

A contrastive look at the English and Dutch (negative) imperatives

Daniël Van Olmen

University of Antwerp

Abstract

Somewhat surprisingly, the imperatives of the Germanic neighbors English and Dutch have not yet been compared in a systematic, corpus-based way. This paper is a first step towards such a contrastive study. Firstly, it looks at the frequencies of the imperative subtypes in the spoken part of the ICE-GB and in a comparably compiled Northern Dutch corpus out of the CGN. These quantitative results raise questions about the use of imperative discourse markers in both languages, about the grammaticalization of the hortatives and about alternative linguistic means of expression. A second section focuses on the negative imperatives in English and Dutch. It provides a pragmatic analysis of the prohibitives from the perspective of speech act theory and examines their translations in a two-way parallel corpus of plays. The English and Dutch negative imperatives are found to have roughly the same illocutionary profile. The parallel corpus data reveals a difference in correlation between the prohibitives in both languages. This distinction is argued to be part of the explanation for the frequency facts.

1. A first look

In line with van der Auwera (2006: 565), the imperative is considered here as a construction of grammar which typically presents a state of affairs as desirable by the speaker and calls on the hearer(s) to actualize it. For English and Dutch, this characterization entails that examples such as (1) and (2) cannot be regarded as genuine imperatives.

- (1) a. I want you to leave!
b. Ik wil dat je vertrekt!
- (2) a. I'd leave, if I were you.
b. Ik zou vertrekken, als ik jou was.

The sentences in (1) satisfy the conditions of a desirable state of affairs and of an appeal to the addressee. But they use lexical means, more precisely the volitional verbs *want* and *willen* 'want', rather than grammatical ones. In (2), the call on the addressee is not even part of the sentence meaning. It is the possible outcome of a conversational implicature.

What the grammatical category of the imperative does involve in English is shown in (3): a tenseless verb form, *do*-support for emphasis and negation as in (3b) and (3d), a non-compulsory subject as in (3c) and *let* for hortatives such as (3e).¹

- | | | |
|-----|---------------|-----------------|
| (3) | a. Leave! | d. Don't leave! |
| | b. Do leave! | e. Let's leave! |
| | c. You leave! | |

The formal characteristics of the Dutch imperative are illustrated in (4). The verb usually appears in sentence-initial position. Its form can be different from that in (4a) but only if the optional subject is overtly expressed as in (4b) (particles like *maar* 'but, feel free to' are often necessary for an imperative with a subject to be acceptable in Dutch). Negation requires the mere addition of *niet* 'not' as in (4c) or of some other negative element. And hortatives make use of the verb *laten*, the Dutch cognate of *let*, as in (4d).²

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------------|-------------------------|
| (4) | a. Vertrek! | c. Vertrek niet! |
| | leave.IMP | leave.IMP not |
| | b. Vertrekken jullie maar! | d. Laten we vertrekken! |
| | leave.IMP.PL you.PL PRT | let.IMP.PL we leave.INF |

In keeping with the above definition of the imperative, the sets of features in (3) and (4) identify a part of grammar which expresses a (negated and/or joint) state or event as wanted by the speaker and which calls on the hearer(s) to carry it out (the speaker may be one of the addressees or even the only one).

Perhaps surprisingly, contrastive studies on the imperative in English and in Dutch are far and few between (Geukens 1986, van der Auwera and Taeymans 2004). Corpus linguistic research on the topic is simply non-existent. This paper is a first step towards a thorough, corpus-based investigation into the similarities and the dissimilarities between both imperatives.

2. A quantitative look

The main question in this section is whether or not English and Dutch differ with respect to the frequencies of the various imperative forms. Further issues are: to what extent do they diverge and how can the differences be explained?

2.1 Comparable corpora

For a sensible quantitative comparison of English and Dutch, we inevitably have to resort to comparable corpora. In the following sense, to be accurate: "corpora of comparable texts in different languages" (Johansson 1998: 5). The English part of the present corpus is the entire spoken component of the *International Corpus*

of English – Great Britain (ICE-GB). The imperatives in this corpus have already been counted and analyzed by De Clerck (2006). The Dutch part is made up of material from the *Corpus Spoken Dutch* (CGN) and it follows the design of the ICE-GB. A couple of remarks are in order, however.

- Only the imperatives in the parsed files of the nine million-word CGN can be searched for electronically. Unfortunately, these syntactically annotated files account for only ten percent of the data.
- The Flemish or Southern Dutch component, one third of the whole corpus, cannot be used in view of the parallel corpus material (see section 3.2).
- The CGN does not possess many monologues. Especially scripted ones are in short supply. Since we want to have the same proportion of monologue and dialogue as in the ICE-GB, this means that the total number of Dutch words must be (much) lower in the corpus.
- Even so, it is really unavoidable that the scripted monologues are under-represented in the Dutch corpus. The unscripted monologues have to make up for it.

Table 1 below provides the round number of words and the percentage of the total number of words for each subcorpus in the English and the Dutch part of the corpus (see Nelson, Wallis and Aarts 2002 for the text types in the ICE-GB).

Table 1: A comparable corpus of spoken English and Dutch

		English		Dutch	
Dialogue	Private	200,000	33%	100,000	33%
	Public	160,000	27%	80,000	27%
	Total	360,000	60%	180,000	60%
Monologue	Unscripted	140,000	23%	90,000	30%
	Scripted	100,000	17%	30,000	10%
	Total	240,000	40%	120,000	40%
Total		600,000	100%	300,000	100%

2.2 Findings

The frequencies of the imperative subtypes and their distribution over the various subcorpora are given in Figures 1 and 2. They sum up De Clerck's (2006: 202ff.) British English results and our Northern Dutch results for, respectively, the dialogues and the monologues. What is important to note, however, is that they only distinguish between positive imperatives (+), hortatives (let) and prohibitives (-). Emphatic positive imperatives and hortatives are subsumed under the general labels because there is no distinct equivalent to this type of *do*-support in Dutch and because the phenomenon is uncommon (about one percent of all the imperatives in the spoken ICE-GB). Low frequency is also the reason why positive and negative imperatives with subjects (e.g. two percent of the imperatives in Dutch) do

not receive separate mention in the figures.³

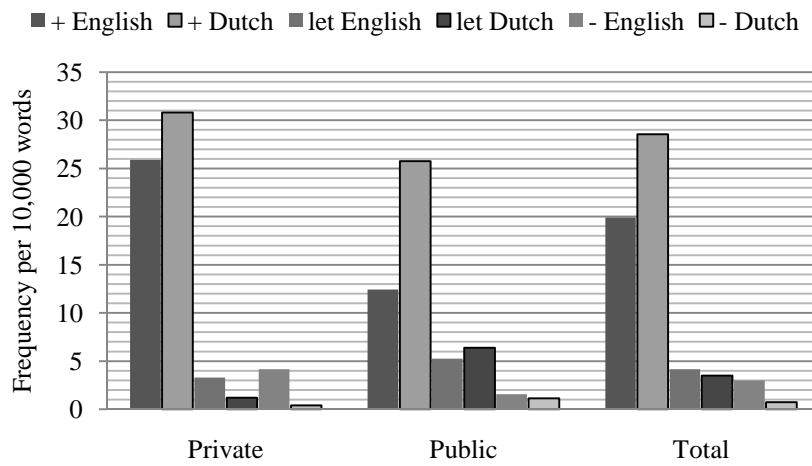


Figure 1: The frequencies and the distribution of the imperative subtypes in English and Dutch dialogues

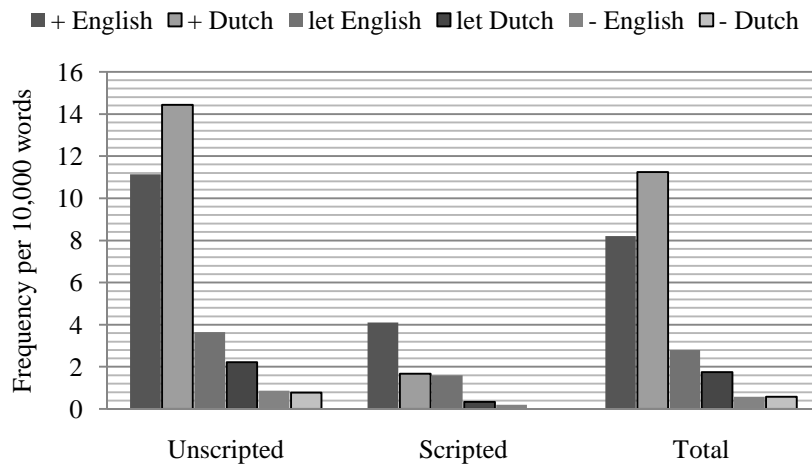


Figure 2: The frequencies and the distribution of the imperative subtypes in English and Dutch monologues

With regard to the text types, it is hardly surprising that the dialogue subcorpus contains twice as many imperatives as the monologue subcorpus (note the different scales in the figures). Obviously, imperatives can be used as references, recommendations, instructions and expository directives like, in that order, (5) to

(8). In these examples, the imperative does not actually seem to need an (active) addressee. But on the whole, it can be assumed that imperatives, by their very nature, involve interaction and that they are thus more likely to occur in dia- than in monologal contexts.

- (5) Zie de motie Remkes.
see.IMP the bill Remkes
'See the Remkes bill.' (CGN: fn000177.90)
- (6) Never mind the quality feel the width. (ICE-GB: S1A027.281)
- (7) Well a couple of minutes swishing it to and fro to and fro and then don't wash out with anything afterwards. (ICE-GB: S1A087.288)
- (8) Neem 't woord leefbaar.
take.IMP the word bearable
'Take the word *bearable*.' (CGN: fn007125.8)

The difference in frequency between the two kinds of monologue is also in line with expectations. The unscripted genres of, among others, demonstrations and live commentaries are still moderately interactive. But the scripted monologue of, for instance, broadcast news is simply not compatible with manifestations of the speaker's desire and calls on the hearer(s). Interestingly, this distinction is much more substantial in Dutch than in English. The overall frequency of imperatives in unscripted monologue is twice that in scripted monologue in English but nine times in Dutch. The reason(s) for this dissimilarity can only be brought to light by an in-depth analysis of the imperative's pragmatic functions and also of the genre conventions in the two languages.

The comparison of the imperative subtypes reveals similar hierarchies in English and Dutch. Positive imperatives are much more common than hortatives, which, in turn, are more frequent than negative imperatives. In the subcorpora, there are just two exceptions to this 'pecking order'. On the one hand, the positive imperatives in scripted monologue do not overshadow the hortatives as much as they do in the other text types. On the other hand, the English hortatives in private dialogue are slightly less frequent than the negative imperatives. Again, a careful genre and speech act analysis is necessary to account for these observations.

The fact that English and Dutch have the same hierarchy of subtypes does, of course, not mean that they are exactly alike. In general, there appear to be more imperatives in Dutch than in English. But the difference can in fact be traced back to a single subtype: the positive imperative, by far the most common subtype in either language, is one and a half times more frequent in Dutch than in English. The higher number in Dutch is the result of the relative proliferation of so-called imperative discourse markers in the language. The distinction between *look* and *kijk* 'look' is a case in point (Van Olmen 2008). In the spoken section of the ICE-GB, there are 32 attestations of *look* in contexts like (9). The Dutch corpus, which is half the size of the English one, contains 114 examples of *kijk* with a discourse use as in (10). Indicatively, the metapragmatic comment *zeg maar* 'say' in (11) is also (nearly four times) more frequent than its English counterpart in (12). In both

examples, the imperative discourse marker functions as an approximator.

- (9) And I said look you 're not to cry. (ICE-GB: S1A094.111)
- (10) Nou uh kijk competitie doe ik niet meer.
now uh look competition do.PRES.1SG I not anymore
'Now uh look, I no longer play competition.' (CGN: fn000868.37)
- (11) ... dat ik eerst zeg maar twee uurtjes thuis ga leren.
that I first say.IMP PRT two hours home go.PRES.1SG study.INF
'... that I'll study at home first for, say, two hours.' (CGN: fn000573.197)
- (12) OK we can guarantee say a thousand barrels of oil per day over this particular route. (ICE-GB: S1B005.48)

In contrast, the English hortatives and negative imperatives exhibit higher rates of occurrence than the Dutch ones. The hortative construction, to start with, is thirty percent more frequent in English than in Dutch. In light of the fairly high degree of grammaticalization of *let's* (De Clerck 2006: 220-238, Hopper and Traugott 1993: 10-14), as evidenced by (13), and of the compositionality of the structure in Dutch, one may ask whether the English hortative has very (inter)subjective uses that its Dutch counterpart does not have. This question must remain unanswered here. What is also a topic for further research is the role of (14) in the difference in frequency between the English and the Dutch hortatives. The combination of one or both of the particles *eens* 'once, sometime' and *even* 'briefly, just' with the infinitive *kijken* 'look' is extremely widespread in the Dutch material. It seems to function in more or less the same way as the formulaic expressions *let me see* and *let's see* (as a hesitation marker, for instance).

- (13) The UN Motto: "*Lets you and him start conserving fossil fuel!*" (internet example from De Clerck 2006: 231)
- (14) Eens/even kijken.
PRT look.INF
'Let me/'s see.'

The frequency of the English negative imperative then is over three times that of the Dutch one. This huge difference raises the following questions: is the English negative imperative used for more pragmatic purposes than the Dutch one and/or does Dutch use other linguistic means to express the functions of the prohibitive and, if so, which ones? The issues are addressed in the next section. Note, though, that the distinction between English and Dutch is mainly due to the private dialogue subcorpus. In the (un)scripted monologue and public dialogue components, the frequency of the Dutch negative imperative is identical to or just slightly lower than that of its English counterpart. But in the private dialogue component, the frequency of the Dutch negative imperative is not even one tenth of that of the English one.

3. A negative look

3.1 Parallel corpora

The use of parallel or translation corpora in this paper is prompted by the question about alternative linguistic means of expression to the negative imperative. This type of corpus may provide some answers since, as Aijmer and Altenberg (1996: 13) claim, “translations make it possible to investigate how the same content is expressed in two languages” (see Mauranen 2002: 167 for a critical assessment). But there are also a number of disadvantages to the approach.

- There is still no parallel corpus English ↔ Dutch that is (easily) available. The corpus here is thus a set of texts collected specifically for the present investigation.
- The range of genres that are well-translated is very limited. What is more, most translated texts that are acceptable are not helpful for a study of the prohibitive anyway. Legal documents, for one, can be assumed not to have enough imperatives. In view of the comparable corpora and the findings in the preceding section, the texts must resemble (privately dialogical) spoken language. Though literary, dramatic texts with ‘everyday topics’ probably come closest to meeting with the criteria.
- The data is neither tagged nor parsed, which means that the negative imperatives cannot be searched for electronically.
- For all the above reasons, it cannot be avoided that the parallel corpora are rather small. Luckily, the concentration of negative imperatives appears to be very high in plays.

The English → Dutch corpus is made up of five plays by different British authors and contains about 97,000 words. Each play is translated by a different translator and like nearly all texts, for cultural and economic reasons, into Northern Dutch.⁴ The Dutch → English corpus is compiled in an analogous manner and has a word count of just over 70,000.⁵

3.2 Pragmatic analysis

The central issue here is whether the negative imperative functions differently, i.e. occurs in other speech acts, in English and Dutch or not. The analysis that has to offer an answer to that question calls for a detailed taxonomy of illocutionary goals. Unfortunately but understandably (any categorization of the pragmatics of a linguistic element is a simplification of real life), there is no agreement on the functions that should (not) be included in such a classification. In this paper, we make use of De Clerck’s (2006) refinement of De Rycker’s (1990) taxonomy of speech acts because it allows for a broader characterization of imperatives. They are not automatically simple directives. In the following table, the major classes are listed and defined. They are illustrated with a few more specific, self-evident

speech acts (chiefly in English, for convenience's sake).

Table 2: De Clerck's (2006: 148-149) taxonomy of pragmatic functions⁶

Major category	Definition	Examples
Wilful directive	Strong appeal to the hearer, often in hierarchical contexts, to do what the speaker wants and what is usually to the benefit of the latter	Command in (15) and plea in (16)
Non-wilful directive	Less strong appeal to the hearer, in hierarchy-neutral contexts, to do what the speaker thinks is to the benefit of the former	Piece of advice in (17) and warning in (18)
Commissive directive	Weak to strong commitment of the speaker to do something which is often to the benefit of the speaker and the hearer and which usually also involves some action by the hearer	Conditional threat in (19) and conditional promise in (20)
Expressive directive	Appeal to the hearer in which the speaker primarily expresses his or her attitude towards the hearer	Support in (21) and challenge in (22)
Mixed expressive	Some kind of appeal through which the speaker hopes to bring about a state of affairs that the hearer does not control and that shows the speaker's attitude towards the hearer	Wish in (23)

- (15) Don't pull Mason onto the punches, says referee Larry O'Connell. (ICE-GB: S2A009.34-35)
- (16) Don't make me suffer this. (Bond 1982: 16)
- (17) So uh I said to her don't leave it until the two weeks before the performance. (ICE-GB: S1A083.108)
- (18) But don't underestimate the problems. (ICE-GB: S2A023.77)
- (19) Don't you bloody dare. (Stoppard 1982: 53)
- (20) Buy nothing and you may still fly back. (Brenton and Hare 1985: 33)
- (21) No don't worry about it really. (ICE-GB: S1A091.144)
- (22) Oh, don't be ridiculous. (Ayckbourn 1979: 157)
- (23) a. Ga alsjeblieft niet dood. (Herzberg 1989: 57)
b. Please don't die. (Herzberg 1995: 82)

One unintended advantage of the parallel corpora is that the limited data in our comparable corpus of Dutch (twenty attestations in total) can be complemented by the negative imperatives in the plays (seventy more hits). The figure below gives the percentages of the major illocutionary classes for the comparable corpus

data (Comp), for the parallel corpus data (Para) and for all negative imperatives together (Total). The proportions in the first column are based on the analysis in De Clerck (2006: 298ff.)

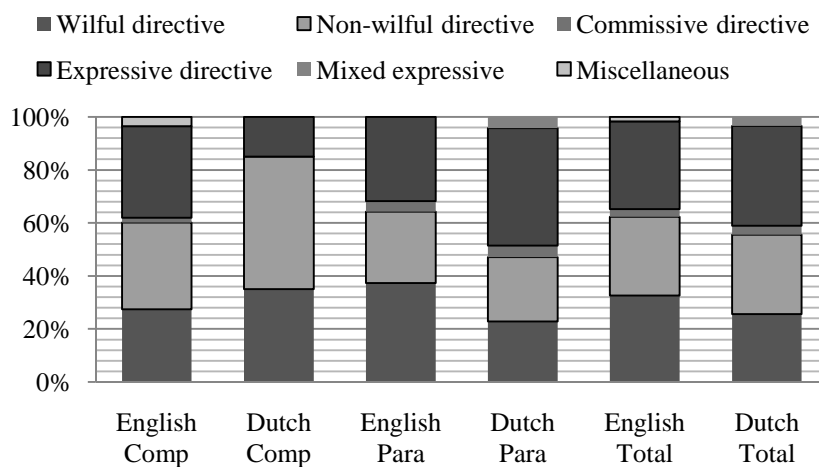


Figure 3: The pragmatic functions of the negative imperative in comparable and parallel corpora of English and Dutch.

The final two columns show that, at least at the level of the major classes, English and Dutch negative imperatives are not very different. The expressive and (non-) wilful directives are the dominant illocutionary categories in both languages. The commissive directives and the mixed expressives must be regarded as secondary classes. In other words, there does not seem to be a fundamental distinction in the functional potential of the English and Dutch prohibitives, which might account for the frequency facts. Then again, the Dutch negative imperative is hardly used as an expressive directive (as a support, to be precise) in the comparable corpus, while this class (and the supportive act in particular) is the most frequent one for the English negative imperative. The numbers (for Dutch) are obviously too low to make claims but do speakers of Dutch perhaps prefer other linguistic means to the prohibitive for expressive directives?

3.3 Translations

Figure 4 divides the translations of the 126 English negative imperatives and the 70 Dutch ones into two categories: those that take the form of the negative imperative and those that do not. The difference between English and Dutch is clear. Three quarters of the Dutch negative imperatives but just half of the English ones are translated into the other language as negative imperatives. The correlation between both prohibitives can thus be said to be stronger from Dutch into English

than from English into Dutch. Or in still other words, the parallel corpus findings suggest that speakers of Dutch tend to use alternative means of expression to the negative imperative to a greater extent than speakers of English (this formulation assumes, and rightly so, that, in principle, all source prohibitives in the data can be rendered into the target language as prohibitives). This result may account for the numbers in Figures 1 and 2.

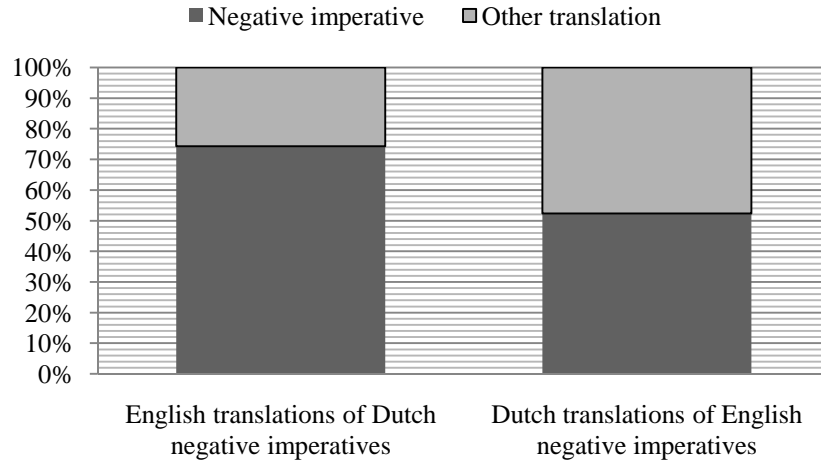


Figure 4: The correlation of the negative imperatives in parallel corpora of English and Dutch

Moreover, the variety of ‘other’ translations is much wider for the English source negative imperatives than for the Dutch ones. The translations of the latter include six declarative apologies such as (24), four imperative apologies such as (25), seven other positive imperatives such as (26) and the free translation in (27).

- (24) a. *Neem mij niet kwalijk.*
take.IMP me not detrimental (De Boer 1991: 16)
b. *I’m sorry.* (De Boer 1997: 31)
- (25) a. *Neem me niet kwalijk.* (Lemmens 1974: 25)
b. *Excuse me please.* (Lemmens 1978: 25)
- (26) a. *Zeur toch niet man!*
nag.IMP PRT not guy (Lemmens 1974: 44)
b. *Oh, shut up, will you.* (Lemmens 1978: 85)
- (27) a. *Vertel mij niks over ze.*
tell.IMP me nothing about them (Lemmens 1974: 29)
b. *I know them inside out.* (Lemmens 1978: 53)

Interestingly, Dutch appears to have a negative imperative as one of its idiomatic

ways of apologizing. English, on the other hand, does not. A negative imperative like *don't hold it against me* may sometimes function as an apology but the conventional strategies are exemplified in (24b) and (25b). What is important to note is that the Dutch idiom is actually very formal and rare. Unlike simple *sorry* and the imperative *excuseer*, the prohibitive in (24a) and (25a) does not even occur in the CGN.

The translations of the negative imperatives in the British plays include a large number of positive imperatives too, such as (28), but also eleven declarative sentences with a modal and a second person subject such as (29), ten independent noun phrases such as (30), ten infinitives such as (31) and miscellaneous forms such as (32) to (34).

- (28) a. Don't get kicked by the horse (Stoppard 1982: 45)
 b. Kijk uit dat je geen trap krijgt van een paard.
 look.IMP out that you no kick get.PRS.2SG of a horse (Stoppard 1984: 55)
- (29) a. Don't thank me. (Pinter 1982: 75)
 b. Moet je mij niet voor bedanken.
 must.PRS.2SG you me not for thank.INF (Pinter 1984: 17)
- (30) a. Don't worry. (Ayckbourn 1979: 192)
 b. Geen zorgen.
 no worries (Ayckbourn 1980: 85)
- (31) a. And don't say you're just cruising about. (Pinter 1982: 47)
 b. En nou niet zeggen dat je zomaar wat rondtoert.
 and now not say.INF that you just a.bit cruise.PRS.2SG (Pinter 1984: 71)
- (32) a. Think nothing of it. (Brenton and Hare 1983: 28)
 b. O, dat was niet.
 oh that be.PST.3SG nothing (Brenton and Hare 1985 :30)
- (33) a. Don't mess about. (Stoppard 1982: 17)
 b. Even serieus.
 briefly serious (Stoppard 1984: 26)
- (34) a. Don't you bloody dare. (Stoppard 1982: 53)
 b. Als je 't lef hebt.
 if you the guts have.PRS.2SG (Stoppard 1984: 63)

Two comments are in order here. Firstly, it is remarkable that less than one third of the 23 supportive acts in English is translated into Dutch as a negative imperative. Even *don't worry*, which (35) shows has two straightforward informal prohibitive counterparts in Dutch, is more often rendered as some other construction. Possibly, this potential tendency and the relative infrequency of the expressive directive in the corpus of spoken Dutch (see Figure 3) partly explain the difference in frequency between English and Dutch and the two private dialogue corpora in particular. Incidentally, three quarters of the English prohibitive supports occur in the private dialogue component (De Clerck 2006: 309). They represent more than a quarter of all the negative imperatives in that type of text.

- (35) a. Don't worry. (Ayckbourn 1979: 190, Stoppard 1982: 84)
 b. Maak je maar geen zorgen.
 make.IMP yourself PRT no worries (Ayckbourn 1980: 81)
 c. Trek 't je niet aan.
 be.concerned.with.IMP it yourself not PRT (Stoppard 1984: 95)

Secondly, it should be noted that most of the 'other' translations into Dutch are in fact also acceptable in English. Only the English infinitive cannot function as an alternative to the negative imperative.⁷

4. A final look

In this comparison of the English and Dutch imperatives, the following observations are made. Firstly, the positive imperative is more frequent in Dutch than in English. The reason for this difference is the proliferation of imperative discourse markers such as *kijk* in Dutch. Secondly, the hortative is more frequent in English than in Dutch. This fact is hypothesized to be interesting from a grammaticalization/(inter)subjectification point of view and in light of Dutch *eens/even kijken*. Thirdly, the negative imperative is much more frequent in English than in Dutch, more specifically in private dialogue. Fourthly and probably relatedly, the correlation between the English and Dutch negative imperative is stronger from Dutch into English than from English into Dutch. The range of translations into Dutch, and thus possibly of the alternative means of expression in Dutch, is not only bigger but also wider than the range of translations into English. Fifthly and finally, the functional potentials of both negative imperatives are very similar.

In further research, we plan to examine the frequencies in the comparable corpora of the alternatives attested in parallel corpora. We also intend to set up acceptability judgment and elicitation (via translation, among others) tasks to find out whether particular pragmatic functions, like supportive acts, are likely to take other linguistic forms or not. And of course, the positive imperative and the hortative will be looked at in greater detail too.

Notes

1. See, among others, De Rycker (1990: 44-90) and De Clerck (2006: 11-60) for more comprehensive accounts of the features and the subtypes of the English imperative.
2. This picture of the Dutch imperative will do here, but it is clearly not complete. In very formal contexts, for instance, imperatives such as (4a) and (4c) may take a *t*-ending. Another rare but interesting phenomenon is the existence of preterite and pluperfect imperatives in Dutch.
3. In his quantitative analysis, De Clerck (2006) makes a distinction between so-called major imperatives and minor imperatives like *listen*, *never mind*,

say or hang on on the sole basis of the ICE-GB tags. The usefulness of this dichotomy and in particular its operationalization are debatable. Therefore, Figures 1 and 2 present the frequencies of the major plus the minor imperatives.

4. To be exact: *Joking Apart* (Ayckbourn 1978, 1980), *Summer* (Bond 1981, 1983), *Other Places* (Pinter 1981, 1984), *The Real Thing* (Stoppard 1982, 1984) and *Pravda* (Brenton and Hare 1985, 1986), translated, in that order, by Hoeksema, Sternheim, Alphenaar, Kouwenaar and Nijmeijer.
5. Namely: *Souvenirs* (Lemmens 1974, 1978), *You Are My Mother* (Admiraal 1984, 1995), *Scratch* (Herzberg 1989, 1995), *The Buddha of Ceylon* (De Boer 1991, 1997) and *Blowing* (van den Berg 2003, 2004) translated, in that order, by Wagenaar, Holland-Cunningham, Rudge, Couling and Vergano.
6. For the sake of completeness: De Clerck (2006) also mentions discourse-related and non-directive functions. But they are so marginal that they are just classified as miscellaneous, together with the indeterminate cases.
7. Gerunds like *no talking!* seem to approximate the infinitives in Dutch. The distribution, the uses and the history of these gerunds and their comparison with the Dutch infinitives is an interesting area for further research.

References

- Admiraal, J. (1982), *U bent mijn moeder*. Amsterdam: International Theatre Bookshop.
- Admiraal, J. (1995), *You Are My Mother*. Translation C. Holland-Cunningham. Amsterdam: International Theatre and Film Books.
- Aijmer, K. and B. Altenberg (1996), 'Introduction', in: K. Aijmer, B. Altenberg and M. Johansson (eds.) *Languages in Contrast*. Papers from a symposium on text-based cross-linguistic studies. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 11-16.
- Ayckbourn, A. (1979), *Joking Apart and Other Plays*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Ayckbourn, A. (1980), *Zonder gekheid*. Translation P. Hoeksema. The Hague: Haagse Comedie.
- Bond, E. (1982), *Summer and Fables. With Service, a Story*. London: Methuen.
- Bond, E. (1983), *Zomer*. Translation J. Sternheim. Amsterdam: International Theatre Bookshop, Publiekstheater.
- Brenton, H. and D. Hare (1985), *Pravda. A Fleet Street Comedy*. London: Methuen.
- Brenton, H. and D. Hare (1986), *Pravda*. Translation P. Nijmeijer. Amsterdam: International Theatre Bookshop, RO Theater.
- De Boer, L. (1991), *De Buddha van Ceylon*. The Hague: Toneelgroep De Appel.

- De Boer, L. (1997), 'The Buddha of Ceylon', translation D. Couling, in: D. Couling (ed.), *Dutch and Flemish Plays*. London: Nick Hern, 3-61.
- De Clerck, B. (2006), *The Imperative in English. A Corpus-based, Pragmatic Analysis*. Unpublished PhD thesis. Ghent University.
- De Rycker, T. (1990), *Imperative Subtypes in Conversational British English. An Empirical Investigation*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Antwerp.
- Dutch Language Union (2004), *Corpus Spoken Dutch*. Release 1.0. The Hague.
- Geukens, S. (1986), *Sentence Type and Illocutionary Force. A Study of the Semantics of the Traditional Categories of Sentence Types*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Leuven.
- Herzberg, J. (1989), *Kras*. Amsterdam: International Theatre Bookshop, Toneelgroep Amsterdam.
- Herzberg, J. (1995), *Scratch*. Translation J. Rudge. Amsterdam: International Theatre and Film Books.
- Hopper, P.J. and E.C. Traugott (1993), *Grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Johansson, S. (1998), 'On the role of corpora in cross-linguistic research', in: S. Johansson and S. Oksefjell (eds.) *Corpora and Cross-Linguistic Research. Theory, Method and Case Studies*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 3-24.
- Lemmens, G. (1974), *Souvenirs*. Amsterdam: Toneelgroep Centrum.
- Lemmens, G. (1978), *Souvenirs*. Translation M. Wagenaar. Budapest: Centre Hongrois de l'I.T.I.
- Mauranen, A. (2002), 'Will 'translationese' ruin a contrastive study?', *Languages in Contrast*, 2: 161-185.
- Nelson, G., S. Wallis and B. Aarts (2002), *Exploring Natural Language. Working with the British Component of the International Corpus of English*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Pinter, H. (1982), *Other Places. Three Plays*. London: Methuen.
- Pinter, H. (1984), *Vier eenakters*. Translation C. Alphenaar. Amsterdam: International Theatre Bookshop, Toneelgroep Centrum.
- Stoppard, T. (1982), *The Real Thing*. London: Faber and Faber.
- Stoppard, T. (1984), *Ware liefde*. Translation G. Kouwenaar. Amsterdam: International Theatre Bookshop.
- Survey of English Usage (2006), *International Corpus of English. The British component*. Release 2. London.
- van der Auwera, J. (2006), 'Imperatives', in: K. Brown (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Elsevier, 565-567.
- van der Auwera, J. and M. Taeymans (2004), 'Let's, in English and in Dutch', in: G. Bergh (ed.) *An International Master of Syntax and Semantics*. Papers presented to Aimo Seppänen. Göteborg: Universitas Gothoburgensis, 239-247.
- Van Olmen, D. (2008), 'Looking at *look* and *kijk*. A corpus-based, contrastive approach to the rise of discourse markers out of imperatives of perception in English and Dutch.' Paper New Reflections on Grammaticalization 4, July 16-19, Leuven.