categories because they are either ambiguous or not regular sentences (from a purely grammatical point of view). Example 33 demonstrates an ambiguous case: The German sentence could either be classified as a declarative or as an imperative. This ambiguity depends not on the presence of a subject like in many English examples, but on the use of the adverb *dann*. It is not clear whether its position is the *Vorfeld* (the initial element in a declarative, preceding the verb in second position) or the *Vorvorfeld* (the initial position is held by the verb, and an precedes the whole clause, similar to an extraposition). Consequently, the example cannot be formally classified into one of the groups. Despite the formal ambiguity, the functional interpretation for the addressee is very much the same. If she really wants to speak to the Rittmeister, she

has to wait. For the speaker, the form is more relevant: an imperative would mean encouraging the addressee to wait, while a declarative would express indifference.

(33) Dann warten Sie, bis der Herr Rittmeister Zeit hat. (Brecht, 1999: 54)

(34) Wait here till the captain has time. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 65)

Example 35 shows a case that is equally problematic to classify. The verb *bleibst* shows the inflection of the 2nd person singular, yet the corresponding subject (*du*) is not realized. The position of this implied subject, however, is crucial to the formal classification. If we assume the subject to be in initial position as *[Du]bleibst stehn!*, the complete sentence would be a declarative; if we assume the subject to be in second position as *Bleibst [du] stehn!*, the complete sentence would be a *yes-no* interrogative, though not with the usual rising intonation as there is no question mark.⁸

(35) Bleibst stehn! (Brecht, 1999: 93)

(36) Stay where you are, Kattrin! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 101)

In two cases, we find infinitive constructions in German. As they do not contain a finite verb form and therefore are not governed by its valence, they do not qualify as sentences from a grammatical point of view and are thus classified as irregular in my corpus. The case of the infinitive construction is particularly interesting from an etic point of view, as there is no formal correspondence in English. I will explain the formal status of the infinitive construction and its use in more detail in Chapter 9.2. For now, Example 37 illustrates this construction and Example 38 the English equivalent.

(37) Kattrin, packen! (Brecht, 1999: 84)

(38) Pack, Kattrin! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 93)

In one case (Example 39), we do not even find as much as a verb which denotes the desired action. Instead, there is only a noun phrase in its negated form, which names the activity – the head noun *Gewalt* – that is to be avoided – expressed by the negative determiner *keine*. The English equivalent uses neither a noun nor the negation; instead it resorts to an imperative.

(39) Keine Gewalt, Bruder. (Brecht, 1999: 14)

(40) Go easy. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 28)

⁸ I personally tend to the second interpretation, although this is more a gut-feeling than a decision based on explicit rules. The form of this utterance clearly shows features of a regional variety, more specifically southern German. Throughout the play, the speaker of this utterance, Mutter Courage, uses lexical items indicating that she speaks a southern German variety (cf. Chapter 3.1.4). My interpretation in this case can only be an application of my own unreflected competence as a speaker of a similar southern German dialect which is why I only mention it in this footnote.

As a next step, I will have a look at the group of Dürrenmatt's utterances. They share with the Brecht group we just discussed the feature of being German originals translated into English. I will start with the most frequent cases, which are – just as with Brecht – regular sentences and work my way towards the less frequent cases.

The most frequent case with nine examples is the adhortative. Similar to the compound sentences in Brecht's play, this seems to be a stylistic device this author uses quite frequently. Examples 41 and 43 illustrate the use of the adhortative.

(41) Nehmen wir Platz. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 38)

(42) Let's sit down. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 47)

(43) Verwandeln wir uns wieder in Verrückte. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 66)

(44) Let us be changed into madmen once again. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 84)

Interestingly, in all nine cases, the English version uses the *let/let's* form of the imperative, a formal subcategory within the English imperative. So it seems that the German adhortative may have a formal counterpart in English, although the *let*-imperative does not have the formal status of a clause type. I will engage in this discussion in Chapter 4.2.5.1.

There is even one ellipsis of an adhortative (Example 45). Just from the form of this example, a classification like that is not possible. It makes sense in the context of the play, however. At the end of the play, there is a series of utterances where the three physicists encourage each other to keep up their mad behaviour, as they do in Example 45/46. Later they leave out the verbal parts providing the structure and only mention the desired qualities, thus avoiding repetition. In that context, it seems sensible to classify example 45 as elliptical adhortative. If we only take into account what is there in the text, disregarding the context, we have two adjective phrases linked by a conjunction.

(45) Verrückt, aber weise. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 66)

(46) Let us be mad, but wise. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 84)

The next most frequent formal structure is the declarative with four examples. Of these four cases, two contain modal verbs that help us decoding the directive force, namely *können* and *sollen*. The use of *sollen* can be observed in Example 47. The German utterance mentions one of a series of actions, namely that Einstein, resident of a psychiatric hospital, stops playing the violin to be available for questioning. It only implies the demand that the addressed nurse is to go and fetch him so he can be interrogated by the police inspector.

The English version is much more explicit as it focusses on the desired action on the side of the addressee, namely that she requests Einstein to stop.

(47) Dann soll er bitte aufhören. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 14)

(48) Then kindly request him to stop. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 15)

In one other case, the catenative verb *lassen* serves as an indicator of the directive force, as can be seen in Example 49:

(49) Ich lasse bitten. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 26)

(50) Send her in. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 32)

The last of the four declarative examples has no verbal structure which indicates that the utterance has a directive meaning. This may also be due to the special circumstances: the addressee has already mentioned that he may carry out the action, so the utterance given does not initialize that process; it merely reinforces the behaviour by labeling it as something positive by calling it *lieb* (Example 51).

(51) Das ist lieb, Professor. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 23)

(52) Yes, do, Professor. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 27)

There is only one other example which nicely falls into one of the major clause types, a *yes-no* interrogative. Example 53 illustrates this case. Literally, this question has two possible answers. But by making the effort of asking, the speaker already suggests that his preferred answer is *yes*. The use of *wir* as the subject also evokes the association of the adhortative – the only distinctive feature is the intonation, which in this example should be rising as signalled by the question mark. I will discuss this in the chapter on the adhortative (4.2.5.1).

(53) Setzen wir uns? (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 57)

(54) But let's sit down. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 71)

The last example that still qualifies as a regular sentence is a combination of an imperative clause and a declarative clause – a structure we know already from Brecht. Where we have only one long orthographical sentence in German (Example 55), the translated English version (Example 56) breaks the sentence apart and ends after the imperative.

(55) Kommen Sie mit mir, in einem Jahr stecken wir Sie in einen Frack, transportieren Sie nach Stockholm, und Sie erhalten den Nobelpreis. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 59)

(56) Come on out: (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 74)

The last four examples from Dürrenmatt are not regular sentences. In two cases, we find infinitive constructions in German while the English translation uses an imperative. One of these cases can be seen in Example 57. An interesting feature of the infinitive construction is the vagueness both in terms of the object that is used without a determiner and the absence of the *Du/Sie* distinction. In the German imperative, by contrast, it is always clear whether the participants address each other with *Du* or *Sie*. So the infinitive is an option if a speaker wants to avoid making statements about the social distance to the addressee(s).

(57) Dosis verdoppeln. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 25)

(58) Double her dose. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 31)

In two other cases, the German versions completely lack a verbal core (Example 59). Instead, they only consist of what would be the adverbial information (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 842) in a fully-fledged sentence.

(59) Hinaus mit euch. Hinaus! (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 36)

(60) Get out! (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 45)

As a next step, I will have a look at the group of Leigh's utterances. In contrast to the utterances by Brecht and Dürrenmatt, they are imperatives in the English original that are translated into German using some other syntactical form. There are 21 cases in total. I will start with the most frequent cases.

As with the German texts, the most frequent formal case is once again not one single clause type; in seven cases we have a combination of two forms or more. In five cases this is the usual combination of core and supportive move; the core is an imperative and the supportive move is a declarative. Example 62 illustrates this type for Leigh. The English original also has both components in the utterance, but the supportive move is expressed in a subordinate clause.

(61) Go on, Tone, have a light ale, 'cos he got them specially for you. (Leigh, 1979: 23)

(62) Los, Tony, trink ein Guinness, er hat sie schließlich nur für dich gekauft. (Leigh/Braband: 38)

In one other case we have a combination of imperative, declarative and infinitive (Example 64). The English original uses four imperatives in a row, the German translation starts out on an imperative as well, but then introduces a variation in the form of the declarative and the infinitive. The declarative is very straightforward in its use of *müssen*, the

infinitive only repeats the lexical verb *dehnen* that was mentioned before. So the variation in form is not used to change the level of directness. Maybe the change in form has to do with the different actions the speaker demands. Moving your leg is something clearly visible, so the speaker receives immediate feedback whether the addressee complies. Stretching the muscle inside your leg, however, is beyond the control of the speaker and maybe that is why the desire is expressed as obligation for the addressee.

(63) Come here - give us your leg! Stretch it. Stretch it! (Leigh, 1979: 54)

(64) Komm her, gib dein Bein her. Du mußt es dehnen, los, dehnen! (Leigh/Braband: 84)

In one last case (Example 66), there is a combination of an imperative and a second element that is not a clause, but a noun phrase, namely *ein kleines Tänzchen*. The English original contains the equivalent noun phrase *a little dance*, albeit as part of a paraphrasal verb (cf. Fiedler, 2007: 51) or light verb construction (cf. Brugman, 2001). My example consists of the usual transitive verb with open meaning, namely *have*, and a noun phrase which carries the semantic weight, namely *a little dance*. Although German offers a wide range of *Funktionsverbgefügen* (Burger, 2007: 436), there is no direct equivalence for *have a dance*. So the German translation uses only the semantically important noun phrase.

(65) Come on, Tone - have a little dance, go on. (Leigh, 1979: 44)

(66) Los, Tone, ein kleines Tänzchen, komm schon. (Leigh/Braband: 69)

The next most frequent formal case of a German non-imperative as equivalent for an English imperative is neither a regular sentence nor even a form with any sentential structure, as it consists mainly of one word only that is classified as adverb by Duden (Scholze-Stubenrecht, 2011: 1134), namely *los*. There are six cases for this solitary use two of which are demonstrated in Examples 68 and 70. But *los* also occurs in a wider syntactical context, e.g. the examples 64 and 66 mentioned above. Its main function seems to be encouraging. Where English opts for short and very general imperatives like *go on* (Example 67) or *come on* (Example 69), the German translation uses *los*.

(67) Go on, Tony! (Leigh, 1979: 9)

(68) Los, Tony! (Leigh/Braband: 16)

(69) Yeah, come on, Ang! (Leigh, 1979: 26)

(70) Ja, na los, Ang! (Leigh/Braband: 42)

The next most frequent formal structure in the German translation is the *yes-no* interrogative with four cases (e.g. Examples 72 and 74). Interestingly, only one of the four

interrogatives ends on a question mark, so they do not show a rising intonation, one of the important features of *yes-no* interrogatives. On the whole, these utterances only ‘pretend’ to be interrogatives because their speakers know that their use is socially desirable but are not really committed.

(71) Laurence, don't leave your bag on there, please. (Leigh, 1979: 1)

(72) Laurence, würdest du bitte deinen Koffer nicht da rauflegen. (Leigh/Braband: 1)

(73) Ang, do us a favour - give us a light, would you, please? (Leigh, 1979: 47)

(74) Ang, bist du so lieb und gibst uns Feuer bitte! (Leigh/Braband: 73)

The four remaining forms appear once each. The only case that is still a regular sentence is a declarative (Example 76). The speaker wants the addressee to stop her current behaviour. Where the English version expresses stopping as an action in an imperative, the German translation focusses on stating that something – presumably what the addressee has done – is enough.

(75) Leave it out, Ang! (Leigh, 1979: 20)

(76) Das reicht, Ang! (Leigh/Braband: 32)

The next case is not a regular sentence, but still contains a verb denoting an action and the addressee (the implied subject) in a vocative. The form at hand is an infinitive construction. In the English original, there is an imperative using a light verb construction. The German translation (Example 78) uses the infinitive verb to denote the desired action without the detour of a nominalized verb following a relatively meaningless verb.

(77) Take deep breaths, Sue. (Leigh, 1979: 31)

(78) Tief durchatmen, Sue. (Leigh/Braband: 50)

The next example has no sentential structure, but consists of a noun phrase (Example 80). The English imperative verb does not really denote an action, but rather desires inactivity – not throwing up. The German translation avoids the notion of an action altogether and only focusses on the important time span until the addressee has reached the bathroom.

(79) Hold on a minute. (Leigh, 1979: 31)

(80) Kleinen Moment noch. (Leigh/Braband: 50)

The form of the last case (example 82) is hard to pin down. The central item is *wehe* which functionally expresses a threat and is classified as interjection by Duden (Scholze-Stubenrecht, 2011: 1982). It is followed by a clause which names the condition under which the threat applies and also the behaviour the speaker wishes the addressee to refrain from.

Formally, this clause has its verb in second position. On its own, it would be classified as a declarative. In combination with *wehe*, however, it seems much more likely that this clause is a subordinate clause without the subordinating conjunction *wenn*. Consequently, *wehe* would be the superordinate structure. This superordinate form does not contain a verb so I find it problematic to classify it as a clause type although it is a complex unit including a subordinate clause.

(81) Beverly, don't bring that picture downstairs! (Leigh, 1979: 49)

(82) Beverly, wehe du bringst das Bild runter! (Leigh/Braband: 77)

As a next step, I will have a look at the group of Osborne's utterances. They share the feature with the Leigh group of being English originals translated into German. I will start with the most frequent cases, which are regular sentences, and work my way towards the less frequent cases. There are eleven cases in this group.

The most frequent type with six examples is the *yes-no* interrogative. Interestingly, in five out of six cases, the English original is an imperative with an added question tag which could partly explain why the German translation avoids using the imperative and prefers the *yes-no* interrogative. Examples 84 and 86 are used to illustrate two types of the German interrogative equivalences to an English imperative: Some are used affirmatively as Example 84, some contain modal negation like Example 86. This feature will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.2.3.2.2.6.2.

(83) Give me a cigarette, will you? (Osborne, 1996: 12)

(84) Hast du 'ne Zigarette? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 18)

(85) Let's have some tea, shall we? (Osborne, 1996: 45)

(86) Wollen wir nicht etwas Tee trinken? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 49)

The next most frequent formal type is the declarative with four cases. In one case, there is the modal verb *müssen* indicating the directive force of the utterance. In one other case, there is actually an imperative present, but it is embedded in a declarative containing a speech verb, namely *sagen* (Example 88). So from a purely syntactical perspective the imperative is only the object within the matrix clause. The whole sentence has to be classified as a declarative.

(87) Stay where you are, and don't be silly. (Osborne, 1996: 90)

(88) Bleib sitzen, sag ich dir... (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 92)

The two other cases of declaratives have no formal indicator of the directive force. But in the context it becomes clear that in both cases, the speakers state their own opinions

as facts, which in turn demand for certain reactions on the side of the addressee. In the concrete example (90), Cliff tells Jimmy stop talking simply by stating that it (*es* in its contracted form *'s*) is enough – meaning Jimmy’s monologue.

(89) Now dry up! (Osborne, 1996: 53)

(90) Jetzt ist's aber genug, Jimmy. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 57)

The last remaining case has no sentential structure, but only consists of a noun phrase (Example 92). The question mark indicates a rising intonation which in turn seems to indicate a mere ‘question’ in analogy to a *yes-no* interrogative. The reaction of the addressee, “Großartige Idee.” (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 24), however, tells us it is neither meant nor understood as a question, but rather as a trigger for a common routine.

(91) Let's have a cigarette, shall we? (Osborne, 1996: 24)

(92) Zigarette? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 24)

5.3.2 German imperatives and English equivalents other than imperatives

After discussing the case of English imperatives whose equivalents in German are not realized as imperatives, we must also look at the other major difference between English and German concerning imperatives: the cases when German uses an imperative but English does not. There are 45 cases for this phenomenon in the corpus: 23 are from originally German texts and 22 are from originally English texts, this showing no clear dominance for one language. I will describe characteristics of each author in the following order: I will start with Brecht who displays 18 cases, carry on with Dürrenmatt who shows five, Osborne who exhibits 13 and Leigh with his nine cases.

As we have noticed before in Chapter 4.2.1.3.1, Brecht’s sentences quite often do not consist of one clause only, but rather of combinations of different clause types in one orthographical sentence. This feature can be found not only in the original text, but also in the translation. Again, this is rather frequent: there are eight combinations of imperative and declarative (Example 94) and one case of adverbial and declarative (Example 96).

(93) Ziehn Sie sich an und gehen Sie los, verliern Sie keine Minut[sic!]|! (Brecht, 1999: 79)

(94) Get ready and get going, there isn't a moment to lose. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 88)

(95) Schlagts ihn nicht in'n Rücken! (Brecht, 1999: 101)

(96) Not in the back, you're killing him! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 109)

In five of these six cases the initial classification of not being an imperative turns out to be somewhat flawed. These cases contain an imperative, though they also contain

another form. In sum this rather tells us that (at least for Brecht) the German imperative and the English imperative may correspond even more often than Table 8 suggests.

The next most frequent formal type is the declarative with five cases. In two cases, we find modal auxiliaries, namely *might* and *will*, helping us with the interpretation. In Example 98, *might* in combination with *at least* clearly expresses that the declarative has the character of a suggestion. In Example 100, the speaker uses *will* to refer to his own future action. He has previously declined an offer for a drink and now accepts it by stating that he will have a drink. This acceptance implies that he expects the addressee to carry out the aforementioned offer.

(97) Dann aber rupf ihn wenigstens, bis ich ein Feuer mach. (Brecht, 1999: 24)

(98) Well, you might at least pluck it till I have a fire going. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 36)

(99) Hol mir doch ein Glas voll. (Brecht, 1999: 42)

(100) Yes, Kattrin, I will have a glass now! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 54)

In the three other cases, there are no formal indicators like modal verbs. Still, in their context the utterances can easily be understood as directives. In Example 102, the action to be carried out is already known to the addressee and the speaker only gives the starting signal. In Example 103, the German imperative forbids the addressee to ridicule his suggestions; the English translation (Example 104) states that the topic is serious without referring to the addressee. In Example 105, the use of the verb in the German imperative seems somewhat redundant, as the addressee has just suggested this plan of action himself. So the use of the imperative may be the speaker's way to show that he, *Fähnrich*, is still in charge. In the English translation (Example 106), the higher ranking officer seems more cooperative by simply agreeing to the suggestion.

(101) Und jetzt fisch du, Schweizerkas. (Brecht, 1999: 18)

(102) Now it's your turn, Swiss Cheese. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 31)

(103) Ziehen Sies nicht ins Lächerliche. (Brecht, 1999: 70)

(104) This is no laughing matter, I am in earnest. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 80)

(105) Ja, hack! (Brecht, 1999: 100)

(106) That's it! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 107)

In two other cases, the English versions do not have a verbal core. Instead, one only consists of what would be the adverbial information in a fully-fledged sentence (Example 108); another (Example 110) uses this adverbial together with a *with*-phrase (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 843).

(107) Red nicht so laut! (Brecht, 1999: 89)

- (108) Not so loud! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 97)
- (109) Gehens an die Deichsel. (Brecht, 1999: 86)
- (110) Into harness with you! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 94)

The two remaining cases are somewhat problematic, as they do not allow for a definite classification. The first clause in Example 112 looks like a premodified imperative at first; the combination with the second clause, however, makes this classification doubtful. If the second clause was an imperative as well, it would demand for *do* support in the negation (*Don't risk...*). Yet, the premodification by *better* invites the analogy with *you had better*, which would be a declarative. In this case, the *do*-support in the second clause would not be necessary. Although this classification as an elliptical declarative is a manipulation because it uses elements that are not in the text, it offers a solution that is at least coherent in itself.

- (111) Erkundigen Sie sich erst genauer, vor [sic!] Sie sich zu erkennen geben als Antichrist. (Brecht, 1999: 75)
- (112) Better get the exact news first, and not risk being taken for the Antichrist. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 84)

The other problematic example consists of one word only, namely *fire*. It is used by Fähnrich as an order to his men to shoot Katrin, the daughter of Mutter Courage. The German original (Example 113) uses the German *Feuer* as a noun, functioning as the object in an imperative. The word class of the English *fire*, however, could be either noun or verb (Example 114). If we regard it as a verb, the utterance would syntactically be an imperative. As a noun, it could be the object of an imperative, but the essential item to decide about this question of clause type, a verb, would still be missing. The Oxford English Dictionary comments on the problem as follows: "*Fire!* as a word of command, is now apprehended as the vb. in the imperative; originally it was prob. the n. (= French *feu*)." (OED online) Of course I could hide behind the normative authority of the OED, classify the example as an imperative and ignore the problem, but the sole fact that the OED addresses the question this explicitly confirms my doubts. Descriptively, *fire* could be either noun or verb.

- (113) Gebt Feuer! (Brecht, 1999: 101)
- (114) Fire! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 109)

As a next step, I will have a look at the group of Dürrenmatt's utterances. They share the feature with the Brecht group of being German originals translated into English. There are only five cases altogether, representing four different formal types. This makes it hard to speak of tendencies in terms of quantity here.

Nevertheless, I shall describe the four formal types, setting out with the only form that occurs twice: two cases actually contain an imperative in the English translation, but in a combination with a declarative. Example 116 illustrates this type. The German original (Example 115) also contains an imperative and a declarative as supportive move, but consists of two orthographic sentences. The declarative has only the status of a supportive move.

(115) Verlassen Sie die Anstalt, vergessen Sie mich. So ist es am besten für uns beide. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 42)

(116) Leave this place; forget me: that would be the best thing for us both. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 52)

The next type is a *wh*-interrogative. In Example 118, the speaker literally asks the addressee for the reason why a certain ability is not there in her potential lover, suggesting that there is no reason not to love her.

(117) Behandeln Sie mich lieber wie eine Geliebte. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 41)

(118) Why can't you treat me like a woman? (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 51)

The next case (Example 120) is not a regular sentence, but only consists of a noun phrase. Where the German original uses a full imperative sentence to instruct the addressee to move an object, the English version is reduced to naming the object in question.

(119) Stell den Tisch auf, McArthur. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 49)

(120) Mc Arthur, the table. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 60)

The last case (Example 122) falls into a group of utterances that Quirk et al. simply call formulae, as the syntactic structure can hardly be analyzed in terms of clause elements and is also not relevant to understand them in "stereotyped communication situations" (1985: 852). The only problem we are facing here is that this utterance is not just a normal farewell, but is used by the speaker in order to get the addressee to leave. Therefore the utterance has a directive force the formula does not stereotypically have. The German expression is equally formulaic, although it can syntactically be classified as an imperative.

(121) Leben Sie wohl. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 38)

(122) Goodbye. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 48)

As a next step, I will have a look at the group of Osborne's utterances. In contrast to the utterances by Brecht and Dürrenmatt, they are imperatives in the German translation (TT) based on English sentences using some other syntactical form. There are 13 cases in total. I will start once again with the most frequent cases.

The most frequent type of non-imperative English utterances whose German equivalent is an imperative is the declarative with seven examples. In five cases, there are modal verbs present, helping to interpret the declarative as a directive. There are two occurrences of the central modal *must* (Example 123) and one of the central modal *can*. The marginal modal *need* appears twice – once as a verb and once in its nominalized form in an existential-*there* construction (Example 125).

- (123) You must believe that. (Osborne, 1996: 89)
- (124) Bitte glaube mir das, Helena! (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 87)
- (125) There's no need. (Osborne, 1996: 29)
- (126) Sprich nicht mehr davon. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 34)

In one other case (Example 127), there is a speech verb, namely *say*. It is part of a matrix clause containing an object (what is/was said) realized as an imperative. Due to the inversed order – the object of the speech verb precedes the matrix clause – this sentence at first glance appears to be an imperative but is syntactically a declarative. Functionally, the use of the past tense in the speech verb (*said* instead of *say*) intensifies the force as it focusses on the speaker's insistence instead of conceding.

- (127) Leave her alone, I said. (Osborne, 1996: 7)
- (128) Laß sie doch in Ruh. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 13)

In one other case, the speaker makes a statement about the intention of the addressee (Example 129). The rising intonation, indicated by the question mark – instead of an expected full stop for the standard falling intonation in a declarative – expresses the surprise of the speaker and her wish that this may not be true.

- (129) Helena - you're not going to leave him? (Osborne, 1996: 89)
- (130) Verlaß ihn nicht, Helena! (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 91)

The next most frequent formal type with three cases are all elliptical imperatives. In two cases, the part left out is the lexical verb and its dependent clause elements. The utterance, however, can still be identified as an imperative due to the use of the auxiliary *do* in combination with the negation *not* (Example 131). In the third case, the lexical verb is there, but the direct object – what should be told, namely the fact that Alison is pregnant – is missing (Example 133). But for the interpretation of the speech act, this object is not necessary, as it is the most salient point of the conversation anyway.

- (131) Don't! (Osborne, 1996: 9)
- (132) Laß das! (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 15)

(133) Tell him. (Osborne, 1996: 27)

(134) Sag es ihm. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 32)

The next most frequent formal type with two cases are combinations of imperative and declarative – a structure that we have already encountered a few times. In these two cases, the English originals consist of two clauses joined by *and* in one sentence. In both cases, the first clause is the imperative; the second clause is the declarative. In the German translation, the clauses are either separated into two independent sentences (Example 136) or the second clause is just not realized (Example 138).

(135) Put all that junk away, and we'll get out. (Osborne, 1996: 85)

(136) Räum' den Kram fort. Wir gehen aus. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 87)

(137) Go on, go and make some tea, and we'll decide what we're going to do.
(Osborne, 1996: 80)

(138) Geh und mach mir etwas Tee. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 83)

The last case (Example 139) falls into the realm of formulae. Functionally, Quirk et al. label it a reaction signal expressing agreement (cf. 1985: 852). Of course this is an agreement to a previously suggested way of action, namely to swap newspapers. But it also expresses a wish for reciprocity, which implies getting something in return. So there is also some directive force in that utterance, albeit not a strong one. The German version (Example 140) does not contain the aspect of reciprocity but focusses on one action only. Yet it is much more readily understandable as a directive utterance.

(139) Oh, all right. (Osborne, 1996: 9)

(140) Hier, nimm sie. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 15)

As a next step, I will have a look at the group of Leigh's utterances. They share with the Osborne group the feature of being English originals translated into German. There are nine cases in total.

The most frequent type with three cases are elliptical *yes-no* interrogatives (Example 141). In all three cases, the speaker is Beverly, the host of the evening. When she 'asks' her guests for their wishes, she constantly leaves out the beginning of these sentences – the part that contains both the pronominal reference to the addressee and (partly) its will: *would you...?* This behaviour is very telling about her friendly but slightly dominant manner. The corresponding German imperative in Example 142 contains the modal particle *doch* which underlines the suggestive character of the utterance.

(141) Like to sit down? (Leigh, 1979: 23)

(142) Setz dich doch. (Leigh/Braband: 37)

Another type with also three cases is a combination of declarative and imperative (Example 145). Here, the order of the clauses is inverted in comparison to the other examples we encountered so far where imperative and declarative are united in one sentence. Consequently, the functional connection is different: this does not combine the desired action with a reason to carry out the action. Instead the desired action is named in the declarative, framed as advice, followed by an imperative which reinforces the directive. The German translation (Example 144) realizes both aspects as imperatives.

(143) Well, you'd better get them when you go out, and don't forget, please. (Leigh, 1979: 2)

(144) Dann besorg es jetzt. Aber bitte vergiß es nicht wieder. (Leigh/Braband: 5)

The next most frequent formal type with two cases is the *wh*-interrogative (Example 143). Both cases are very similar: the *wh*-item is in both cases *why*, both cases are negated with *not* and the impatience in both cases is emphasized by the use of *then*. In the German text, the impatience is expressed by a combination of *dann* and the modal particle *doch*.

(145) Then why don't you ask her, Laurence? (Leigh, 1979: 45)

(146) Dann frag sie doch, Laurence! (Leigh/Braband: 71)

The least frequent type has only one case. It is a yes-no interrogative (example 147). It is introduced by the classic textbook phrase *can you*. This phrase seems to be the standard example for indirect speech acts. When Searle discussed the concept of indirect speech acts, he used *Can you pass the salt?* as major example (1975: 73) and this example has become a standard in text books (cf. Bublitz, ²2009:140). Yet in my corpus, its frequency is apparently very low as it has not appeared so far. I will return to this phrase and its use in Chapter 4.2.3.2.2.4.1 when I discuss the use of modal verbs in *yes-no* interrogatives.

(147) Tony, can you help me get him on the floor? (Leigh, 1979: 49)

(148) Hilf mir mal, ihn auf den Boden zu legen. (Leigh/Braband: 77)

5.3.3 Conclusive Remarks on the equivalences of the imperative

After this description of the imperative in English and German and its equivalents in the other language on a micro-level, it is time to take a step back and have a look at the whole picture.

The most general impression is that there is no clear-cut tendency. There is not one single form that is used exclusively. It seems that the choice of form is very much dependent

on the situation. As the communicative situations in my corpus vary a lot, the correspondences are manifold as well. Also, the plays differ considerably from each other which can be regarded as the style of a literary text – a quality that can also be observed with different text types in other corpora.

Still, there are tendencies that can be summed up. The most pervasive form that functions as an equivalent for an imperative are combinations of at least two clauses and in most cases, and in nearly all cases, one of them is an imperative. They appear as equivalents for English imperatives in German (27 times) and for German imperatives in English (ten times) and for both directions of translation in source texts as well as in target texts. There is, however, a text where this is extremely frequent: In *Mutter Courage und ihre Kinder*, these combinations appear 19 times in the original and six times in the translation, so this can indeed be seen as a stylistic device specific to this text and the translation even keeps it.

The declarative is the only other form that also appears as equivalent for both the English imperative in German (17 times) and the German imperative in English (12 times) and for both directions of translation in source texts as well as in target texts. Two groups are eminent to me. The one group can be defined by its form, as it relies on the use of speech verbs. For the other group, no formal aspects can be named. Instead they rely on the assumed or real social superiority of speakers who state the desired actions as facts.

The *yes-no* interrogative appears mostly as the German equivalent for the English imperative (15 times) but only once as the English equivalent for the German imperative. This one example contained the textbook phrase *can you?*, which is quite surprising. The use in textbooks (e.g. Bublitz, ²2009) suggests it should occur much more frequently as the equivalent of a German imperative.

For the *wh*-interrogative, the use is more distinct: it appears only as the English equivalent for the German imperative (three times). The low total number, however, makes it hard to recognize a pattern in its use.

As both the adhortative and the infinitive are uniquely German forms, they occur only as German equivalents of the English imperative. The adhortative occurs only in German source texts (nine times), the infinitive occurs both in German source texts (four times) and a German translated text (one case). I will discuss the adhortative and the infinitive in Chapter 4.2.5.1 and Chapter 4.2.5.2 respectively.

All other forms are not frequent enough to allow clear statements – except for one maybe: the forms that consist of one word or phrase only – and are therefore classified as non-sentences – are hardly used as equivalents for the clause type imperative. Maybe we can even widen this result to regular sentences as a whole. I will discuss these non-sentences in more detail in Chapter 4.3.

5.4 Imperatives: a wider perspective

In the previous subchapter, the focus was on the forms correlating with English and German imperatives in their regular form and imperatives only. It turned out that in some cases, this narrow scope was problematic, as some cases did indeed contain an imperative but were still classified as not being imperatives (“-imperative” in Table 8). This was especially the case when imperatives were used in combination with other syntactic forms – mostly declaratives – or when imperatives were used in their elliptic forms.

As a consequence of this problem, I shall now look again at the correspondence of English and German imperatives, only this time with a wider scope. I will do this by subsuming also combinations containing an imperative, elliptical imperatives and cases of doubt that could be interpreted as imperatives under “+imperative”. Table 11 serves to show the results of this different approach.

Table 11. Correspondence of English imperatives and German imperatives: wider perspective

	G +imperative (also as ellipsis and combinations)	G -imperative	
E +imperative (also as ellipsis and combinations)	357	80	437
E -imperative	39	430	469
	396	510	906

The shift due to the different classification is quite remarkable. The congruence between English and German for the event “+imperative” is now much higher. Instead of 267, Table 11 has 357 cases for this event. This is a difference of 90 examples between the two sets. Correspondingly, the congruence between English and German for the event “-imperative” is now lower. Instead of 508 cases, Table 11 has only 430 cases for this event.

Similar to Table 8, there are still quite a few cases where English and German differ. There are 80 cases in which English uses an imperative (in the wider interpretation) and German does not (vs. 86 cases in Table 8). On the other side, there are 39 cases where German uses an imperative (in the wider interpretation) and German does not (vs. 45 cases in Table 8). In these two cells the shift is much less perceptible, at least in terms of quantity. All these shifts cause no change in the overall correlation for imperatives in German and English, however ($\chi^2(1\%; df=1) = 495,05; p < .01$).

6 Declaratives

6.1 Correlation: quantitative aspects

This chapter deals with the case of regular declarative sentences in German and English and their mutual counterparts in the other language. Table 12 will provide us with a first overview.

Table 12. Correspondence of English declaratives and German declaratives

	G +declarative	G -declarative	
E +declarative	148	50	198
E -declarative	33	675	708
	181	725	906

What we can see for the clause type declarative in English and German in Table 12 is this: there is a strong correspondence between the two: χ^2 (1%; $df=1$) = 475,42; $p < .01$. Thus if English uses a declarative, then the German translation is likely to use one too (Examples 1 and 2) and vice versa (Examples 3 and 4). This occurs in 148 cases.

- (1) Laurence, you want to have your bath and get changed: (Leigh, 1979: 2)
- (2) Laurence, du solltest ein Bad nehmen und dich umziehen! (Leigh/Braband: 4)
- (3) Jetzt mußt du mit deinem Bruder ziehn, Kattrin. (Brecht, 1999: 20)
- (4) You must help your brother now, Kattrin. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 33)

Of course, the correspondence works as well for the instance that English does not have a declarative. In this case, of course, German is likely not to use one either. This occurs in 675 cases, but these cases are of no interest here.

Apart from this purely quantitative analysis, we again have to take a qualitative stance. English and German, generally speaking, seem to behave similarly concerning the use of the declarative, but there are also visible differences. There are 50 cases in which English uses a declarative and German does not. These cases will be investigated in detail in Chapter 4.2.2.3.1. In 33 cases, German uses a declarative and English does not. These cases will be investigated in detail in chapter 4.2.2.3.2. They need to be investigated further to establish the differences between English and German. I will proceed from the bottom up, first carrying out a microanalysis of individual cases, and then seeing whether patterns emerge.

Quite likely, there is also another difference that is not visible in Table 12 but important nonetheless: in 148 cases, both languages agree in using the declarative, but there may still be differences beyond the level of clause types. I will address these cases in chapter 4.2.2.2 before I focus on the cases that differ in respect to their clause type.

6.2 Agreement in clause type: functional aspects

As the clause type declarative is not prototypically used directive, we should generally question its function at this stage. According to Huddleston/Pullum, “declarative clauses are prototypically concerned with the truth of propositions” (2002: 929). In other words, declaratives are usually assertive speech acts rather than directives.

We have to ask ourselves then: Under what conditions can declaratives be understood as being directive? Are there specific lexical items? Is it a specific word order that is used? Or is it something else entirely?

To investigate the conditions of use as directives for the clause type declarative, I will take two steps: Of course, I will use examples from my corpus – especially the 148 cases where English and German agree in using declaratives. But before I do that, I will have a look at the examples that can be found in textbooks and use them as hypotheses.

6.2.1 Use in textbooks: hypotheses

As directives have been the object of interest in pragmatic research for quite some time, there are many standard examples to be found in textbooks, and that is where I shall start my search. In a discussion on indirectness, Levinson offers a list of utterances “indirectly requesting an addressee to shut the door” (1983: 264). The following examples are the cases realized by a declarative.

“I want you to close the door.
I’d be much obliged if you’d close the door.(...)
You ought to close the door.
It might help to close the door.(...)
I am sorry to have to tell you to close the door.” (Levinson, 1983: 264f)

Bublitz uses the same proposition but provides different examples. He also states that the examples are sorted by their directness, the examples at the beginning are very direct, and the examples at the end of the list are very indirect. Again, the following examples are all the declaratives from this list.

“I order/ask you to shut the door! (...)
You always leave the door open. (...)
The door seems to be open. (...)
I am so glad you remembered to shut the door. (...)
I think people who shut doors when it’s cold outside are really considerate. (...)
I hate sitting in a draft. (...)
I love sitting in a draft.” (Bublitz, 2009: 146)

Of course, I should also look at somewhat equivalent German examples from corresponding German textbooks on pragmatics. Yet that is slightly problematic as some textbooks use different speech acts to demonstrate the notion of indirectness (Hindelang uses the illocutionary type *Frage/request* (²1994:95)) or use different examples from different scenarios (e.g. the Duden Grammar: Eisenberg, ⁷2005). So I simply used the translated version of Levinson as a starting point. As my corpus is also based on translations, using a translated textbook does not seem entirely inappropriate. The translated cases work fine as directives, although some seem stylistically a bit awkward. But we have to keep in mind that the foundations of the whole discipline of pragmatics lie in North America and so many of the standard examples are influenced by the English examples from the early discourse.

“Ich möchte, daß du die Türe schließt
Ich wäre sehr dankbar, wenn du die Türe schließen würdest (...)
Du solltest die Türe schließen
Es könnte nützlich sein, die Türe zu schließen (...)
Es tut mir leid, daß ich dir sagen muß, du sollst bitte die Türe schließen“
(Levinson/Fries, 1990: 264)

Ernst refers to the translated version of Levinson in his textbook and slightly changes the examples or leaves them out completely. This general similarity can be seen best in his list of *yes-no* interrogatives (cf. chapter 4.2.3.2.1). For declaratives, there is only this one example to be found.

Ich wäre sehr dankbar, wenn jemand die Tür schließen könnte. (Ernst, 2002: 108)

In order to have an independent source for directives in German as well, I also looked at the Duden Grammar. This grammar provides a list how requests (or *Aufforderungssätze*, as they call them) could be realized. In contrast to the textbooks on pragmatics that mainly focus on spoken interaction, the Duden Grammar provides examples for both spoken and written use. The content of the last two of the Duden examples (an information sign and a cooking recipe) rather suggest a written use. They are also formally distinct from the other examples as they are the only two that use the German *Konjunktiv I* (cf. Eisenberg, ⁷2005: 436). Consequently, I will exclude the two and their use of the *Konjunktiv* from building hypotheses about declaratives in directive use.

„Du gehst jetzt sofort ins Bett!
Ich brauche heute dringend das Auto.“

Ich verlange jetzt zum letzten Mal die Herausgabe der beschlagnahmten Unterlagen.
(...)

Das ist – wenn Sie bitte ein paar Schritte weitergehen wollen – ein Bild von Rubens. Für nähere Auskünfte wende man sich an das Rektorat. Man nehme 6 Eier, 300g Mehl und 300g Zucker...“ (Eisenberg, ⁷2005: 908)

There are some repeating structures to be found in the textbook examples above. Most cases start on *I* or *ich* and are therefore oriented towards the speaker. There are, however, exceptions as some examples are oriented towards the addressee and some are impersonal. Yet speaker orientation seems to be the standard case.

Both English and German make use of performative verbs (*tell*, *order*, and *ask* in English; *sagen* and *verlangen* in German). The desired action is named either as the verb in the subordinate clause following the performative verb or in the nominalized version of the action verb (*die Herausgabe*).

Subordinate clauses as the situation of an action verb seem to be a general possibility: for instance, the action can be situated in a conditional clause introduced by *if* or *wenn*. In the superordinate clause, the speaker usually expresses a positive evaluation concerning the desired action (*I'd be much obliged/Ich wäre sehr dankbar*), but this is not necessary as can be seen in the use of *wenn* in the example from Duden. Instead of a positive evaluation in the subordinate clause, we find the directive marker *bitte* in the conditional clause.

Explicit evaluation can also be found without a dependent conditional clause in verbs expressing modality as preferences (*want*, *hate*, and *love* in English, *mögen* in German) or even obligation (*ought to/solltest*). The object of the evaluation can either be the desired action itself (*to close the door/daß du die Tür schließt*) or the consequence if the action fails to appear.

There is also another type: simply stating the desired action with the addressee as the subject. Force is added by the use of temporal adverbs pointing to the immediate future (*jetzt sofort*). This type appears only in a German source, namely the Duden Grammar. The other German sources (Levinson/Fries and Ernst) are influenced by English sources and maybe that is why they do not show this type. The other reason why these temporal adverbs do not appear in the other sources is because they are just not very frequent.

The textbooks merely give these different examples and of course make clear that their lists are not exhaustive. Still, the authors make a choice in giving these very examples.

We have to wonder: are these choices purely intuitive? They do not say under what conditions which type can be used – although Bublitz at least orders the examples from direct to indirect. Nor do they say how frequent the types are in relation to each other. At least for the last question – the frequency of the different types – my corpus should be able to give some answers.

In the following I will mostly refer to the 148 cases where English and German agree in using declaratives.

6.2.2 Use in the corpus

When we start describing the use of declaratives in the corpus, we should probably not only take into account how many declaratives occur in each language but also which language they originate from. This is what Table 13 demonstrates.

Table 13. Source languages for declaratives

	English	German
original	71	77
translation	77	71
total	148	148

At first glance it may seem that English and German contribute nearly equally to the 148 cases where they agree in using declaratives and that the slight majority for German (52%) can be neglected. Yet this slight difference in frequencies becomes more remarkable when we set it in relation to the frequency of original languages in the whole corpus. These frequencies are illustrated in Table 14 below.

Table 14. Source languages in the entire corpus⁹

	English	German
original	504	402
translation	402	504
total	906	906

The proportion of originally English utterances in the overall corpus is decidedly higher (56%) than in the declarative subset (48%). Originally German utterances make up for only 44% in the entire corpus. Conversely, in the declarative subset German suddenly

⁹ Table 14 is identical with Table 10 in Chapter 5.2.

becomes clearly the dominant language. This is something to be kept in mind during the analysis of declaratives.

Action verbs. I shall start the description of declaratives in my corpus at the syntactically most central element, the action verb. The lexical verb in a regular declaratives can be the verb(s) denoting the desired action(s) as in Examples 5 and 6 but there can also be other verbs as in Examples 7 and 8.

- (5) Laurence, you want to have your bath and get changed: (Leigh, 1979: 2)
- (6) Laurence, du solltest ein Bad nehmen und dich umziehen! (Leigh/Braband: 4)
- (7) Ich brauch Leinen, sag ich. (Brecht, 1999: 60)
- (8) I said I need linen! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 70)

Most of the examples in the textbooks contained an action verb which suggests that this should be the standard case for declaratives in directive use. The data in my corpus is somewhat inconclusive.

Table 15. Action verbs in declaratives

	English	German
+action verb	80	82
-action verb	68	66
total	148	148

Of the 148 cases where English and German coincide in their use of declaratives, there are 80 cases in English where the lexical verb of the declarative denotes the desired action and 82 cases in German – so an action verb is present in slightly more than half the cases (54% in English and 55% in German). This number of action verbs cannot be ignored, but it is lower than the frequency of action verbs in the whole corpus. Table 16 shows the frequency of action verbs in the whole corpus.

Table 16. Action verbs in the entire corpus

	English	German
+action verb	613	620
-action verb	293	286
total	906	906

The frequency of action verbs in the whole corpus ranks in at 68% in both English and German. This is decidedly more frequent than the use of action verbs in declaratives. Consequently the use of action verbs alone is maybe not such a good indicator for the

directive use of declaratives. So we should consider under which circumstances declaratives contain action verbs. At the same we should also investigate declaratives that do not contain the desired action as a lexical verb. In these cases, the hearer must infer what he or she is supposed to do. So what other clues are there instead?

Examples 5/6 and 7/8 above differ in the presence of an action verb, but also in other features. Examples 5/6 contain the action the addressee should carry out and they are oriented towards the addressee. Examples 7/8, however, are oriented towards the speaker, so it seems fitting that there is no mentioning of the desired action. Instead the object of desire (of the speaker) is mentioned (*Leinen/linen*) and framed by *ich brauch/I need*. Ervin-Tripp classifies this as a construction sui generis and labels it as *Need statements* (1976: 29), and the Duden-Grammar also contains an example starting on *Ich brauche* (cf. Eisenberg, 2005: 908). It should be interesting to see whether this type reflected in my rather randomly chosen example appears regularly in my corpus as well. Table 17 illustrates the use of *need/brauchen* as lexical verbs¹⁰:

Table 17. *need/brauchen* in declaratives

	English	German
+need/brauchen	4	4
-need/brauchen	144	144
total	148	148

Need and *brauchen* occur four times each which accounts for only 3% of declaratives, which is decidedly less than the number of cases without an action verb as illustrated in Table 4. Examples 9 and 10 serve to illustrate one of the four cases.

(9) I'll need some scissors. (Osborne, 1996: 25)

(10) Ich brauche eine Schere. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 30)

So Tripp's *need statements* cannot account for all the cases where we do not find an action verb. Even if we widen this *need*-type to include other verbs with similar meanings, e.g. *want* in English or *wollen* and *mögen* in German, they still account for only slightly more than 5% of declaratives. Examples 12 and 13 demonstrate a case where we find *want* in the English version and *wollen* in the German, Examples 13 and 14 shows a case with *want* in English and *mögen* in German. Both cases function similar to the *need* statements as they contain a verb denoting desire and the desired object.

¹⁰ Uses of *need* and *brauchen* as semi modals or catenative verbs (e.g. „Du brauchst mir kein Diagramm aufzuzeichnen.“ (Osborne: 92)) are not taken into account here.

- (11) Meinen Schnaps will ich. (Brecht, 1999: 60)
- (12) I want my brandy! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 70)
- (13) All I want is a little peace. (Osborne, 1996: 57)
- (14) Alles, was ich möchte, ist ein bißchen Frieden. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 61)

It may be questioned whether the verb denoting desire is really necessary or whether the mentioning of the desired object can be sufficient for a directive interpretation. Chapter 10 on non-sentences may provide some answers.

Orientation. The next remarkable feature in the textbooks was the relationship between speaker and addressee, or the orientation of the utterance. In most cases, the orientation of the utterance was towards the speaker. This tendency can also be seen in my data as Table 18 illustrates.

Table 18. Orientation in declaratives

	English	German
speaker	61	59
hearer	42	45
impersonal	31	25
we	12	15
unclear ¹¹	2	4
total	148	148

In general, we can say that all four possible types of orientation can be found for declaratives. The orientation towards the speaker is clearly the dominant type with roughly 40% in both languages. Examples 15 and 16 serve to illustrate this type. The second most frequent orientation is towards the hearer with 30 % in German and slightly less (28%) in English. This type is illustrated in Examples 17 and 18. The impersonal orientation accounts for 21% in English and 17% in German and is illustrated in Examples 19 and 20. The least frequent orientation is towards both speaker and hearer, consequently towards *we*. It accounts for 10% in German and 8% in English and is illustrated in Examples 21 and 22.

- (15) Dagegen brauch ich Brennholz. (Brecht, 1999: 68)
- (16) And I do need wood. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 78)
- (17) Sie könnten ein bisschen Kleinholz machen. (Brecht, 1999: 68)
- (18) You might chop me a bit of firewood. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 78)
- (19) That's enough, Beverly. (Leigh, 1979: 36)
- (20) Das reicht, Beverly! (Leigh/Braband: 56)

¹¹ This category is not a category by its own right, but rather an umbrella term for cases that cannot be clearly allocated to any of the other categories.

(21) Wir müssen nun deine Koffer packen. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 44)

(22) Now we must get your bags packed. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 56)

The dominance of the speaker orientation becomes all the more striking if we compare the frequencies of the different orientations in declaratives to the frequencies of orientation types in the whole corpus.

Table 19. Orientation in the entire corpus

	English	German
hearer	562	561
impersonal	198	210
speaker	95	89
we	45	43
unclear	6	3
total	906	906

In the whole corpus, the orientation towards the speaker ranks at third place; it accounts for only 10% of cases in English and in German. In comparison to this, the frequency of speaker orientation in declaratives is enormous. On a wider perspective we can conclude the following: If an utterance is oriented towards the speaker, it is very likely to be a declarative. Of the total 95 cases with speaker orientation in English, 80 (84%) are declaratives. Of the total 89 cases with speaker orientation in German, 66 (78%) are declaratives. These numbers differ from the numbers in Table 18 which only refers to the cases where English and German agree in using declaratives.

As a next step, I want to look at the interaction of the two features, orientation and presence of an action verb, in declaratives. The basic assumption is that utterances that contain an action verb are oriented towards the hearer and utterances without an action verb are oriented towards the speaker. The following tables show the interaction between these two features each for English and German. I shall begin with speaker orientation which is the more dominant orientation for declaratives. Table 20 demonstrates the interaction of speaker orientation and action verbs in English while Table 21 demonstrates the same interaction for German.

Table 20. Interaction between speaker orientation and action verbs in English

ENGLISCH	+speaker	-speaker	
+action verb	22	58	80
-action verb	39	29	68
total	61	87	148

Table 21. Interaction between speaker orientation and action verbs in German

GERMAN	+speaker	-speaker	
+action verb	23	59	82
-action verb	36	30	66
	59	89	148

First of all, there is no remarkable difference between English and German concerning the interaction between speaker orientation and the presence of an action verb. In both languages we find some speaker oriented declaratives that contain action verbs and some that do not. Yet the latter case is more frequent. In nearly two thirds of the cases we find no action verb if a declarative is speaker-oriented. In English, out of the 61 cases that are speaker-oriented, 39 cases (64%) do not contain an action verb. In German, out of 59 cases that are speaker-oriented, 36 cases (61%) do not contain an action verb. This dominant type is once again illustrated in Examples 23 and 24. The less frequent type (speaker-oriented and an action verb) can be found in Examples 25-28:

(23) Meinen Schnaps will ich. (Brecht, 1999: 60)

(24) I want my brandy! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 70)

(25) Ich bitt mir aus, daß Sie sich draußen halten. (Brecht, 1999: 49)

(26) I'll thank you to keep your nose out of this. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 61)

(27) Herr Inspektor, ich muß Sie bitten, mich zu verhaften. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 51)

(28) Herr Inspector, I must ask you to arrest me. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 64)

The dominant case without an action verb illustrated in Examples 23/24 is very clearly oriented towards the speaker; there is no reference to the addressee at all. Examples 25-28 demonstrate the less frequent type with an action verb which is also oriented towards the speaker, at least on the level of the main clause. Yet the subject of the subordinate clause that contains the action verb is the addressee. So there is some reference to the addressee after all if an action verb is present. This makes the connection between speaker orientation and the lack of the action verb in the utterance even stronger.

As a next step, we should also look at the interaction of hearer-oriented declaratives with action verbs.

Table 22. Interaction between hearer orientation and action verbs in English

ENGLISCH	+hearer	-hearer	
+action verb	36	44	80
-action verb	6	62	68
	42	106	148

Table 23. Interaction between hearer orientation and action verbs in German

GERMAN	+hearer	-hearer	
+action verb	40	42	82
-action verb	5	61	66
	45	103	148

Similar to the results from Tables 20 and 21, we can state in the beginning that there is no significant difference between English and German concerning the interaction between hearer orientation and the presence of an action verb. In both languages, we find a clear interaction for these two features: if a declarative is hearer-oriented, it most likely contains an action verb. In English, out of the 42 cases that are hearer-oriented, 36 cases (86%) do not contain an action verb. In German, out of 45 cases that are speaker-oriented, 40 cases (89%) do not contain an action verb. There are some few exceptions, but they account for only slightly more than 10%.

- (29) Helena, you mustn't leave him. (Osborne, 1996: 90)
- (30) Helena - du darfst ihn nicht verlassen. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 82)
- (31) Blocher, du kannst photographieren. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 12)
- (32) Blocher, you can take the photographs now. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 13)
- (33) You're sitting on my chair. (Osborne, 1996: 32)
- (34) Du sitzt auf meinem Stuhl. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 37)

Examples 29/30 and 31/32 below illustrate the standard case of declaratives with action verb and hearer orientation. Both contain modal verbs, so this feature should be scrutinized in more detail later. Examples 33 and 34 show one of the rare cases of hearer orientation without action verb. The declarative describes the present state which is apparently unpleasant for the speaker. He wants the addressee to get out of his chair.

Verbal items preceding action verbs. After looking at lexical verbs denoting the desired action, we should also take into account what other items are part of the verbal complex. Likely candidates are modal verbs, other catenative verbs expressing modality,

lexical verbs expressing mental states and, as we are dealing with speech acts, of course speech verbs. I shall start with modal verbs.

The group of modal verbs (alternatively: modal auxiliaries or central modals) in English consists of: *can, could, may, might, shall, should, will, would* and *must*. (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 135)

The group of *Modalverben* in German consists of: *dürfen, können, mögen, müssen, sollen, and wollen* (cf. Eisenberg, ⁷2005: 489); I added *werden* to this group for my analysis. The Duden Grammar attributes the function as “temporal-modales Hilfsverb” (cf. Eisenberg, ⁷2005: 424) to *werden*.

Maybe the most important difference between modal verbs in English and German is the treatment of present and past forms. In German, forms as *ich kann* and *ich konnte* are considered to be part of one verbal paradigm, while in English *I can* and *I could* are regarded as two different verbs. To keep track of this difference, I will take the different tense forms of German modal verbs into account when I come to individual cases. But before going into detail, we should first have a look at the group of modal verbs in general. Table 24 shows the frequency of modal verbs in declaratives.

Table 24. Modal verbs in declaratives

	English	German
+modal verb	72	66
-modal verb	76	82
Total	148	148

Of the 148 cases where English and German coincide in their use of declaratives, there are 72 cases in English that contain modal verbs and 66 cases in German – so this accounts for 49% in English and 45% in German, slightly less than half the cases in both languages. This number appears to be relatively high, but on its own this frequency is not significant. Therefore we have to compare the frequency of modal verbs in this special subset to the overall frequency of modal verbs in the whole corpus. Table 25 shows the frequency of modal verbs all over the corpus.

Table 25. Modal verbs in the overall corpus

	English	German
+modal verb(s)	147	152
-modal verb(s)	759	754
Total	906	906

Of the 906 cases in total, 147 cases in English contain modal verbs and 152 cases in German. These numbers account for 16% in English and 17% in German which is decidedly lower than the frequency of modal verbs in declaratives. So modal verbs can be regarded as a characteristic feature of declaratives in directive use.

After establishing the relatively high frequency of modal verbs in declaratives, we have to investigate which modal verbs are relevant. Is it the full range of modal verbs as described above that is used or is it just a few that are used? And do those that are used occur in equal frequency?

Actually both English and German make use of the full range of modal verbs in the 148 declaratives. Yet if we also take into account the different tenses of German modals, we can see that *mögen* is not used in its present form, while *dürfen* is not used in its past form.

The second question concerns the frequency of the modal verbs that are used. Before I describe English and German modals in relation to each other, I will first illustrate the numbers of modals for each language starting with modals in English.

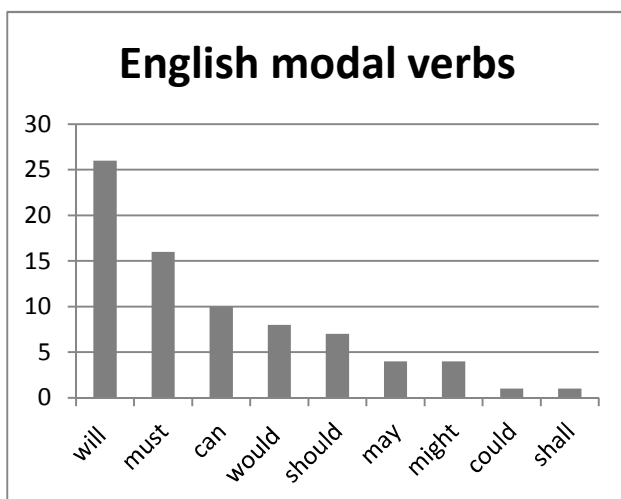


Figure 7. Modal verbs in English declaratives

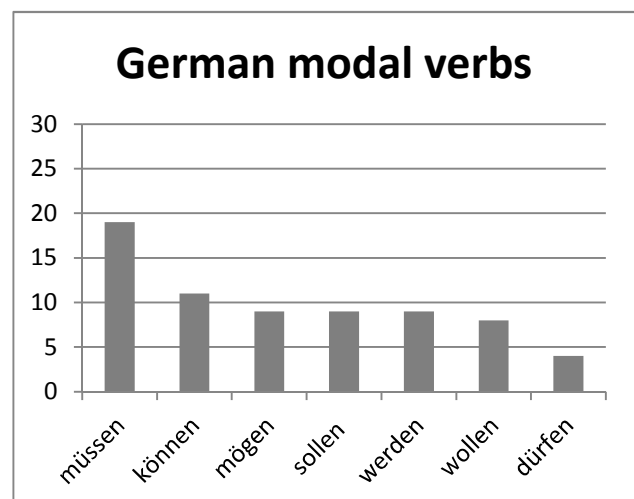


Figure 8. Modal verbs in German declaratives

In English the distribution is the following: *will* occurs 26 times, *must* 16 times, *can* ten times, *would* eight times, *should* seven times, *may* and *might* four times each, and *could*

and *shall* once each. (The numbers in this graph do not add up to 72, as some of the cases where modals are used contain two modals together. 77 modals occur in 72 cases.)

In German the distribution is as follows: *müssen* occurs 19 times; *können* eleven times; *mögen*, *sollen*, and *werden* 9 times; *wollen* eight times; and *dürfen* four times. (The numbers in this graph do not add up to 66, as some of the cases where modals are used contain two modals together. 69 modals occur in 66 cases.)

After establishing the frequencies of the individual modals for each language, we have to consider how English and German modals correlate. Table 26 demonstrates this correspondence in general.

Table 26. Correspondence of English modal verbs and German modal verbs in declaratives

	German +modal	German -modal	
English +modal	47	25	72
English -modal	19	57	76
	66	82	148

For the most part, English and German agree in their use of modal verbs in declaratives. If English uses modal verbs, German uses modal verbs too in about two thirds of the cases. There are notable exceptions, however, where one language uses modals and the other does not. To find out how these differences can be explained, we should look at the equivalences for specific modals. I will not discuss equivalences for all modals, but only for the ones that occur ten times or more: *will*, *must* and *can* in English and *müssen* and *können* in German.

I shall start on *will* which occurs 26 times. In most cases, however, there is no equivalent modal verb in German. This happens in 18 cases. Examples 35 and 36 illustrate this type. It shows that *will* is used to predict the future action of the addressee – the German utterance uses the *Präsens* to denote this future reference, which explains why it does not contain any modal verbs. *Will* can also be used to predict the speaker’s own action, e.g. in the main clause of conditional constructions like in Example 38. These conditional constructions containing *if/wenn* will be discussed in detail below.

(35) Hier bleibst du, das ist zu spät. (Brecht, 1999: 38)

(36) You'll stay where you are. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 51)

(37) Wir haun deinen Wagen zusammen, wenn du nicht mit Schlagen aufhörst. (Brecht, 1999: 100)

(38) If you don't stop that noise, we'll smash your wagon! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 108)

In four other cases, *will* again predicts the future action of the addressee in the English version. In these cases the German utterance contains *werden* to denote this future reference. It is remarkable that all four cases are English originals, so the use of *werden* for *will* occurs only in translations. Examples 39 and 40 illustrate this type.

(39) You'll be here. (Osborne, 1996: 68)

(40) Sie werden hier sein. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 72)

In two other cases we find the modal verb *müssen* (Example 42). Yet they do not function as equivalents to *will*, but to the catenative *have to*. So *will* again expresses the prediction of a future action and there is no equivalent in German, only the lexical verb in the *Präsens*.

(41) You'll have to come. (Leigh, 1979: 14)

(42) Ja, Sie müssen auch kommen. (Leigh/Braband: 23)

In one other case, the German version contains the modal verb *wollen* (Example 43). It is the only of the 26 occurrences of the English modal *will* where this verb denotes volition. It refers to the action of the speaker, the desired action is mentioned much later in the utterance. We can see from this example that some of the utterances are very complex and consist of several clauses.

(43) Ich will alles tun, was Sie von mir verlangen, für Sie arbeiten Tag und Nacht, nur fortschicken dürfen Sie mich nicht. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 42)

(44) I will do anything you ask, work for you day and night: only you can't send me away! (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 52)

In the one remaining example, the English and the German utterance differ substantially from each other; there is again no equivalent for *will*, but only the *Präsens* of the German lexical verb to denote the prediction about future events.

On the whole, we can say that *will* hardly ever has a direct formal equivalent in German; in most cases the German verb is used in the *Präsens*. This lack of formal equivalences already explains most of the 25 cases where English uses a modal and German does not.

The next most frequent modal in English is *must*, which occurs in 16 cases. In 13 cases, its German equivalent is *müssen*. These modals can be used together with the action verb expressing obligation as in Examples 45 and 46 or without a verb denoting the desired action like in Example 47 and 48. In this case the modals *must* and *müssen* express a rather

strong desire of the speaker which can be classified as necessity. The speaker wants the addressee to provide a cigarette. In Examples 46 and 50 we find the only case where *must/müssen* is used to hedge an explicit performative (cf. Bublitz, ²2009: 149). The meaning expressed by *must/müssen* in this case is again necessity.

- (45) Jetzt mußt du mit deinem Bruder ziehn, Katrin. (Brecht, 1999: 20)
- (46) You must help your brother now, Katrin. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 33)
- (47) I must have a cigarette. (Osborne, 1996: 12)
- (48) Ich muß eine Zigarette rauchen. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 19)
- (49) Herr Inspektor, ich muß Sie bitten, mich zu verhaften. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 51)
- (50) Herr Inspector, I must ask you to arrest me. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 64)

In two other cases the modal *must* is used in combination with a negation. Consequently the German equivalent in these two cases is *dürfen*. The meaning expressed here is obligation; in Examples 51 and 52, the authority exercised is the will of the speaker.

- (51) Helena, you mustn't leave him. (Osborne, 1996: 90)
- (52) Helena - du darfst ihn nicht verlassen. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 92)

In the one remaining case of *must* (Example 54), we find *mögen* (in its *Konjunktiv II* form) in the German version. While the meaning in the German original denotes is the speaker's wish, in the English translation the modal verb expresses much more force, namely obligation.

- (53) Anna, ich möchte ein Wort mit dir allein haben. (Brecht, 1999: 89)
- (54) Anna, I must have a word with you alone. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 97)

Apart from this one exception, we can say that *must* and *müssen* are used mostly equivalent in declaratives. The use of *dürfen* for the negated form of *must* is also a standard.

The next most frequent modal in English is *can*, which occurs in ten cases. In seven cases, the German equivalent is *können*. In most cases *can/können* are used to give permission like in Examples 55 and 56. Examples 57 and 58 demonstrate a rare case where *can/können* is used to express ability in a conditional construction.

- (55) Jetzt können Sie sich beschweren. (Brecht, 1999: 59)
- (56) You can file your complaint. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 69)
- (57) I can't concentrate with you standing there like that. (Osborne, 1996: 28)
- (58) Ich kann mich nicht konzentrieren, wenn ihr beide so dasteht. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 33)

In one other case (Example 59) we find *dürfen* in the German version as equivalent for *can*. It is used as a desperate wish and expresses the opposite of permission, i.e. a prohibition. As the speaker is in an inferior position in relationship to the addressee, it seems

appropriate that the English translation does not use *mustn't* to express this prohibition but *can't*.

(59) Ich will alles tun, was Sie von mir verlangen, für Sie arbeiten Tag und Nacht, nur fortschicken dürfen Sie mich nicht. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 42)

(60) I will do anything you ask, work for you day and night: only you can't send me away! (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 52)

In the two remaining cases, there is no direct equivalent for *can* in the German version. In Example 62, *can* expresses permission (or in combination with *not* rather a prohibition). In the German version, the speaker states this prohibition as a fact. In Example 64, *can* expresses ability. The negation of the following lexical verb *hear/hören* already implies this lack of ability, so the use of *können* in German would be somewhat redundant.

(61) Nein, herein kommt ihr mir nicht mit eure Dreckstiefeln in mein Zelt! (Brecht, 1999: 64)

(62) No, you can't come inside the tent, not with those boots on. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 74)

(63) Wir sind allein. Ihre Familie hört Sie nicht mehr. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 36)

(64) We're alone now. Your family can't hear you any more. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 45)

The other English modal verbs all occur less than ten times in declaratives, so I will not go into detail, as it would be hard to establish patterns.

The most frequent modal in German is *müssen* which occurs 19 times. In 13 cases we find *must* as the English equivalent. These cases were discussed above so I will not repeat myself here.

One other case (Example 66) actually contains *must* in the English utterance, though it is not part of the core of the utterance. Instead it precedes the core as supportive move.

(65) Aber wenn nicht, dann muß ich dir's halt sagen, daß du die mitnimmst, davon kann keine Rede sein. (Brecht, 1999: 89)

(66) I thought I wouldn't have to say it right out, but I see I must. If you're bringing her, it's all off. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 97)

In four other cases we find no modal auxiliary as the equivalent for *müssen*, but the catenative verb *have to*. In two of these cases *have to* is preceded by *will* (Example 68) and in one case by *may* (Example 69) which explains why *must* cannot be used in these cases, as English – unlike German – does not allow the serialization of modal auxiliaries (cf. Mindt,

1995: 31). Example 71 shows the one case where *have to* is used without preceding modal verb with *müssen* as its German equivalent (Example 72).

(67) Aber wir müssen sie herausklopfen, wenn wir einen Führer haben wollen. (Brecht, 1999: 95)

(68) But we'll have to knock - if we want a guide. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 103)

(69) You may have to face it, lovely. (Osborne, 1996: 26)

(70) Du wirst es über kurz oder lang doch tun müssen, wunderbares Mädchen. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 31)

(71) Yeah, but we've got to let him breathe. (Leigh, 1979: 50)

(72) Ja, aber wir müssen ihn atmen lassen. (Leigh/Braband: 78)

In the last remaining case (Example 74), *müssen* is used in the past to express a hypothetical scenario. In the English version (Example 73), we find *should* which also describes a hypothetical event. Yet it is difficult to call them equivalent as they appear in slightly different contexts – there is a different orientation of the utterances (speaker orientation in English, impersonal in German).

(73) I should dry it over the gas - the fire in your room would be better. (Osborne, 1996: 83)

(74) Es müßte eigentlich über dem Gasherd trocknen - aber das Feuer bei dir im Zimmer ist besser. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 86)

Nevertheless it is pretty clear that the dominant equivalent for *müssen* is *must*. Alternatively, though much less frequent, we find *have to*, especially in combination with other modal verbs.

The next most frequent modal in German is *können* which occurs eleven times. In seven cases we find *can* as the English equivalent. These cases were discussed above so I will not repeat myself here.

In two other cases we find *might* in the English version. In both cases *might* expresses possibility and reflects the vagueness of the German *Konjunktiv II* of *können*. Examples 75 and 76 illustrate this type.

(75) Sie könnten ein bisschen Kleinholz machen. (Brecht, 1999: 68)

(76) You might chop me a bit of firewood. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 78)

Could and *may* both appear once as equivalents for *können*. *May* is used to give permission as can be seen in Example 78. *Could* appears in a highly complex communicative situation (Example 80). At first sight it appears to be part of a suggestion and this is also the effect the speaker wants to achieve. But as the stage direction (*laut/aloud*) indicates, the

real addressee is not the *Feldweibel*, but *Mutter Courage* and her children who overhear the utterance. So this utterance actually serves to get *Mutter Courage* to stop her wagon. In the concrete utterance, *could* serves to indicate the suggestive character, pointing out a possibility.

(77) Sie können gehen, Sievers. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 49)

(78) You may go. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 61)

(79) (laut) Du kannst dir die Schnalle ja wenigstens anschauen, Feldweibel. (Brecht, 1999: 19)

(80) (Aloud) That belt, Sergeant, you could at least take a look at it. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 32)

All in all, the dominant equivalent for *können* is *can*, but exceptions are possible – in these cases we find *might*, *may*, and *could*. There is no occurrence of *können* without formal equivalent in the English utterance.

In addition to modal verbs, there are also other verbal types preceding the main verb of an utterance, e.g. modality verbs, verbs denoting mental states or speech verbs. Unlike modal verbs, this group is not clearly limited but basically open-ended. The other problem is the classification: while modality verbs are defined by their syntactic characteristics that “are in some degree intermediate between auxiliaries and main verbs” (Quirk et al, 1985: 136), verbs denoting mental states and speech verbs are rather semantic categories, so there may actually be some cases where the categories overlap. I will mention it in case there are problematic cases.

Of course, there is also the group of primary auxiliaries that may precede the lexical verb for the analytical formation of grammatical categories like tense and aspect. Yet these verbs will not be taken into account here.

As mentioned above, there may also be other items in the verbal complex of declarative utterances than just lexical verbs denoting the desired action and modal verbs. As a next step I shall look at a group I call modality verbs. They express modality similar to modal verbs, yet for formal reasons they are not part of that group. For instance, modal verbs in both English (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 127) and German (Eisenberg, 2005: 562) are followed by lexical verbs in the bare infinitive. Modality verbs, in contrast, are followed by lexical verbs in the expanded infinitive with *to* or *zu*. There are also other criteria to define

modality verbs but this is not the point here. Table 27 shows the frequency of modality verbs in declaratives.

Table 27. Modality verbs in declaratives

	English	German
+modality verb	19	5
-modality verb	124	142
Total	148	148

We can see that modality verbs are not all too frequent. They occur in 13% of the English declaratives and in only 3% of the German declaratives. Now we may wonder whether a group of items as rare as this can really be considered to be characteristic for declaratives in directive use. To find out about this, we should have a look at the number of relevant modality verbs in the overall corpus. Table 28 shows the frequency of modality verbs in the corpus.

Table 28. Modality verbs in the entire corpus

	English	German
+modality verb	46	12
-modality verb	860	894
Total	906	906

We can see that the frequency of modality verbs in the whole corpus is even lower than in the subset of declaratives. In English they occur in only 5% of all cases, in German in only 1%. So their frequency in declaratives is rather high which makes them worth a closer look after all.

In English we find among others *endeavor to*, *be going to*, *had better*, *let*, *have (got) to*, *ought to*, and *want to* in this group. In German there are *brauchen*, *haben*, *lassen* and *versuchen*, all followed by lexical verbs in non-finite forms. The English verb *have (got) to* is the only of these verbs that occurs more than five times and so this is the only verb where I will go into detail.

Have (got) to occurs eight times in the cases where English and German agree in using declaratives. In five cases it appears in the form *have to*, in three cases in the form *have got to*. In general it expresses obligation and can be regarded as partly synonymous to the modal *must*. One of the differences between *have to* and *must* is that the former allows for the serialization with modal verbs as mentioned in Chapter 6.2.2.

In seven cases, *have (got) to* precedes the lexical verb denoting the desired action, in one other case the lexical verb is not the desired action. This special case is illustrated in Examples 81 and 82. The equivalent for *have to* in the corresponding German version is *haben zu*.

(81) Ich habe ihn zu vernehmen. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 14)

(82) I have to ask him some questions. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 15)

The standard equivalent for *have to*, however, is the German modal verb *müssen* which occurs in four cases. These cases were illustrated in the discussion above concerning *müssen*. One other case also contains *müssen* in the German utterance, though it is not part of the core of the utterance but precedes it as supportive move (Example 84).

(83) Actually, Angela's got to be getting up early in the morning for work, so I think we ought to be going now. (Leigh, 1979: 48)

(84) Ehrlich gesagt, Angela muß morgen früh raus. Wir sollten vielleicht lieber gehen. (Leigh/Braband: 76)

In one other case, the German equivalent for *have to* is *brauchen*. It is important to note that this is only possible in the context of the negation (Example 86).

(85) You don't have to draw a diagram for me - I can see what's happened to her. (Osborne, 1996: 91)

(86) Ich kann sehen was mit ihr ist. Du brauchst mir kein Diagramm aufzuzeichnen. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 92)

In the last remaining case (Examples 87 and 88), we do not find a verbal item denoting the urgency in German. Instead, the desired action (*einen Entschluß fassen*) is preceded by stating the fact that is about time (*höchste Zeit*) for the desired action.

(87) You've got to make up your mind what you're going to do. (Osborne, 1996: 45)

(88) Es ist höchste Zeit, daß du einen Entschluß faßt. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 47)

As mentioned above, all other modality verbs occur less than five times, so I will not discuss them. In general it seems that modality verbs are mostly used to express obligation similar to modal verbs. Yet none of the modality verbs in the corpus appears in any of the textbooks.

The next group of verbs preceding lexical verbs denoting the desired action are lexical verbs themselves. This group is only defined by semantic criteria, namely the expression of a mental state. Table 29 shows the frequency of verbs denoting mental states in declaratives.

Table 29. Verbs denoting mental states in declaratives

	English	German
+verb denoting mental state	22	17
-verb denoting mental state	126	131
Total	148	148

Verbs denoting mental states are slightly more frequent than modality verbs in English and decidedly more frequent than modality verbs in German. Still, they account for only 15% of cases in English and 11% in German. To see whether they are really characteristic for declaratives in directive use, we should once again check their frequency in the whole corpus. Table 30 shows the frequency of verbs denoting mental states in the whole corpus.

Table 30. Verbs denoting mental states in the entire corpus

	English	German
+mental states	58	28
-mental states	848	878
Total	906	906

We can see that the frequency of verbs denoting mental states in the whole corpus is decidedly lower than in the subset of declaratives. Only 6% of all English utterances contain verbs denoting mental states in English and 3% of German utterances. Consequently, their use is indeed characteristic for declaratives.

The verbs we find in English are *hope, like, mind, reckon, think, want* and *wish*. In German we find *annehmen, ausmachen, bemerken, denken, glauben, hoffen, meinen, wissen* and *wünschen*. The only verbs that appear more than five times are *think* and *want* in English and *denken* in German.

The most frequent verb denoting a mental state in English, *think*, occurs eleven times in the cases where English and German agree in using the declarative. *Think* is mostly used to refer to the mental state of the speaker (in ten cases); in only one case the mental state of the hearer is relevant.

If *think* is used together with an action verb which happens in seven cases, this action verb is also accompanied by either a modal verb or a catenative verb. Examples 89 and 91 below serve to illustrate this.

(89) I was thinking you might help me there. (Osborne, 1996: 47)

(90) Übrigens dachte ich, Sie könnten mir dabei helfen. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 51)

(91) I thought you were going to make me some tea. (Osborne, 1994: 14)

(92) Ich dachte du würdest etwas Tee machen. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 20)

In Examples 89 and 90, the subordinate clause on its own would work fine as directive, the superordinate clause containing the verb *think/denken* is not really necessary. It is actually used similar to a speech verb. In German, the subordinate clause is not introduced by a subordinating conjunction, so it keeps the finite verb in second position. In Example 91, the verb *think* is used to refer to the speaker's (past) expectations concerning the hearer's action. In this context, the verb *think* is absolutely necessary; the dependent clause alone cannot be understood to be directive on its own. In both Example 90 and 92, *denken* appears in the German version of the utterance. *Denken* is also the most frequent equivalent for *think* with seven occurrences. The other possible equivalent in German is *glauben*, which occurs twice. Example 94 below illustrates this type.

(93) But I don't think it'll be necessary. (Leigh, 1979: 15)

(94) Ich glaube aber nicht, daß es nötig ist. (Leigh/Braband: 25)

The speaker turns down an offer that the two men present go down to her house and inspect her daughter's party. By using the verbs *think* and *glauben*, the speaker makes clear that this is a personal decision.

In the three remaining cases, there is no direct equivalent for *think* to be found in the German version.

(95) You wouldn't seriously think of leaving us, would you? (Osborne, 1996: 25)

(96) Du wirst uns doch nicht verlassen? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 30)

(97) Actually, Angela's got to be getting up early in the morning for work, so I think we ought to be going now. (Leigh, 1979: 48)

(98) Ehrlich gesagt, Angela muß morgen früh raus. Wir sollten vielleicht lieber gehen. (Leigh/Braband: 76)

In Examples 95 and 96, the speaker makes a statement about the addressee's plans which, together with the rising intonation, sounds rather like a question. Yet the word order in both English and German is clearly that of a declarative. In the English version, he hopes that she does not think about a possible future action; in the German he hopes that she will not carry out the possible future action but the mental state of the addressee is not relevant. Similar to that, the speaker refers to his own mental state in the English version in example 97.

The second most frequent verb denoting a mental state in English, *want*, occurs six times in the cases where English and German agree in using the declarative. Although *want*

is used as a catenative verb in these six cases, the verb following *want* is usually (in four cases) not the verb denoting the desired action. Instead, the desired action must be inferred from some other information, normally the will of the speaker (in three cases).

(99) Jimmy, I want to speak to you. (Osborne, 1996: 90)

(100) Ich möchte mit dir sprechen! (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 92)

(101) Ich will Sie nie mehr sehen. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 39)

(102) I never want to see you again. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 49)

In Examples 99/100, the speaker expresses his will to speak to the addressee; consequently the desired action on the side of the hearer is to listen. In Examples 101/102, the speaker expresses his wish never to see the hearer again, so he wants her to leave and never come back. The orientation in these cases is clearly towards the speaker. The German versions use *mögen* and *wollen* to express the speaker's will.

In only two cases, the action verb follows *want*. Example 103 below illustrates this type.

(103) Laurence, you want to have your bath and get changed: (Leigh, 1979: 2)

(104) Laurence, du solltest ein Bad nehmen und dich umziehen! (Leigh/Braband: 4)

Example 103 explicitly refers to the will of the hearer which seems to be rather imposed on the hearer by the speaker. The German version (Example 104) uses *sollen* to refer to this obligation by the speaker; the will of the addressee is not mentioned in the German version.

Something similar can be found in the next case (Example 105): the speaker again uses *want* to refer to the will of someone (or in this case rather something) else, in this case a few bottles of beer. She makes clear that it is the addressee's responsibility to meet these demands.

(105) Those want to go in the fridge, Laurence, to chill. (Leigh, 1979: 23)

(106) Das da gehört in den Kühlschrank, Laurence. (Leigh/Braband: 37)

The German version (Example 106) uses the lexical verb *gehören* to describe the 'appropriate', desired state of things. The *will* that is attributed to inanimate objects in the English version does not play a role in the German version.

This is probably the most striking observation about the relationship between English and German concerning the use of *want* to describe a mental state: *want* can be used to attribute a will to people or even things in English where the obvious candidates in German, *wollen* and *mögen*, cannot be used as equivalents.

The most frequent verb denoting a mental state in German, *denken*, occurs seven times in the cases where English and German agree in using the declarative. In all seven cases, *think* is used as equivalent in the English version.

In five cases, *denken* is followed by an action verb. This action verb again is accompanied by a modal verb in four cases. Example 107 below serves to illustrate this type.

(107) Darum denk ich, du solltest dableiben mitm offenen Schwert, wenns dir wirklich danach ist und dein Zorn ist groß genug, dann hast du einen guten Grund, das geb ich zu, aber wenn dein Zorn ein kurzer ist, geh lieber gleich weg! (Brecht, 1999: 58)

(108) And so I think you should stay here with your sword drawn if you're set on it and your anger is big enough. But if your anger is a short one, you'd better go. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 69)

The speaker states her opinion using *denken* and *think*. As mentioned before in the discussion on *think*, they are used like a speech verb introducing direct speech. The following subordinate clause contains a modal verb (*sollen/should*).

In one other case (Example 110) we find the action verb only in its nominalized form, *das Rauchen*. The speaker refers to a prohibition uttered by a third party (*the doctor/der Arzt*) which is supposed to have some authority over the addressee.

(109) I thought the doctor said no cigarettes? (Osborne, 1996: 12)

(110) Ich dachte der Arzt hat dir's Rauchen verboten? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 19)

In the last case (Examples 111/112), there is no action verb in the utterance, although it is referred to by the *Pronominaladverb* *daran*. In the English version, we find the proform *so*.

(111) Ich denke nicht daran. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 48)

(112) I don't think so. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 58)

The context of the utterance is the following: The inspector is asked whether he would like to have the murderer brought in. Much to the surprise of the doctor in charge, he declines the offer.

As mentioned above, all other verbs denoting mental states occur less than five times, so I will not discuss them. In sum, we can say that the use of verbs denoting mental states shows that the characters in the plays interact in highly complex situations involving expectations beyond the here and now and they express these expectations through verbs denoting mental states.

The third verbal type to precede action verbs are speech verbs. They have received immense attention in the early discussion about speech acts especially in their function as performative verbs (cf. Ballmer/Brennenstuhl, 1981; Searle/Vanderweken, 1985; Ulkan, 1992; Wierzbicka, 1987), so their actual use in utterances should also be looked at. Table 31 shows the frequency of speech verbs in declaratives.

Table 31. Speech verbs in declaratives

	English	German
+speech verb	15	14
-speech verb	133	134
Total	148	148

We can see that speech verbs are not all too frequent in declaratives. They occur in about 10% of utterances in English and in German. Yet the comparison to the frequency of speech verbs in the overall corpus (Table 32) can once again show that the use of the item in question (in this case: speech verbs) is indeed characteristic for declaratives. In the entire corpus, the frequency of speech verbs ranges only at 2% in English and 3% in German.

Table 32. Speech verbs in the entire corpus

	English	German
+speech verb	19	23
-speech verb	887	883
Total	906	906

The verbs we find in English are *ask, beg, insist, promise, say, and thank*. In German we find *ausbitten, bitten, protestieren, sagen, untersagen, verbieten, verlangen, versprechen, and warnen*. The only verb that appears more than five times is *say* in English. All other verbs – in both English and German – are not frequent enough to allow for a systematic analysis of use. This is especially surprising for German as speech verbs in general seem to be rather dominant in the German texts. Of the 14 cases of speech verbs in German, 12 are originally German and only two appear in translated texts. Of the 15 cases of speech verbs in English, 10 occur in translated texts and only five are originally German. Apparently speech verbs in general are more dominant in German texts, but there is a wide variety of speech verbs and not just one or two that are used.

The most frequent speech verb in English is *say* which occurs seven times. The first observation about *say* – regardless of its use – is probably that out of all speech verbs, it is semantically the least specific.

The main focus concerning speech verbs in early speech act theory was on their performative use. For this, the speech verb should be used in the present tense, 1st person singular. In only two of the seven cases do we find the verb *say* used like that. Instead *say* is mostly used in the past tense.

In three cases, *say* introduces a repetition of the speaker's own speech act. Example 113 illustrates this type:

(113) Leave her alone, I said. (Osborne, 1996: 7)

(114) Laß sie in Frieden, sag ich dir. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 13)

Of course one could argue that both the English and the German utterance are actually not declaratives but imperatives. But that would ignore the second clause of both sentences. Surely, the first clause looks like an imperative, but it is syntactically dependent on the second clause as it is the object of the speech verb *say* (cf. Chapter 5.3). Functionally, the utterance can be understood as an insisting of the speaker. Apparently the addressee has not complied with a previous utterance.

In one other case (Example 115), we also find the simple past form of *say* but the corresponding subject is not the speaker of the utterance.

(115) I thought the doctor said no cigarettes? (Osborne, 1996: 12)

(116) Ich dachte der Arzt hat dir's Rauchen verboten? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 19)

We have already encountered this case in the discussion on verbs denoting mental above. The speaker refers back to what a third party has said (*the doctor/der Arzt*). So it is not a case of insisting on one's own previous utterance like in Example 113 above but still, the speaker refers to a directive that the addressee should be aware of. The utterance referred to (*no cigarettes*) can be classified as prohibition – consequently the speech verb in the German utterance is *verbieten*.

In the next case (Example 117), *say* is also used in the past, but the addressee was not present during the previous discussion. So it is the first time he hears about the desired action at all and therefore the function is not yet insistence.

(117) Yeah, we were just saying, actually, Laurence, it might be a good idea if a little bit later on, if you and Tony would pop down there. (Leigh, 1979: 24)

(118) Ja, Laurence, wir haben gerade beschlossen, daß es eine gute Idee wäre, wenn ihr später mal rüber gehen würdet, Tony und du. (Leigh/Braband: 38)

The German translation focusses rather on the result than the process of the previous discussion as it uses *beschließen* as equivalent for the speech verb *say*.

The next two instances of *say* occur together in one utterance (Example 119). They are used in the very same context as Example 117 only moments later. This time we actually have the verb twice in the present tense:

(119) Laurence, I'm not saying there'll be any problems - all I'm saying is, would you please pop down for Sue? (Leigh, 1979: 24)

(120) Ich habe ja auch gar nicht gesagt, daß es irgendwelche Probleme gibt - ich möchte nur, daß ihr mal kurz rüber geht, für Sue. (Leigh/Braband: 38)

Say is used twice by the speaker to keep the sovereignty of interpretation, favouring the second interpretation (*pop down for Sue*) over the first (*there'll be problems*). Accordingly, for the first interpretation *say* is used in combination with the negation *not*. Although both instances of *say* are used in the present tense, the second instance clearly serves as insisting similar to the cases demonstrated above (cf. Examples 113 and 115). In the German version, only the first instance of *say* is rendered as *sagen*, the second is simply omitted in the translation.

The last case of *say* (Example 122) is labeled as *old-fashioned* and *informal* by the OALD (Hornby, ⁸2010: 1360):

(121) Sie, das Poulet à la broche schmeckt aber wirklich großartig. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 54)

(122) I say, this poulet à la broche is simply superb. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 68)

Say is used together with the personal pronoun *I* "to attract (...) attention" (Hornby, ⁸2010: 1360). In the German version, there is no speech verb. Instead the vocative pronoun *Sie* fulfills the function of attracting attention. At first glance, this utterance could be regarded as an assertive speech act. Yet in the given context it is clear that this utterance is another try to convince the addressee to join the speaker at dinner.

In sum, *say* is used mainly to insist on a previous speech act that the addressee has not yet complied with. German uses different equivalents: either the general verb *sagen* or more specific verbs like *verbieten*. Alternatively, there may not be a verbal equivalent at all.

In general it seems that speech verbs – if they occur at all – are hardly used performatively.

Bare use of lexical verbs. After discussing the use of lexical verbs in combination with other verbal items in detail, we should also discuss whether there are cases where the lexical verb is not framed by any other verbal items.¹² Table 33 shows the frequency of these bare action verbs in declaratives.

Table 33. Bare action verbs in declaratives

	English	German
+bare action verb	11	20
-bare action verb	137	128
Total	148	148

We can see that there are quite a few cases where a lexical verb denoting the desired action occurs without other verbal structures accompanying or rather preceding it. There are, however, decidedly more cases in German (14%) than in English (7%). And German also seems to be the dominant source for these constructions: Of the eleven cases in English, seven are originally German and only four are originally English and therefore free from effects of translation.

A type that appears both in English and German is the following: The speaker states that the addressee is doing something or behaving in a way right now that is apparently undesirable. The speaker wants the hearer to stop doing that. Examples 123-126 illustrate this type.

(123) Beverly, you're flicking ash all over him! (Leigh, 1979: 52)

(124) Beverly, deine Asche fällt auf ihn drauf! (Leigh/Braband: 81)

(125) Really, Jimmy, you're like a child. (Osborne, 1996: 20)

(126) Wirklich, Jimmy, du benimmst dich manchmal wie ein Kind. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 25)

In Example 123, Beverly's husband has suffered a heart attack and is lying on the floor. Beverly kneels next to him, smoking. The others want her to stop smoking and flicking ash over him. In the German version (Example 124), the verb does not denote a deliberate action, so it does not qualify as a bare action verb. In contrast to that, Examples 125 and 126 both show bare action verbs, in English this action verb is *to be*, in German it is *benehmen*.

Conditional constructions in German often do not contain modals while modals in the English version can be seen in Example 128. That partly explains why bare lexical verbs are

¹² With verbal items I mean the types described above: modal verbs, catenative verbs, verbs denoting mental states and speech verbs. Of course, we may still encounter auxiliaries that are used to form tenses, but they are disregarded here.

more frequent in German than in English. So there may be no verbal complex containing hints for a directive interpretation, but the conditional construction itself (Example 127). Conditional constructions like these will be discussed in more detail below.

(127) Wenn Sie nicht das Maul halten, ermord ich Sie, ob sich das paßt oder nicht. (Brecht, 1999: 79)

(128) If you don't shut your trap, I'll murder you, cloth or no cloth. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 88)

The type from the Duden Grammar that simply states the action of the addressee ("Du gehst jetzt sofort ins Bett!") only appears in German and only twice. Example 129 and 131 are these two cases.

(129) Hier bleibst du, das ist zu spät. (Brecht, 1999: 38)

(130) You'll stay where you are. It's too late. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 51)

(131) Nein, herein kommt ihr mir nicht mit eure Dreckstiefeln in mein Zelt! (Brecht, 1999: 64)

(132) No, you can't come inside the tent, not with those boots on. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 74)

We can see that they both introduce modal verbs in the English translation (*will* in Example 130 and *can* in Example 132). Another interesting aspect is that in both cases, the element before the verb is not the subject like in the textbook example but an adverbial. That their construction occurs so infrequently and that both utterances come from the same speaker should make us wonder whether that is really a typical use of declaratives in directive function or whether we just face an idiosyncrasy of this character. But it should be noted that the 148 cases under scrutiny right now are only the cases where English and German agree in using the declarative. There are actually more cases where a declarative like in the Duden Grammar is used in German while its English equivalent is not a declarative but an imperative (cf. Chapters 6.3 and 5.3).

if/wenn. Another feature that occurred both in the textbook examples and in the examples discussed above was the use of conditional constructions. The most obvious formal criterion in these sentences is the use of *if* in English and *wenn* in German.

Table 34. *if/wenn* in declaratives

	English	German
+<i>if/wenn</i>	14	16
-<i>if/wenn</i>	134	132
Total	148	148

We can see that neither *if* nor *wenn* occur all too frequently, but roughly in 10% of the declaratives. There are three recurring types in English and German. The following three abstract sentences illustrate these three types. They are sorted according to their relative frequencies.

If you (don't) do A, I will do X.
It would be Y, if A.
You must do A, if Z.

A denotes the desired action in all three types. It is worth noting that all conditional constructions contain an action verb. X is a potential action of the speaker depending on whether the addressee complies or not. Y is either a positive or a negative evaluation of the potential action A. Z is the goal to be achieved through the action A.

In most cases we find the first type as illustrated in Examples 133/134 and 135/136 below. It occurs eight times in both English and German.

(133) Wenn du keine Vernunft annimmst, säbel ich das Vieh nieder. (Brecht, 1999: 96)
(134) If you aren't going to be reasonable, I'll saber your cattle. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 104)
(135) If you come any nearer, I will slap your face. (Osborne, 1996: 55)
(136) Wenn Sie noch näher kommen, schlage ich Sie ins Gesicht. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 58)

The subordinate clause introduced by *if/wenn* contains the verb denoting the desired action while the main clause contains the future action of the speaker as a consequence. In the examples in the corpus, this consequence is nearly always undesirable for the addressee, so these cases could also be considered threats.¹³

There are two remarkable aspects about this: if the consequence is something negative as in these threats, the polarity of the subordinate clause is reversed in relation to a direct formulation. Examples 131/132 could also be rendered as *Nimm Vernunft an.* or *Be reasonable.* But in these renderings the action would not be negated. Example Y on the other hand would have to be rephrased as *Don't come nearer.* or *Kommen Sie nicht näher.* The direct wording would contain the negation that is not there in the conditional clause.

¹³ Threats are usually classified as commissive speech acts rather than directives, so one could ask why these utterances are part of the corpus. I do think, however, that these utterances contain both aspects: they make predictions about the future actions of both hearer and speaker and connect them in this conditional construction.

The other point is the following: Unlike the textbook examples that contain similar conditional constructions with positive consequences, my corpus contains virtually only conditionals with negative consequences. There are some possible explanations for this: the data in my corpus is only from four plays and could therefore reflect the rough end of the (im)politeness scale. Yet the examples in the textbooks presumably rather illustrate the polite end of the (im)politeness scale. Consequently they do not contain threats.

Examples 137/138 below illustrate the only case where we have a positive consequence in a conditional construction. The conditional clause in German is fragmentary and not introduced by *wenn*, but by *falls* which is exclusively conditional in meaning – unlike *wenn* that can also be used temporal. It is the only occurrence of *falls* in the set of declaratives.

(137) Ich lege meinen Browning gern zur Seite, falls Sie auch Ihren Colt –
(Dürrenmatt, 1962: 56)

(138) I shall gladly lay down my Browning if you will do the same with your Colt.
(Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 70)

The second recurring type of conditional constructions occurs four times in German and twice in English. Examples 139/140 and 141/142 illustrate this type.

(139) Yeah, we were just saying, actually, Laurence, it might be a good idea if a little bit later on, if you and Tony would pop down there. (Leigh, 1979: 24)

(140) Ja, Laurence, wir haben gerade beschlossen, daß es eine gute Idee wäre, wenn ihr später mal rüber gehen würdet, Tony und du. (Leigh/Braband: 38)

(141) Klug ist, wenn du bei deiner Mutter bleibst, und wenn sie dich verhöhnen und ein Hühnchen schimpfen, lachst du nur. (Brecht, 1999: 18)

(142) It's using your head to stay with your mother. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 31)

Example 139 is a very complex construction as it frames the conditional construction as reported speech, but that does not interest us right now. The desired action is part of the conditional clause and labeled as *a good idea/eine gute Idee*. In Example 141/142 we see the same principle, though the positive label is *klug/using your head*. In the English version (Example 142), there is no use of *if*; instead we find a non-finite clause without any subordinating conjunction. The conditional meaning can still be retrieved from the context. There are two major differences between this type and the first: here the utterance starts on the evaluation and then introduces the desired action. Furthermore, the evaluation is no action of the speaker. Consequently, the textbook examples for the use of *if/wenn* (Bublitz²2009; Ernst 2002; Levinson 1983; Levinson/Fries 1990) are closer to this second type.

The third recurring type occurs twice in both English and German and is illustrated in Examples 143 and 144 below.

(143) Aber wir müssen sie herausklopfen, wenn wir einen Führer haben wollen.
(Brecht, 1999: 95)

(144) But we'll have to knock - if we want a guide. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 103)

In contrast to the other two types, the verb denoting the desired action is here part of the superordinate clause. The conditional clause would not be necessary for a directive interpretation. Both cases of this type occur in situations where the suggested plan of action is in conflict with other interests. So both cases are used to insist and therefore include the goal to be achieved in the conditional clause. In the given example, the speaker was just ordered by his officer not to make a sound which conflicts with the plan of finding a guide.

The remaining cases where *if* or *wenn* are used do not fall into the three categories presented and are also too few to allow the identification of patterns. An example for the use of *if/wenn* in combination with *please/bitte* as suggested by the Duden Grammar is not to be found in the corpus.

please/bitte. In the textbook examples for declaratives, *please* and *bitte* do not play a big role. Actually, *please* does not appear at all and *bitte* occurs in only two examples in the Duden Grammar. House claims that “[t]he marker *please/bitte* collocates with the two requestive strategies Imperative and Query-Preparatory only. Hints [i.e. declaratives] do not apparently accept this marker.”(1989: 115) But as *please* and *bitte* are considered *requestive markers*, we should still find out whether they appear in declaratives.

Table 35. *please/bitte* in declaratives

	English	German
+<i>please/bitte</i>	2	1
-<i>please/bitte</i>	146	147
Total	148	148

Just as suggested by the textbooks and House, *please* and *bitte* hardly play a role in declaratives. But how do the few cases come about? Are there exceptions to the rule as formulated by House? The Examples 145/146 and 147/148 below contain the two instances of *please* and the one case of *bitte* in declaratives in my corpus.

(145) Bitte, Herr Inspektor - der arme Mensch ist doch krank. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 13)

(146) Please, Inspector - the poor man's ill, you know. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 14)

(147) Laurence, I'm not saying there'll be any problems - all I'm saying is, would you please pop down for Sue? (Leigh, 1979: 24)

(148) Ich habe ja auch gar nicht gesagt, daß es irgendwelche Probleme gibt - ich möchte nur, daß ihr mal kurz rüber geht, für Sue. (Leigh/Braband: 38)

In Examples 145 and 146, *bitte* and *please* are not really integrated in the declarative. The whole utterance serves as a reproof for the preceding utterance of the addressee. The addressee has just called a patient in an asylum a murderer. The first part of the utterance could function as reproof on its own already; the declarative is added to give the reason why the man should not be called a murderer. Altogether we can say that *please* and *bitte* are not part of the declaratives.

In the other case, we only find *please* in the English version (Example 147). There is no *bitte* or any synonymous item in the German version. The *please* in the English version occurs in a *yes-no* interrogative. The punctuation strongly suggests that this interrogative is syntactically a subordinate clause functioning as complement to the subject *all I'm saying*. So it seems this use of *please* in a declarative is not really a violation to the rule by House either.

Modal particles other than *please/bitte*. As we have just seen, *please* and *bitte* do not really occur in declaratives. They are, however, not the only particles English and German have on offer to express modality. So we should check whether any other modal particles or adverbs occur in declaratives. Now the use of a term like *modal particle* in itself is of course problematic when I look at English. The other problem will be the boundaries of such a group. I will come back to these problems in the discussion on individual items. Table 36 illustrates how frequent these modal particles are in their respective languages.

Table 36. Modal particles in declaratives

	English	German
+modal particles	9	15
-modal particles	139	133
Total	148	148

We can see that there are not all too many modal particles in use. In German about 10% of utterances contain modal particles or adverbs, in English only 6% of utterances contain such items.

In German we find the items *doch*, *lieber*, *mal* and *vielleicht*. In English we find *better*, *just* and *perhaps*. The only items that occur five times or more are *just* in English and *doch* and *mal* in German.

I shall start with the most frequent of these items, the German *doch*, which occurs in eight cases. Helbig describes the general meaning of *doch* as follows: „[Die] **Gesamtbedeutung** liegt in adversativer Komponente (in einem Widerspruch zwischen zwei Bezugspunkten)“ (1988: 119 – bold print in the original). The specific meanings depend on the individual context. Helbig differentiates eight meanings for *doch* as particle and one as adverb.

The dominant meaning for *doch* in the declaratives in my corpus is the use as *Abtönungspartikel*, under *doch*₂. Helbig describes this specific meaning as follows: “[*doch*] Bezieht sich reaktiv auf vorangegangenen Sprechakt (Vorgängerzug) und stellt zwischen ihm und der durch *doch*₂ kommentierten Aussage einen leichten Widerspruch her;“ (1988: 112) *Doch* is used seven times like this. Example 149 serves to illustrate this type.

(149) Wir dürfen doch keinen Lärm machen. (Brecht, 1999: 99)

(150) But we mustn't make a noise. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 107)

The speaker refers to a general prohibition which stands in conflict with what the initiator of the prohibition has just said. *Doch* serves to highlight this conflict. The English version (Example 150) uses the conjunction *but* to emphasize the conflict with the previous utterance and to express the surprise of the speaker about this change in orders (cf. further uses of *but* in Chapter 10).

The other meaning to be found for *doch* in declaratives is the following:

[Der] Sprecher möchte sich durch Antwort des Hörers rückversichern und erwartet Bestätigung, möchte durch Formulierung der Frage eigene Sorge und Zweifel durch die Antwort des Höreres (eine Antwort mit *ja* wird erwartet und bevorzugt) aus dem Wege räumen und sich dadurch vergewissern (...). (Helbig, 1988: 115)

The following Example (152) is the one case where we find *doch* used like this.

(151) You wouldn't seriously think of leaving us, would you? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 25)

(152) Du wirst uns doch nicht verlassen? (Osborne, 1996: 30)

Helbig's description of *doch*₅ also contains comments on formal aspects of the utterance *doch*₅ can be used in, namely: „in Sätzen, die der Intonation nach Entscheidungsfragen sind, aber die Wortstellung von Aussagesätzen haben (Zweitstellung des finiten Verbs) (...)“ (1988: 115). This is just the way of use for *doch* we find in Example

152. The finite verb *wirst* is in second position which is why I classified it as a declarative. Yet the intonation as indicated by the question mark gives the sentence qualities of an interrogative. As for the meaning of *doch* in this context, it is used to emphasize the speaker's expectation of rather hope that the addressee will not leave. It is hard to name an equivalent item for *doch* in the English version as the whole complex consisting of modal verb *would*, negation *not*, the verb denoting the mental state *think* and the adverb *seriously* together function to denote the expectation of the speaker. In general, this use of *doch* also expresses a contrast between the two options which fits the general meaning as outlined above.

The next most frequent particle, *mal*, occurs in five cases. All five instances of *mal* in declaratives appear in one source, Abigail's Party. So *mal* in declaratives occurs only in translated text. According to Helbig, *mal* as *Abtönungspartikel* always occurs in directive utterances – either in *Entscheidungsfragen* (i.e. *yes-no* interrogative) with the illocutionary character of a request or in *Aufforderungssätzen* (i.e. imperatives). Alternatively, *mal* can also be used when an imperative is 'paraphrased' (cf. 1988: 175f). This is just how *mal* is mostly used in the corpus. In four of the five instances, we literally find somebody paraphrasing a request. In all four cases the topic and the desired action is the same. Example 154 illustrates this type.

(153) Yeah, we were just saying, actually, Laurence, it might be a good idea if a little bit later on, if you and Tony would pop down there. (Leigh, 1979: 24)

(154) Ja, Laurence, wir haben gerade beschlossen, daß es eine gute Idee wäre, wenn ihr später mal rüber gehen würdet, Tony und du. (Leigh/Braband: 38)

The topic of the discussion is the eponymous party of Abigail, Susan's daughter. Now the question is whether some of the adults should go and inspect the party. Asking somebody to do that is actually quite an imposition, especially when the addressees are themselves right now at another party. Yet *mal* reduces this imposition. Helbig says:

[*Mal* g]estaltet die Aufforderung zwanglos, unverbindlich und höflich, mindert ihr Gewicht (sie scheint leichter erfüllbar), modifiziert die Illokution vom Befehl zur höflichen Aufforderung und Bitte. Der Gesprächspartner wird aufgefordert und zugleich ermuntert, das in der Aufforderung Ausgedrückte zu tun, wobei der Erfüllungsanspruch relativiert und der Ausführungszeitpunkt ins Ermessen des Empfängers gestellt wird. (1988: 175)

In the English original, there is not only one lexical element that serves as equivalent. Instead we find many signs of hesitation that serve to mitigate the imposition, e.g. lexical

items like *yeah* and *actually*, the repair of the *if*-clause and presumably some minor pauses as indicated by the commas.

There is also one other instance of *mal* which is illustrated in Example 156 below:

(155) I'll be all right with Bacardi, thank you. (Leigh, 1979: 4)

(156) Mir reicht erst mal mein Bacardi, danke. (Leigh/Braband: 8)

This utterance is the decline of yet another offer for a drink. *Mal* is not used in isolation, but in combination with *erst*. Together they focus on the fact that the decline is an expression of the speaker's present wishes – at some later stage he may accept a repetition of the same offer. This makes the decline seem less harsh. The English version does not contain this more or less explicit option for a later acceptance of the offer in question.

The most frequent non-verbal modal item in English, *just*, occurs five times. Now, of course, it may be doubted whether a classification of *just* under the label 'modal particle' is justified, or, come to think of that, of any English item. Yet if we consult the many different meanings for *just* in a dictionary like the OALD, for some subcategories the closeness to modal particles in German cannot be denied: "**11** used in orders to get sb's attention, give permission, etc. (...) **12** used to make a polite request, excuse, etc." (Hornby, ⁸2012: 842 – bold print in the original). Modal particles in German also have homonyms in other word classes, so just because the OALD labels *just* as *adverb* and *adjective* is not reason enough to exclude it from the group of modal particles in general. Instead, I shall look at the individual cases in the corpus.

I shall start on two instances where the problem of what we see *just* as can be nicely illustrated, although *just* may in both cases be less central for the directive interpretation.

(157) Actually, Sue, I was just thinking - it might be a good idea if a little bit later on, if Laurence and Tony pop down there. (Leigh: 15)

(158) Ach, Sue, ich dachte übrigens gerade, ob es nicht eine gute Idee wäre, wenn Laurence und Tony später mal rübergehen. (Leigh: 25)

The context is still the discussion whether Laurence and Tony should go and inspect Abigail's Party (cf. Examples 153/154 on the use of *mal* above). *Just* is part of the frame around the paraphrased request (Example 157). Now *just* can be understood in this context to denote different meanings. It may either refer to the fact that the idea occurred to the speaker very recently, focussing on a temporal aspect. This is the interpretation favoured by the German translation that uses *gerade* in both cases as equivalence. Yet *just* may also be interpreted as being synonymous to *only* or *simply* in this context (cf. meanings 8 and 9 in

Hornby, ⁸2012: 842). In both cases, this would make the utterance seem to be much less target-oriented and therefore reduce the illocutionary force considerably. More appropriate equivalents for this interpretation may be *nur* or *bloß*. In Example 154, the verb *beschließen* also focusses on the intentionality of the speaker and would have to be changed to a more neutral verb like *sprechen* – which is also much closer to the English verb *say*. Still, considering Beverly's character and the insistence with which she takes up the question again and again, the focus on the intentionality in the translation seems to be somewhat justified.

The next two instances of *just* also have something in common, namely the function of the utterance as declines of a previous offer:

(159) I'm just drinking soda-water, thank you. (Leigh: 40)

(160) Ich trinke nur Wasser, danke. (Leigh: 63)

(161) No, he must just lie still. (Leigh: 52)

(162) Nein, er muß einfach nur still liegen. (Leigh: 81)

In Example 159, the speaker is offered another (presumably alcoholic) drink. The speaker has already had too much alcohol and is now recovering after being sick. Consequently she refuses the offer. In this context, *just* has a relatively strong force as she clearly refuses to drink any more alcoholic beverages. *Just* could be understood here as *only* in the sense of 'exclusively'. In a different social context, the very same utterance could also be understood as an acceptance of an offer. In it, *just* would be used to reduce the imposition and the costs for the addressee. Still, *just* could also be substituted by *only* in the sense of 'nothing more fancy than'. The German equivalent *nur* seems apt for both interpretations.

The situation in Example 161 is slightly more complicated: Laurence is having a heart attack and lying on the floor. Angela, who is a trained nurse, takes care of him. Now Laurence's wife, Beverly, constantly disturbs them. In this case, she wants to give him something to drink, yet Angela refuses this offer and demands that he should be left in peace. As it should be rather easy to leave someone lie on the floor, *just* could be understood as 'simply', so the imposition on the addressee is rather low. On the other hand, *just* is preceded by the modal verb *must* which emphasizes the urgency. The German version contains not only one word as equivalent, but two: *einfach nur*. So *nur* is used in both cases as equivalent where *just* is used to decline an offer.

The last instance of *just* occurs in an entirely different context:

(163) Entweder haben wir geopfert oder gemordet. Entweder bleiben wir im Irrenhaus oder die Welt wird eines. Entweder löschen wir uns im Gedächtnis der Menschen aus, oder die Menschheit erlischt. (Dürrenmatt: 65)

(164) Either they were sacrificial killings, or just plain murders. Either we stay in this madhouse or the world becomes one. Either we wipe ourselves out of the memory of mankind or mankind wipes itself out. (Dürrenmatt: 82)

The speaker presents three sets of alternatives that are weighed against each other. While the first of the three sentences refers to past events, the second and the third sentence refer to the future and how speaker and addressees should act – hence the *we*. In the German original (Example 163), the alternatives are presented rather neutral. The English translation (Example 164), however, makes clear from the very first sentence on that the first alternative of each set is to be preferred which emphasizes the desire for the future actions. It does so in devaluating the second alternative of this first set by using the adverb *just* in combination with the adjective *plain* to describe the previous action: *murder*. The meaning of *just* in this context could be paraphrased as ‘only’ or ‘merely’. As mentioned above, the German version does not contain any equivalent for *just*.

On the whole, we can see how vital the presence and the meaning of *just* are in the utterances – very much like that of the German modal particles.

Items with temporal meaning. Another feature that occurred in one of the German textbook examples was adverbs referring to the near future, namely *jetzt* and *sofort*. Their function in the given context was to add force to the utterance. So we should check whether these and similar items occur in the corpus. As items referring to the immediate future increase force, other items may decrease it. This I will widen my search to include all lexical items (adverbs, adjectives, noun phrase, prepositional phrases) with a potentially temporal meaning except for verbs and their tenses. Table 37 provides an overview,

Table 37. Items with temporal meaning in declaratives

	English	German
+temporal meaning	18	23
-temporal meaning	130	125
Total	148	148

We can see that about 16% of declaratives contain some item with temporal meaning in German and about 12% of declaratives in English. Now we have to wonder which items

there are and whether they point to the near future at all, like the examples in the textbooks do.

There is a wide variety of items with temporal meaning, e.g. *again, never, now or for one moment* in English and *gleich, jetzt, nun, später* or *wieder* in German. Most of these items occur only once or twice. So most elements with temporal meaning seem to be bound to their specific situational context. Consequently I shall only describe the items that occur five times or more. In English, there is only one such item, namely *now* which occurs eight times. In German, there are two items; *jetzt* occurs six times and *mal* occurs five times. So, *jetzt* is indeed the most frequent item denoting temporal reference as suggested by the example from the Duden Grammar. Yet the other adverb from the example in the Duden Grammar, *sofort*, does not occur at all in the 148 cases where German and English in using a declarative.

I shall start with the description of the two German items because it was also a German example that suggested the use of temporal items in the first place. In two cases, *jetzt* is used together with *können*. In these two cases, *jetzt* does not denote the force and the expectation of the speaker that the addressee carry out the action as soon as possible, but rather the moment of permission, when the speaker removes the obstacle. Example 165 illustrates this type.

(165) Jetzt können Sie sich beschweren. (Brecht, 1999: 59)

(166) You can file your complaint. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 69)

In another case (Example 167), *jetzt* focuses on the fact that circumstances have changed, and this is the reason why the addressee must carry out the action.

(167) Jetzt mußt du mit deinem Bruder ziehn, Kattrin. (Brecht, 1999: 20)

(168) You must help your brother now, Kattrin. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 33)

In the given example, Kattrin's other brother has just been recruited to be a soldier and therefore cannot help pulling his mother's wagon any more. So again *jetzt* does not denote urgency for immediate action.

This change in circumstances is even more obvious in Example 169:

(169) Ich habe bis jetzt nur Krankenschwestern angestellt, morgen übernehmen Pfleger die Villa. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 26)

(170) Until now I have employed female nurses only. From tomorrow the villa will be in the hands of male attendants. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 31)

The adverb *jetzt* is preceded by the preposition *bis* and they are used to refer to the status quo: the group of nurses to which the addressee belongs is in charge of the patients and must give up the responsibility from the next day onwards. Once more, *jetzt* is not used to call for immediate action.

In the two remaining cases, *jetzt* is actually used to express that the desired action should be carried out in the near future, but not necessarily with great force by the speaker. It is interesting that both cases are English originals translated into German. In neither of the two English originals do we find an item referring to the near future (e.g. an adverb like *now*). In both cases, the speaker is one of the addressees, and in both cases it is about getting underway. The fact that they would be leaving soon has been agreed on before, so the speaker actually only gives the starting signal. Thus also in these cases, there is no great force behind the temporal adverb *jetzt*.

(171) We may as well get along. (Osborne, 1996: 67)

(172) Ich glaube, wir gehen jetzt. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 71)

(173) Well, Sue wants us to go and inspect the party; I think we should go and inspect it. (Leigh, 1979: 30)

(174) Nun, Sue wollte doch, daß wir mal rübergehen und die Party inspizieren; ich denke, wir sollten das jetzt tun. (Leigh/Braband: 48)

Altogether we can say that a case with such force like the example in the Duden Grammar does not occur in the corpus. *Jetzt* is not used like that and *sofort* does not occur at all. Yet still we should look at the other two items and find out how they are used.

The next most frequent item is *mal* which occurs five times. Of course it may be doubtful whether *mal* really can be part of this group of items with temporal reference or whether it is rather a modal particle (cf. Helbig, 1988; Scholze-Stubenrecht, ⁷2011) – especially after I already discussed it as a modal particle. Yet as both uses seem to be possible and the general meaning of the modal particle *mal* is at least based on the meaning of the adverb of frequency *einmal*, I will simply check the cases again and review the meaning of each use from a temporal perspective.

As mentioned above, four of the five cases use *mal* in relation to the same future action. There is a lengthy discussion whether Laurence and Tony should go down to Susan's house (in the examples referred to as Sue) and check the state of things at the eponymous party of her daughter. The driving force is Beverly, Laurence's wife. In the beginning (Example 176), she makes a rather general suggestion. *Mal* is used twice in combination with

später. Both *mal* and *später* serve to decrease the imposition of the speech act by delaying the action to some later point in time.

(175) Yeah, we were just saying, actually, Laurence, it might be a good idea if a little bit later on, if you and Tony would pop down there. (Leigh, 1979: 24)

(176) Ja, Laurence, wir haben gerade beschlossen, daß es eine gute Idee wäre, wenn ihr später mal rüber gehen würdet, Tony und du. (Leigh/Braband: 38)

In another instance (Example 178), *mal* is used together with *kurz*, denoting the relatively short period of time the action would take. This again could be understood as a try to reduce the imposition on the addressee:

(177) Laurence, I'm not saying there'll be any problems - all I'm saying is, would you please pop down for Sue? (Leigh, 1979: 24)

(178) Ich habe ja auch gar nicht gesagt, daß es irgendwelche Probleme gibt – ich möchte nur, daß ihr mal kurz rüber geht, für Sue. (Leigh/Braband: 38)

The next case (Example 180) contains *mal* on its own: eventually, Laurence gives in to the pushing by his wife. Yet he refers to the desired action as Sue's wish. The urgency of her wish is described as rather vague by using *mal*. In contrast to that, his will is relatively strong as he sets the point in time as *jetzt*.

(179) Well, Sue wants us to go and inspect the party; I think we should go and inspect it. (Leigh, 1979: 30)

(180) Nun, Sue wollte doch, daß wir mal rübergehen und die Party inspizieren; ich denke, wir sollten das jetzt tun. (Leigh/Braband: 48)

The next use of *mal* occurs in a different situation (Example 182). The speaker declines the offer for another drink by referring to the fact that he already has a drink. *Mal* is preceded by *erst*. Together they serve to soften the decline and leave the option open to come back to the offer at a later point in time.

(181) I'll be all right with Bacardi, thank you. (Leigh, 1979: 4)

(182) Mir reicht erst mal mein Bacardi, danke. (Leigh/Braband: 8)

Altogether, *mal* seems to collocate with other items denoting temporal reference, so a temporal aspect in the meaning of *mal* cannot be denied. The rather vague temporal meaning is used to decrease the force of the given utterances and hence rather softens them.

The most frequent item with temporal reference in English is *now*. It is also the only item that occurs more than five times. The eight cases where *now* is used are mostly German

originals translated into English. Only two of these eight cases are originally English. This fact should be kept in mind, yet the number is too low to draw definite conclusions from it.

In four cases, *now* is used in combination with the modal verb *can*. *Now* is used in contexts when circumstances have just changed, e.g. an action is now possible or makes sense from the time of the utterance onwards. So *now* does not denote special force or the urge for immediate action.

(183) Blocher, du kannst jetzt photographieren. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 47)

(184) Blocher, you can take your photographs now. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 57)

In Example 184 above, the inspector is giving the addressee permission to take the pictures from this moment onwards. In the German original, *jetzt* is used as equivalent for *now*. As mentioned above, there are two instances for this equivalence.

In two other cases, *now* is used together with *must*. In one instance, this is again due to the changed conditions. In Example 186 below, the desired action is the next step in the course of action, but *now* does not really denote great urgency. In the German original we find *nun* as equivalent for *now*.

(185) Wir müssen nun deine Koffer packen. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 44)

(186) Now we must get your bags packed. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 56)

The two remaining cases of *now* are the only two utterances of the eight that are English originals. In the first, *now* is not used temporally at all, as Example 187 shows:

(187) Laurence, she doesn't want one of those on an empty stomach, now does she?
(Leigh, 1979: 35)

(188) Laurence, sie möchte doch sicher keins davon auf leeren Magen?
(Leigh/Braband: 57)

In Example 187, *now* is used rather as a discourse marker, emphasizing and reinforcing that facts mentioned before. Consequently, there is no item denoting temporal reference to be found in the German utterance. Instead we find the modal particle *doch* and the adverb *sicher* that serve to emphasize the situation described.

The last remaining case of *now* could be understood to call for immediate action:

(189) Actually, Angela's got to be getting up early in the morning for work, so I think we ought to be going now. (Leigh, 1979: 48)

(190) Ehrlich gesagt, Angela muß morgen früh raus. Wir sollten vielleicht lieber gehen. (Leigh/Braband: 76)

The speaker wants to leave a socially awkward situation and uses the fact that his wife has to be at work the next morning as a pretext to get going. The stage directions also mention that he is rising from his seat while he first says that they must leave.

It is interesting to see that items with temporal reference can be used to increase the urgency and hence the force of an utterance. Yet the cases that I just discussed suggest that this is rather an exception than the rule. So it seems the textbooks are reliable in relation to that feature when they refrain from using it in their selected examples. Only the Duden Grammar used temporal items in the examples and it did so in a very specific construction.

6.2.3 Conclusive remarks on declaratives in the corpus

To characterize the directive use of declaratives, we can conclude the following: Only slightly more than half the cases directly name the desired action as the lexical verb of the sentence. The other cases can be explained only partly as *Need statements* in the sense of Ervin-Tripp (1976) as neither *need* nor *brauchen* occur frequently. As for the orientation of declaratives, speaker orientation is dominant but by no means the standard. The other three orientation types (hearer, impersonal and *we*) all occur in significant numbers as well. The verbal complex contains also other items beyond the lexical verbs, namely modal verbs, modality verbs, speech verbs and verbs expressing mental states. Modal verbs occur in nearly half the cases; mostly they express the future reference of the utterance (*will*) or an obligation for the addressee to carry out the action (*must/müssen*). Other modals occur as well, though less frequent. Modality verbs only play a role in English (13%) and it is only one verb that is really frequent, namely *have to*. Verbs denoting mental states occur regularly in both English (15%) and German (11%), mostly as the verbs *think* and *denken*. Speech verbs occur in English and German in about 10% of cases though hardly in performative utterances as could be expected. Although these verbal items are very dominant, lexical verbs denoting the desired action can also occur on their own which they do in 7% of English cases and 14% of German. Another remarkable item is *if* or *wenn* respectively and occurs in 10% of declaratives. As predicted by House (1989), *please* and *bitte* do not really occur in declaratives. Modal particles occur in only 6% of English declaratives and 10% of German declaratives, mostly as *just*, *doch* or *mal*. Slightly more frequent are items with temporal meaning which occur in 16% of German declaratives and in 12% of English declaratives. The most frequent items in this group are *jetzt* and *now* which both refer to the present or

immediate future. In sum we can say that there is a wide variety of elements for a speaker to choose from if he or she wants to realize a directive as a declarative many of which may be bound to a specific context.

6.3 Non-declarative equivalents

After discussing general properties of declaratives in directive use, I shall now look at the cases where English and German do not agree in using declaratives. First I will discuss the 51 cases where English uses a declarative and German does not. As a second step, I will discuss the 33 cases where German uses a declarative and English does not.

6.3.1 English declaratives and German non-declarative equivalents

First, I shall have a look at the 50 English declaratives whose equivalents in German are not realised as declaratives. The majority, 31 of them, are from originally English texts and therefore ST. The 19 other cases are from originally German texts and therefore TT. I will again describe characteristics of each author, first of all starting with the two English authors where this phenomenon is more frequent. Osborne exhibits 18 cases, Leigh 13, Brecht 12 and Dürrenmatt seven.

Within the group of Osborne's utterances, the most frequent syntactical form that functions as equivalent for the English declarative is the imperative with six cases. Logically, these seven cases are exactly the ones that we just discussed in Chapter 5.3.2, so I will not repeat myself here.

The next most frequent syntactical form with three cases is the *yes-no* interrogative. In two of the three cases, the English declarative also ends with a question mark, either indicating a rising intonation (as in Example 191) or as part of a question-tag (Example 193). Interestingly, in all three cases, the German translation uses questions starting on the modal verb *wollen*.

(191) You won't wait? (Osborne, 1996: 68)

(192) Willst du etwa nicht warten? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 72)

(193) Oh, you're not going to start up that old pipe again, are you? (Osborne: 12)

(194) Willst du etwa wieder deine alte Pfeife anstecken? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 18)

Just as frequent a syntactical form with also three cases is a combination of imperative and declarative. We know this combination already as an equivalent for the imperative and it should come as no surprise that it also appears as an equivalent for the

declarative. Two of the three English declaratives contain conditional clauses as discussed in Chapter 6.2.2. In both cases the information in the English *if*-clause is contained in the German declarative while the information in the English superordinate clause finds its equivalence in the German imperative.

(195) You'd better keep out of my way, if you don't want your head kicked in. (Osborne, 1996: 71)

(196) Gehen Sie mir aus dem Weg, sonst schlage ich zu! (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 75)

(197) If you like to take it off now, I'll wash it through for you. (Osborne, 1996: 83)

(198) Komm, ich wasche es dir, zieh's aus. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 81)

The next most frequent structure appears twice and is not a regular sentence, but actually consists of one word only: *hier*. In both cases Cliff is given back a piece of clothing and asked to take it back, using the deictic *hier* (Example 200). It should be noted that although the English version (Example 1999) fulfils the basic criteria for a declarative, it seems rather formulaic.

(199) (Handing Cliff his trousers.) There you are, dear. (Osborne, 1996: 19)

(200) (gibt Cliff seine Hosen) Hier, mein Lieber. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 24)

All remaining forms appear only once. The only one that can still be classified as a regular sentence is a *wh*-interrogative. The *wh*-item is once again *why*, though not in combination with *not* as in the examples we discussed in Chapter 5.3 – this time the addressee is asked to refrain from doing something. The question of polarity in *wh*-interrogatives will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 8.2.2.

(201) My dear, you don't have to be on the defensive you know. (Osborne, 1996: 77)

(202) Warum hast du dauernd das Gefühl, dich verteidigen zu müssen? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 80)

There is also one case of the infinitive-construction. As already mentioned, I will discuss this construction and its use in more detail in Chapter 9.2. In this concrete example here, the speaker only names the verb denoting the desired action (*ausziehen*) and the depending object (*Hosen*).

(203) You'd better take them off. (Osborne, 1996: 12)

(204) Die Hosen ausziehen. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 18)

In the next example, there is not even a verb, denoting the action. Instead we only have a noun phrase, containing a negative determiner and the noun denoting the action to

be avoided. This noun phrase is accompanied by the name of the addressee (*Jimmy*) and the politeness marker *bitte*.

(205) Jimmy - I don't want [sic!] a brawl, so please – (Osborne, 1996: 91)

(206) Jimmy - keine Auseinandersetzungen - bitte! (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 93)

The last example is difficult to categorize – it is a combination of two forms, but unlike the examples we already discussed it does not contain two independent clauses in one sentence. Only the second part is a clause (a declarative), the first part which is actually the core of the speech act, does not have the form of a clause. This first form could – in analogy to Quirk et al. (1985:843) – be described as a combination of object and adverbial.

(207) A bit of soap on it will do. (Osborne, 1996: 23)

(208) Etwas Seife drauf, das ist alles. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 28)

As a next step, I will have a look at the group of Leigh's utterances. They share the feature with the Osborne group of being English originals translated into German. There are 13 cases in total.

The most frequent syntactical form to occur as equivalent for an English declarative is what seems to be elliptical declaratives. This happens in nine cases. They are classified as elliptical because at least one of the obligatory clause elements is not realized. If we find the same verb again and again with the same clause element missing, however, then we may have to wonder whether this clause element is really obligatory or whether this 'different' verb complementation pattern is typical for the use of this verb in a special context and therefore not elliptical. This may be the case here with the verb *haben* and maybe even with *machen*. The verb *haben* is used four times in the same context: The speaker declines an offer for a top-up of an alcoholic drink – thus expressing his or her wish that the addressee (the person who offered the drink to begin with) should not carry out the action. This is done by stating that he or she still has enough of the drink left in the glass. This leftover is denoted by the pronoun *some* in the English version, but there is no equivalent in the German translation. And apparently it is not necessary either, as four different speakers seem happy to use the verb *haben* without an object in this context. Consequently, the classification as elliptic seems somewhat doubtful.

(209) I still have some, thank you. (Leigh, 1979: 17)

(210) Ich hab noch, danke. (Leigh/Braband: 28)

The same may also be the case for the verb *machen* – although there is only one example to back up this hypothesis (210). The context for this is the following: Angela is about to lift a heavy object, but Laurence intervenes by uttering example 209 or 210 respectively, hence telling her not to do it and takes over from her. The task of lifting the object is denoted by the pronoun *it* in the English version, but like in the example above there is no equivalent in the German translation. As *machen* is a verb that is semantically very flexible and can therefore also be rather pallid – very much like the plain vanilla verb *haben* – it is conceivable that it can also be used with an object in this sense. This, in turn would mean the sentence is not elliptical. Only one example is not enough to reach this conclusion, though.

(211) I'll do it, Angela. (Leigh, 1979: 43)

(212) Ich mach schon, Angela. (Leigh/Braband: 68)

In the four remaining cases, the sentence-initial *es* is missing. This is nothing unusual but simply a characteristic of spoken language, as Duden comments: “Vor allem in der gesprochenen Sprache können schwach betonte Pronomen im Vorfeld weggelassen werden“. (Eisenberg, ⁷2005: 894)

(213) That's all right, thank you, Beverly! (Leigh, 1979: 35)

(214) Ist schon gut, danke, Beverly! (Leigh/Braband: 57)

The next most frequent syntactical form with three cases is the *yes-no* interrogative. In two of these three cases, the English declarative also ends on a question mark. In Example 215, this question mark merely indicates the rising intonation, which presumably – based on character interaction at this early point in the play – slightly softens the matter-of-fact statement that the addressee will change clothes in the near future. The German version uses a ‘real’ *yes-no* interrogative instead. In Example 217, there actually is a *yes-no* interrogative, but only as a subordinate clause (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 1053). The corresponding matrix clause, however, is a declarative. Literally, the speaker asks herself whether it is possible that the addressee could help her.

(215) You gonna get changed? (Leigh, 1979: 3)

(216) Ziehst du dich jetzt um? (Leigh/Braband: 6)

(217) Tony, I wonder if you could give me a hand for a moment please? (Leigh, 1979: 9)

(218) Tony, könnten Sie mir mal gerade helfen? (Leigh/Braband: 16)

The last remaining form is a combination of imperative and declarative. Quirk et al. classify *mind you* as an imperative (cf. 1985: 1115) functioning syntactically “like the matrix clause of a main clause” (1985: 1112) in relation to the other element(s). So the declarative following *mind you* is regarded as a subordinate clause, and consequently the whole sentence would have to be classified only as an imperative.

(219) Mind you, I reckon you're better to let her go out with as many blokes as she wants to at that age rather than sticking to the one. (Leigh, 1979: 15)

(220) Paß mal auf, es ist wahrscheinlich sowieso besser, sie in ihrem Alter mit so vielen Jungs ausgehen zu lassen wie sie will statt nur an dem einen zu kleben. (Leigh/Braband: 25)

Within the group of Brecht's utterances, the most frequent syntactical non-declarative form to be translated as declarative into English is the imperative with five cases. Logically, these five cases are exactly the ones just discussed in Chapter 5.3, so I will not repeat myself here.

The next most frequent syntactical form with three cases in the German original is the elliptical declarative. In two cases, the lexical verb is missing. There is always the modal verb *müssen* (in the English version we find the equivalent *must*) expressing the obligation and an adverbial particle expressing a direction – either *hinauf* or *fort* – but the lexical verb expressing the movement is not realized in the German version.

(221) Sie müssen fort, Frau. (Brecht, 1999: 102)

(222) You must leave, woman. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 110)

The third German elliptical declarative (Example 223) consists of a subject and its complement (in inverted order) but the lexical verb *sein* is missing. Yet the weight of the clause elements suggests that the complete sentence structure would be something like an *it*-extraposition, so the initial *es* is also missing. But the two elements that are realized are enough to express the wish of the speaker. The initial noun (Schand) expresses a clearly negative evaluation and is followed by a subordinate clause which helps to determine the desired action. The speaker expresses her opinion that the addressees should go to the funeral.

(223) Eine Schand, daß ihr euch vom Begräbnis von eurem toten Feldhauptmann drückt! (Brecht, 1999: 63)

(224) It's a disgrace the way you're all skipping your Commander's funeral! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 73)

In another two cases, we find combinations of imperative and declarative in the German original, which were reduced in the translated version to declaratives only. In Example 226, the directive force is still clearly discernible; an activity of the addressee (*your talking*) is equaled with *no use* and therefore labeled as something undesirable. In Example 227, however, the English utterance focusses on the activity of the speaker only and could therefore, first of all, be interpreted as a commissive. Still, in the context it implies the desire of the speaker that the addressees wait for his return.

(225) Ich leids nicht, reden Sie nicht, ich vertrag keine Ungerechtigkeit. (Brecht, 1999: 55)

(226) It's no use your talking. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 66)

(227) Ich zieh mein geistliches Gewand an, wartets[sic!]. (Brecht, 1999: 76)

(228) I'll be back. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 85)

The two remaining forms in German appear only once. The first is a *yes-no* interrogative. The form worth noting here is not so much the interrogative, but rather the declarative in the English translation (Example 230). Although the word order makes clear we have a declarative at hands, the sentence ends on a question mark which stands for a rising intonation.

(229) Kommen Sie also mit uns? (Brecht, 1999: 85)

(230) You'll come? (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 94)

The other form is an adverbial in combination with a *mit*-Phrase. I use this classification in analogy to the English form described by Quirk et al. (1985: 843). Where the English translation (Example 232) only describes the unwanted state of Katrin wearing the Babylonian boots, the German version (Example 231) uses the adverbial denoting a direction to indicate the desired action.

(231) Herunter mit die Schuh! (Brecht, 1999: 37)

(232) And she has the boots on too, straight from Babylon. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 50)

As a next step, I will have a look at the group of Dürrenmatt's utterances. They share with the Brecht group the feature of being German originals translated into English. There are only seven cases in total.

The most frequent form with two cases is the elliptical *yes-no* interrogative. The two cases relate directly to each other, as the speaker is interrupted by the addressee and has to rephrase parts of his utterance. Basically what we have here is a repairable (Example 231)

and an other-initiated self-repair (Example 235) (cf. Schegloff/Jefferson/Sacks, 1977: 363)¹⁴. So the remarkable utterance is actually the complete declarative in the English translation. In Example 234, the addressee is not interrupting the speaker, but rather reproving the speaker for using the term *murderer* after he has finished. Syntactically, this makes perfect sense as the undesirable term *murderer* is the final word in the sentence. Consequently, no real interruption is possible. As for the repair, there is no edit phrase in the German version Example 235. In the English translation (Example 236), however, there is an edit phrase (cf. McKelvie, 2004: 407) consisting of subject and verb (*I mean*). The repair (*the assailant*) serves as object, so the whole utterance is a regular declarative. Yet there is still the difference between the interrogative and the declarative to be accounted for. In the German original, the speaker formulates his wish to see the assailant as a question for a possibility. In the English translation, the speaker merely states his wish.

(233) Kann ich nun den Mörder - (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 14)

(234) Now I'd like to see the murderer. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 15)

(235) - den Täter sehen? (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 14)

(236) I mean - the assailant. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 15)

Each of the remaining forms appears only once, which makes it again hard to speak in terms of recognizable trends. As sequencing by frequency makes no sense, I will start with regular sentences, more precisely with a combination of imperative and declarative. Here, the German utterance contains four clauses in one sentence. With Brecht, this was described as a stylistic device to illustrate breathlessness on the part of the speaker. This explanation also seems appropriate for this scene, as Möbius holds a prolonged rant in the German original.

(237) Hören Sie gut zu, Missionar, Sie lieben Psalmworte, kennen sie alle, lernen Sie auch die auswendig: (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 34)

(238) Well, you can learn these by heart as well. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 43)

For the next syntactical form, two classifications are possible. The German utterance could be interpreted either as an imperative or as a declarative. Again, the element that makes the classification problematic is the adverb *dann*. I already described the problem in Chapter 5.3.1.

(239) Dann warten Sie eben. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 15)

(240) - but you'll have to wait. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 16)

¹⁴ In this very case, the term *correction* as a subtype of *repair* could also be used, because the use of *Mörder/murderer* by Inspektor can objectively be regarded as an error.

The next formal type is the adhortative. It is interesting to see that the activity in the German adhortative clearly includes the addressee. In the English version, the speaker is referring only to her own activity. Still, in the relationship between speaker and addressee (*Fräulein Doktor* and *Oberpfleger*), this seems to be enough information to apply to him as well, as he goes out with her.

(241) *Gehen wir, Sievers.* (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 72)

(242) *I must go, Sievers.* (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 92)

The next formal type is an elliptical imperative. Although the linguistic form itself could also be completed to be a declarative (e.g. *Und Sie können mich Richard nennen.*), the context strongly suggests it is a reduced imperative (the corresponding regular form would be: *Und nennen Sie mich Richard.*), as the speaker is referring back to the previous utterance which has the form of an imperative.

(243) *Und Sie mich Richard.* (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 18)

(244) *And you can call me Richard.* (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 21)

The last formal type is not even a clause any more, as it consists only of a noun phrase. The speaker names and hands the object in question to the addressee at the same time, thereby asking the addressee to take it. In the English version, it is a full declarative.

(245) *Die Krankheitsgeschichte Möbius.* (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 26)

(246) *Here is Möbius's dossier.* (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 32)

6.3.2 German declaratives and non-declarative English equivalents

After discussing the case of English declaratives whose equivalents are not realized as declaratives in German, we must also look at the other major difference between English and German concerning declaratives: the cases when German uses a declarative but English does not. There are 33 cases for this phenomenon in the corpus, 18 are from originally German texts, 15 are from originally English texts. I will describe the characteristics of each author in the following order: I will start with Brecht who shows 13 cases, carry on with Dürrenmatt who shows five, Osborne who shows ten and Leigh who shows five cases.

Within the group of Brecht's utterances, the most frequent syntactical form in the translation is the imperative with eight cases. These eight cases are exactly the ones that we just discussed in Chapter 5.3.1, so I will not repeat myself here.

In three cases, the translated sentences consist of more than one clause. In Example 248, this is a combination of imperative and declarative. In the other two cases the classification is slightly more problematic: The initial clause could either be classified as imperative or as declarative, the rest however, can clearly be classified as two declarative clauses. Example 250 serves to illustrate this.

(247) Sie sollten noch was zulegen, hinterher bereuen Sies. (Brecht, 1999: 33)

(248) Send some more money, or you'll be sorry. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 46)

(249) Da mußt du voraus ins Lager gehen, ich komm nach, ich muß alles durchgehen, damit nix wegkommt aus meinem Wagen. (Brecht, 1999: 49)

(250) You go ahead to the camp, I'll follow, I must go over all this so nothing'll be missing later from my wagon. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 60)

The two remaining cases no longer fall into the group of grammatical sentences. In one case, we have only an adjective phrase, namely *quiet*. This is the quality of the desired behaviour on the side of the addressee. In terms of clause elements, this adjective phrase would serve as a subject complement to the addressee, i.e. the subject. But this utterance can hardly be classified as a sentence, so it seems sensible to leave the syntactical description in the area of forms like phrases.

(251) Das Maul hältst du, du finnischer Teufel. (Brecht, 1999: 17)

(252) Quiet - you Finnish devil, you! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 30)

The last case consists only of *no*, which, if it is used – like in Example 254 – as negative reply to a question, is classified differently depending on what grammars or dictionary you refer to. The DCE classifies it as *adverb* (cf. Mayor, 2009: 1180), the OALD calls it an *exclamation* (Hornby, 2010: 1033), and Quirk et al. call it a *reaction signal* (1985: 444). The context is the following: the addressee is held captive by soldiers and asks for permission to sit down. One of the soldiers denies his request which makes his answer effectively a prohibition. In the German version, the soldier does this by giving the reason for his decision. In the English translation, he just answers the question with *no*.

(253) Wir haben keine Zeit. (Brecht, 1999: 83)

(254) No. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 92)

Within the group of Dürrenmatt's utterances, the most frequent syntactical form is the imperative with four cases. Again, these four cases are the same that we discussed in the chapter on imperatives, so I will not repeat myself here.

The one remaining case is the combination of imperative and declarative we already examined in detail in Chapter 5.3. In this case, the German version consists of two sentences that were combined in one in the English translation.

(255) Hier dürfen nur die Patienten rauchen und nicht die Besucher. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 16)

(256) Excuse me, but we were talking about order just now, so I must tell you that the patients are allowed to smoke here but not the visitors. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 18)

Within the group of Osborne's utterances, the most frequent syntactical form of non-declarative English sentences translated as declaratives into German is again the imperative with four cases. These cases are the same that we discussed in the chapter on imperatives, so I will not repeat myself here.

The next most frequent syntactic English form is the yes-no interrogative with two cases. In both examples, the German translation is clearly centered on the speaker. They contain statements by the speaker about his or her own beliefs, whereas the addressee appears only in the subordinate clause. The English version, however, is directed towards the addressee, both by the repeated use of the pronoun *you* and the syntactic form of the interrogative, which in itself is more likely to trigger interaction than a declarative. These different orientations are consistent with the findings described by House (1996: 352). In the German version we find self-orientation and in the English version other-orientation. Examples 257/258 illustrate this relationship.

(257) Don't you think you ought to tell him yourself? (Osborne, 1996: 68)

(258) Ich finde, du solltest es ihm selber sagen. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 72)

In one other case we still have a regular sentence, but no clear classification concerning the clause type is possible. The example could be classified either as an imperative or as a declarative. There are, however, details hinting towards the imperative. The use of an exclamation mark in punctuation signals that this is indeed more than just a statement. Moreover, the subject *you* is used by the speaker to express his "strong irritation" (Quirk et al., 1985: 828) and obviously serves a contrastive purpose, as the speaker makes clear that he will not deliver the letter (=it) but the addressee should. This, too, hints toward the imperative. Still, these criteria are not solid enough for a definite classification.

(259) You give it to him! (Osborne, 1996: 70)

(260) Sie geben es ihm. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 73)

The next case is also a regular sentence, but a combination of imperative and declarative. The imperative from the English original is simply left out in the German translation.

(261) God help me, if he doesn't stop, I'll go out of my mind in a minute. (Osborne, 1996: 18)

(262) Ich werde wahnsinnig wenn er nicht sofort damit aufhört. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 23)

In the two remaining cases, we no longer find complete sentences. I classified them as noun phrases, although one might also argue for other classifications, e.g. elliptical declaratives. The German translation for Example 263 in the form of a declarative (Example 264) certainly calls for an analogue classification as an elliptical declarative. However, the context in the English original does not support this classification. The most important structural element in the hypothetical sentence, the verb, is not there. Neither is the subject. So it seems sensible to describe the form just as what it is: a noun complemented by a subordinate clause. The German translation (Example 266) for Example 265 does not even offer an analogy like this, and it too has no verb. There are also multiple options to complete the utterance and make it a full sentence. So there is even less reason to classify it as an elliptical form. Instead, I regard it as a pronoun (*someone*) postmodified by two prepositional phrases (*on the phone* and *for you*), making it a complex noun phrase.

(263) Time we went. (Osborne, 1996: 56)

(264) Es ist Zeit, daß wir gehen. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 60)

(265) Someone on the phone for you. (Osborne, 1996: 31)

(266) Du wirst am Telefon verlangt. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 36)

Within the group of Leigh's utterances, there are five different forms and each occurs only once. First of all, there is one imperative that we discussed in the chapter on imperatives, so I will not repeat myself here.

In another case, we have a combination of five imperatives and one declarative in the English original, whereas the German translation exclusively uses five declaratives. Both Example 267 and 268 consist of three (orthographical) sentences, as the instructions are very detailed. Therefore there is not just one sentence that serves as the core of the utterance but three.

(267) Now, next time, just sit in front of your mirror, and relax. And just say to yourself, "I've got very beautiful lips." Then take your lipstick and apply it, and you'll see the difference, Ang. (Leigh, 1979: 10)

(268) Also, das nächste mal setzt du dich einfach vor den Spiegel und entspannst dich. Und du sagst dir einfach, "Ich habe wunderschöne Lippen!" Dann nimmst du den Lippenstift und trägst ihn auf, du wirst den Unterschied sehen, Ang. (Leigh/Braband: 17)

The next case is a *yes-no* interrogative. Where the English original asks whether the addressee is going to carry out the desired action, the German translation uses a subordinate conditional clause to state the desired action as something the addressee is going to do, depending on her will to please the speaker expressed in.

(269) Now, will you try and sip that for me, Sue? (Leigh, 1979: 33)

(270) Und wenn du mir einen Gefallen tun möchtest, dann nimmst du 'n Schluck, okay? (Leigh/Braband: 52)

For the next case, no clear classification of the English version in a clause type is possible. It could be classified either as an imperative or as a declarative due to the presence of the subject *you*.

(271) No, you just sit down. (Leigh, 1979: 43)

(272) Nein, du setzt dich einfach hin. (Leigh/Braband: 68)

The last case consists of an elliptical declarative. The only missing item is the lexical verb. The verb phrase is still represented by the auxiliary *do* supporting the negation, and the action denoted by the missing verb is clearly discernible from the context.

(273) I really think it would be better if you didn't. (Leigh, 1979: 30)

(274) Ich denke wirklich, es wäre besser, wenn ihr nicht gehen würdet. (Leigh/Braband: 48)

6.3.3 Conclusive Remarks on the equivalences of the declarative

After this description of the declarative in English and German and its equivalents in the other language on a micro-level, it is time to take a step back and have a look at the whole picture. Similar to the equivalents of the imperative, there is no clear-cut tendency for the use of the declarative and its equivalents. But still, we can draw similar conclusions.

The most pervasive form that functions as equivalent for a declarative is the imperative. It is used for the English declarative in German 12 times and for the German declaratives in English 17 times. It appears in both directions of translation in source texts

and in target texts. As already mentioned in the discussion on imperatives, the declaratives often contain speech verbs or are used with social superiority, stating desired actions as facts.

The next form that appears as an equivalent for both the English declarative in German (seven times) and the German declarative in English (four times) are combinations of at least two clauses, mostly combinations of imperative and declarative. These combinations occur in both directions of translation in source texts and in target texts.

The *yes-no* interrogative also occurs as an equivalent for the English declarative in German (seven times) and for the German declarative in English (three times). It occurs mostly – with one exception – in originally English texts. Although these numbers are maybe too small to be statistically significant, they still show a trend towards English.

This trend is much clearer with the *wh*-interrogative. It occurs only once in the German translation of an English source text and is therefore not a very good candidate for an equivalent, especially as one example does not allow the identification of a general pattern.

As already mentioned in the discussion on the imperative, both the adhortative and the infinitive are uniquely German forms. They each occur once as equivalents of the English declarative in German. Although the absolute numbers are as low as the number of the *wh*-interrogative, in relative terms this is more striking. I will discuss this in more detail in Chapter 9.1 and Chapter 9.2 respectively. But for now, we can state that both forms do occur as equivalents for the declarative.

All other forms are not frequent enough to allow clear statements. The cases that can be classified as non-sentences will be discussed in detail in Chapter 10.

6.4 Declaratives: a wider perspective

In the previous subchapter, the focus was on the correspondence of English and German declaratives only in their regular forms and declaratives only. It turned out that in some cases, this narrow scope was problematic, as some cases did indeed contain an declarative but were still classified as not being declaratives (“-declarative” in Table 12). This was especially the case when declaratives were used in combination with other syntactic forms (mostly imperatives) or when declaratives were used in their elliptic forms.

As a consequence, I shall now look again at the correspondence of English and German declaratives, only this time with a wider scope. I will do this by also subsuming combinations containing declaratives, elliptical declaratives, and cases of doubt that could be interpreted as declarative under “+declarative”. Table 38 serves to show the results of this different approach.

Table 38. Correspondence of English declaratives and German declaratives: wider perspective

	G +declarative (also as ellipsis and combinations)	G –Declarative	
E +declarative (also as ellipsis and combinations)	227	57	284
E –declarative	55	567	622
	282	624	906

The shift due to the different classification is quite remarkable. The congruence between English and German for the event “+declarative” is now much higher. Instead of 148, Table 38 has 227 cases for this event. This is a difference of 79 examples between the two sets. Correspondingly, the congruence between English and German for the event “-declarative” is now lower. Instead of 675 cases, Table 38 has only 567 cases for this event. Similar to Table 12, there are still quite a few cases where English and German differ. There are 57 cases in which English uses a declarative (in the wider interpretation) and German does not (vs. 50 cases in Table 12). On the other side, there are 55 cases where German uses a declarative (in the wider interpretation) and German does not (vs. 33 cases in Table 12). In these two cells, the shift is much less perceptible, at least in terms of quantity. All these shifts cause no change in the overall correlation for declaratives in English and German, however ($\chi^2(1\%; df=1) = 459,61; p < .01$).

7 Yes-no interrogatives

7.1 Correlation: quantitative aspects

This chapter deals with the case of regular *yes-no* interrogative sentences in German and English and their mutual counterparts in the other language. Table 39 will provide us with a first overview.

Table 39. Correspondence of English *yes-no* interrogatives and German *yes-no* interrogatives

	G +<i>yes-no</i> interrogative	G –<i>yes-no</i> interrogative	
E +<i>yes-no</i> interrogative	51	5	56
E –<i>yes-no</i> interrogative	26	824	850
	77	829	906

What we can see for the *yes-no*-interrogative in English and German in Table 39 is this: there is a strong correspondence between the two: χ^2 (1%; $df=1$) = 523,33; $p < .01$. Thus if English uses a *yes-no*-interrogative, then the German translation is likely to use one too (Examples 1 and 2) and vice versa (Examples 3 and 4). This occurs in 51 cases.

- (1) Tony, can you lift his feet? (Leigh, 1979: 50)
- (2) Tony, kannst du seine FüÙe anheben? (Leigh/Braband: 78)
- (3) Möchten Sie nicht vielleicht doch die Leberknödelsuppe versuchen? (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 53)
- (4) Wouldn't you like to try just a spoonful of the liver-dumpling soup? (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 66)

Of course, the correlation works as well for the instances where English does not have a *yes-no* interrogative. In this case, of course, German is likely not to use one as well. This occurs in 824 cases, but these cases are of no interest here.

Apart from this purely quantitative analysis, we again have to take a qualitative stance. English and German, generally speaking, seem to behave similarly concerning the use of the *yes-no* interrogative, but there are also visible differences. In 26 cases, German uses a *yes-no* interrogative and English does not. These cases will be investigated in detail in Chapter 7.3.1. In six cases, English uses a *yes-no* interrogative and German does not. These cases will be investigated in more detail in Chapter 7.3.2 to find out about the differences between English and German. I will do this bottom-up, first carry out a microanalysis of individual cases, and then see whether patterns emerge.

Quite likely, there is also another difference that is not visible in Table 39 but important nonetheless: in 51 cases both languages agree in using the *yes-no* interrogative, but there may still be differences beyond the level of clause types. I will address these cases in Chapter 7.2.

7.2 Agreement in clause type: functional aspects

Similar to declaratives, *yes-no* interrogatives are not prototypically used as directives. According to Huddleston/Pullum, *yes-no* interrogatives (or closed interrogatives, as they call them) are characteristically used as questions (cf. 2002:853). According to Quirk et al., “QUESTIONS are primarily used to seek information on a specific point” (1985: 804). Of course, some speech act theorists concentrate on the fact that questions demand an answer and therefore count as directives, but I concentrate only on interrogatives that are used to trigger an action other than a verbal response (cf. Chapter 2 on directivity).

We have to ask ourselves then: Under what conditions can *yes-no* interrogatives be understood as being directive in the sense that they trigger an action other than just a verbal response? Are there specific lexical items? Is it a specific word order that is used? Or is it something else entirely?

To investigate the conditions of use as directives for the clause type *yes-no* interrogative, I will take two steps: Of course, I will use examples from my corpus – especially the 51 cases where English and German agree in using *yes-no* interrogatives as directives. But before I do that, I will have a look at the examples that can be found in textbooks (Chapter 7.2.1) and use them to build hypotheses about the directive use of *yes-no* interrogatives.

7.2.1 Use in textbooks: hypotheses

The very same sources that I used for declaratives (cf. Chapter 6.2.1) offer the following examples where the request to shut the door is realized by a *yes-no* interrogative. Levinson offers the following examples in his list:

- Can you close the door?
- Are you able to close the door? (...)
- Would you close the door?
- Won't you close the door? (...)
- Would you mind closing the door?

Would you be willing to close the door? (...)
Hadn't you better close the door? (...)
May I ask you to close the door?
Would you mind awfully if I was to ask you to close the door? (...)
Did you forget the door? (Levinson, 1983: 264f)

Bublitz again provides different examples. His examples are sorted by their directness, the examples at the beginning are rather direct, and the examples at the end of the list are rather indirect. The following examples are the *yes-no* interrogatives from his list:

Can I ask you to shut the door.(...)
Can you shut the door? (...)
Would you please shut the door? (Bublitz, ²2009: 146)

For the German textbooks, I shall start again with the translation of Levinson's work:

Kannst du die Tür schließen?
Ist es dir irgend möglich, die Tür zu schließen?(...)
Würdest du die Tür schließen?
Würdest du nicht die Tür schließen?
Würde es dir etwas ausmachen, die Tür zu schließen?
Willst du nicht die Tür schließen? (...)
Würdest du nicht besser die Tür schließen? (...)
Darf ich dich bitten, die Tür zu schließen?
Würde es dir sehr viel ausmachen, wenn ich dich bitten würde, die Tür zu schließen?
(...) Hast du die Tür vergessen? (Levinson/Fries, 1990: 264)

The list of *yes-no* interrogatives from Ernst shows clearly how close his examples are to the translation of Levinson's work. Yet his list lacks the slightly awkward examples whose acceptability in German is doubtful (e.g. *Würde es dir sehr viel ausmachen, wenn ich dich bitten würde, die Tür zu schließen?*):

Könntest du bitte die Tür schließen?
Würdest du die Tür schließen?
Willst du nicht die Tür schließen?
Darf ich dich bitten die Tür zu schließen?
Hast du die Tür vergessen?(Ernst, 2002: 108)

The last source for German is the Duden Grammar. Unfortunately, it provides examples from a different scenario. On the plus side, the examples are not influenced by translation.

Könntest du mir (mal) das Heft geben?
Kann ich (bitte) schnell (mal) das Auto nehmen? (Eisenberg, ⁷2005: 908)

At first glance one can notice that in absolute numbers, the textbooks provide more examples for requests in the form of *yes-no* interrogatives than they do in the form of declaratives. My corpus, however, contains decidedly less *yes-no* interrogatives than declaratives. There are 51 cases where English and German agree in using a *yes-no* interrogative, which is only a third of the number of declaratives. But maybe *yes-no* interrogatives simply allow for a wider range of types to realize directives and that is what the textbooks want to show? To answer this question, we should simply look at the tendencies reflected in the textbook-examples.

Probably the most striking feature of *yes-no* interrogatives is the relationship between speaker and addressee. In nearly all cases, there is a direct reference to the addressee in the form of a personal pronoun. All English examples from the textbooks contain the pronoun *you*. In most of the German examples, the 2nd person pronoun appears in its different case forms *du*, *dir* and *dich*. There is just one example in German (from the Duden Grammar) that does not contain this overt reference. Instead, the speaker refers to an object (*das Auto*) that is presumably in the possession of the addressee. So *yes-no* interrogatives always stress the involvement of the addressee – this was not the case with declaratives!

What is also nearly always present is the verb denoting the desired action. There are two exceptions: in one case (from Levinson/Fries), there is an explicit reference about a lack of action on the addressee's side which is expressed by the verb *forget/vergessen*. In the other case (from the Duden grammar), the *yes-no* interrogative phrases the request from the speaker's perspective, using the 1st person singular pronoun *ich* and the verb *nehmen*; the desired action is simply *geben*, the converse of *nehmen*. So *yes-no* interrogatives are rather overt about what should be done: they regularly name the action verb and who should do it by explicitly referring to the addressee in nearly all cases.

Another remarkable point is the recurring use of modal verbs and other verbs expressing modality. Their meanings either concern ability (*can, be able/können*), volition (*will, would/wollen, werden*) or permission (*can, may/dürfen*). They appear in inflectional forms expressing closeness like present tense and indicative (*will/kannst*) and in forms expressing distance like past tense and *Konjunktiv* (*would/könntest, würdest*).

In some of the syntactically more complex sentences, we also find speech verbs (*ask/bitten*). In contrast to declaratives, these verbs cannot be used performatively in *yes-no* interrogatives.

The Duden Grammar also names another criterion for requestive interpretations, namely *Abtönungspartikeln* (cf. Eisenberg, ⁷2005: 908) or modal particles. For German we find *mal* and *bitte*, the negation in both English and German (*not/nicht*) can also be understood to function similar to modal particles. These particles are a good indicator for the directive force of *yes-no* interrogatives, but they are not present in all examples. We should look at their use and frequency in the corpus as well.

The last observation concerns the absence rather than the presence of a certain linguistic feature. There is no case in the textbooks where we only have the proposition without preceding modal verbs or other superordinate structure. This hypothetical case could (in analogy to the textbook examples) look like this: *Schließt du (bitte) die Tür?* I used an example like this in Chapter 4.3.2 when I first introduced the clause types. As this ‘bare’ propositional structure occurs in standard German, I will also look for it in the corpus.

7.2.2 Use in the corpus

When we start describing the use of *yes-no* interrogatives in the corpus, we should not only take into account how many *yes-no* interrogatives occur in each language but also which language they originate from. This is what Table 40 demonstrates.

Table 40. Source languages for *yes-no* interrogatives

	English	German
Original	46	5
Translation	5	46
Total	51	51

The numbers in Table 40 make immediately clear that the directive use of *yes-no* interrogatives is primarily an English phenomenon – 90% of the cases where English and German agree in using *yes-no* interrogatives are from originally English texts. Of course the use of *yes-no* interrogatives as directives in German is in principle also possible, as the translations and the five originally German cases show. Still, this overwhelmingly English dominance should be kept in mind during the analysis of *yes-no* interrogatives and it should

be noted that the virtually exclusive use of examples from Osborne and Leigh in this chapter is therefore neither accidental nor my personal choice but simply unavoidable.

Action verbs. I shall start the description of *yes-no* interrogatives in my corpus at the most central element, the action verb. The lexical verb in a regular *yes-no* interrogative can be the verb denoting the action desired of the addressee as in Examples 5 and 6 but it can also be another verb as in Examples 7 and 8.

(5) Tony, can you lift his feet? (Leigh, 1979: 50)

(6) Tony, kannst du seine Füße anheben? (Leigh/Braband: 78)

(7) Can I see it? (Leigh, 1979: 48)

(=Show me the picture.)

(8) Kann ich es mal sehen? (Leigh/Braband: 76)

(=Zeig mir das Bild.)

The examples in the textbooks strongly suggested the presence of action verbs as the standard case. The data in my corpus agree with that, as Table 41 shows.

Table 41. Action verbs in *yes-no* interrogatives

	English	German
+action verb	42	39
-action verb	9	11
Total	51	51

Of the 51 cases where English and German coincide in their use of *yes-no* interrogatives, there are 42 cases in English where the lexical verb of the *yes-no* interrogative denotes the desired action and 39 cases in German – so this makes up for roughly 82% in English and 76% in German. These numbers appear to be rather high, but on their own, these frequencies are not significant. Therefore we have to compare the frequency of action verbs in this special subset to the overall frequency of action verbs in the whole corpus. Table 42 shows the frequency of action verbs in the entire corpus.

Table 42. Action verbs in the entire corpus¹⁵

	English	German
+action verb	613	620
-action verb	293	286
Total	906	906

¹⁵ Table 44 is identical with Table 16 in Chapter 6.2.2.

Of the 906 cases in total, 613 cases in English contain a lexical verb denoting the desired action and 620 cases in German. These numbers account for 68% in either language, which is decidedly lower than the frequency of action verbs in *yes-no* interrogatives. Thus the textbooks and my corpus correspond in their conclusion concerning the frequency of this feature.

Orientation. The next remarkable feature in the textbooks was the relationship between speaker and addressee, or the orientation of the utterance. In nearly all cases, the orientation of the utterance was towards the hearer or – if it was oriented towards the speaker - at least contained a reference to the addressee. This very strong tendency can also be seen in my data as Table 43 illustrates.

Table 43. Orientation in *yes-no* interrogatives

	English	German
Hearer	46	44
Speaker	2	2
We	3	2
Impersonal	0	3
Total	51	51

Of the 51 cases where English and German coincide in their use of *yes-no* interrogatives, there are 46 cases in English where the utterance is oriented towards the hearer and 44 cases in German. This accounts for 90% of the cases in English and 86% of the cases in German. Examples 9 and 10 serve to illustrate this type again with data from my corpus.

- (9) Wolln Sie nicht rauskommen? (Brecht, 1999: 84)
 (10) Won't you come out? (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 93)

There also two cases where the utterance in both English and German is directed towards the speaker. In one case, the hearer is not mentioned at all (Examples 11/12). In the other however, there is a clear reference to the addressee and the desired action, framed by a superordinate clause containing a speech verb (Examples 13/14).

- (11) Can I see it? (Leigh, 1979: 48)
 (=Show me the picture.)
 (12) Kann ich es mal sehen? (Leigh/Braband: 76)
 (=Zeig mir das Bild.)
 (13) Darf ich bitten, Eisler, sich mit dem Gesicht gegen die Wand zu stellen?
 (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 56)

(14) Eisler, might I trouble you to stand with your face to the wall, please?
(Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 70)

The data in my corpus also contains two other types of orientation for *yes-no* interrogatives. On the one hand, we find utterances that are oriented towards both speaker and addressee, which therefore both appear as *we* in the utterance. This *we* is the agent or subject of the desired action. The nature of the desired action in Examples 15 and 16 of course demands two participants (*dancing/tanzen*). The situation in Examples 17 and 18 also implies the desired action as a collective activity (*having dinner/essen*). So it seems this orientation towards both speaker and addressee depends on a certain kind of activity.

(15) Well, shall we dance? (Osborne, 1996: 22)

(16) Wollen wir tanzen? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 27)

(17) Essen wir nicht weiter? (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 62)

(18) Shall we go on with dinner? (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 78)

The fourth type of orientation is directed neither towards the speaker nor towards the addressee of the utterance. Instead, the orientation is impersonal. Among the 51 cases where English and German coincide in their use of *yes-no* interrogatives, there are only three cases for this impersonal orientation and all three are German. Examples 20 and 22 serve to illustrate this type.

(19) Have you got gin? (Leigh, 1979: 4)

(20) Gibt es Gin? (Leigh/Braband: 8)

(21) Wouldn't you say that that was her private property? (Osborne, 1996: 33)

(22) Ist das nicht ihr Privateigentum? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 37)

What they have in common is that neither the English original nor the German translation contain the desired action in the form of the lexical verb. The English original is oriented towards the hearer; the German translation, however, does not contain any reference towards the hearer. Instead it concentrates on facts that may help to infer what is meant. In Example 20, the speaker in the German version asks about the general presence of an alcoholic beverage. In the scenario where she is guest, it can easily be understood as a request for that drink. In the English version, she asks whether her host has that drink. The only real difference is the reference to the addressee, who is only implied in the German utterance. In Example 21, the speaker asks for the hearer's opinion on a certain matter. In the German version (Example 22), however, the speaker just asks whether that is true. Both versions allow the inference that one should not rummage through another person's private

property. The English version refers to the addressee who is just doing this. The German avoids the direct reference to the addressee. Altogether, the impersonal type is rare and it seems to be restricted to German utterances. Yet it is important to note that this type is possible in German and should not be completely ignored in a contrastive analysis.

As for the orientation of *yes-no* interrogatives in general, we can conclude that the orientation towards the addressee is clearly the standard case in both English and German. But in order to decide whether this dominance is really typical for the *yes-no* interrogative and not just a general feature of directives, we also have to look at how frequent the different orientations are in the whole corpus. Table 44 shows the frequency of the orientation types in the entire corpus:

Table 44. Orientation in the entire corpus¹⁶

	English	German
Hearer	562	561
Speaker	95	89
We	45	43
impersonal	198	210
unclear ¹⁷	6	3
total	906	906

Of the 906 cases in total, 562 cases in English are oriented towards the hearer and 561 cases in German. These numbers account for 62% in both English and German. Although the orientation towards the hearer is still by far the most frequent in both languages, it is decidedly lower than the frequency (86-90%) of hearer orientation in *yes-no* interrogatives. Thus hearer orientation can indeed be regarded to be a characteristic of *yes-no* interrogatives.

Vocatives. There is also another way for a speaker to establish the relationship to his or her addressee beyond the referential use of pronouns, namely the use of vocatives. Unlike pronouns that serve obligatory functions in the sentences (e.g. as object), vocatives are optional (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 772). They are not likely to be found in textbooks as textbook examples serve to illustrate general examples beyond a specific context. Vocatives, however, draw the attention of a specific addressee towards the utterance or give the

¹⁶ Table 46 is identical with Table 19 in Chapter 6.2.2.

¹⁷ This category is not a category by its own right, but rather an umbrella term for cases that cannot be clearly allocated to any of the other categories.

speaker a chance to express his or her attitude towards a specific addressee. The data in my corpus contains utterances from specific instances, so it can be expected that vocatives will be used differently than in textbooks.

The following examples serve to illustrate possible uses of vocatives in *yes-no* interrogatives. Examples 23/24 show vocatives in initial position. In Example 25 we find a vocative in medial position – in the corresponding English version (Example 26) it is in initial position. Examples 27 and 28 show vocatives in final position.

- (23) Laurence, would you like to take Angela's coat, please? (Leigh, 1979: 4)
- (24) Laurence, würdest du Angela bitte ihren Mantel abnehmen? (Leigh/Braband: 6)
- (25) Darf ich bitten, Eisler, sich mit dem Gesicht gegen die Wand zu stellen? (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 56)
- (26) Eisler, might I trouble you to stand with your face to the wall, please? (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 70)
- (27) Are you coming, Tony? (Leigh, 1979: 30)
- (28) Kommst du, Tony? (Leigh/Braband: 48)

As vocatives are another explicit way to establish the relationship between speaker and addressee, they should occur more frequently in *yes-no* interrogatives than they do in general. Table 45 serves to illustrate the frequency of vocatives in the 51 cases where English and German coincide in their use of *yes-no* interrogatives.

Table 45. Vocatives in *yes-no* interrogatives

	English	German
+vocative	21	20
-vocative	30	31
Total	51	51

There are 21 vocatives in English and 20 in German, which accounts for about 40% of all cases where English and German agree in using the *yes-no* interrogative. The frequency of vocatives is much lower than the general orientation towards the addressee (around 90%), but vocatives are a very specific way to express this orientation, so that is not too surprising. As a next step, we should compare the frequency of vocatives in this special subset to the overall frequency of vocatives in the whole corpus. Table 46 shows the frequency of vocatives in the entire corpus.

Table 46. Vocatives in the entire corpus

	English	German
+vocative	263	268
-vocative	645	640
Total	906	906

Of the 906 cases in total, 263 cases in English contain vocatives and 268 cases in German. These numbers account for about 30% in either language, which is decidedly lower than the frequency of vocatives in *yes-no* interrogatives. So although the textbooks do not include vocatives when they demonstrate the use of *yes-no* interrogatives as directives, vocatives are a frequent feature of *yes-no* interrogatives – definitely more frequent than in directive utterances in general.

Verbal items preceding action verbs. The next feature that was remarkable in the textbook examples was the use of lexical items expressing modality. This was mostly done through verbs. The grouping of verbs into categories of course strongly depends on the grammatical system of the different languages. Consequently a systematic description may be difficult. I will explain my choices as I go through the different types. I shall start with modal verbs, carry on with other verbs expressing modality, verbs denoting mental states and speech verbs, and finally look at items other than verbs.

The most important group and also the most clearly defined group are the modal verbs. The group of modal verbs (alternatively: modal auxiliaries or central modals) in English consists of: *can, could, may, might, shall, should, will, would* and *must*. (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 135)

The group of *Modalverben* (from now on: *modal verbs*) in German consists of: *dürfen, können, mögen, müssen, sollen, and wollen* (cf. Eisenberg, ⁷2005: 489); I added *werden* to this group for my analysis. The Duden Grammar attributes the function of “temporal-modales Hilfsverb” (cf. Eisenberg, ⁷2005: 424) to *werden*.

Maybe the most important difference between modal verbs in English and German is the treatment of present and past forms. In German forms as *ich kann* and *ich konnte* are considered to be part of one verbal paradigm, while in English *I can* and *I could* are

(synchronically!) regarded as two different verbs. Table 47 shows the frequency of modal verbs in *yes-no* interrogatives.

Table 47. Modal verbs in *yes-no* interrogatives

	English	German
+modal verb(s)	31	33
-modal verb(s)	20	18
Total	51	51

Of the 51 cases where English and German coincide in their use of *yes-no* interrogatives, there are 31 cases in English that contain modal verbs and 33 cases in German – so this accounts for 61% in English and 65% in German. This number appears to be rather high, but on its own this frequency is again not significant. Therefore we have to compare the frequency of modal verbs in this special subset to the overall frequency of modal verbs in the whole corpus. Table 48 shows the frequency of modal verbs in the entire corpus.

Table 48. Modal verbs in the entire corpus

	English	German
+modal verb(s)	147	152
-modal verb(s)	759	754
Total	906	906

Of the 906 cases in total, 147 cases in English contain modal verbs and 152 cases in German. These numbers account for 16% in English and 17% in German, which is substantially lower than the frequency of modal verbs in *yes-no* interrogatives. Thus the textbooks and my corpus correspond in their conclusions regarding the frequent use of modal verbs in *yes-no* interrogatives.

After establishing the relatively high frequency of modal verbs in *yes-no* interrogatives, we have to wonder which modal verbs are relevant. Is it the full range of modal verbs as described above or is it just a few that are used? And do they occur in equal frequency?

The answers are simple: Not all possible modal verbs occur in the 51 cases where English and German agree in the use of *yes-no* interrogatives. In English there is no instance of *may*, *should* or *must*. In German there is no instance of *sollen*. If we also take into account

the different tenses we can see that *mögen* is not used in its present form, *dürfen*, *müssen* and *wollen* not in their past forms.

The second question concerns the frequency of the modal verbs that are used. Before I describe English and German modals in relation to each other, I will first illustrate the numbers of modals for each language starting with modals in English.

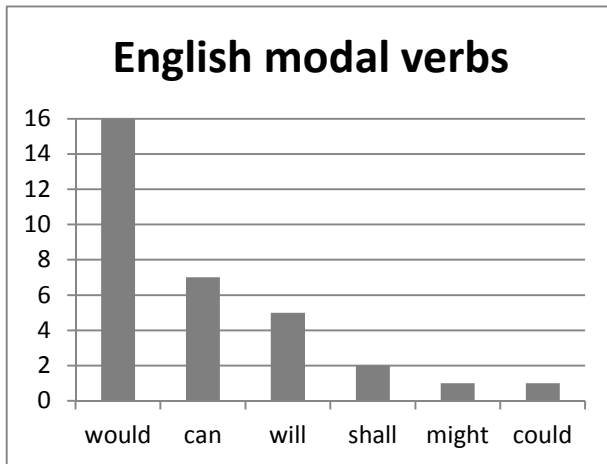


Figure 9. Modal verbs in English *yes-no* interrogatives

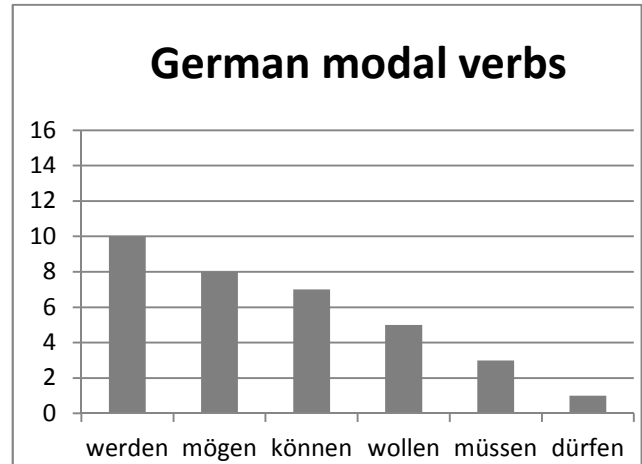


Figure 10. Modal verbs in German *yes-no* interrogatives

The most obvious observation for English modals is the dominance of one modal verb, namely *would*. Its 16 occurrences account for 50% of modal verb uses in this special *yes-no* interrogative subset. The other modal verbs are much less frequent: *can* appears seven times, *will* five times. *Shall*, *might* and *could* appear even less. (The numbers in this graph add up to 32, as one of the cases where modals are used contains two modals together, namely *would* and *could*.)

For the description of the German modals, I shall first look at them without tense distinction and then take the tense distinction into account as well. A first and very general impression is that in contrast to the English modals, the German modals are more evenly distributed. There is not just one modal that towers over the others. Just like with the English modals, the numbers in the graph do not add up to 33, as one of the cases where modals are used contains two modals together, namely *werden* and *mögen*. For a more differentiated image however it is necessary to include the tense distinction in the analysis.

In the following, I will describe the use of the most frequent modal verbs in more detail. To be able to identify patterns, I will describe only the verbs that appear at least five

times. In English there are *can*, *will* and *would*. In German we have *können*, *mögen*, *werden* and *wollen*.

I shall start on the most frequent modal verb in *yes-no* interrogatives, namely *would*, which also appeared repeatedly in the textbook examples. Its German equivalents are *werden* and *mögen*. The former also appears regularly in the textbooks, the latter does not. Examples 29-32 serve to illustrate these two dominant uses of *would*. It is remarkable that in both cases *would* is accompanied by *like to*, so *would* is not the only item expressing modality in the verbal complex.

(29) Laurence, would you like to put a record on for us, please? (Leigh, 1979: 27)

(30) Laurence, würdest du bitte eine Schallplatte für uns auflegen? (Leigh/Braband: 43)

(31) Would you like to dance? (Leigh, 1979: 44)

(32) Möchtest du tanzen? (Leigh/Braband: 70)

The different modal verbs in German reflect a difference in illocutionary force. In Example 29/30, the speaker decidedly wants the addressee to carry out the action of putting a record on. The illocutionary act denoted in Example 31/32, asking someone for a dance, is an act where a decline is socially acceptable.

But the difference may also be caused by the difference in social distance. In Examples 29/30, speaker and addressee are married, so there is a low social distance. In Examples 31/32, speaker and addressee know each other only distantly because they live on the same street, so the social distance is much higher. Now these two examples may not be enough to call this a case of underspecification (cf. König/Gast, ²2009: 218) in English, but it may be a starting point for a systematic investigation of this relationship.

In the 16 cases where *would* appears in English, we find the following equivalents: In eight cases (five of which also contain *like to*), *würdest* is the German counterpart. All eight cases have the same speaker, Beverly, and in seven cases her husband is the addressee. In the eighth case, she addresses her neighbour Susan. In all eight cases of *würdest*, the speaker takes on a dominant stance making clear that this is what she wants. In five other cases of *would*, the German equivalent is *möchtest*, the *Konjunktiv II* form of *mögen*. In all five cases, *would* appears together with *like to*. Functionally, these five cases are much less demanding than the cases where *würdest* is used as they rather concern questions of personal liking or taste. In three cases, somebody is asked to dance as in Examples 31/32

above. In the two remaining cases, it is literally about taste as they concern music or food (Examples 33/34).

(33) Möchten Sie nicht vielleicht doch die Leberknödelsuppe versuchen?
(Dürrenmatt, 1962: 53)

(34) Wouldn't you like to try just a spoonful of the liver-dumpling soup?
(Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 66)

The fact that *would like to* is much more about the will of the addressee than of the speaker is illustrated by another case where the German equivalent is *willst* (Examples 35/36).

(35) Would you like to slip your jacket off? (Leigh, 1979: 10)

(36) Willst du deine Jacke ausziehen? (Leigh/Braband: 18)

In the two remaining cases where *would* is used in English, there is simply no modal verb as equivalent in the German version. In one case, it is only the modal verb that is left out in the translation (Example 38). This translation is the type with the bare lexical verb I mentioned before (cf. Chapter 7.2.1). In the other case (Example 40), the whole superordinate structure including a speech verb (*say*) is omitted; consequently the orientation of the utterance changes from what the addressee would possibly say to an impersonal question of the content. In both cases, the illocutionary force is relatively strong.

(37) Laurence, would you get some light ale as well, please? (Leigh, 1979: 5)

(38) Laurence, bringst du nachher auch noch ein paar Guinness mit, bitte?
(Leigh/Braband: 8)

(39) Wouldn't you say that that was her private property? (Osborne, 1996: 33)

(40) Ist das nicht ihr Privateigentum? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 37)

As we have seen, *would* (mostly in combination with *like to*) covers a wide range of illocutionary forces from authoritative demanding to offers or invitations that depend on the will of the addressee. Depending on the force, the German equivalents vary: *würdest* is used frequently at the strong end – alternatively we find no modal at all, though much less often. At the weaker end of the scale, we usually find *möchtest* or in one case *willst*.

The next most frequent modal verbs in English *yes-no* interrogatives is *can*, which occurs 7 times. Only four of these seven cases contain the desired action in the form *Can you do X?* which can regularly be found in the textbooks. Three of these four cases contain *können* as the German equivalent for *can*. Examples 45/46 illustrates one of the three cases. In the fourth case, there is no modal verb at all in the German version (Example 48). Instead we find the bare lexical verb.

- (45) Tony, can you lift his feet? (Leigh, 1979: 50)
 (46) Tony, kannst du seine Füße anheben? (Leigh/Braband: 78)
 (47) Can you get him a blanket or something to keep him warm? (Leigh, 1979: 50)
 (48) Holst du bitte eine Decke oder irgendwas, um ihn warmzuhalten?
 (Leigh/Braband: 79)

The three remaining cases with *can* do not have a lexical verb denoting the desired action directly following the modal verb. In one case (Example 49), *can* appears in a superordinate clause and the action verb in the subordinate clause. The addressee is basically asked whether he is aware that he already carries out an undesired action. The German equivalent does not contain a modal verb at all (example 50).

- (49) Can't you see you're embarrassing Sue? (Leigh, 1979: 36)
 (=Don't embarrass Sue.)
 (50) Siehst du nicht, daß du Sue in Verlegenheit bringst? (Leigh/Braband: 57)
 (=Bring Sue nicht in Verlegenheit.)

In another case (Examples 51 and 52), the lack of an action verb depends on the perspective. The utterance is directed towards the speaker and consequently the lexical verb following *can* is not the desired action (*show*) but rather its converse antonym (*see*).

- (51) Can I see it? (Leigh, 1979: 48)
 (52) Kann ich es mal sehen? (Leigh/Braband: 76)

In the last case, *can* is used to describe a rather abstract possibility. In the English version (Example 53), the orientation is towards both speaker and addressee and the action verb is the rather stative *have*. In the German version (Example 54), the orientation is impersonal and the verb following *kann*, *vorübergehen*, is even less likely to be influenced by the addressee.

- (53) Jimmy, can we have one day, just one day, without tumbling over religion or politics? (Osborne, 1996: 77)
 (54) Kann denn nicht mal e i n Tag vorübergehen, ein einziger, ohne daß wir uns über Religion oder Politik in die Haare kriegen? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 81)

In sum, we can conclude that *can* occurs less frequently than predicted by the results of other studies (cf. Blum-Kulka, 1989: 50). When it occurs, it is used in only about half the cases in the form *Can you do X?*, which is sometimes regarded the standard request form (cf. Searle, 1975). However, all four uses of this 'standard request' form occur in a situation of emergency, where clarity is a matter of life and death, so this use of *can* is strongly dependent on the circumstances.

After discussing the use and the equivalences for the most frequent English modal verbs, we should do the same from a German perspective, taking into account *würdest* and *möchtest*. As we have already seen in the discussion on *would*, all eight instances of *würdest* (in the *yes-no* interrogative subset) occur as translations of *would*.

Of the eight cases where *möchtest* or *möchten* is used, four also take *would* (again in combination with *like to*) as their equivalent. In the other four cases of *möchten* or *möchtest*, we find forms of *want* as the English equivalent, in three cases as a catenative verb followed by a verb (Example 41) and in one case on its own as the lexical verb (Example 43). Example 44 also shows that modal verbs in German can also be used as lexical verbs and do not have to be followed by another verb – unlike English modal verbs.

- (41) D'you wanna sit down, Tone? (Leigh, 1979: 46)
- (42) Möchtest du dich setzen, Tone? (Leigh/Braband: 72)
- (43) Laurence, if you want olives, would you put them out, please? (Leigh, 1979: 3)
- (44) Wenn du Oliven möchtest, Laurence, würdest du sie dann bitte auch rausstellen? (Leigh/Braband: 6)

All other modal verbs (in English or German) occur less than five times which makes it hard to recognize trends, so I will not discuss them any further. But as we have seen in the examples for the use of modal verbs, they appear frequently as in combinations with other verbs denoting modality, e.g. *like*. Consequently we should also look at these other verbs. They include modality verbs, verbs denoting mental states and speech verbs.

As mentioned in above, modality verbs express a similar range of meaning as modal verbs, but have to be distinguished on formal grounds. Table 49 shows the frequency of modality verbs in *yes-no* interrogatives.

Table 49. Modality verbs in *yes-no* interrogatives

	English	German
+modality verb	5	0
-modality verb	46	51
total	51	51

We can see that modality verbs hardly play a role in *yes-no* interrogatives. They do not appear in German at all and in English there are only 5 cases, which accounts for 9% of all cases. Even if they are not many, they should not be ignored completely, especially if we take into account their frequency in the whole corpus.

Table 50. Modality verbs in the entire corpus

	English	German
+modality verb	46	12
-modality verb	860	894
	906	906

Table 50 shows that modality verbs are even less frequent in the whole corpus – here they account for only 5% of cases in English and 1% in German. In relation to that, their frequency in the subset of *yes-no* interrogatives is relatively high and should therefore not be ignored.

In the five cases that contain modality verbs we can find the following verbs: *have to*, *going to* and *trouble to*. The first two appear twice each, *trouble to* appears only once. At least the two verbs that appear twice should be worth looking at.

Example 55 illustrates the use of the modality verb *have to* in *yes-no* interrogatives.

(55) Do you have to make all that racket? (Osborne, 1996: 19)

(56) Müß t du dabei einen solchen Krach machen? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 25)

The speaker asks, whether there is an obligation for a particular (undesired) action. Of course the speaker assumes there is no such obligation and wants the addressee to stop carrying out this action. The obligation is expressed by *have to*. In the German version (example 56) we find the modal verb *müssen* as equivalent. The second instance of *have to* works along the same lines and is also replaced by *müssen* in the German version.

Examples 57 and 59 illustrate the uses of the modality verb *going to* in *yes-no* interrogatives.

(57) Aren't you going to have your tea? (Osborne, 1996: 47)

(58) Willst du keinen Tee? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 51)

(59) Are you going to be much longer doing that? (Osborne, 1996: 19)

(60) Bügelst du noch lange? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 25)

In Example 57, the modality verb *going to* is used in a negative context and refers the intention of the addressee. Apparently the speaker expects the addressee to have some tea. The German version (Example 58) does not contain an action verb; instead it uses the solitary modal auxiliary *wollen* to refer to the desire of the addressee. In Example 59, *going to* is used in a positive context and also refers to the intentions of the addressee. Yet here the speaker expects the addressee stop doing the action denoted by the lexical verb. In the German equivalent (Example 60), the future reference of the addressee's intention

concerning the action *bügeln* is only expressed by the temporal phrase *noch lange*. There is no corresponding modality verb. The difference in polarity will be discussed in more detail below.

Verbs that express mental states also share some semantic aspects with modal verbs, but they are not grammaticalized like modal verbs are. Although they are, in theory, an open-ended class, there are only few types that appear in my corpus. For English, there are only four verbs that appear: *like*, *see*, *think* and *want*. In German, there are only two verbs: *meinen* and *sehen*. If we look at the general frequency of these verbs, we can see that they occur quite frequently in English (16 cases contain verbs denoting mental states which accounts for 31%), though they do not play a big role in German, where they appear in only three cases (6%).

Table 51. Verbs denoting mental states in *yes-no* interrogatives

	English	German
+verbs denoting mental states	16	3
-verbs denoting mental states	35	48
Total	51	51

To explain the gap between English and German, we should look at the individual verbs and how the English and the German examples correlate.

I shall start with the most frequent verb, *like*, that appears in ten cases. As we have seen in the discussion on modal verbs, *like* often occurs together with *would*. In fact, in all ten cases, *like* follows *would* as can be seen in Example 61.

(61) Would you like to go now, please? (Leigh, 1979: 30)

(62) Würdest du dann jetzt bitte gehen, Laurence? (Leigh/Braband: 48)

As we can see, *like* is used very similarly to catenative verbs and could also be classified as such. In the German version (Example 62), the whole *would like* phrase is rendered by just one modal verb, in this case *würdest*. This modal verb occurs in five cases. The other primary alternative is *möchtest*, which is used in four cases.

(63) Would you like to dance with us? (Leigh, 1979: 44)

(64) Möchtest du mittanzen? (Leigh/Braband: 70)

The difference in semantics and illocutionary force between these two modal verbs in German has been discussed above in the subchapter on modal verbs already: *würdest* is the

stronger of the two, while *möchtest* really is about the will of the addressee. The combination of *would* and *like*, however, can express both meanings.

There is also one case (Examples 65/66) where the combination of *would* and *like* is rendered by the German modal verb *wollen*. As *wollen* also clearly refers to the will of the addressee, the force of this utterance is rather weak and therefore comparable to the utterances where *mögen* is used.

(65) Would you like to slip your jacket off? (Leigh, 1979: 10)

(66) Willst du deine Jacke ausziehen? (Leigh/Braband: 18)

These observations concerning *like* already explain why there is such a big discrepancy between English and German for the use of verbs denoting mental states. English frequently uses a lexical chunk consisting of a verb denoting a mental state and a modal verb, while German uses only one modal verb (*möchtest*, *würdest* or *willst*) in the same place.

The next most frequent verb, *want*, occurs four times. Similar to *like*, there is no direct equivalent from the group of lexical verbs denoting a mental state. Instead we again find a modal verb in German, namely *möchten*, in all four cases. Examples 67/68 illustrate this type once more.

(67) D'you want to sit here? (Leigh, 1979: 39)

(68) Möchtest du dich hier hinsetzen? (Leigh/Braband: 61)

The two remaining verbs expressing mental states are *think* and *see* in English and *meinen* and *sehen* in German. None of these verbs occurs frequent enough to allow the identification of patterns in the analysis, so I will not go into detail here.

On the whole we can see that verbs denoting mental states appear in a third of the English *yes-no* interrogatives. In German *yes-no* interrogatives, they hardly play a role. To answer the question whether verbs denoting mental states can be regarded a characteristic of *yes-no* interrogatives in directive use, we should also have a quick glance at the frequency of these verbs in the entire corpus.

Table 52. Verbs denoting mental states in the entire corpus

	English	German
+verbs denoting mental states	58	28
-verbs denoting mental states	848	878
Total	906	906

We can see in Table 52 that verbs denoting mental states occur much less frequently in English in the entire corpus (6%) than in the *yes-no* interrogative subset (31%). For German, the difference in frequency is hardly discernible. So we can indeed say that verbs denoting mental states are a characteristic for English *yes-no* interrogatives in directive use. For German, they seem to be much less relevant in general and not characteristic for *yes-no* interrogatives.

The third verbal type to antecede action verbs are speech verbs. They received immense attention in the discussion about speech acts (cf. Ballmer/Brennenstuhl, 1981; Searle/Vanderweken, 1985; Ulkan, 1992; Wierzbicka, 1987), so their actual use in utterances should also be looked at. Table 53 shows the frequency of speech verbs in *yes-no* interrogatives.

Table 53. Speech verbs in *yes-no* interrogatives

	English	German
+speech verb	1	1
-speech verb	50	50
Total	51	51

English and German both show only one speech verb. This may be surprising in comparison to the role speech verbs have played in previous research. But their low frequency is nothing which is specific to *yes-no* interrogatives. If we compare it to the frequency of speech verbs in the entire corpus, we can see that they do not play a big role in general. In the entire corpus, they occur in only 2% of the English utterances and in only 3 % of the German utterances.

Table 54. Speech verbs in the entire corpus¹⁸

	English	German
+speech verb	19	23
-speech verb	887	883
Total	906	906

Still, we should at least have a look at the two verbs and find out how they are used. I shall start on the one case in English that contains a speech verb (Example 69).

(69) Wouldn't you say that that was her private property? (Osborne, 1996: 33)

(70) Ist das nicht ihr Privateigentum? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 37)

¹⁸ Table 54 is identical to Table 32 in Chapter 6.2.2.

The speech verb in question is *say*, probably the most general speech verb possible. It is used to call for the addressee's agreement on the matter of property rights. These rights entail that one should not rummage through somebody else's property – which is just what the addressee does. The German translation (Example 70) does the same thing, although it does not contain the superordinate clause containing the speech verb.

The other case containing a speech verb occurs in German and is demonstrated in Example 71:

(71) Darf ich bitten, Eisler, sich mit dem Gesicht gegen die Wand zu stellen?
(Dürrenmatt, 1962: 56)

(72) Eisler, might I trouble you to stand with your face to the wall, please?
(Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 70)

The speech verb in German is *bitten* which is clearly connected to directivity. It is accompanied by the modal verb *dürfen*. Together they form what is called a hedged performative (cf. Bublitz, 2009: 149). The English translation (Example 72) works along the same lines but does not contain a speech verb. Instead it uses the verb *trouble* as equivalent. The verb *trouble* also contains the causative aspect yet without the mode 'speaking'.

Bare use of lexical verbs. After this detailed description of the verbal complex in *yes-no* interrogatives, it seems that the use of verbs expressing modality seems to be characteristic for *yes-no* interrogatives in directive function. Now the question is whether these verbs expressing modality are obligatory items in *yes-no* interrogatives or whether *yes-no* interrogatives can also be used directly with action verbs on their own. Table 55 illustrates the frequency of action verbs in their use without any other verbs expressing modality.

Table 55. Bare action verbs in *yes-no* interrogatives

	English	German
+bare action verb	7	8
-bare action verb	44	43
Total	51	51

We can see from the table that this bare¹⁹ use of lexical verbs denoting the desired action is not all too frequent, but it is definitely possible in both languages. Of the 51 cases where English and German agree in using *yes-no* interrogatives, English uses bare action verbs in seven cases (14%) and German in eight cases (16%). Examples 73/74 serve to illustrate such a case.

(73) Are you coming, Tony? (Leigh, 1979: 30)

(74) Kommst du, Tony? (Leigh/Braband: 48)

If we look for a pattern in these cases, it turns out that most cases in English (five out of seven) do contain an item expressing modality, albeit not a verb. Instead they use the negation *not* as can be seen in Example 75. In the German cases, the modal use of negation is less frequent. It appears in only three of the eight cases. Modal negation will be discussed in more below.

(75) Aren't you staying? (Osborne, 1996: 70)

(76) Bleiben Sie nicht? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 73)

(77) Essen wir nicht weiter? (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 62)

(78) Shall we go on with dinner? (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 78)

So we can see that modal verbs or other verbs expressing modality are not obligatory for the directive interpretation and that items other than verbs play a role in the directive interpretation of *yes-no* interrogatives as well. Consequently we should also take these other items into account.

Lexical items other than verbs. After discussing the role of the verbal complex in directive *yes-no* interrogative, I also want to look at other lexical items. Several terms have been suggested and used for this rather fuzzy group, among them *discourse markers* (Schiffrin, 1987), *pragmatic markers* (Brinton, 1996), *Particles* (Hartmann, 1998), *Modalpartikeln* (Thurmair, 1989), *Abtönungspartikeln* (cf. Eisenberg, ⁷2005: 908), or even more specifically *requestive marker* (House, 1989: 116).

There are several such items that appear in the data. Two items for each language are especially frequent: *please* and *not* in English and *bitte* and *nicht* in German. These two most frequent items offer themselves for a direct comparison. The other items occur much less frequent and will therefore be described in less detail.

¹⁹ Of course lexical verbs in English *yes-no* interrogatives always need an operator, in this case a form of *be*. The term 'bare' really refers only to the absence of verbs expressing modality.

I shall start with the most frequent items, *please* and *bitte*. House labels both as requestive markers (cf. 1989: 116). *Please* occurs in eleven cases, which accounts for 22% of cases where English and German agree in using *yes-no* interrogatives. The German *bitte* occurs in 12 cases, which accounts for 24% of *yes-no* interrogatives.

Table 56. *please/bitte* in *yes-no* interrogatives

	English	German
+<i>please/bitte</i>	11	12
-<i>please/bitte</i>	40	39
total	51	51

Please only occurs in cases that also use modal verbs. In nine cases, it appears alongside *would*, and in one case each, with *will* and *might*. The German *bitte* occurs mostly (in eight cases) alongside *würdest* – which is one possible equivalent of *would*, as we have seen above. The other possible equivalent of *would*, *möchtest*, never occurs together with *bitte*. Examples 79/80 illustrate this standard combination:

(79) Laurence, would you please go back in the kitchen, and finish making your little sandwich, all right? (Leigh, 1979: 35)

(80) Laurence, würdest du bitte wieder in die Küche gehen und dir dein kleines Sandwich machen, ja? (Leigh/Braband: 58)

Bitte also occurs with two other German modal verbs, namely *willst* and *kannst*, which both appear once. In the two remaining cases, there is no modal verb in German, as can be seen in Example 82 below.

(81) Laurence, would you get some light ale as well, please? (Leigh, 1979: 5)

(82) Laurence, bringst du nachher auch noch ein paar Guinness mit, bitte?
(Leigh/Braband: 8)

After establishing the items that co-occur with *please* and *bitte* in English and German respectively, we should also establish how *please* and *bitte* correlate in their respective languages. In nine cases, *please* is used in English and *bitte* is used in the German equivalent. There are, however, also cases where only one of the two items is used.

There are three cases, where *bitte* is used but the English version does not contain *please*. All three cases are originally English, so the marker *bitte* was ‘added’ in the translation. As for the content of these three cases, all three are uttered in the same situation, an emergency when someone is having a heart attack. In situations like this, the

use of *please* seems superfluous. In Example 84, the German translation inserts *bitte* because it does not contain any other requestive marker – there is no direct equivalent to the English modal verb *can*.

(83) Can you get him a blanket or something to keep him warm? (Leigh, 1979: 50)

(84) Holst du bitte eine Decke oder irgendwas, um ihn warmzuhalten?
(Leigh/Braband: 79)

On the other hand, there are two cases where *please* is used in the English version, but the particle *bitte* is not there in the German version. In one case, the lexical element *bitte* is present in the German version (Example 85), yet not as the modal particle but as the verb *bitten*. This verb is used as a hedged performative together with *dürfen*. An additional use of the particle *bitte* in the same clause would be very odd. The English version (Example 86) does not really integrate the particle *please* into the sentence, but rather adds it at the very end.

(85) Darf ich bitten, Eisler, sich mit dem Gesicht gegen die Wand zu stellen?
(Dürrenmatt, 1962: 56)

(86) Eisler, might I trouble you to stand with your face to the wall, please?
(Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 70)

The second most frequent items to express modality *yes-no* interrogatives are *not* and *nicht*. We can see in Table 57 that *not* occurs in 10 cases, which accounts for 20% of *yes-no* interrogatives. The German *nicht* occurs in 12 cases, which accounts for 24%.

Table 57. *not/nicht* in *yes-no* interrogatives

	English	German
+not/nicht	10	12
-not/nicht	41	39
Total	51	51

Neither in English nor in German is there another dominant item that *not* or *nicht* occur together with. The only vague tendency to be seen is that *not* and *nicht* in their modal use occur together with items expression volition. In English there are four cases that express this volition explicitly through the verbs *will*, *would like* and *going to*. In German, there are three cases that contain either *wollen* or *möchten*. Examples 87/88 serve to illustrate this type.

- (87) Möchten Sie nicht vielleicht doch die Leberknödelsuppe versuchen?
(Dürrenmatt, 1962: 53)
- (88) Wouldn't you like to try just a spoonful of the liver-dumpling soup?
(Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 66)

Although these cases containing an item expressing volition are clearly there, they are by no means the standard. The default case of a *yes-no* interrogative containing modal negation rather looks like Example 89:

- (89) Don't you agree with me, Ang? (Leigh, 1979: 15)
- (90) Meinst du nicht auch, Ang? (Leigh/Braband: 25)

In eight cases English and German agree in their use of *not* and *nicht*; there are only three cases where *nicht* is used without *not* and one case where *not* is used without *nicht*. In this one case, there actually is another modal negation present in the German version (Example 92); it is not expressed by *nicht*, but rather by the negative article *keinen*.

- (91) Aren't you going to have your tea? (Osborne, 1996: 47)
- (92) Willst du keinen Tee? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 51)

There are also three cases where German uses *nicht* but there is no *not* in the English version. All three English versions contain a modal verb to express a similar modality. In Example 94, the modal verb *shall* is used to express the expectation of the speaker.

- (93) Essen wir nicht weiter? (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 62)
- (94) Shall we go on with dinner? (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 78)

While these two most frequent items, *please/bitte* and *not/nicht* strongly correlate to each other, it is much harder to speak of correlations with the less frequent pragmatic markers. So I will just name the other markers that appear in *yes-no* interrogatives and give their frequencies without discussing correlations. For English, the only item that could qualify as a pragmatic marker is *just* which occurs three times. This somewhat problematic classification of *just* has already been discussed in Chapter 6.2.2. In German, we have a wider variety, namely *mal*, *vielleicht* and *doch*. *Mal* occurs three times, *vielleicht* twice and *doch* once. Examples 95-98 demonstrate the uses of all four items.

- (95) Will you just shut up for a minute? (Leigh, 1979: 53)
- (96) Könntest du für einen Moment mal die Klappe halten? (Leigh/Braband: 82)
- (97) Möchten Sie nicht vielleicht doch die Leberknödelsuppe versuchen?
(Dürrenmatt, 1962: 53)
- (98) Wouldn't you like to try just a spoonful of the liver-dumpling soup?
(Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 66)

All four items serve to reduce the imposition on the addressee in the given *yes-no* interrogatives, but due to their low overall frequencies it is hard to identify larger patterns.

7.2.3 Conclusive remarks on *yes-no* interrogatives in the corpus

To characterize the directive use of *yes-no* interrogative, we can conclude the following: *yes-no* interrogatives occur almost exclusively in English ST, so they are predominantly an English phenomenon. German allows for *yes-no* interrogatives as well, but uses them mostly as TT. In most cases (80%) the desired action is directly named as the lexical verb of the sentence. The percentage of hearer orientation is even higher (90%). In addition to that, the hearer is often also addressed with a vocative, which happens in 40% of the cases. Thus, *yes-no* interrogatives are quite clear about what should be done and who should do it – just as predicted by the textbooks. The verbal complex contains also other items beyond the lexical verbs, namely modal verbs, modality verbs, speech verbs and verbs expressing mental states. The most frequent of these types are modal verbs, which occur in about two thirds of the cases. The most frequent modal verb in English *would*, which is rendered by one the two most frequent modal verbs in German, namely *werden* or *mögen*. *Would* is often accompanied by the most frequent verb expressing a mental state, namely *like*. Other than that, verbs expressing mental states do not play a big role and neither do modality verbs and speech verbs. Although lexical verbs denoting the desired action are very often accompanied by modal verbs, they can also occur on their own, which they do in 15% of cases. The only other remarkable items are the request markers *please* and *bitte* and the items expressing negation *not* and *nicht* which all occur in ca. 20% of cases.

7.3 Non-*yes-no* interrogative equivalents

After discussing general properties of *yes-no* interrogatives in directive use, I shall now look at the cases where English and German do not agree in using *yes-no* interrogatives. First I will discuss the 26 cases where German uses a *yes-no* interrogative and English does not. As a second step, I will discuss the 6 cases where English uses a *yes-no* interrogative and German does not.

7.3.1 German *yes-no* interrogatives and English non-*yes-no* interrogative equivalents

First, I shall have a look at the 26 German *yes-no* interrogatives whose equivalents in English are not realised as *yes-no* interrogatives. The majority, 20 of them, are from originally English texts and therefore TT. The 6 other cases are from originally German texts and therefore ST. I will again begin by describing characteristics of each author, starting with the two English authors where this phenomenon is more frequent. Osborne shows eleven cases, Leigh nine, Brecht four and Dürrenmatt two. This supports the assumption from Chapter 3.3.1 that the use of *yes-no* interrogatives is predominantly an English phenomenon.

Within the group of Osborne's utterances, the most frequent syntactical form in the original is the imperative with six cases. As already mentioned in the subchapter on imperatives, they contain either a tag-question or the *let's* form of the imperative or even both as can be seen in Example 99.

(99) Let's have some tea, shall we? (Osborne, 1996: 45)

(100) Wollen wir nicht etwas Tee trinken? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 49)

The next most frequent syntactic form with three cases is the declarative. All three corresponding German interrogatives use the verb *wollen* and hence ask for the will of the addressee. In two cases, the English original also mentions the will of the speaker but in the form of statements (Example 101). In one case, the English version (Example 103) ends on a question mark denoting a rising intonation. So the character of a question was already there in the original.

(101) Oh, you're not going to start up that old pipe again, are you? (Osborne, 1996: 12)

(102) Willst du etwa wieder deine alte Pfeife anstecken? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 18)

(103) You won't wait? (Osborne, 1996: 68)

(104) Willst du etwa nicht warten? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 72)

In one other case, we have an elliptical declarative. The only missing element is the subject referring back to the speaker, viz. the personal pronoun *I*. The presence of a lexical verb in the past tense in initial position allows no other interpretation. Where the English version is a statement about the speaker's prior expectations of an activity to be carried out by the speaker, the German translation focusses on questioning the addressee's earlier intention to carry out the desired action.

(105) Thought you were going to make me some more tea, you rotter. (Osborne, 1996: 32)

(106) Wolltest du nicht etwas Tee machen? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 36)

The last remaining utterance from the Osborne group is much more fragmentary than the elliptical declarative just mentioned. It consists of a noun and an adjective, presumably functioning as subject and complement. The connecting lexical verb is missing. The position of this verb, however, is vital for a classification into a clause type. Still, the punctuation by question mark strongly suggests we have an elliptical *yes-no* interrogative at hand. The German translation chooses the *yes-no* interrogative in its complete form.

(107) Tea ready? (Osborne, 1996: 45)

(108) Ist der Tee fertig? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 49)

Within the group of Leigh's utterances, the most frequent syntactical form realized in German as *yes-no* interrogative is the imperative with four cases. Again, these four cases are the same that we discussed in the chapter on imperatives, so I will not repeat myself here.

The next most frequent form is the declarative with three cases. Although they are clearly declaratives according to their word order, two of the three cases end on a question mark. In one case (Example 109), this is only to express the rising intonation. In the other case (Example 111), the declarative contains a question in a subordinate clause, introduced by the verb *wonder*.

(109) You gonna get changed? (Leigh, 1979: 3)

(110) Ziehst du dich jetzt um? (Leigh/Braband: 6)

(111) Tony, I wonder if you could give me a hand for a moment please? (Leigh, 1979: 9)

(112) Tony, könnten Sie mir mal gerade helfen? (Leigh/Braband: 16)

In the two remaining cases, we find elliptical *yes-no* interrogatives. The initial auxiliary – e.g. *do* or *would* – and the subject *you* are missing. What is left is a structure without a subject and a verb in the base form in initial position – in theory, an utterance with these qualities could be regarded as an imperative. However, neither of the verbs (*like* and *fancy*) can be used in an imperative due to their semantics, as both verbs denote mental desires beyond immediate controllability (cf. Davies 1986: 13). The German translation uses the *yes-no* interrogatives in their complete form.

(113) Like to sit down? (Leigh, 1979: 12)

(114) Möchtest du dich hinsetzen? (Leigh/Braband: 20)

(115) Fancy a little dance, Tone? (Leigh, 1979: 44)

(116) Möchtest du tanzen, Tone? (Leigh/Braband: 69)

Within the group of Brecht's four utterances, the most frequent syntactical form with three cases is the imperative. These three cases are the same that we discussed in the chapter on imperatives, so I will not repeat myself here.

The one other case is a declarative. Although it is clearly a declarative according to its word order, it ends on a question mark indicating a rising intonation.

(117) Kommen Sie also mit uns? (Brecht, 1999: 85)

(118) You'll come? (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 94)

Within the group of Dürrenmatt's utterances, there are two types that each occur once. The first is an imperative in its *let's* form. Interestingly, the only difference between the *yes-no* interrogative at hand and an adhortative is the intonation.

(119) Setzen wir uns? (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 57)

(120) But let's sit down. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 71)

The other form we find is a *wh*-interrogative. While the German original asks whether the addressee has carried out a certain desirable action in the past, the English translation asks why the addressee will not carry out the action. The translation makes clear what is only implied in the German original: the speaker wishes the addressee's behaviour to change.

(121) Kämpften Sie für seine Anerkennung? (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 43)

(122) Why won't you fight for that principle? (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 53)

7.3.2 English *yes-no* interrogatives and German non-*yes-no* interrogative equivalents

After discussing the case of German *yes-no* interrogatives that are not realized as *yes-no* interrogatives in English, we must also look at the other major difference between English and German concerning *yes-no* interrogatives: the cases when English uses a *yes-no* interrogatives but German does not. There are only five cases for this phenomenon in the corpus and all five are from originally English texts. Osborne shows three cases and Leigh shows two. Neither Brecht nor Dürrenmatt show such a case.

Within the group of Osborne's utterances, there are two declaratives in the German translation. In both cases, the German version is centered on the speaker (Example 124). They contain statements by the speaker about his or her own beliefs, whereas the addressee appears only in the subordinate clause. The English version (Example 123), however, is directed towards the addressee, both by the repeated use of the pronoun *you* and the syntactic form of the interrogative, which in itself is more likely to trigger interaction than a

declarative. This difference in orientation has been described by House (1996: 352) as a systematic pattern: German utterances are often oriented towards the speaker and English utterances mostly towards the addressee.

(123) Don't you think you ought to tell him yourself? (Osborne, 1996: 68)

(124) Ich finde, du solltest es ihm selber sagen. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 72)

The other form we find with Osborne is a *wh*-interrogative. Where the English original asks for agreement that something should happen, the German translation asks for the reason why the addressee has not caused it to happen.

(125) Hadn't she better sit down? (Osborne, 1996: 90)

(126) Warum hast du ihr keinen Stuhl angeboten? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 92)

Within the group of Leigh's utterances, there are two form types that each occur once. The first is an imperative. The English *yes-no* interrogative literally asks for the addressee's ability to carry out the desired action, where the German translation resorts to the imperative.

(127) Tony, can you help me get him on the floor? (Leigh, 1979: 49)

(128) Hilf mir mal, ihn auf den Boden zu legen. (Leigh/Braband: 77)

The last form we find is a declarative. Where the English original literally asks whether the addressee is going to carry out the desired action, the German translation states the desired action as something the addressee is going to do, depending on her will to please the speaker expressed in a subordinate conditional clause.

(129) Now, will you try and sip that for me, Sue? (Leigh, 1979: 33)

(130) Und wenn du mir einen Gefallen tun möchtest, dann nimmst du 'n Schluck, okay? (Leigh/Braband: 52)

7.3.3 Conclusive Remarks on the equivalences of the *yes-no* interrogative

After this description of the *yes-no* interrogative in English and German and its equivalents in the other language on a micro-level, it is time to take a step back and have a look at the whole picture. Before I describe my results, I must say that the relatively low numbers make it very hard to single out patterns.

The most frequent form that functions as equivalent for the *yes-no* interrogative is the imperative. It appears 15 times as the English equivalent for the German *yes-no* interrogative but only once as the German equivalent for the English *yes-no* interrogative.

The declarative can also function as equivalent for the *yes-no* interrogative. It does so three times as the German equivalent for the English *yes-no* interrogative and four times as the English equivalent for the German *yes-no* interrogative.

The *wh*-interrogative is even less frequent, but still it does occur once as the German equivalent for the English *yes-no* interrogative and once as the English equivalent for the German *yes-no* interrogative.

Neither adhortatives nor infinitives occur as equivalents for the *yes-no* interrogative in my corpus. Furthermore, non-sentences do not occur.

7.4 *Yes-no* interrogative: a wider perspective

In the previous subchapter, the focus was on the correlation of English and German *yes-no* interrogatives in their regular form and *yes-no* interrogatives only. It turned out that in a few cases, this narrow scope was problematic, as they did indeed contain a *yes-no* interrogative but were still classified as not being *yes-no* interrogatives (“*-yes-no* interrogative” in Table 39).

As a consequence, I shall now look again at the correlation of English and German *yes-no* interrogatives, only this time with a wider scope. I will do this by subsuming also combinations containing *yes-no* interrogatives and elliptical *yes-no* interrogatives. Table 58 serves to show the results of this different approach.

Table 58. Correspondence of English *yes-no* interrogatives and German *yes-no* interrogatives: wider perspective

	G +<i>yes-no</i> interrogative (also as ellipsis and combinations)	G –<i>yes-no</i> interrogative	
E +<i>yes-no</i> interrogative	60	9	69
E –<i>yes-no</i> interrogative	29	808	837
	89	817	906

The shift due to the different classification is not as remarkable as in the cases of imperatives and declaratives but still visible. The congruence between English and German for the event “+*yes-no* interrogative” is now higher. Instead of 50, Table 58 has 60 cases for this event. This is a difference of ten cases between the two sets. Correspondingly, the congruence between English and German for the event “–*yes-no* interrogative” is now lower.

Instead of 824 cases, Table 58 has only 808 cases for this event. Similar to Table 39, there are still a few cases where English and German differ. There are nine cases in which English uses a *yes-no* interrogative (in the wider interpretation) and German does not (vs. six cases in Table 39). On the other hand, there are 29 cases where German uses a *yes-no* interrogative (in the wider interpretation) and German does not (vs. 26 cases in Table 39). So in these two cells, the shift is hardly perceptible, at least not in terms of quantity. All these shifts cause no change in the overall correlation, however (χ^2 (1%; $df=1$) = 501,62; $p < .01$).

8 *Wh*-interrogatives

8.1 Correlation: quantitative aspects

This chapter deals with the case of regular *wh*-interrogative sentences in German and English and their mutual counterparts in the other language. Table 59 will provide us with a first overview.

Table 59. Correspondence of English *wh*-interrogatives and German *wh*-interrogatives

	G + <i>wh</i> -interrogative	G - <i>wh</i> -interrogative	
E + <i>wh</i> -interrogative	22	5	27
E - <i>wh</i> -interrogative	7	872	879
	29	877	906

What we can see for the clause type *wh*-interrogative in English and German in Table 59 is this: there is a strong correspondence between the two. The requirements for the χ^2 test are not met, however, because in one cell the observed value is only 5 (cf. Bortz ⁶2005: 169). For this case, Bortz suggests the Fisher-Yates exact test (cf. Phillips 1982). According to this test, $p < .01$, so the correlation between the English *wh*-interrogative and the German *wh*-interrogative is significant. Thus if English uses a *wh*-interrogative, then the German translation is likely to use one too (Examples 1 and 2) and vice versa (Examples 3 and 4). This occurs in 22 cases.

- (1) Why don't you tell him now? (Osborne, 1996: 26)
- (2) Warum sagst du es ihm nicht? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 31)
- (3) Warum machens das nicht selber? (Brecht, 1999: 30)
- (4) Why don't you do it yourself? (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 42)

Of course, the correlation works as well for the instances where English does not have a *wh*-interrogative. Then, German is likely not to use one either. This occurs in 872 cases, but these cases are of no interest here.

Apart from this purely quantitative analysis, we again have to take a qualitative stance. English and German, generally speaking, seem to behave similarly concerning the use of the *wh*-interrogative, but there are also visible differences. In seven cases, German uses a *wh*-interrogative and English does not. These cases will be investigated in detail in Chapter 8.3.1. In five cases, English uses a *wh*-interrogative and German does not. These cases will be investigated in Chapter 8.3.2 to find out about the differences between English and German. I will precede bottom-up, first carrying out a microanalysis of individual cases, and then seeing whether patterns emerge.

Quite likely, there is also another difference that is not visible in Table 59 but important nonetheless: in 22 cases both languages agree in using the *wh*-interrogative, but there may still be differences beyond the level of clause types. These cases will be investigated in more detail in Chapter 8.2.

8.2 Agreement in clause type: functional aspects

Wh-interrogatives – just as *yes-no* interrogatives – are not prototypically used as directives. According to Huddleston/Pullum, *wh*-interrogatives (or open interrogatives as they call them) are characteristically used as questions, more specifically as open questions (cf. 2002:853). According to Quirk et al., “QUESTIONS are primarily used to seek information on a specific point” (1985: 804). Of course, just as with *yes-no* interrogatives, there are speech act theorists that concentrate on the fact that open questions demand an answer and therefore count as directives, but I concentrate only on interrogatives that are used to trigger an action other than a verbal response (cf. Chapter 2).

We have to ask ourselves then: Under what conditions can *wh*-interrogatives be understood as being directives in the sense that they trigger an action other than just a verbal response? Are there specific lexical items, e.g. specific *wh*-items? Is it a specific word order that is used?

I will take two steps to investigate the conditions of use as directives for the clause type *wh*-interrogative: Of course, I will use examples from my corpus – especially the 22 cases where English and German agree in using *wh*-interrogative as directives. But before I do that, I will have a look at the examples that can be found in textbooks and use them as hypothesis.

8.2.1 Use in textbooks: hypotheses

Of the four sources that I used in Chapters 6.2.1 and 7.2.1, only two offer examples where the request to shut the door is realized by a *wh*-interrogative. Neither Bublitz (²2009) nor the Duden-Grammar (Eisenberg, ⁷2005) offer any examples in the form of *wh*-interrogatives. This absence may be explained by the low overall frequency of *wh*-interrogatives in directive function as can be seen in Table 59. Still, other sources – Levinson and the corresponding translated version – give examples where directives can be realized by *wh*-interrogatives, so both languages do allow the use of *wh*-interrogatives as directives.

How about a bit less breeze?
Now Johnny, what do big people do when they come in?
Okay, Johnny, what am I going to say next? (Levinson, 1983: 264f)

Wie wäre es mit etwas weniger Durchzug?
Nun Johnny, was tun große Leute, wenn sie hereinkommen?
Johnny, was werde ich wohl als Nächstes sagen? (Levinson/Fries, 1990: 264)

The first example from Levinson is technically not a regular sentence, as there is no verb. Quirk et al. point that out and list constructions starting on *how about/what about* as irregular *wh*-interrogatives (1985: 839f). The German counterpart is a regular sentence, though. Both the English and the German version ask for the evaluation of a certain state, namely the state desired by the speaker. In the given examples, this desired state can be brought about by closing the door, so this is very indirect. It would also be possible to mention the desired action more directly (e.g. *How about closing the door?/Wie wäre es damit die Tür zu schließen?*), but this is not how these *wh*-items (*how/wie*) are used in the textbooks.

The second and the third examples share the *wh*-item, namely *what* in English and correspondingly *was* in German. What these two examples have in common is the tone: an adult person (presumably one of the parents) is talking to a small child, as can be derived from the use of the vocative *Johnny*. The function seems to be rather a general education than a request to close the door in this specific instance.

The second example asks for the behaviour of a specific group (*big people/große Leute*) under specific circumstances – if the addressee wants to be part of that group, he should behave like them. Yet there is no reference to the door-scenario beyond the verb in the adverbial clause (*come in/hereinkommen*), so the desired behaviour entirely depends on the circumstances. It could also be understood as a request to take off one's shoes.

The third example goes a step further in being more indirect: the speaker does not ask for a potential action on the side of the addressee, but asks what he or she will say next – presumably a reproof for the absence of the desired action. Again, the interpretation depends completely on the circumstances.

The examples above allow no predictions about a favorite *wh*-item. In none of the three examples do we find an action verb. The orientation is impersonal in the first two utterances and speaker-related in the third. In general, the examples for *wh*-interrogatives in

textbooks make their use as directives seem very random and so it is hard to derive hypotheses from the examples.

8.2.2 Use in the corpus

When we start describing the use of *wh*-interrogatives in the corpus, we should probably not only take into account how many *wh*-interrogatives occur in each language but also which language they originate from. This is what Table 60 demonstrates.

Table 60. Source languages for *wh*-interrogatives

	English	German
Original	14	8
translation	8	14
total	22	22

The numbers in Table 60 make clear that the directive use of *wh*-interrogatives is mostly an English phenomenon (64%) although this trend is nowhere as clear as with *yes-no* interrogatives (cf. Chapter 7.2.2). Of course the use of *wh*-interrogatives as directives in German is also common but less frequent. Yet the English dominance should be kept in mind during the analysis of *wh*-interrogatives.

Wh-item. I shall start my analysis on the most important and eponymous element of *wh*-interrogatives, the *wh*-item. The two examples from my corpus given above (1-4) start on the *wh*-items *why* and *warum* respectively. This is not a random choice on my part, but rather reflects the range and frequency of the *wh*-items in my corpus. In the 22 cases relevant here (cf. Table 59), *why/warum* is the most frequent *wh*-item with 14 cases, followed by *where/wo* with five cases and *how/wie* and *who/wer* in one case each. In the last case, the *wh*-item is different in each language as the utterances are completely rephrased. In the English original, the *wh*-item is *what*; in the German translation, the *wh*-item *wohin* is used.

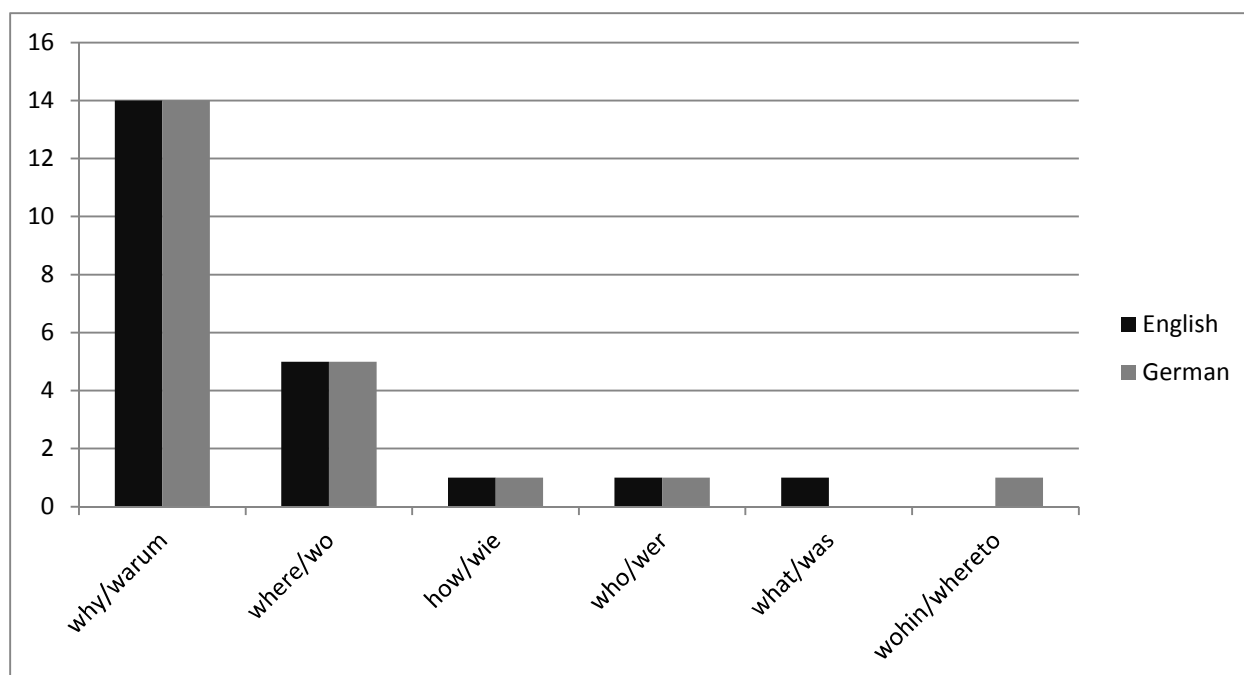


Figure 11. Frequency of *wh*-items in *wh*-interrogatives

There is a favorite *wh*-item after all: *why/warum* is used in nearly two-thirds of the cases when German and English agree in using a *wh*-interrogative. Mostly, *why/warum* is not used alone but in combination with a form of negation, either *not* (eleven times) or *nicht* (ten times).

The use of *why not/warum nicht* as a combination seems to be a strong, unique English tendency, though. In only one case, the combination is in a text that is originally German and translated into English. In all other cases, the combination appears in originally English texts and their German translations. When a *why/warum* appears without negation, it seems to be the other way around: Of the four cases where German uses *warum* on its own (English: three cases of *why*), only one is from an originally English text. Of course, the total numbers are very low, but this can still be seen as a tendency.

There is yet another tendency to be observed in the data: the combination *why not/warum nicht* is used to suggest a future action (Examples 5/6), *why/warum* on its own rather expresses the wish that the addressee should stop a current action (Examples 7/8). Unfortunately, the numbers are too low to be conclusive, so this hypothesis should be examined in further research.

(5) Why don't you tell him now? (Osborne,1996 :26)

(6) Warum sagst du es ihm nicht? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 31)

(7) Warum verraten Sie mich dann? (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 42)

(8) Then why do you betray me? (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 53)

In all 14 cases where *why/warum* are used, the sentences encode the desired action as a verb, so this information is nothing that must be inferred from the context. It appears that *wh*-interrogatives are not only used for very indirect hints, as the textbooks suggest. As Searle observes, asking for the reasons for (not) doing a desired action are a common inference strategy in indirect speech acts (Searle: 1975).

The only other *wh*-item that appears more than once is *where/wo*. In these cases, the speaker literally asks the addressee for the whereabouts of an object. The addressee is requested to provide this object (Examples 9/10) or at least to help looking for it (Examples 11/12). Of the five cases, where *where/wo* is used, four are from originally German texts. They all seem to be bound to their specific context, so it is hard to speak of a pattern. Furthermore, these numbers are just too small to draw conclusions from them.

- (9) Wo sind eure Papiere? (Brecht, 1999: 11)
- (10) Where are your papers? (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 25)
- (11) Und wo sind die roten Schuh? (Brecht, 1999: 38)
- (12) And where are my red boots? (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 50)

All remaining *wh*-items appear only once. Consequently, it is difficult to describe their characteristic use. The only thing we can say with certainty is that they are not very frequent.

Action verbs. As mentioned above, the use of action verbs seems to be quite frequent in *wh*-interrogatives. The frequency of action verbs in *wh*-interrogatives is demonstrated in Table 61.

Table 61. Action verbs in *wh*-interrogatives

	English	German
+action verb	17	17
-action verb	5	5
Total	22	22

The use of action verbs in *wh*-interrogatives is the standard with a frequency of 77% in both English and German. So action verbs do not only occur together with the *wh*-items *why* and *warum*. The five cases where we find no action verb are the five cases that contain *where* and *wo* as *wh*-items (cf. Examples 9-12). They do not name the desired activity but the desired object and therefore use a different verb instead.

Orientation. As for the orientation of *wh*-interrogatives, Table 62 may give some answers.

Table 62. Orientation in *wh*-interrogatives

	English	German
hearer	15	15
impersonal	6	6
unclear	1	1
Total	22	22

We can see some clear tendencies in Table 62: hearer orientation is the dominant orientation and can be found in more than two thirds of the cases (68%). Of course these are the very cases that start with *why/warum* and they also contain the desired action as a lexical verb (Examples 5-8). In the remaining third, we find an impersonal orientation. These are the cases containing *where/wo* and do not contain an action verb (Examples 9-12). The one case that I categorized as unclear (Examples 13/14) contains a direct reference to the hearer through the 3rd person pronoun *he/er*. The hearer is not directly addressed but put in the position of an overhearer or eavesdropper (cf. Goffman: 1981).

(13) Oh, why doesn't he shut up? (Osborne, 1996: 12)

(14) Ach, warum hält er nicht seinen Mund? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 19)

In contrast to what was suggested by the textbook examples, there is no case to be found with speaker orientation.

Vocatives. A feature relatively close to orientation is the use of vocatives. Two of the three examples in the textbooks contained the same vocative. The vocative used (*Johnny*) seemed to be restricted to a rather specific scenario of parent-child-talk. Table 63 illustrates the frequency of vocatives in *wh*-interrogatives.

Table 63. Vocatives in *wh*-interrogatives

	English	German
+vocative	2	3
-vocative	20	19
Total	22	22

We can see from Table 63 that vocatives are rather rare in both English and German. They are not related to a specific *wh*-item or the presence of an action verb, as Examples 15/16 and 17/18 demonstrate. Examples 15/16 contain the *wh*-item *where/wo* and are not

used with an action verb, but only contain the desired item, *olives/Oliven*. Examples 17/18 contain *why/warum* as *wh*-item and are used with the action verb *dance/tanzen*.

- (15) Beverly - where are the olives? (Leigh, 1979: 3)
- (16) Beverly, wo sind die Oliven? (Leigh/Braband: 6)
- (17) Darling, why don't you dance with Sue? (Leigh, 1979: 45)
- (18) Schatz, warum tanzt du nicht mal mit Sue? (Leigh/Braband: 71)

The question whether the vocatives in Examples 15-18 express a similar power dynamic as in the examples from Duden is not easy to answer. Speaker and hearer in the given examples are a married couple, Laurence and Beverly, so there should not be an imbalance of power as strong as between parent and child. Nevertheless, there is a struggle between the two characters throughout the play. Thus, the use of vocatives may be considered an expression of this struggle for dominance. Yet the numbers are too small to establish this as a pattern.

The textbook examples did not allow any predictions about other items relevant for the interpretation of *wh*-interrogatives as directives. Nevertheless, I will take a short glance at a few items, namely modal auxiliaries, that were relevant in connection to declaratives and *yes-no* interrogatives, and the requestive markers *please/bitte*.

Modal verbs. Modal verbs are traditionally said to be a good indicator for indirect directives. The data in my corpus supports this for declaratives (Cf. Chapter 6.2.2) and *yes-no* interrogative (cf. Chapter 7.2.2). But are modal verbs also a typical feature of *wh*-interrogatives in directive use? Table 64 serves to illustrate that.

Table 64. Modal verbs in *wh*-interrogatives

	English	German
+modal verb	2	2
-modal verb	20	20
total	22	22

As we can see in Table 64, modal verbs hardly play a role in *wh*-interrogatives as they occur in only 9% of cases where German and English agree in using *wh*-interrogatives. They account for less than 10% in English and German. This is decidedly less frequent than the use of modal verbs in the total corpus as Table 65 demonstrates (16% in English and 17% in German).

Table 65. Modal verbs in the entire corpus²⁰

	English	German
+modal verb(s)	147	152
-modal verb(s)	759	754
Total	906	906

Still, we should look at the individual cases to see which modal auxiliaries may be relevant.

- (19) How much longer will you be doing that? (Osborne, 1996: 10)
- (20) Wie lange wirst du das noch tun? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 16)
- (21) Who's going to tell him? (Osborne, 1996: 68)
- (22) Wer soll es ihm sagen? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 72)
- (23) Warum sind Sie so mutlos? (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 43)
- (24) Why can't you show more spirit? (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 53)

Examples 19 and 20 are the only cases where the equivalent utterances in English and German agree in using a modal verb. Both *will* and *werden* express a future reference, which is not surprising in the context of adjectives with temporal meaning like *longer* and *lange*. The speaker expresses his wish that the addressee stops ironing (=that/das). Examples 21/22 need to be contextualized to be understood as directives. Alison is about to leave and Cliff is convinced that she should not leave without at least letting Jimmy know about her plans. The question posed in Examples 21/22 is yet another attempt to make her stay a little longer. The modal verb *sollen* that appears in the German translation expresses obligation. The English original does not contain a modal verb. Instead we find the catenative verb *be going to* preceding the lexical verb which rather expresses future intentions. In the next case, only the English translation (Example 24) contains a modal verb, namely *can*. It is followed by a verb denoting the desired action (*show*). The German original (Example 23) on the other hand only questions the current undesirable state.

Please/bitte. The use of *please* and *bitte* was already discussed in declaratives (Chapter 6.2.2) and *yes-no* interrogatives (Chapter 7.2.2). Similar to House's results (1989: 115) *please* and *bitte* did not play a role in declaratives but were an important factor in *yes-no* interrogatives. Now the question is whether *wh*-interrogatives also contain *please* and *bitte*. Table 66 answers this question.

²⁰ Table 65 is identical with Table 28 in Chapter 6.2.2.

Table 66. *please/bitte* in *wh*-interrogatives

	English	German
+<i>please/bitte</i>	1	0
-<i>please/bitte</i>	21	22
Total	22	22

There is only one case in English that contains *please*. *Bitte* does not occur at all in the 22 cases where English and German agree in using the *wh*-interrogative. The one case where *please* is used is demonstrated in Example 25.

(25) Oh why don't you shut up, please! (Osborne, 1996: 34)

(26) Warum hältst du nicht gefälligst deinen Mund? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 38)

As we can see, the directive is not just a suggestion but the illocutionary force is rather strong as seen in the stage direction that precedes this utterance: *vehemently*. The German equivalent (Example 26) does not contain *bitte*; instead we find *gefälligst* which fits the strong force of the utterance.

This result may lead to the conclusion that *please* and *bitte* do not play a role at all in *wh*-interrogatives. Yet we have to be aware of the low number of *wh*-interrogatives. In this context, this one occurrence of *please* already accounts for 5%. This is only a little less frequent than the frequency of *please* and *bitte* in the overall corpus as Table 67 shows.

Table 67. *please/bitte* in the entire corpus

	English	German
+<i>please/bitte</i>	60	62
-<i>please/bitte</i>	846	844
Total	906	906

In the whole corpus, *please* and *bitte* make up 7% which is also not very much. To answer the question of *please* and *bitte* in *wh*-interrogatives with more certainty, a higher number of *wh*-interrogatives should be studied.

8.2.3 Conclusive remarks on *wh*-interrogatives in the corpus

Some of the textbooks that were used initially to build hypotheses about possible characteristics of the forms in question did not even contain any *wh*-interrogatives. This can be justified by the low frequency of *wh*-interrogatives as directives. There is a rather distinct prototype, however: The *wh*-item in most cases is *why/warum*, often accompanied by

not/nicht. The desired action is often named directly by the lexical verb in the sentence and the orientation is mostly towards the hearer. Other items like modal verbs or *please/bitte* hardly play a role.

8.3 Non-*wh*-interrogatives Equivalents

8.3.1 German *wh*-interrogatives and English non-*wh*-interrogative equivalents

First, I shall have a look at the eight German *wh*-interrogatives that are not realised as *wh*-interrogatives in English. The majority, six of them are from originally English texts and therefore TT. The two other cases are from originally German texts and therefore ST. All six originally English examples are from Osborne, both originally German examples are from Brecht. Neither Dürrenmatt nor Leigh shows a case like this.

Within the group of Osborne's utterances, the most frequent syntactical form is the elliptical *wh*-interrogative with four cases. In three cases, the missing information concerning the desired action can easily be retrieved from the immediate context. In Example 27, the missing predicate (*have the parson to tea up here*) is mentioned immediately before in the same utterance. The fourth case (Example 29) is somewhat problematic. It does not contain a verb and is therefore not a regular sentence, but the utterance still appears to be complete. The OED lists *what about it?* as a set phrase with the meaning "an enquiry as to the course of action to be adopted." (OED online) So the classification as elliptic seems somewhat doubtful, but there is no formal alternative either.

(27) Why don't we? (Osborne, 1996: 77)

(28) Warum sollten wir nicht Ehrwürden zu einer Tasse Tee zu uns bitten?
(Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 80)

(29) What about that tea? (Osborne, 1996: 10)

(30) Was ist mit dem Tee? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 16)

In one other case (Example 31), we find a declarative. The speaker states that there is no need for a certain behaviour on the addressee's side. In the German *wh*-interrogative (Example 32), the speaker asks why the addressee has the feeling to show this superfluous and undesired behaviour.

(31) My dear, you don't have to be on the defensive you know. (Osborne, 1996: 77)

(32) Warum hast du dauernd das Gefühl, dich verteidigen zu müssen? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 80)

In the last remaining case, we have a *yes-no* interrogative. Where the English original (Example 33) asks for agreement that something should happen, the German translation (Example 34) asks for the reason why the addressee has not caused it to happen.

(33) Hadn't she better sit down? (Osborne, 1996: 90)

(34) Warum hast du ihr keinen Stuhl angeboten? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 92)

Within the group of Brecht's utterances, there are two types that each occur once. The first is an elliptical *wh*-interrogative. In the English version (Example 36), there is no verb, at least no verb that serves as a predicator. From a semantic point of view, the action denoted by the verb is clearly there in its nominalized form *grumbling*. What is there, however, is the *wh*-element *why*. Both versions ask for the reason for a behaviour on the side of the addressee that seems inappropriate to the speaker, which in effect is a request to refrain from this behaviour.

(35) Warum beklagen Sie sich dann üben Frieden, wenn alle Menschen aufatmen?
(Brecht, 1999: 79)

(36) Then why all this grumbling about the peace just as everyone's heaving a sigh of relief? (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 87)

The other case (Example 38) is only a noun phrase, albeit a remarkable one. The head of this noun phrase is a *wh*-item, namely the interrogative pronoun *what*. Both the German and the English version react to the previous turn in which the speaker was called a *hyena*. By asking for that name, the speaker labels the use as inappropriate, which again is a request to refrain from calling her that. Where the German version (Example 37) uses a complete *wh*-interrogative, the English version boils it down to just the essential: the noun in question is replaced by a *wh*-pronoun.

(37) Was bin ich? (Brecht, 1999: 78)

(38) A what? (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 87)

8.3.2 English *wh*-interrogatives and German non-*wh*-interrogatives equivalents

After discussing the case of German *wh*-interrogatives that are not realized as *wh*-interrogatives in English, we must also look at the other major difference between English and German concerning *wh*-interrogatives: the cases when English uses a *wh*-interrogatives but German does not. There are only five cases for this phenomenon in the corpus. Three

cases are from English texts, namely two from Leigh and one from Osborne. The two other cases are from Dürrenmatt and therefore from a German text. Brecht shows no such case.

The two cases in the Leigh group of utterances are both imperatives. Both *wh*-interrogatives in English (Example 39) are very similar: the *wh*-item is in both cases *why*, both cases are negated with *not* and the impatience in both cases emphasized by the use of *then*. In the German version (Example 40), the impatience is expressed by a combination of *dann* and the modal particle *doch*.

(39) Then why don't you ask her, Laurence? (Leigh, 1979: 45)

(40) Dann frag sie doch, Laurence! (Leigh/Braband: 71)

The one case in the group of Osborne's utterances is what could best be described as an elliptical *wh*-interrogative. The German utterance (Example 42) contains the *wh*-item *warum*, the negation *nicht* and the verb *angeben* in its infinitival form. The inflectional ending for the first person plural would be the same, but the prefix of the verb would have to be separated in the finite form (*wir geben an*).

(41) Why don't we brawl? (Osborne, 1996: 49)

(42) Warum nicht angeben? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 54)

Within the group of Dürrenmatt's utterances, there are two types that each occur once. The first is an imperative (Example 43). Similar to the imperative from Leigh that we just discussed, the *wh*-item in the English version is *why*, accompanied by the negation *not*.

(43) Behandeln Sie mich lieber wie eine Geliebte. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 41)

(44) Why can't you treat me like a woman? (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 51)

The other example is a *yes-no* interrogative. While in the German original (Example 45), the speaker asks whether the addressee did something in the past (knowing only too well the addressee did not), in the English translation (Example 46) focusses on the possible change by asking for the reason the addressee won't do it.

(45) Kämpften Sie für seine Anerkennung? (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 43)

(46) Why won't you fight for that principle? (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 53)

8.3.3 Conclusive Remarks on the equivalences of the *wh*-interrogative

After this description of the *wh*-interrogative in English and German and its equivalents in the other language on a micro-level, it is time to take a step back and have a look at the whole picture. However, the numbers are even lower than the numbers of the *yes-no* interrogative we just discussed, so that makes it still harder to single out patterns.

The most frequent form used as equivalent for the *wh*-interrogative is the elliptical *wh*-interrogatives. It occurs four times as an equivalent for the German *wh*-interrogative in English and once as an equivalent for the English *wh*-interrogative in German. All five cases are from Osborne's *Look Back in Anger*, which makes it seem like a stylistic device specific to this text. In general, the *wh*-interrogative and its elliptical counterpart are held together by a common lexical element, the *wh*-item, so it is not too surprising that they can be used as equivalents.

The *yes-no* interrogative also occurs as equivalent for the *wh*-interrogative. It appears once as equivalent for the German *wh*-interrogative in English and once as equivalent for the English *wh*-interrogative in German. This is not a lot but shows that it is generally possible.

The imperative occurs three times as equivalent for the *wh*-interrogative, but only as equivalent for the English *wh*-interrogative in German. So this seems like a restriction, although the numbers are far too small to be conclusive.

For the declarative the corpus suggests a restriction in the other direction, as it only occurs as an equivalent for the German *wh*-interrogative in English and there only once. Again, the numbers are far too small to be conclusive.

8.4 *Wh*-interrogative: a wider perspective

In the previous subchapter, the focus was on the correlation of English and German *wh*-interrogatives in their regular form and *wh*-interrogatives only. It turned out, that in a few cases, this narrow scope was problematic, as they did indeed contain a *wh*-interrogative but were still classified as not being *wh*-interrogatives (“-*wh*-interrogative” in Table 59).

As a consequence, I shall now look again at the correlation of English and German *wh*-interrogatives, only this time with a wider scope. I will do this by subsuming also combinations containing *wh*-interrogatives and elliptical *wh*-interrogatives. Table 68 serves to show the results of this different approach.

Table 68. Correspondence of English *wh*-interrogatives and German *wh*-interrogatives: wider perspective

	G +<i>wh</i>- interrogative (also as ellipsis and combinations)	G -<i>wh</i>- interrogative	
E +<i>wh</i>- interrogative (also as ellipsis and combinations)	28	4	32
E -<i>wh</i>- interrogative	5	869	874
	33	873	906

The shift due to the different classification is not as remarkable as in the cases of imperatives and declaratives, but still visible. The congruence between English and German for the event “+*wh*-interrogative” is now slightly higher. Instead of 22, Table 68 has 28 cases for this event. This is a difference of six examples between the two sets. In absolute numbers, this is not a lot but in relation to the low overall frequency of the *wh*-interrogative this shift cannot be ignored. Correspondingly, the congruence between English and German for the event “-*wh*-interrogative” is now slightly lower. Instead of 878 cases, Table 68 has only 869 cases for this event. Similar to Table 59, there are still a few cases where English and German differ. There are four cases in which English uses a *wh*-interrogative (in the wider interpretation) and German does not (vs. five cases in Table 59). On the other side, there are five cases where German uses a *wh*-interrogative (in the wider interpretation) and English does not (vs. seven cases in Table 59). All these shifts cause no change in the overall correlation, however. According to the Fisher-Yates exact test, $p < .01$ (cf. Phillips 1982).

9 Minor Clause Types

In the discussion on the four major clause types, it became obvious that we cannot stop there. Initially, I left syntactical forms aside that either do not have a direct formal equivalent in the other language, like the German adhortative, or are not regarded as regular sentences (or rather clause types), like the German infinitive construction.

However, both the adhortative and the infinitive occur in my corpus, so they deserve some attention at this stage, especially as there is no immediate formal equivalent.

9.1 Adhortatives

9.1.1 General remarks

As I mentioned before, the adhortative is a German clause type that has no formal equivalent in English. It has the finite verb in initial position which is followed by *wir*. The intonation is falling. If it was not for the intonation, the examples could also be classified as *yes-no* interrogatives. On the one hand, this shows how close the different clause types are to each other, especially in my corpus based on written text where the intonation is only perceptible through the punctuation. But then again it shows how important intonation is as a distinctive feature.

9.1.2 Use in the corpus

There are 14 cases in total in my corpus for the adhortative and its formal variants. In ten cases, the adhortative occurs in its regular form and on its own. In one other case, it occurs in a combination with a declarative. In the three remaining cases, there are elliptical forms, where the full form can be retrieved from the context.

All 14 cases appear in German source texts, 13 in Dürrenmatt's *Die Physiker* and one in Brecht's *Mutter Courage und Ihre Kinder*. So the adhortative is not only a form that is only possible in German, its use in German seems to be very limited as well. It does not appear at all in the translated texts, and in the German texts the adhortative apparently is a stylistic device of individual authors. In Dürrenmatt's play, the adhortative accounts for 8% of all directives as opposed to less than 2% in whole corpus.

After establishing the rather marginal status of the adhortative, we should still ask about its equivalents in English. It seems, there is really only one equivalent, namely the

imperative, more specifically the imperative in its *let's/let us* form. This form is used in eleven cases, as Examples 1-4 illustrate.

- (1) Nehmen wir Platz. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 38)
- (2) Let's sit down. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 47)
- (3) Holen wir die Revolver. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 61)
- (4) Let us retrieve our revolvers. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 77)

The three elliptical adhortatives all occur in the same context directly after each other. In two of the three elliptical adhortatives, the English translation consequently uses reduced forms as well. I classified these reduced forms as elliptical imperatives based on the context – in analogy to the German original. The missing element in these cases is the verbal core, so *let's* is not there. Example 5 shows the first of the series of elliptical adhortatives. The English translation (Example 6) still uses the *let*-imperative. The next case (Examples 7) is the utterance that directly follows in the play. Here both English and German are reduced to the relevant lexical items.

- (5) Verrückt, aber weise. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 66)
- (6) Let us be mad, but wise. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 84)
- (7) Gefangen, aber frei. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 66)
- (8) Prisoners but free. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 84)

There is only one exception to the rule of using *let's* as the English equivalent for the adhortative. In this one case, the English translation (Example 10) uses a declarative and also changes the direction of the utterance from *we* that includes both speaker and addressee to the speaker only. Due to the clear hierarchy between speaker (*Fräulein Doktor*) and addressee (*Oberpfleger*), the inclusion of the addressee does not seem to be necessary, so this may be an explanation why the English translation does not use the *let's* imperative.

- (9) Gehen wir, Sievers. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 72)
- (10) I must go, Sievers. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 92)

In sum we can see that there is a formal equivalent in English to the German adhortative after all. This formal equivalent of the adhortative, however, is not a clause type. Instead it is a formal subcategory of a clause type, namely the *let's* form of the imperative. When I speak of the *let's* form of the imperative, I don't mean the imperative form of the verb *let* in its meaning "to allow someone to do something" (Mayor, ⁵2009: 1000) as illustrated in Example 11.

- (11) Laßt mich los, ich hab nix bei mir. (Brecht, 1999: 43)
- (12) Let me go. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 55)

Instead, I only mean the phrase “used to make a suggestion” (Mayor, ⁵2009: 1000). The two forms not only differ in their semantics, but also in their syntax. In the sense of *allow*, the implicit subject is the prototypical *you*, which becomes obvious if you add a tag-question: *will you?* If *let us/let’s* is used to make a suggestion, however, the implicit subject in the objective case is *us* and consequently the tag-question would be: *shall we?* A third criterion is that the lexical verb in the sense of *allow* cannot be abbreviated to *let’s*. The *let*-construction I am referring to, however, can be used as *let us* and in the contracted form *let’s*. The former is more formal in style, the latter is more colloquial. (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 830)

9.1.3 The *let’s* imperative – a functional equivalent?

Understanding the *let’s* form of the imperative as a distinct subcategory and as an equivalent for the adhortative immediately brings up a new question: if the imperative with *let’s* serves as equivalent for the adhortative, does this work the other way around as well? If we start with examples of the *let’s* imperative in English, what are the equivalents in German?

Before we discuss questions of equivalence in another language, we should first answer some general questions on the use and frequency of the construction in English. There are 26 cases in total in my corpus for the use of *let’s* or *let us* in the sense just described. In relation to a total number of 363 imperatives in English, this subset accounts for 7%. The colloquial form *let’s* appears 19 times, the more formal *let us* is used in seven cases. The 26 cases appear in originally English texts as well as in translated texts. Osborne shows eleven cases, Leigh one, Dürrenmatt eleven and Brecht three. So the use of the *let’s* form of the imperative is apparently less restricted than the use of the adhortative, as the *let’s/let us* form occurs in both ST and TT and nearly twice as often as the adhortative.

If we look at the equivalences in German, the picture we get is this: For the seven cases of *let us*, the only equivalent used in my corpus is the adhortative (or in one case the elliptical form of the adhortative). As mentioned before, all instances of the adhortative occur in originally German texts, so all uses of *let us* are translations. The fact that the adhortative is translated by this rather formal variety of the *let*-construction actually tells us

a lot about the use of the adhortative itself, namely that it seems to be very formal in style as well.

For the 19 cases of *let's*, the results are not as clear. As with the form *let us*, we also find the adhortative as an equivalent in German, but only three times – and in one case in a combination with the declarative.

The most frequent translated form of an English *let's*, however, is the imperative with eight cases. In two cases, the German equivalent uses *lass/lasst uns* in the imperative (Example 14), so it really mirrors the English *let*-construction.

(13) Come on, let's all have a drink! (Leigh, 1979: 31)

(14) Los, laßt uns was trinken. (Leigh/Braband: 49)

In five other cases, the semantics of the utterance suggests that the addressee of the directive is actually not the 1st person plural as the form *let's* with the implied *us* suggests. Examples 15 and 16 demonstrate one such case.

(15) Let's have a look at your arm. (Osborne, 1996: 23)

(16) Zeig deinen Arm. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 29)

Quirk et al. state that “[i]n very colloquial English, *let's* is sometimes used for a 1st person singular imperative as well: *Let's give you a hand.*” (1985: 830) All five cases stem from Osborne's play, so we know that the conversations in this text seem to be – in comparison to Dürrenmatt – stylistically at the other end of the formality scale. The German imperatives, consequently, are not orientated towards speaker and addressee.

In the last case where the German equivalent uses an imperative, the orientation simply switches from 1st person plural *we* in the English original (Example 17) to the 2nd person singular in the German translation (Example 18). Interestingly, the directive expresses the desire to refrain from an action – *brawling* in the English original – that has a negative connotation. So in the English version, the speaker takes part of the blame, while in the German translation, it is only the addressee who shows the unwanted behaviour.

(17) Don't let's brawl, boyo. (Osborne, 1996: 49)

(18) Gib doch nicht so an, Menschenkind. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 54)

The next most frequent form of a *let's* construction rendered in German is the *yes-no* interrogative with four cases. In three cases, the suggestive character of the English *let*-construction is rendered by the use of the modal verbs *wollen* and *möchten* in combination

with the negation *nicht* – also in its modal use. Example 20 demonstrates this use of *wollen* in a *yes-no* interrogative. Example 19 shows the corresponding *let's* imperative.

(19) Let's go to the pictures. (Osborne, 1996: 11)

(20) Wollen wir nicht ins Kino gehen? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 17)

The last case where the German equivalent uses a *yes-no* interrogative does not contain a modal verb (Example 21). Yet it could – apart from the intonation – also be interpreted as adhortative (Cf. Chapter 9.1.1).

(21) Setzen wir uns? (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 57)

(22) Yes, let's sit down. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 71)

The three remaining forms that can be found as German equivalents for the *let's*-imperative occur only once each. The first is a declarative (Example 23). The speaker, Mutter Courage, states the future action of her children and herself as a fact, which seems to be enough for her children to comply. The *let's*-form in the English translation (Example 24) also addresses the speaker and her children, but appears more suggestive.

(23) Und jetzt steigen wir auf und fahren weiter. (Brecht: 18)

(24) Now let's climb on the wagon and move on. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 32)

The last case that is still a regular sentence is a combination of declarative and imperative (Example 25). The *let's*-construction in the English translation (Example 26) only refers to the imperative. Where the German *komm* is clearly orientated on the addressee, the English *let's go* refers to a common action by both speaker and addressee.

(25) Ich hab Handgeld bei mir, komm. (Brecht, 1999: 19)

(26) I'll advance you some money to cover it. Let's go. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 32)

The last example consists of a noun phrase only, namely *Zigarette*. The English original (Example 27) uses the *let*-construction to suggest having a cigarette together, the German translation (Example 28) reduces this only to the noun in question.

(27) Let's have a cigarette, shall we? (Osborne, 1996: 19)

(28) Zigarette? (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 24)

In sum, we can characterize the *let*-construction like this: the formal *let us* is hardly ever used. In my corpus it appears only in translations for the adhortative. The *let's* form occurs more often, both in translations and in the source texts. It can also be rendered by the adhortative, but the imperative is more frequently used. The only problem with a purely formal approach is the functional ambiguity of the *let's* form, as it can also be used for the

singular form. With respect to the adhortative I would like to stress once more that it only occurs in German ST. So it is formally unique to German and functionally unique as well.

9.2 Infinitives

9.2.1 General remarks

After the discussions about syntactic forms that are regarded as regular sentences, there is still one form left to describe that has sentential or clausal qualities. The German infinitive construction is formed around a verb, which is named as one of the main characteristics of a sentence by Duden: "Sätze haben eine interne Struktur. Diese ist weitgehend vom Verb bestimmt. Das Verb eröffnet um sich herum Stellen für weitere Bestandteile des Satzes, insbesondere für Satzglieder (...)." (Eisenberg, ⁷2005: 773) So far, the infinitive construction clearly falls into that category. In their definition for a prototypical sentence, however, Duden introduce another criterion: the verb must be in a finite form. (cf. Eisenberg, ⁷2005: 773) I regard the presence of a finite verb as an ultimate precondition for a grammatical sentence somewhat problematic, as this criterion would also rule out the imperative in English that uses the verb in the base form (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 827), i.e. a non-finite form. But of course this is a problem of my contrastive approach. After the rather narrow definition of sentences, Duden adds the following:

Wenn man Texte genauer ansieht, stößt man oft auf Gebilde, deren Eigenschaften denen der prototypischen Sätze nahekommen, ohne sie ganz zu treffen. Für solche sprachlichen Einheiten hat sich der Ausdruck Satzäquivalent (satzwertige Fügung) eingebürgert; (...) Ein Beispiel:

Vor dem Öffnen den Stecker ziehen.

Dieser Ausdruck ist nach den Regeln der Syntax gebildet, und er enthält ein Verb, allerdings kein finites. Und das Satzglied, das die handelnde Person (Agens) nennt, fehlt. (Eisenberg, ⁷2005: 774)

This quote names a second criterion beyond the absence of a finite verb why infinitives should not be regarded as sentences: the clause element denoting the agent is missing. As this is also the default case with imperatives in English and German, I do not regard this argument as convincing.

Other authors do not discuss the infinitive as an independent form at all. Eisenberg (³2006) contains a whole chapter titled 'Infinitivkonstruktionen', but there is no mentioning of free infinitives. He states the following:

“Unter der Bezeichnung Infinitivkonstruktionen fassen wir informell eine Reihe von Einheiten zusammen, in denen Infinitive als Satzglied oder als Kern eines Satzgliedes auftreten. Funktional handelt es sich dabei um Ergänzungen sehr verschiedenen Typs oder um Adverbiale.“ (Eisenberg, 2006: 349)

So it seems that for Eisenberg the free infinitive is not relevant in a discussion on sentential structures. Nevertheless, it appears sensible to me to discuss this form that is regarded as *satzäquivalent* in the chapter on syntactical forms.

My definition for the infinitive construction is as follows: The infinitive construction contains no overt subject. This absence can be regarded just as grammaticalized as in the imperative. The verb is used in the infinitive form without the particle *zu* and stands in clause final position.

After this purely formal discussion, some functional remarks seem appropriate. Duden describes the function of the infinitive construction as follows: „In Anleitungen, Hinweisen, Warnungen und Verboten treten Fügungen mit einem Infinitiv auf. Sie entsprechen einem ausgebauten Hauptsatz in der Funktion einer Aufforderung (...).“ (Eisenberg, 2005: 863) Of course, the infinitive construction can also be used in other functions depending on the context, as Deppermann (2006) explains, but these functions are not important for my study.

9.2.2 Use in the corpus

There are nine cases in total in my corpus for the use of the infinitive construction. In six cases, the infinitive occurs in German source texts, four in Dürrenmatt's *Die Physiker* and two in Brecht's *Mutter Courage und Ihre Kinder*. In three cases, the infinitive occurs in the German translations of English source texts, two cases are in Leigh's *Abigail's Party* and one in Osborne's *Look back in Anger*.

So unlike the adhortative, the use of the infinitive is not limited to German source texts. It occurs in all four plays, so despite its low overall frequency it cannot be regarded as a stylistic device of an individual author or as an indicator of a certain level of formality.

If we look at the equivalences in English, the picture we get is this: the most frequent equivalent in 5 cases is the imperative. From a formal perspective, this makes sense. Like the German infinitive construction, the English imperative does not need a subject, although, surprisingly, two of the five cases do contain a reference to the subject in form of a vocative.

Example 31 demonstrates an imperative without subject. Example 32 demonstrates the English imperative with a vocative.

- (30) Hinsetzen. (Brecht, 1999: 56)
- (31) Be seated. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 67)
- (32) Take deep breaths, Sue. (Leigh, 1979: 31)
- (33) Tief durchatmen, Sue. (Leigh/Braband: 50)

In one other case (Example 34), we find a combination of imperative and declarative. The declarative is also there in the German translation, but in a separate orthographical sentence.

- (34) Take deep breaths: you'll be all right. (Leigh, 1979: 31)
- (35) Tief durchatmen. Gleich geht's dir besser. (Leigh/Braband: 50)

In one case, the German infinitive is a translation of an English declarative (Example 36). Without context, the use of the German infinitive (Example 37) appears to be much too forceful and therefore rather rude, especially for the meek character of Alison who is the speaker. But as a responsive utterance, the force is completely different. Cliff has asked her just previously what he should do about his dirty trousers. In that context, the infinitive as answer is simple and perfectly appropriate.

- (36) You'd better take them off. (Osborne, 1996: 12)
- (37) Die Hosen ausziehen. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 18)

The last two cases are adverbials. The German infinitive (Example 38) consists of the verb of motion only. The English translation (Example 39) implies this verb of motion and only mentions the adverbial expressing the direction. (cf. Quirk et al., 1985: 842)

- (38) Rauskommen. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 68)
- (39) Out! (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 86)

In sum, the most obvious equivalent for the German infinitive is the English imperative – for both directions of translation. Other forms are possible but seem to be limited due to the restricted content of the infinitive construction. For example, neither of the two interrogatives appeared as an equivalent for the infinitive. Unlike the other minor clause type, the adhortative, the infinitive construction is not restricted to German ST, but appears also in TT.

10 Non-sentences

So far we have focused only on the utterances whose forms are fully fledged grammatical sentences. However, as I pointed out in Chapter 4.1, there is also a large number of utterances that are realized as non-sentences: 154 (17%) of the German examples and 145 (16%) of the English examples are classified as non-sentences.

10.1 General remarks

The questions concerning non-sentences are: how can we describe them? Into which syntactical categories do they fall? In what context can we use and understand them? And why do they appear in my corpus, but play absolutely no role in the results of the CCSARP (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989)?

The last question is probably the easiest to answer, as it depends mostly on the design of the study. The CCSARP and follow-up studies only investigated utterances that can serve as speech acts regardless of the immediately preceding context, i.e. utterances that were used as first pair parts in conversations. My approach is different, as my corpus contains all utterances that can be understood directly, no matter whether they occur as an initial element in a conversation or as an element that rather responds to the (preceding verbal) context, as suggested by Edmondson (1981: 27). Presumably, many of the non-sentences belong to the latter group where the propositional content is often already clear and the response only serves to either affirm or cancel the illocutionary force. But we should not forget that Searle pointed out that “not all illocutionary acts have a propositional content, for example, an utterance of ‘Hurrah!’ or ‘Ouch!’ does not.” (1991: 257)

The following example serves to illustrate a case as suggested by Edmondson (1981). An utterance that consists of one word only, namely *thanks/danke*, can – on its own – hardly be understood as being directive. Yet as an answer to a preceding offer (Examples 1 and 2), it can be understood as being functionally equivalent to an utterance as e.g. *Please give me another drink.* or *Can I have another drink, please?* Of course, in the given scenario it is usual for the host to ask the guests whether they would like drinks instead of the guests taking the initiative. Consequently the guest’s wish for the host’s action is verbally expressed quite frequently only by a responsive utterance such as *thanks* instead of a form with more propositional content.

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------|--|
| (1) | Beverly
Angela | Now, would you like another drink? Ang?
Thanks. (Leigh, 1979: 17) |
| (2) | Beverly
Angela | So. Möchte noch jemand einen Drink? Ang?
Danke. (Leigh/Braband: 28) |

Examples 1 and 2 rely on the preceding verbal context in a special scenario as only the illocutionary force is provided. Other cases offer more lexical information, though not necessarily enough to speak of a propositional content. These cases presumably rely on the given scenario as well, although not necessarily the verbal context, as Examples 3 and 4 show. The utterance is not preceded by an explicit verbal offer. Yet running an inn, as seen in the next example, usually implies that you offer drinks for money, so there is no need for an explicit verbal offer. The speaker simply names a drink, which in this scenario will be understood by the addressee that the speaker desires this drink and consequently this functions as a request to provide this drink. The naming of the drink in question is preceded by a vocative that serves to activate the specific scenario. On the whole, however, this utterance is not so much responsive as Examples 1 and 2 above. Instead, it initiates the course of action.

- (3) Wirtschaft! Ein Branntwein! (Brecht, 1999: 64)
(4) Service! One brandy! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 74)

Consequently, Examples 3 and 4 do not count as responsives as the speaker does not respond to the preceding verbal context. Instead, these utterances are, concerning their position in the dialogue, initial utterances. Examples 1 and 2 in contrast are responsive utterances.

10.2 Frequency of non-sentences per play

After establishing two ways how non-sentences function in general, it may be worth looking at the frequencies of non-sentences in more detail. We already established that non-sentences make up about 16% of all cases in English and 17% of all cases in German. But as the use of non-sentences may be much more restricted or rather dependent on special scenarios than the use of regular sentences, we have to take the general action within the plays into account. The question is: Are non-sentences evenly distributed across the four plays? Table 69 illustrates the frequencies of non-sentences per play.

Table 69. Distribution of non-sentences across the four plays

	Non-sentences in German (155) only	Non-sentences in English (145) only	Non-sentences in German AND English (133)
Brecht	10 (7%)	11 (8%)	7 (5%)
Dürrenmatt	41 (27%)	39 (27%)	36 (27%)
Osborne	17 (11%)	15 (10%)	11 (8%)
Leigh	87 (56%)	80 (55%)	79 (59%)
Total	155 (100%)	145 (100%)	133 (100%)

The clear answer is: non-sentences are not evenly distributed across the plays. Mike Leigh's *Abigail's Party* shows most non-sentences in absolute numbers. More than half of all cases of non-sentences are from this play: 55% of the English cases and 56% of the German cases of non-sentences in the corpus are from *Abigail's Party*. The cases from Dürrenmatt's *Die Physiker* make up 27% of the English cases and 27% of the German cases of non-sentences. Osborne and Brecht are still further behind. Osborne makes up 10% of non-sentences in German and 11% in English. Brecht accounts only for 7% in German and 8% in English. If we look at the cases where German and English agree in the use of non-sentences, then these results become even more extreme: Leigh's and Dürrenmatt's proportion are even higher, Brecht's and Osborne's proportions are even lower.

So far we have only looked at how large the part of the plays is in the use of all non-sentences in the corpus. Yet the plays differ in length and content and therefore the absolute numbers of directive speech acts in the corpus are different for each play (cf. Chapter 3.2). Leigh shows most cases with 285 and Dürrenmatt the least with 158. Consequently, we should also take into account how large the percentage of non-sentences is in each play.

Table 70. Share of non-sentences per play

Author: absolute number of directive speech acts	Non-sentences in German	Non-sentences in English
Brecht: 244 (100%)	10 (4%)	11 (5%)
Dürrenmatt: 158 (100%)	41 (26%)	39 (25%)
Osborne: 219 (100%)	17 (8%)	15 (7%)
Leigh: 285 (100%)	87 (31%)	80 (28%)

Although the ranking is still the same and we still have a clear gap between Leigh and Dürrenmatt on the one side and Brecht and Osborne on the other, there is also a remarkable

shift for one play. In relation to the 'only' 158 total cases from Dürrenmatt, the 41 non-sentences in German make up 26% of directives in this text. Leigh's 87 cases of non-sentences in German are more than double in absolute numbers, but in relation to the 285 cases of directives in total, they account for 31%, only a bit more than for Dürrenmatt.

A possible explanation for the high numbers in Leigh's play may be that there is a clear scenario over wide stretches of the play: two characters, Beverly and Laurence, serve as the hosts and the other three characters – Tony, Angela and Susan - are their guests. One of the duties of the hosts is to provide their guests with drinks, so there is no need for elaborate verbal forms on the side of the guests asking for it. But in Dürrenmatt's play, there is no such constant scenario and still the numbers for non-sentences are remarkably high. So when we investigate the use of non-sentences further, we should pay most attention to Dürrenmatt and Leigh, as non-sentences play the biggest role in their two plays and this over-proportional representation in comparison to the two other plays should be accounted for.

10.3 Classification of non-sentences

As I have stated before, all utterances can be described in syntactic terms like parts of speech and phrases, even if they are not sentences but non-sentences. But these descriptions would probably lead to endless lists of singular cases that all have unique combinations of forms. Our aim, however, must be to establish patterns beyond single cases. So we must find apt categories to systematize our findings. Syntactical categories in a traditional sense may be helpful in the description of individual cases, but not in the categorization of utterances because non-sentences do not have any inherent syntactical hierarchy. Examples 5-8 illustrate this problematic lack of hierarchy.

(5) Die Scheinwerfer, Sievers. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 69)

(=*Schalten Sie die Scheinwerfer ein.*)

(6) Sievers, the searchlights. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 87)

(=*Switch on the searchlights.*)

(7) Bacardi and Coke, please. (Leigh, 1979: 4)

(=*Give me Bacardi and Coke.*)

(8) Bacardi-Cola bitte. (Leigh/Braband: 8)

(=*Geben Sie mir Bacardi-Cola.*)

Examples 5-8 might be argued to be noun phrases. In Examples 5 and 6, the noun phrases *Die Scheinwerfer/the searchlights* carry the most salient information in the

utterance; the speaker wants them to be switched on. But there is also a vocative as the hearer is directly addressed with his last name (*Sievers*). We could argue that this vocative serves as an ‘alerter’ (cf. Blum-Kulka et al., 1989: 277) that activates the relationship between speaker and hearer. In Examples 7 and 8, the nouns phrases *Bacardi and Coke/Bacardi-Cola* denote the desired item. Yet there is also a particle that clearly labels the utterance as directive, namely *please* in Example 7 and *bitte* in Example 8. It might be argued that the noun phrase is more relevant for the directive interpretation than *please/bitte*, as the given scenario (a preceding offer to serve drinks) already implies that the following utterance must be a request. There is, however, no internal syntactic hierarchy that supports a classification of Examples 5-8 as noun phrases.

It seems that non-sentences are hard to come by from a purely formal perspective. Many of these mini-utterances are characterized rather by their functional than by their formal qualities, so sticking to a purely functional description may not be helpful. Blum-Kulka et al. have also noted this problem of “the conflation of formal (linguistic) and functional aspects of language” (1989: 275) in their data analysis, but they “have found a single analytic framework embracing both dimensions more productive” (1989: 275). Similar to this, the following categories of non-sentences are not characterized by their formal properties but rather by their functions.

All non-sentences in my corpus contain at least one of the three functional aspects given in Examples 5-8: they either contain **propositional content** helping to infer the desired action or quality or they contain an element highlighting the **relationship between speaker and hearer** or they contain an **indicator of illocutionary force**. As a next step, I will discuss each of these functions in detail and comment on possible formal realizations. Then I will demonstrate how frequent each of these types is and in which combinations they occur.

10.3.1 Propositional Content

The first and probably most obvious aspect that may occur in non-sentences is the propositional content. This information mostly comes in the form of noun phrases as in Example 10. The speaker only mentions the desired object which is enough in the given context. The German version uses the equivalent noun together with a verb which is why Example 9 is not classified as a non-sentence.

- (9) Gib den Helm. (Brecht, 1999: 16)
(10) Helmet. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 29)

We have seen above in Examples 5-8 that nouns expressing propositional content also occur in combination with items expressing directive force or items highlighting the relationship between speaker and hearer. Propositional content can also be expressed by what may syntactically be classified as adjective phrases or adverb phrases (Examples 11-16). Yet without the wider syntactical context, the difference between adjective phrase and adverb phrase for a purely formal classification is often not clear. Functionally, both types can be used to name the desired quality or behaviour the speaker wishes the addressee to have or express. Example 12 illustrates an adjective phrase in English while its German equivalent (Example 11) is a regular sentence. For Examples 13 and 14, I assume that they would be the complements following the verbs *be* or *sein*. Consequently I classified both as adjective phrases. But as mentioned above, the boundaries between adjective and adverb are not always clear cut, especially in German which does not have an inflectional ending to indicate the word class 'adverb'. If we assumed another verb than *sein* in Example 14, *ruhig* may also be classified as an adverb. Example 15 shows such an example where German uses an adverb phrase. The English equivalent (Example 16) relies on noun phrases to transport the same adverbial information.

- (11) Das Maul hältst du, du finnischer Teufel. (Brecht, 1999: 17)
(=*Halt das Maul.*)
(12) Quiet - you Finnish devil, you! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 30)
(=*Be quiet.*)
(13) Steady! (Leigh, 1979: 39)
(=*Be steady.*)
(14) Ganz ruhig! (Leigh/Braband: 61)
(=*Sei ganz ruhig.*)
(15) Inniger, Buben, Inniger. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 34)
(=*Spielt inniger auf eurer Blockflöte.*)
(16) More feeling, boys, more expression! (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 42)
(=*Play your recorder with more feeling.*)

In Examples 11-16 above, the adjectives or adverbs all serve to denote the desired quality or behaviour on the side of the addressee. As can be seen from my renderings, these adjectives or adverbs are part of the propositional content of corresponding imperatives, which would be the direct realization of the same speech act.

10.3.2 Relationship between Speaker and Hearer

The second aspect in non-sentences is the relationship between speaker and hearer, highlighting the hearer as the actual addressee of the utterance. We have already seen this use of vocatives in previous chapters but also in Examples 5 and 6. Many of these cases are formally proper nouns and would therefore easily fall into the formal category 'noun phrase'. But in the nouns discussed earlier (Examples 5-10) the focus was on the propositional content. This is clearly not the case with the names used here. The names do not convey information concerning the content of the desired action, but rather serve to activate the relationship between speaker and addressee. Formally, we can distinguish between proper nouns (as in Examples 15/16), common nouns (Example 17) or even just a pronoun (Example 18).

- (15) Möbius Packt euch nun nach den Marianen fort!
Frau Rose Johann Wilhelmlein – (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 36)
 (=*Hör auf damit.*)
- (16) Möbius And now get yourselves off to the Marianas!
Frau Rose My little Johann Wilhelm – (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 44)
 (=*Stop that.*)
- (17) Hey, shorty! (Osborne, 1996: 29)
 (=*Listen to me and then do what I say.*)
- (18) He du! (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 34)
 (=*Hör zu und tu was ich sage.*)

If names are used alone, they often function as challenges towards the previous utterances. Examples 15 and 16 illustrate this type. There are, however, also cases where the name functions as an *alerter* (cf. Blum-Kulka, 1989: 277) and is therefore not a response to a previous utterance (Example 17/18). The reaction of the addressee (*What do you want? Was willst du?*) supports this interpretation.

10.3.3 Indicators of Illocutionary Force

The third aspect often present in non-sentences are indicators of illocutionary force. We have already seen the use of *please/bitte* in Examples 7/8 in combination with elements expressing propositional content. Yet there are also situations where indicators of illocutionary force can be used on their own. The most obvious scenario in which a speaker only needs to express illocutionary force is when it comes to accepting or declining offers.

Consequently the most frequent of these particles are *yes/ja* and *no/nein*. Examples 19-22 serve to illustrate these cases.

- | | | |
|------|-------------------|--|
| (19) | Beverly
Angela | D'you wanna see it, Ang?
Oh, yes. (Leigh, 1979: 48)
(= <i>Show it to me.</i>) |
| (20) | Beverly
Angela | Willst du es sehen, Ang?
Oh, ja. (Leigh/Braband: 76)
(= <i>Zeig es mir.</i>) |
| (21) | Tony
Susan | Would you like me to go and have a look for you now?
Er, no. (Leigh, 1979: 21)
(= <i>Don't go.</i>) |
| (22) | Tony
Susan | Soll ich rübergehen und mal nach dem Rechten sehen?
Eh, nein. (Leigh/Braband: 34)
(= <i>Geh nicht rüber.</i>) |

But there are also other forms of accepting an offer than saying *yes* and other forms of declining an offer than saying *no* as Examples 23/24 and 25/26 show. In Examples 23/24, the speaker responds simply by thanking for the offer. Without an additional element that explicitly declines the previous offer, the *thanks/danke* is understood as an acceptance. In Examples 25/26, *später/later* does not denote a desire for action, but rather serves to decline the offer and at the same time the speaker allows himself to come back to the offer at a later point.

- | | | |
|------|--------------------------|---|
| (23) | Beverly
Angela | Now, would you like another drink? Ang?
Thanks. (Leigh, 1979: 17)
(= <i>Give me another drink.</i>) |
| (24) | Beverly
Angela | So. Möchte noch jemand einen Drink? Ang?
Danke. (Leigh/Braband: 28)
(= <i>Gir mir noch einen Drink.</i>) |
| (25) | Frl. Doktor
Inspektor | Schnaps?
Später. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 47)
(= <i>Geben Sie mir keinen Schnaps.</i>) |
| (26) | Frl. Doktor
Inspector | Brandy?
Later. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 57)
(= <i>Don't give me a brandy.</i>) |

Yet there are also less obvious cases than accepting or declining offers where utterances consist of an indicator of illocutionary force only. One such case is when speakers challenge what was previously said and therefore ask the hearer to change the content or at least the wording of the previous utterance. These challenges in quite a few cases come in the form of the conjunction *but/aber*. *But* and *aber* do not link two clauses in a complex sentence, but stand on their own. They serve as a challenge to what was said previously and

can be understood as a request to take back or at least rephrase what was just said or to stop talking in general. All uses of *aber/but* are from Dürrenmatt's play. In Examples 27 and 28, the inspector has just declined the offer to have the second assailant, Möbius, brought for interrogation. Fräulein Doktor disagrees and expresses her wish or at least her expectation that he should talk to Möbius.

- (27) Inspektor Ich denke nicht daran.
 FrI. Doktor Aber – (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 48)
- (28) Inspector I don't think so.
 FrI. Doktor But – (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 58)

Another form in which challenges may come are the particle *please* and *bitte*, albeit only in combination with a form of address that highlights the relationship between speaker and hearer as discussed in Chapter 10.3.2. Examples 29 and 30 illustrate this.

- (29) Inspektor Das ist nun schon der zweite Mord -
 Oberschwester Bitte, Herr Inspektor. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 13)
 (=Sprechen Sie nicht von Mord.)
- (30) Inspector This is the second murder -
 Sister Boll Please, Inspector. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 14)
 (=Don't call it murder.)

In Examples 31/32, there is also an immediately preceding context, albeit not a verbal context. Laurence holds his wife by her arm and she wants him to let her go. In a way, she responds to his behaviour, but not to anything he has just said. As for the formal classification, both the English *all right* and the German *gut* may of course be classified as adjective or adverb, but in contrast to the adjective or adverb phrases described in Chapter 10.3.1, the semantics expressed here are not part of the propositional content in the sense that they denote a desired quality.

- (31) *Laurence grabs her arm. Pause. They are locked together*
 Beverly All right, Laurence.
Pause. He lets her go. (Leigh, 1979: 42)
- (32) *Laurence faßt sie am Arm. Pause. Sie stehen eng beieinander.*
 Beverly Schon gut, Laurence!
Pause. Er läßt sie gehen. (Leigh/Braband: 66)

There are also a few cases where the utterance merely reinforces a previous directive (cf. Chapter 5.3.1). Consequently, no propositional content is necessary, the expression of the illocutionary force is sufficient. The German translation uses *los* a lot (Example 34), while the English original uses very general imperatives, as in Example 33.

- (33) Go on. (Leigh, 1979: 22)
 (=Have a look at the kitchen.)
 (34) Na los! (Leigh/Braband: 36)
 (=Schau dir die Küche an.)

In all these cases discussed above (Examples 19-34), the utterances more or less react to or reinforce some verbal or non-verbal preceding context. Yet there are also some non-sentences expressing illocutionary force that are not 'responsive' in any way but instead are accompanied by another (non-verbal) action of the speaker that supports the directive interpretation.

Examples 35 and 36 illustrate a case where both the English and the German utterance consist only of the particles *please/bitte*. The speaker uses *please/bitte* and at the same time physically offers the book to get the addressee to take the book from him.

- (35) Laurence shows Sue the pages, then offers it to her
 Laurence Please!
 Susan (taking the book) Thank you. (Leigh, 1979: 40)
 (36) Laurence zeigt Susan einige Seiten und reicht es ihr dann.
 Laurence Bitte!
 Susan (nimmt das Buch) Danke! (Leigh/Braband: 64)

Example 38 works similar to Examples 35/36. The speaker uses the adverb *hier* to get the addressee to take the trousers from her. In the English version, the speaker uses a regular sentence. This sentence may be considered a verbal routine, however.

- (37) (Handing Cliff his trousers.) There you are, dear. (Osborne, 1996: 19)
 (=Take your trousers back.)
 (38) (gibt Cliff seine Hosen) Hier, mein Lieber. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 24)
 (=Nimm deine Hose wieder.)

There is one last type that may fall into the functional category 'indicators of illocutionary force'. It is the greeting *goodbye*. Yet it appears only once in the translated English text (Example 40). The German original (Example 39) uses a regular sentence. The OALD (Hornby, 2010: 669) uses the term *exclamation* for *goodbye* which is not a very helpful classification either. In the given context, the greeting serves as a request that the addressee should leave immediately. As *goodbye* neither expresses any propositional content nor highlights the relationship between speaker and hearer, I classified it as belonging to the third group, indicators of illocutionary force, though this classification is doubtful.

- (39) Leben Sie wohl. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 38)
 (=Verlassen Sie mich.)

(40) Goodbye. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 48)
(=Leave me.)

10.3.4 Frequencies and Combinations

After we figured out a possible system for a classification of non-sentences, we may wonder which combinations are possible and how frequent these aspects are in their respective combinations. Figure 12 illustrates this in absolute frequencies. The black column indicates the number of cases for English, the grey column for German.

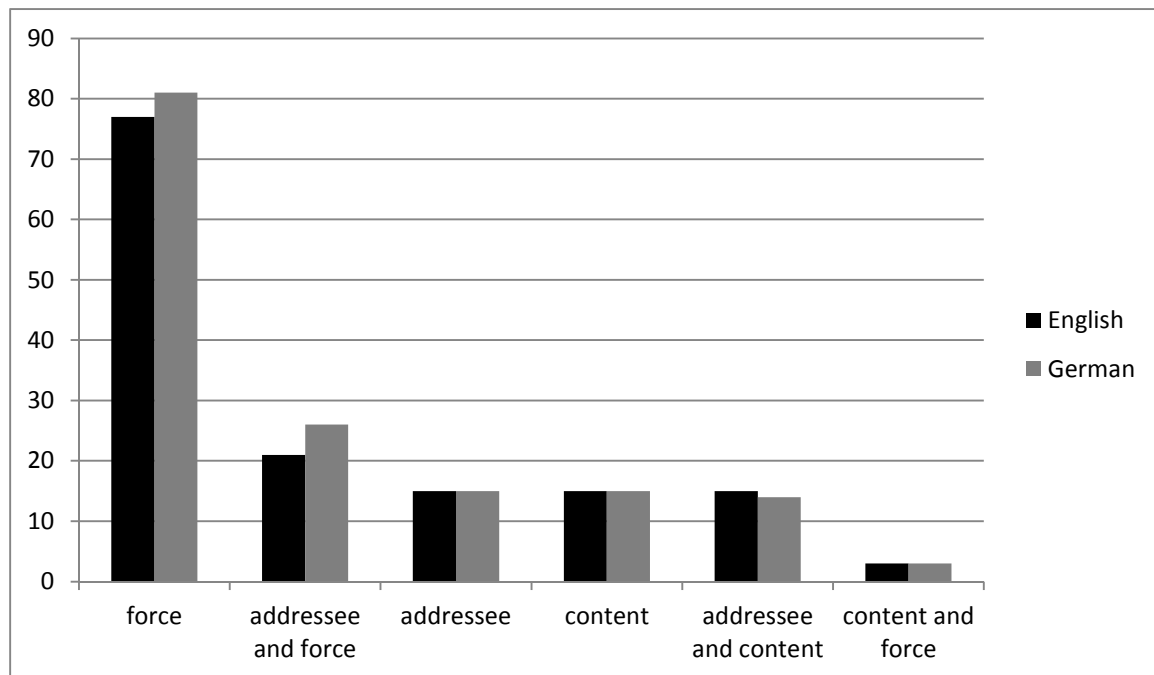


Figure 12. Types of non-sentences: absolute frequencies

We can see two things from this chart: the general ranking in frequency for the different types of non-sentences and the behaviour of English and German concerning these types.

First of all, the aspect of illocutionary force is by far the most prevalent in both languages: about two thirds of the cases of non-sentences contain some expression of illocutionary force, namely 110 cases in German and 101 in English. More than half the cases of non-sentences express illocutionary force only – 81 cases in German and 77 cases in English.

The other two aspects, the relationship to the addressee and propositional content, are roughly equally frequent when they are used on their own. There are 15 cases in both

English and German where only the relationship to the addressee is highlighted. Another 15 cases in both English and German express only some propositional content. When it comes to the combinations, however, the relationship to the addressee is more important: 51 cases of non-sentences in English make use of some form of address (either alone or in combination) and 55 cases of non-sentences do so in German. There are only 33 cases of non-sentences in English that contain some propositional content and 32 cases in German. The most unusual combination is the combination of propositional content and illocutionary force which occurs only three times in either language, so Examples 3/4 above are rather the exception than the rule. There are no cases for non-sentences in my data that combine all three aspects.

The other result we can see is that German and English behave roughly the same in their use of non-sentences, as they show the same functional aspects and the same combinations. As the similar numbers for the functional aspects, their combinations and most of the examples above show, German and English do not deviate very much in their use of non-sentences. The only striking difference is the use of particle forms expressing illocutionary force such as *los* in German where English uses imperatives of very general meaning. I discussed these cases already in Chapter 5.3.1 on the English imperative and especially noted the use of the particle *los* there.

10.4 Correlation of non-sentences between English and German

After surveying how non-sentences work, describing specific subtypes and their frequencies, we should now return to a more general perspective. How do non-sentences in English and German correlate to each other? We already know the following table from Chapter 4.1, but now we should have a closer look at where they differ in more detail.

Table 71. Correspondence of English non-sentences and German non-sentences²¹

	G +non-sentence	G -non-sentence	
E +non-sentence	133	13	146
E -non-sentence	21	739	760
	154	752	906

As we can see from Table 71, English and German mostly agree in their use of non-sentences. In most cases, neither German nor English uses a non-sentence. However, if one

²¹ Table 71 is identical to Table 6 in Chapter 4.1.

language uses a non-sentence, the other is likely to use a non-sentence as well. There are only 21 cases where German uses a non-sentence and English does not and 13 cases where English uses a non-sentence and German does not. I shall now have a closer look at these two groups.

10.4.1 German non-sentences and English equivalents other than non-sentences

First, I shall have a look at the 21 German non-sentences that are not realised as non-sentences in English. The majority, 14 of them, are from originally English texts and therefore TT. Seven of the German non-sentences are from originally German texts and therefore ST. For the individual authors, the distribution looks like this: Leigh shows eight German non-sentences, Osborne six, Dürrenmatt five and Brecht two. So there is a slight majority for the occurrence of German non-sentences in translated texts. Now I will look for stronger tendencies or even patterns in the data.

Maybe the most obvious tendency is the use of the particle *los* in cases where the English original uses short imperatives of very general semantics. This type accounts for six cases of the 21 in total. They are used in settings where the desired action is clear, so both languages have to express illocutionary force only. Examples 39 and 40 demonstrate this type. In similar cases (Examples 41-44) however, the German translation (Examples 42 and 44) also uses an imperative of general semantics. So the non-sentence using the particle *los* is not the only option to express this function in German. On the other hand it shows once more that non-sentences can indeed be used functionally synonymous to regular sentences.

- (39) Go on. (Leigh, 1979: 22)
(=*Have a look at the kitchen.*)
- (40) Na los! (Leigh/Braband: 36)
(=*Schau dir die Küche an.*)
- (41) Come on... (Leigh, 1979: 39)
- (42) Komm schon... (Leigh/Braband: 61)
- (43) Yeah, go on. (Leigh, 1979: 53)
- (44) Ja, mach schon. (Leigh/Braband: 83)

Another remarkable tendency is the English feature of still being able to produce more or less regular sentences in the absence of a verb that contains lexical content. This is due to the use of *do* either as pro-form instead of the lexical verb or as *do*-support. There are four uses of *do* in English utterances where German uses non-sentences. So again we have utterances that function in clear settings where elements rich in semantics are not

directly relevant. Example 46 demonstrates a case where *do* is used as pro-form in an affirmative context while the German original (Example 45) resorts to *bitte*. In Example 47, *do* is used as an auxiliary to transport the negation. The German translation (Example 48) does not contain a verbal element.

- (45) Newton Sie gestatten. Ich muss etwas aufräumen.
 Inspektor Bitte. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 16)
- (46) Newton Now you'll have to excuse me. I must put things straight.
 Inspector Do. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 18)
- (47) Jimmy What's she doing here? (...)
 Helena Don't please. (Osborne, 1996: 91)
- (48) Jimmy Was will sie hier? (...)
 Helena Bitte nicht. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 93)

The other tendency is the solitary use of nouns in German that denote some propositional content where English uses the equivalent English noun in a more complex utterance or replaces it by a verbal construction. There are seven cases for that. Example 49 explicitly states the desire of the speaker (if we regard *what* to be a misprint of *want*). The German version (Example 50) only mentions the unwanted behaviour in a negated noun. In Example 51, the German version again only names the object that the speaker wishes the addressee to take from her. In the English version (Example 52) we find the equivalent noun in a fully-fledged sentence. In Example 53, the German version again only mentions the unwanted behaviour as a noun preceded by a negative article. The English version (Example 54) rephrases the wish as an imperative and thereby omits the noun.

- (49) Jimmy - I don't what [sic!] a brawl, so please – (Osborne, 1996: 91)
- (50) Jimmy - keine Auseinandersetzungen - bitte! (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 93)
- (51) Die Krankheitsgeschichte Möbius. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 26)
- (52) Here is Möbius's dossier. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 32)
- (53) Keine Gewalt, Bruder. (Brecht, 1999: 14)
- (54) Go easy. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 28)

The two other cases where the German version (Example 56) uses the adverb or particle *hier* to express illocutionary force were already discussed above. English uses sentences in both cases (Example 56).

- (55) Here you are, Cliff. (Osborne, 1996: 83)
 (=Take your shirt.)
- (56) Hier, Cliff. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 86)
 (=Nimm dein Hemd.)

The two remaining cases do not fit into any pattern and will therefore not be discussed any further.

10.4.2 English non-sentences and German equivalences other than non-sentences

Now I shall have a look at the 13 English non-sentences that are not realised as non-sentences in German. Eight cases are from originally German texts and therefore TT. The other five cases are from originally English texts and therefore ST. As for the individual authors, the distribution looks like this: Brecht shows five non-sentences in English, Dürrenmatt three, Osborne four and Leigh one. So there is no dominance for one language or a single author. Still, we may look for tendencies in the data.

English shows the tendency to use elements that denote some propositional content – mostly nouns – where German uses either the equivalent German noun in a more complex utterance or replaces it. There are seven cases for that. Both Examples 57 and 59 contain action verbs with nouns or numerals as objects in imperatives. The corresponding English utterances (Example 58 and 60) consist only of the equivalent English noun (*the table*) or numeral (*A hundred and twenty*) and consequently the desired action in relation to the noun must be inferred from the context. Example 62 describes the desired quality on the side of the addressee in the form of an adjective. The German version (Example 61) chooses the form of a declarative without a corresponding adjective, though.

- (57) Stell den Tisch auf, McArthur. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 49)
- (58) McArthur, the table. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 60)
- (59) Sag hundertzwanzig, oder es wird nix draus. (Brecht, 1999: 51)
- (60) A hundred and twenty or no deal. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 62)
- (61) Das Maul hältst du, du finnischer Teufel. (Brecht: 17)
- (62) Quiet - you Finnish devil, you! (Brecht: 30)

In three other cases, we find responses to the immediately preceding verbal context. The English version (Example 64) uses particles while the German version chooses more complex forms; in Example 63, it is a declarative that gives the reason why the plea is refused.

- (63) Eilif Kann ich mich hinsetzen, bis sie kommt?
Soldat Wir haben keine Zeit. (Brecht, 1999: 83)
 (=Setz dich nicht hin.)
- (64) Eilif Can I sit down till she comes?
Soldier No. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 92)
 (=Don't sit down.)

The three remaining cases do not fit into any pattern and will therefore not be discussed any further.

11 Looking back to the prototypical directive speech act: the imperative

In Chapter 5.2 I avoided a discussion about variants of the imperative, mainly because the imperative can be regarded as the prototypical form of a directive speech act, so a detailed discussion did not seem to be necessary. On the other hand, the 267 cases where German and English agree in using the imperative account for nearly 30% of all utterances in the corpus, so they should not be ignored.

Another problem was a lack of direction for research objectives. For the other major clause types, I used textbook examples for directives as hypotheses (cf. Chapters 6.2.1, 7.2.1, and 8.2.1). Nearly all of these textbook examples listed only indirect speech acts, so hardly any imperatives occurred in these sources. The notable exception here is the Duden Grammar that also lists imperatives together with indirect forms under the heading “Andere Aufforderungssätze” (Eisenberg, 2005: 908).

11.1 Use in textbooks: Hypotheses

The examples given in this source are “Gib mir das Heft! Leih mir schnell das Auto!” (Eisenberg, 2005: 908). Of course, they are oriented towards the hearer; still, both contain a direct reference to the speaker as indirect object (*mir*) who will profit directly if the action is carried out. The presence of the pronoun referring to the speaker in these two cases depends on the valency of the verbs in question, namely *geben* and *leihen*. We may wonder whether this presence of pronouns is a general tendency.

The next point is the verb itself. In both cases, the lexical verb in the imperative is the verb denoting the desired action. As we have seen in the discussion on equivalents of the imperative (Chapter 5.3.2), this is not always the case. There may be instances where the verb in the imperative is not the desired action, e.g. Example 1. At first glance, it may not even look like a directive, because the addressee is not in control of the literal meaning of the imperative. The imperative in the German utterance literally asks the addressee to live well, which is of course beyond her control. But as a farewell, it still functions as directive, because in the very context, the speaker uses it to express his wish that the addressee should leave.

- (1) Leben Sie wohl. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 38)
- (2) Goodbye. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 48)

So we have to wonder how frequent such cases are in which the imperative verb consequently does not denote the desired action.

The last remarkable item from the textbook examples is the adverb *schnell*. It marks temporal proximity and consequently expresses urgency in relation to the desired action. So items with temporal reference should also be taken into account.

Now we have to be very careful because so far we have only two examples on which the hypotheses on the imperative are built, which is not an awful lot. There are, however, other elements that turned up in the discussions on the other clause types that are definitely worth looking at in the imperative. They include the use of modal auxiliaries – though not before the lexical verb but rather in tags, the use of *please* and *bitte*, and modal particles.

11.2 Use in the corpus

Action Verbs. I shall start the description on the most central element, the lexical verb denoting the desired action. Apart from the cases starting on *let's* or *lasst uns*, the action verb should always be the verb in the imperative mood.

Table 72. Action verbs in imperatives

	English	German
+action verb	262	267
-action verb	5	0
Total	267	267

Table 74 shows that the use of action verbs as the verb in the imperative mood is clearly the standard. In German, there are no exceptions for that. So a case like Example 1 above cannot be regarded as part of a pattern but rather seems to be a solitary incident.

In English, 98% of cases pose no problems in the identification of the action verb. There are however five cases where the question of an action verb is somewhat problematic. All five cases start on *let's* but the lexical verb following *let's* is not the desired action. Instead the desired action in these five cases would always be *let* in the sense of 'allow' – not *let us* but *let me*. Example 3 demonstrates this type:

- (3) Let's see. (Osborne, 1996: 9)
- (4) Gib mal her. (Osborne/Sahl, 1985: 15)

We already encountered this type in Chapter 9.1.3 as equivalent for the adhortative. "In very colloquial English, *let's* is sometimes used for a 1st person singular imperative as

well: *Let's give you a hand.*" (Quirk et al., 1985: 830) The five cases are again from Osborne. Although they account for 2% of all cases where English and German agree in using the imperative, we should not ignore these cases. This is especially important as there are only 9 cases of *let's* in total in the imperative subset. With respect to cases like Example 1, we can conclude that they are a very rare exception.

Modal verbs in tag questions. Other dominant items in the verbal complex of the other clause types were modal verbs. Now the imperative mood does not allow modal verbs to precede the lexical verb. The only position where modal verbs may occur in imperatives is in tags. This is what Table 75 shows.

Table 73. Tag questions in imperatives

	English	German
+tag question	5	0
-tag question	262	267
total	267	267

Of the 267 cases where English and German agree in using the imperative, only five of the English imperatives are followed by tags, which accounts for 2%. The only modal that is used is *will*, although Huddleston/Pullum suggest that for positive imperatives other modal verbs are possible (2002: 942f). In four cases, the polarity of the tag is positive, just as the polarity of the imperative. Example 6 demonstrates this use. In one case (Example 7), we find a tag with negative polarity after an imperative with positive polarity. It is the only case where the tag can be seen as a device to soften the force of the imperative. The use of *doch* in the German translation (Example 8) supports this. In the other four cases, the tag rather expresses impatience and thus increases the force.

- (5) Schiebt ab! (Dürrenmatt: 1962: 36)
- (6) Get out, will you! (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 45)
- (7) Do go in, won't you? (Leigh, 1979: 3)
- (8) Kommen Sie doch rein. (Leigh/Braband: 6)

In sum we can say that the use of tags and consequently the use of modal verbs is very rare.

Orientation. With respect to orientation, we cannot expect great surprises. Imperatives should always be oriented towards the addressee. The only exception should be

the few cases of *let's* imperatives. Table 76 shows the orientation for the cases where English and German agree in using the imperative.

Table 74. Orientation in imperatives

	English	German
Hearer	258	265
<i>we</i>	8	2
Unclear	1	0
Total	267	267

As expected, hearer orientation is clearly dominant. 97% of the English imperatives and 99% of the German imperatives are hearer-oriented. The only exceptions for English were the instances of *let's*, although this classification as *we*-orientation relies on the form. As mentioned above, in five instances of *let's* the *us* does not include the addressee.

Items with temporal meaning. As a next step, I shall have a look at items denoting temporal reference – preferably temporal proximity as suggested by the second example from Duden. They should increase the force of the imperative. Table 77 shows the frequency of items denoting temporal reference.

Table 75. Temporal items in imperatives

	English	German
+temporal item	43	39
-temporal item	224	228
Total	267	267

We can see that about 16% of imperatives contain some item that may denote temporal reference in English and about 15% of imperatives in German. Now we have to wonder which items there are and whether they point to the near future at all, like the example in the textbooks does.

There is a wide variety of items with temporal reference, e.g. *again, now, quick* or *for ten minutes* in English and *augenblicklich, jetzt, mal, schnell* or *wieder* in German. Most of these items occur only once or twice. So most elements with temporal reference seem to be bound to their specific situational context. Consequently I shall only describe the items that occur five times or more. In English, there are two such items, namely *now* which occurs 22 times and *just* which occurs ten times. In German, there are three items; *jetzt* occurs nine

times, *mal* ten times, and *schnell* five times. *Schnell* was item denoting temporal reference suggested by the example from the Duden Grammar. Of course for the English *just* and the German *mal*, we should test whether they are really to be understood temporally.

I shall start with the description of the three German items because the suggestion to use temporal items for imperatives came from the German Duden Grammar. The most frequent item in German is *mal*. Yet the individual cases make clear that it is hardly ever used temporally. The majority of cases look like Example 10 where the original temporal meaning of *mal* is lost and the modal meaning is prevalent.

(9) Tony, come and have a look at this beautiful kitchen. (Leigh, 1979: 22)

(10) Tony, komm mal her und guck dir diese wunderschöne Küche an.
(Leigh/Braband: 36)

The only use of *mal* with temporal meaning is illustrated in Example 11. It is worth noting that it occurs immediately next to *wieder*, another temporal item.

(11) Dann schafft die Leiche wieder mal hinaus. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 50)

(12) Take the body out. Again. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 62)

We can conclude that the temporal use of *mal* is rare but not entirely impossible. I shall review the use of *mal* once more below in the discussion on modal particles.

The next most frequent item, *jetzt*, which occurs nine times, leaves much less doubt about its use in a temporal setting. In four cases, *jetzt* is used together with *endlich*. In all four cases, the addressee is asked – not for the first time – to change his or her behaviour and stop whatever they are doing at the moment. The combination of *jetzt* and *endlich* emphasizes the impatience of the speaker as can be seen in Example 16.

(15) For Christ's sake, Laurence, give it a rest! (Leigh, 1979: 48)

(16) Herrgott, Laurence, jetzt hör endlich auf! (Leigh/Braband: 75)

In the five cases where *jetzt* occurs without *endlich*, it may also be used to increase the force of the utterance, as can be seen in Example 18. Yet it may also be used without the extra force when the imperative is used more like an instruction instead of a command. This use of *jetzt* can be observed in Example 19.

(17) Get up[!](Leigh, 1979: 47)

(18) *Komm jetzt!* (Leigh/Braband: 77)

(19) Und jetzt, mein Sohn Eilif, bericht uns genauer, wie fein du die Bauern geschlenkt und die zwanzig Rinder gefangen hast. (Brecht, 1999: 24)

(20) So now, Eilif, my son, give us the details: tell us how you fixed the peasants and grabbed the twenty bullocks. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 37)

With respect to the possible equivalents of *jetzt* in English, there is a clear favourite: in six cases we find *now*. Example 20 shows the use of *now* in the English translation. The three other cases where *jetzt* is used in German do not contain any items denoting temporal reference in English.

The next most frequent item denoting temporal reference is *schnell* and occurs five times. It is the item that was used in the example from the Duden Grammar. An interesting aspect of the adverb *schnell* is its position in the sentence. It can either be integrated in the middle of the sentence (Example 21) or be added at the end after a small pause (Example 23). Although the meaning is the same, the use of *schnell* at the end of the sentence adds much more force.

(21) Zieh sie schnell an, daß es mich nicht reut. (Brecht, 1999: 71)

(22) Put them on quick, before I change my mind. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 80)

(23) Hol sie runter, schnell! (Brecht, 1999: 98)

(24) Get her down, quick. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 106)

Examples 22 and 24 show *quick* as a possible equivalent for *schnell*. In one other case we find *quickly*. In the two remaining cases, the English equivalent for *schnell* is not an adverb but the verb itself expresses the very same semantics. In Example 25, the verb *hurry* already contains the notion of acting quickly.

(25) Hurry up with that paper, and shut up! (Osborne, 1996: 76)

(26) Mach schnell und halte den Mund. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 79)

In English imperatives, the most frequent item with a potentially temporal meaning is *now* which occurs in 22 cases. We have to be aware that *now* may also be “used to show that you are annoyed about sth: *Now they want to tax food!*” (Hornby, ⁸2012: 1043) or “to get sb’s attention before changing the subject or asking them to do something: *Now, listen to what she’s saying.*” (Hornby, ⁸2012: 1043). In these meanings, we could call *now* a discourse marker. To decide whether we have the discourse marker or the adverb with temporal meaning at hand, we have to look at the individual cases.

In many cases, the meaning of *now* oscillates between the different meanings described in the dictionary. In Example 27, there can be no doubt that the speaker is annoyed about the addressee. At the same, *now* could be understood to emphasize his wish that she leave immediately, which would be the temporal meaning. The German translation (Example 28) does not contain a formal equivalent for *now*.

(27) Now leave me alone, and get out, you evil minded little virgin. (Osborne, 1996: 72)

(28) Lassen Sie mich allein! Hinaus mit Ihnen, Sie kleines, tückisches, jungfräuliches Monstrum! (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 76)

In Example 30, however, a temporal interpretation can be ruled out because the addressee is asked not to do something. So a desire for temporal proximity does not make any sense. Here it is clear that *now* expresses the speaker's annoyance. The German version (Example 29) again contains no formal equivalent.

(29) Yvette, mach keinen Stunk hier. (Brecht, 1999: 81)

(30) Now, Yvette, don't make a stink! (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 90)

In Example 29, *now* is clearly used to get the addressee's attention to the desired action. This is especially important as the addressee has just been sick and is still a bit dizzy. The German equivalent does not contain a formal equivalent for *now*.

(29) Now, lean forward a minute, lean forward. (Leigh, 1979: 33)

(30) Lehn dich mal vor. Lehn dich mal vor. (Leigh/Braband: 52)

Example 32 illustrates one of the rare cases where *now* is undoubtedly used to refer to the present or near future. The speaker urgently wants the addressee to leave for her own good. An interpretation as sign of annoyance on the side of the speaker can be ruled out. The German version (Example 31) contains no formal equivalent.

(31) Fliehen Sie! Machen Sie sich aus dem Staube! Hauen Sie ab! (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 41)

(32) Make your escape now. Go on, run! Clear off! (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 51)

In Example 34, the use of *now* is once more ambiguous. It may be used to get the attention of the addressee but could also be understood that the speaker wants the addressee to come out without delay. The German version (Example 33) does not contain a formal equivalent.

(33) Verlassen Sie Ihre Physikerklause und kommen Sie. (Dürrenmatt, 1962:30)

(34) Now leave your physicist's lair for a moment and come in here. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 37)

On the whole, we can say that *now* is not necessarily used with a temporal meaning. Nevertheless, it occurs regularly in imperatives in all its meanings and may therefore be regarded as characteristic of imperatives in English.

The next most frequent English item with a potential for temporal meaning is *just* which occurs ten times in the cases where German and English agree in using the imperative. Similar to *now*, we have to wonder whether *just* is really used with temporal meaning. Although the OALD lists four of the 14 meanings of *just* as temporal (cf. Hornby, ⁸2012: 842), none of the ten cases of *just* in the corpus is used with a temporal meaning. The ten cases in question are rather “used in orders to get sb’s attention, give permission, etc.” (Hornby, ⁸2012: 842) or “to make a polite request, excuse, etc.” (Hornby, ⁸2012: 842) Consequently I will not discuss *just* any further here, but will address its use in more detail further below.

please/bitte. *Bitte* does not appear in the imperative examples in the Duden Grammar. House (1989), on the other hand, says that “the marker *please/bitte* collocates with the (...) requestive strategy[y] Imperative” (1989: 115) and consequently I will also take into account the use of *please* and *bitte* in the cases where German and English agree in using the imperative. Table 78 demonstrates the occurrences of *please* and *bitte* in imperatives.

Table 76. *please/bitte* in imperatives

	English	German
+<i>please/bitte</i>	11	10
-<i>please/bitte</i>	256	257
total	267	267

As we can see in Table 78, *please* and *bitte* do not play too big a role in imperatives. *Please* occurs in only 11 cases in English and *bitte* in only 10 cases in German which accounts for 4% of utterances. This means that more than 95% of imperative utterances in both languages work without such a marker.

First, I shall investigate the few cases where *please* or *bitte* are used. In Osborne’s play, it is only Alison who uses *please*. She can be regarded the most peace-loving of the characters and uses *please/bitte* when she tries to avoid unpleasant topics. In Examples 35/36, she uses it to stop her father from accusing him for the choices she has made in the past.

(35) Oh, Daddy, please don't put me on trial now. (Osborne, 1996: 65)

(36) Ach, bitte, Papa, stelle mich nicht unter Anklage. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 69)

In Dürrenmatt's play, Möbius uses *please/bitte* when he is acting the mad-man to express his desperate begging. Examples 37/38 show this case.

(37) Spielt nicht weiter. Bitte. Salomo zuliebe. Spielt nicht weiter. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 34)

(38) Don't play any more. Please. For King Solomon's sake. Don't play any more. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 42)

In Leigh's play, the combination of *please* and the imperative occurs mostly in the second half of the play as the situation grows more and more tense and the characters try to de-escalate the situation by the use of *please/bitte*. In Example 39, Angela is taking care of Laurence while the others fight over what to do next. She repeatedly insists in previous utterances that her patient needs rest, and Example 39 is the moment when she explodes and demands that the others be silent. *Please* is added after a short pause, as indicated by the comma. This may be regarded as Angela back-pedaling a little after her outburst. In the German translation (Example 40), *bitte* is fully integrated in the sentence.

(39) Oh, shut up, please. (Leigh, 1979: 53)

(40) Jetzt hört bitte endlich auf! (Leigh/Braband: 83)

Of course there are also a few cases where English uses *please* and the German version does not contain *bitte* and the other way around. In Example 41 *please* and the tag *would you* are added to the imperative after a longer pause, as the full stop indicates. In the imperative, Beverly uses very informal language, e.g. the noun *fags* for cigarettes and the form *me* instead of *my* as the determiner. The imperative verb *throw* (rather than *pass*) also sounds rather loose. It seems that with the use of *please* and the tag, Beverly tries to make up for this lapse and return to her role as the perfect hostess. The German imperative (Example 42) also uses informal language, e.g. the noun *Kippen* and of course the imperative verb *schmeißen*. Here, the speaker makes up by adding a fully-fledged *yes-no* interrogative that does not contain *bitte*, though.

(41) Ang, do us a favour, throw us me fags. Would you, please? (Leigh, 1979: 46)

(42) Ang, tu mir einen Gefallen und schmeiß mir meine Kippen rüber. Bist du so lieb? (Leigh/Braband: 72)

In Example 43, we find *bitte* in the German version. The English translation (Example 44) does not contain *please* but instead resorts to *kindly*.

(43) Holen Sie bitte die Chefärztin. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 14)

(44) Kindly fetch the doctor in charge. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 16)

Please and *bitte* are commonly understood as mitigating the force of the imperative and this is just the way they are used in my data. So the overall lack of *please* and *bitte* raises the question of how ‘nice’ or cooperative the speakers in my data are to their respective addressees. The most extreme case for this is Brecht. In the 82 cases from Brecht where English and German agree in using the imperative, there is not a single use of *bitte* in the German original – nor of *please* in the English translation. The play *Mutter Courage und Ihre Kinder* is set in the Thirty Years’ War, so probably the speakers are characterized by the fact that they do not make use of *please/bitte* as self-interested. But of course the other plays too are characterized rather by the lack than by the presence of *please* and *bitte*. The examples just discussed are rare exceptions.

My data agrees with the claims of House (1989: 115) that *please/bitte* collocates with the imperative and not with other clause types as e.g. the declarative (Cf. Chapter 6.2.2). Yet this relation does not work the other way around in my data. An imperative utterance is not likely to contain *please/bitte*.

Modal particles. As we have just seen, *please* and *bitte* do not play a big role in the imperatives in my corpus. They are, however, not the only particles English and German have on offer to express modality. So we should check whether any other modal particles or adverbs occur in imperatives. Table 79 illustrates how frequent modal particles are in their respective languages.

Table 77. Modal particles in imperatives

	English	German
+modal particle	13	23
-modal particle	254	244
Total	267	267

We can see that only a few utterances contain modal particles. In German about 9% of imperatives use modal particles or adverbs; in English only 5% of imperatives contain such items. In German we find the items *doch*, *lieber*, and *mal*. In English we find *better* and *just*. The items that occur five times or more are *just* in English and *doch* and *mal* in German.

I shall first describe the two German modal particles and start with *doch*, which occurs eleven times. The most striking observation is that all eleven instances of *doch* occurs in translated texts. Neither Brecht nor Dürrenmatt use *doch* in imperatives.

As Helbig notes, *doch* can express various functions in imperatives. *Doch* „kann dringend, ungeduldig, ärgerlich oder vorwurfsvoll (vor allem in Verbindung mit *endlich* oder *immer*), kann aber auch beruhigend, höflich oder eher beiläufig (z.B. in Verbindung mit *bitte* oder *mal*) wirken“ (Helbig, 1988: 113). In my data, *doch* occurs only once with *mal* and with none of the other items that Helbig mentions. This case is illustrated in Example 48.

(45) Tony, come and have a look. (Leigh, 1979: 22)

(46) Tony, komm doch mal gucken! (Leigh/Braband: 36)

Instead, *doch* appears together with the negation *nicht* in three cases. Example 48 demonstrates this.

(47) Oh, for heaven's sake, don't be such a bully! (Osborne, 1996: 49)

(48) Herrgott, seien Sie doch nicht so ein Grobian. (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 54)

With respect to the function, the cases cover a wide range from utterances with merely suggestive character (Example 50) to utterances where the speaker is clearly annoyed by the addressee (Example 53).

(49) Dance with Beverly. (Leigh, 1979: 44)

(50) Tanz doch mit Beverly. (Leigh/Braband: 69)

(51) Look out, for heaven's sake! (Osborne, 1996: 22)

(52) Herrgott, paßt doch auf! (Osborne/Sahl, 1986: 28)

The former type, as illustrated in Example 50, is dominant in Leigh's play where long stretches of the dialogue are characterized by the polite interaction between hosts and guests. The latter type, as illustrated in Example 52, is characteristic for Osborne's play where the characters are involved in domestic fights.

The other relevant modal particle in German is *mal*, which also occurs in ten cases. Similar to *doch*, it occurs mostly in translated texts. Only one of the ten instances where *mal* is used in imperatives is an originally German utterance.

In contrast to *doch*, its function in imperatives, according to Helbig, is clearly to mitigate the force: *Mal* “[g]estaltet die Aufforderung zwanglos, unverbindlich und höflich, mindert ihr Gewicht (sie scheint leichter erfüllbar), modifiziert die Illokution vom Befehl zur höflichen Aufforderung und Bitte.“ (Helbig, 1988: 175) For most uses of *mal* in my corpus, this is indeed the case. Example 54 illustrates this use.

(53) Tony, come and have a look at this beautiful kitchen.

(54) Tony, komm mal her und guck dir diese wunderschöne Küche an.

Yet in certain contexts, the force can be much stronger than a plea. It is correct that *mal* makes the requested action seem easily performable but this fact can be all the more reason for a speaker to show his annoyance. This use can be seen in Example 56.

(55) Now let me hear the music, for God's sake.

(56) Und jetzt laß mich in Gottes Namen endlich mal meinen Vaughan Williams hören.

By introducing *mal* in his request, Jimmy expresses his opinion that it is not too much asked of Cliff to let him listen to the music, and as Cliff does not let him listen to the music, Jimmy seems all the more angry. So *mal* is not always used to make a request more polite.

The only English item frequent enough to allow for a systematic description is *just*. It occurs in ten cases. In contrast to the two German items just discussed, *just* occurs in all four texts. So it can be found in originally English texts and in translated texts.

With respect to its function as a modal particle, the OALD says that *just* is “used in orders to get sb’s attention, give permission, etc.” (Hornby, ⁸2012: 842) or “to make a polite request, excuse, etc.” (Hornby, ⁸2010: 842) Unlike Helbig’s remarks on the function of modal particles in German, the OALD does not say how these uses of *just* can be explained. Yet Helbig’s explanation for *mal* just discussed may also be applied to *just*. If we take the semantic aspect ‘only’ or ‘simply’ (cf. Hornby, ⁸2010: 842) as a basis, we can assume that *just* also serves to make the requested action seem more easily performable. As I argued above, this does not necessarily make the utterances more polite.

In Example 58, the speaker asks the addressee to address him by his first name in the future – presumably that makes the interaction between them simpler and less formal. The whole exchange is characterized by mutual respect and politeness. The German version (Example 57) contains *einfach* as a possible formal equivalent.

(57) Nennen Sie mich einfach Albert. (Dürrenmatt, 1962: 18)

(58) Just call me - Albert. (Dürrenmatt/Kirkup, 1994: 21)

In Example 60, Mutter Courage is waiting for her daughter to come out of the wagon. This is the second time she calls her. She advises her daughter not to bother too much about her looks. She does this in a still benevolent manner although she grows impatient.

(59) Gib ein Büschel Haar drüber, und fertig! (Brecht, 1999: 76)

(60) Just pull your hair over it. (Brecht/Bentley, 1991: 85)

In Example 61, *just* also refers to a simple plan of action. Still, we can see that the speaker is annoyed, although – or because? – the addressees have offered their help in moving the settee.

(61) Oh, for God's sake - just put it back there! (Leigh, 1979: 43)

(62) Mein Gott, stellt es doch einfach da hinten hin! (Leigh/Braband: 68)

In all three cases described, *just* can be understood to refer to the suggested action as something simple. Still, the utterances differ very much in their tone.

11.3 Conclusive remarks on the use of the imperative in the corpus

The conclusions we can draw about the use of the imperative in the corpus are the following: Not only is the imperative by far the most frequent syntactic form to appear in the corpus, but it is also used rather bluntly. There are nearly no softening devices. *Please* and *bitte* occur a few times, but they are rather marginal in relation to the high number of imperatives. Tag questions occur even less frequently. There are some modal particles that soften the force of the imperative slightly, but again they are marginal to the number of imperatives. The most frequent items are temporal items, but many of them rather aggravate the force of the imperative even further and are not used in their temporal meaning necessarily.

12 Summary and Conclusion

12.1 Looking back: results and problems

The main question of this thesis was which possible realizations of directive speech acts we find in English and German, how frequent they are, and how they relate to each other. From an etic perspective, we can state that as far as clause types are concerned, German has a wider variety of clause types to offer than English. Both languages make use of imperatives, declaratives, *yes-no* interrogatives and *wh*-interrogatives. In addition, German also has the adhortative and the infinitive construction at hand. However, they only account for a tiny number of cases, which is another reason why I labeled them as minor types. The emic perspective is especially exciting for these two minor types: for the rather formal adhortative, the *let's* imperative in its full *let us*-form is the clear equivalent. For the German infinitive construction, the most frequent equivalent in English is the imperative.

With respect to the other four relevant clause types, we can say that the dominant functional equivalent is in all four cases also the formal equivalent. This means that the equivalent for an English imperative is most likely an imperative in German as well and the other way around. The same holds true for the declarative, the *yes-no* interrogative and the *wh*-interrogative. There are of course always exceptions to this general rule: Imperatives in one language also have forms other than the imperatives as their equivalent in the other language. As my detailed qualitative analyses have shown, each clause type allows for a variety of other formal types as their equivalents. Yet these possible equivalents strongly depend on the context and there are certain combinations that do not occur at all.

The frequencies of the used clause types allow for a clear hierarchy of the different types. As mentioned before, the imperative is often regarded as the prototypical realization of a directive speech act and this is also visible in numbers, as it is by far the most frequent formal type in both English and German in my data. Another remarkable aspect about the imperative is the fact that there are hardly any items on a lexical level that would serve to mitigate its force, as could be expected. This can partly be explained by the data that I used. Dramatic texts are said to deal with human conflicts in general, which would explain why the speakers in my texts do not care too much about cooperation and politeness – unlike informants in DCTs in previous studies.

The next most frequent clause type in both English and German is the declarative. It is difficult to boil down the declarative to a typical type. The most remarkable aspect of

declaratives is the strong speaker orientation which is especially striking as speaker orientation is rather marginal in the overall corpus. None of the other properties of the declarative is really pervasive which leaves us with a wide variety of options as for the realizations.

If we consider non-sentences as a whole unit, they are the third most frequent formal type to be used in both English and German. These forms have not been taken into account in previous research at all. This may be due to the fact that I ignored the monological idea of speech acts and simply applied the concept of directive speech acts to all verbal utterances found in dramatic dialogue. Yet as I have shown, non-sentences do not only occur as responses to previous utterances (e.g. accepting or refusing offers) but also in initial position. Consequently they should also have their part in a purely monological approach to speech acts. On the whole, I would like to argue for a more differentiated discussion of non-sentences and their functions. They are by far too frequent to be ignored.

Yes-no interrogatives come in fourth place among the formal types. Although they appear slightly more frequently in German than in English, we can say that they appear almost exclusively in texts that are originally English. So the directive use of *yes-no* interrogatives seems to be predominantly a phenomenon of the English language. As a consequence we have to wonder what to make of the *yes-no* interrogatives in German. I do not think we can simply discard them as translationese because they do actually work fine, which is supported by the fact that they are also used in German textbooks. Furthermore, they are still too frequent to be explained purely by translationese. One explanation for their rare occurrence in the German source texts may simply be the composition of the corpus. Probably this low frequency of *yes-no* interrogatives is a characteristic feature of these particular authors or even texts. So it may be a desideratum for further research to control the occurrence of *yes-no* interrogatives as directives in other German texts.

Wh-interrogatives are by far the least frequent of the major clause types. Yet they are the type which can be defined most clearly. While the other clause types cannot be boiled down to a 'standard' realization in terms of quantity of certain elements, this is possible for the *wh*-interrogative. *Wh*-interrogatives in directive use standardly contain *why/warum* as their *wh*-element, mostly in combination with *not/nicht*.

In sum, my data suggests that the different formal types in English and German correspond directly to each other. If there is a formal equivalent, then it is likely to be also

functionally equivalent – at least when we look at the formal types in large quantities. On a micro-level of individual utterances, there are of course differences to be found.

Beyond the results in terms of my research questions' content, there are also some results in terms of methodology, mostly concerning the way of data collection used in this study and the results due to this. I regard my way of data collection – using the directive speech acts from dramatic dialogue in original and translation – as a legitimate variation in data collection just as Geluykens (2007) promotes it.

The results speak for themselves: due to the extremely rich context, we find quite a number of elliptical forms (which I classified as irregular sentences) or utterances without any sentential structure, i.e. non-sentences. Forms as these have not played a role in research concerning directive speech acts so far. Yet they can be used as directives and they are used in significant numbers so it is vital that we do not ignore them.

The other specific outcome resulting from the method of data collection is due to the special kind of interaction in dramatic dialogue which is probably closer to real life interaction than the results from DCTs. The characters in plays (and the authors who wrote their utterances) are not influenced by informants' bias. The result is that the utterances used by the character are often not very cooperative but instead conflict-laden. Although my work did not focus on concepts of politeness, it is remarkable - especially with the high number of imperatives – that there are hardly any mitigating devices on the level of lexical items to be found that could be regarded as face-saving.

At this point it may also be time to look back at one's own work and reflect critically whether problems were appropriately dealt with. A very general problem concerns the treatment of irony. As I mentioned in Chapter 3.3.2, I did not use utterances containing irony because the sincerity rule was not fulfilled in these cases. In the process of building the corpus I tried to sort them out as rigorously as possible. I interpreted all the utterances in the corpus at face value, but of course some utterances – especially from Osborne's *Look Back in Anger* – may still be interpreted differently by other researchers. A dual control for each single case would have been desirable but is of course not possible in a project like this.

The next problem concerns my choice of the orthographical sentence as the basis for my analysis. In a number of cases, German and English differed concerning their punctuation

so that the same utterance consisted of a different number of orthographical sentences in the two languages. The decision to work with orthographic sentences was made very early in the project and was both due to the fact that I worked with written material and my limited resources. Nevertheless I would like to stress that nearly 80% of utterances were taken into account in their entirety, so the decision to focus on orthographical sentences should not have too strong an effect on the results.

A third problem concerns very general questions of contrastive linguistics. I compared forms in the two languages English and German, and in some instances the comparability could surely be doubted. I sometimes applied grammatical categories of forms from one language to both languages without going into detail whether this category could really be applied to the other language like I did. For example, I took the rather wide group of modality verbs or catenative verbs from English and applied them to German verbal structures. On the other hand, the concept of modal particles was taken from German and applied to English forms. I am convinced, however, that on the level of qualitative description, which made up the biggest part of my analysis, this did not pose a problem.

12.2 Looking ahead: future research

After looking back on the results of this study and mentioning its problems, I now want to look ahead and name possible directions of future research. The most obvious deals with one of the problems just mentioned: I chose the orthographical sentence as the basis for my analysis, no matter whether this sentence formed the entire utterance or only a part, and no matter whether the sentence was only the core of the utterance or whether it also contained supportive moves. There were still trends to be seen concerning supportive moves, namely the combination of imperatives naming the desired action together with declaratives giving reasons to carry out this action. Nevertheless, this relationship could be investigated in more detail, and supportive moves in general should be included in a follow-up study.

The next point concerns the variables in question. More variables could be added and some variables that were touched upon, as e.g. vocatives, could be discussed in more detail concerning their function. The general impression is that they serve a wide variety of functions, e.g. titles can emphasize the social distance between the interlocutors, while the use of first names or even nicknames can reduce the social distance. Some vocatives create a

positive atmosphere while others are just plain insults. These different functions and their occurrences should be investigated systematically.

In order to test and validate the results of my study, the sample of texts should be expanded. As we have seen, each author and each play has its own characteristics that influence the results. Consequently a bigger corpus should counterbalance the effects of these idiosyncrasies. As already mentioned in Chapter 3.1, two authors per language were the minimum requirement for my study – but the bigger the text sample, the more meaningful the results will be.

Of course the study at hand could be expanded not only in relation to the size of the text sample, but also in relation to the speech acts in focus. I concentrated on directive speech acts, probably the most thoroughly studied speech acts so far. The plays I used as data for my study contain of course many more utterances that could be investigated according to their respective functions so the triangulation as promoted by Geluykens (2007) could also be achieved for other functions than directives.

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