СРПСКА АКАДЕМИЈА НАУКА И УМЕТНОСТИ
и
ИНСТИТУТ ЗА СРПСКИ ЈЕЗИК САНУ

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This paper examines how the Serbian “da” subordinate clause, the French preposition *pour* and the English particle *to*, mainly used in clauses expressing purpose, can become linguistic forms expressing temporal and oppositional values.

In other words, it represents an original analysis of what we call non / pseudo-teleonomic clauses in Serbian, French and English. It examines the

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similarities and differences between the three languages and shows that the “da” subordinate clause in Serbian has a much more extensive scope than pour in French, which in turn has wider applications than to in English. The study is illustrated by concrete and genuine examples primarily drawn from the press in the three languages. It aims at reaching generalization via the principle of continuum which makes it possible to tackle teleonomic vs pseudo-teleonomic issues not in terms of binary opposition but in terms of gradience.

**Keywords:** verb constructions, non / pseudo-teleonomy, operators, prospective validation, devirtualization, potential significate, actual significate, gradience

From a syntactic point of view, Serbian, French and English belong to three rather different language types. Despite their specific features, the three systems display a few syntactic similarities such as the combination of finite/non-finite verbs instantiated with operators denoting varying degrees of purpose. In this paper, we will try to analyze linguistic patterns comprising a verbal operator (possibly strengthened by a rhematic operator) which is likely to express purpose. Two basic cases are taken into account: VP-[teleonomic/non teleonomic infinitive clauses] and VP-[teleonomic/pseudo-teleonomic conjunctive subordinate clauses].

Our study aims at highlighting abstract patterns representative of the greatest number of specific cases in discourse. Dik maintains that (1990: 206): “in order to reach an interesting level of typological adequacy, linguistic structures must be analysed and represented at a sufficient level of abstractness to allow generalization across their often quite different surface organizations”. Following Dik (Ibid.), we also think that one should at the same time “stick as closely as possible to the actual linguistic facts” (Cf. Croft 2003; Lazard 2001: 12 points out that “invariants are not linguistic units, but relations which can be more or less abstract”).

Our study draws on attested data and concrete examples and provides a comparison between very different languages. Because of the extreme diversity of resources and language uses and registers, this work is bound to be restricted.

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1 In Serbian the main exponent of syntactical relations is the grammatical category of case while in English in French it is a word order. In addition, in modern English the congruence is almost inexistent.

2 For example, potom and samo in Serbian, then and so in English, en fin de compte and finalement in French.

3 As Myhill (2001: 162) puts it “Typically, there is no systematic, exhaustive, and quantitative analysis of a database, the examples are selected anecdotaly depending upon
Our analysis falls into four distinct parts. The first three parts are successively devoted to *da* subordinate clause in Serbian, *only* *to* in English and *pour* in French. This order of presentation has not been chosen at random. “*Da*” clause with conditional has a much wider scope than *pour* which, in turn, is more extensive than *only* *to*. The last and fourth part precisely focuses on areas of overlap between those three operators.

Teleonomic and pseudo-teleonomic constructions in Serbian

The conjunction *da* (*that*), which is semantically quite vague, introduces various subordinated clauses in Serbian, such as completive, consecutive and teleonomic. Teleonomic clauses introduced by *da* invariably contain the conditional mood^4^ (which typically marks the possible and virtual. See ASIĆ 2007; ASIĆ AND STANOJEVIĆ 2010, 2012), as shown in example [1]:


He took dance classes to learn to tango.

In other words, in Serbian the marker of purpose is the conditional mood rather than the conjunction.

However, the analysis presented below will show that this type of subordinate clause is in Serbian also used to convey other meanings. To support this, the authors will use a set of authentic examples excerpted from daily newspapers and provide their translation into English.

Contrary to the illustration above [1], in the examples we are going to examine in this section, the predicate (although still containing the conditional mood) refers to an actual, devirtualized, past event with a definite time reference (see POPOVIĆ 1977; ASIĆ AND DODIG 2016). Furthermore, such predicates are almost invariably accompanied by temporal adverbs (e.g. *two weeks later, one day, the following year*) or specific connectors (e.g. *after, then*) which anaphorically refer to main-clause events.


The GP examined the patient and sent him home.

^4^ The perfective present can also appear in some specific (negative) contexts: *Vojaskovoda je otišao da se više ne vrati* (The military leader left never to return again).
When genuine teleonomic clauses contain temporal complements, these refer to the moment when the agent intends to accomplish his/her aim:


_They decided to save in order to buy an apartment one day/after the wedding._

In pseudo-teleonomic clauses in Serbian, however, the function of the temporal adverb is to devirtualize the second predicate. To be more precise, as the predicate of the subordinate clause is ontologically independent from that of the main, it cannot be considered as the goal towards which the speakers’ activities are directed: it denotes an event with its own identity and temporal reference. Its autonomy results not only from the fact that E2 is completely devirtualised5 but also from the fact that our common sense cancels teleonomic interpretation. This becomes evident if we delete the adverb _potom (after)_ in the example [4] and interpret the sentence as a genuine teleonomic clause (denoting the doctor’s aim):


_*The GP examined the patient to send him home._6

Our hypothesis is that the pseudo-teleonomic construction signals a relationship of weak interdependence (but not causality7) between the two successive events. More precisely, it establishes a typical (pragmatically salient) order: the speaker implies that E2 followed E1, not because it was caused by it, but because such an outcome was to be expected: there are, after all, some regularities in the world. Furthermore, E1 is a kind of preparation for (or the announcement of) E2.

This idea is supported by the context in which these clauses appear: our analysis indicates that pseudo teleemonic clauses most frequently mark either the final phase of a complex event or a sudden turn of events. In terms of context, their left-hand side often serves as an introduction. As for the right-hand side, pseudo telic clauses can be followed by a narrator’s comment or a statement expressing a consequence of a chain of events.

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5 We have introduced and explained the process of devirtualisation in the part of our paper devoted to English.

6 However, this sentence, contrary to those containing true consecutive clauses, does not imply that the occurrence of event 2 would not be possible without the event 1.

7 E2 is not ontologically dependent on the occurrence of E1.
Some syntactical and semantic features
of pseudo teleonomic clauses in Serbian

Since the predicate in pseudo teleonomic clauses does not denote a
goal dependent on the subject’s deliberate action, the grammatical sub-
ject often plays the role of the patient, which is reflected in relatively
frequent use of passive and medio-passive constructions.

[5] Povređenima je prva pomoć pružena u Domu zdravlja „Surčin“ da bi potom bili
prevezeni na Institut. Politika (30. 10. 2008)
The injured received medical treatment in ‘Surcin’ clinic and were transported to
the Institute.

For the same reasons, the main-clause predicate can be impersonal (in which case there is no conscious agent).

The thunder roared all day, but the rain did not start till the evening.

The foregoing analysis of examples in Serbian has shown that this
form (normally used to express purpose) can also denote an actual past
event, thus establishing a series of (most frequently two) past events.
However, in terms of meaning, this explanation is not sufficient, espe-
cially when we take into account the fact that Serbian already has other
connectors specialized for temporal progression, such as potom and zatim.

He wrote: April 14th 1984 in small, awkward letters. Then he leaned back in his
chair.

In genuine teleonomic clauses, since intention temporally precedes
the accomplishment, the subordinate clause can take the initial position
in a sentence. This, however, is not possible when pseudo teleonomic
clauses are concerned.

In order to win, you have to practice a lot.

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8 It is important to mention that even in the true teleonomic clauses the predicate
(biti umiren – to be “calmed down” can be in the passive mood (but there is a still an
active, intentional, implicit subject:
Deci su podeljeni kolači da bila umirena.
Cakes were distributed to the children so that they would calm down.

9 Impersonal constructions are not possible in teleonomic clauses: *Ceo dan je
grmelo da bi se Dule plasio. (*It thundered all day so that Dule would be frightened).
*Da bi tek uveče pala kiša ceo dan je grmelo.*

*In order for the rain to start only in the evening, the thunder roared all day.*

There is another very intriguing characteristic of the pseudo teleonomic clauses in Serbian. When E2 is presented as a typical continuation of E1, we frequently encounter the particle “*i*” in E2.

Najpre je eksperimentisao sa lakim drogama da bi potom prešao i na teške. (Politika 2. 7. 2003)

He experimented with soft drugs in the beginning before he moved on to hard ones.

In pseudo teleonomic construction in examples above the presence of ‘*i*’ indicates that E2 should not be seen in isolation but as a result of previous events. Moreover, the speaker implies that E2 cannot occur without E1: it is nothing but a plausible, typical continuation or the next phase of E1. Consequently, one could even claim that E1 and E2 constitute a single complex event (see CASATI AND VARZI, 2008).


The roads were initially reclaimed, which was followed by a full in-depth reconstruction.

Non-teleonomic (concessive) clauses in Serbian

Contrary to the examples given above, clauses introduced by *da* can also denote events which are neither typical nor expected continuations of E1 and will, therefore, be referred to as non-teleonomic. In such specific and stylistically marked cases, the speaker apparently invites the listener to consider the second event as a typical continuation of the first. When this initial interpretation fails (because our knowledge of the world cancels it), the specificity or importance of E2 is brought to the foreground. In this way, this turn is evolving into a marker of focalization in Serbian:

Evro je u ponedeljak pao na najnižu vrednost u poslednjih deset sedmica, da bi u utorak doživeo manji oporavak. (Politika 10. 8. 2000)

On Monday the euro fell to the lowest point in the last ten weeks only to recover slightly on Tuesday.

The basic function of this Serbian particle is to provide a conventional implicature: the element that it precedes is an additional element in a set, as in:

*Svi smo se sunčali. Dušan se i kupao.*

*We all sunbathed. Dusan swam as well.*
Interestingly, the degree of disagreement between two events can vary, so we have (just like for to in English) a kind of a semantic continuum. The range of variation comprises a typical continuance, opposition and true concession (and has to be inferred pragmatically), as shown in the following examples:


*At daybreak, Veljko Tomic came into the ‘Bos’ bar and ordered a drink only to hurl the bottle in the direction of the table at which the bar owner, Mladen Andric, was sitting with his bodyguards.*

In the example [13] adverb *odjednom (suddenly)* alerts the listener that nothing in the state of things denoted by the first proposal suggests that the event in the second proposal will occur. The pseudo teleonomic clause thus creates additional surprise – it states an outcome for which the reader/listener has not been prepared.

The pragmatic force of the adverb *napokon (finally)* is even stronger, because it expresses the speaker’s opinion that the event 2 should have occurred much earlier:


*He had ignored the symptoms of his illness for a long time before he decided to see a doctor one day.*

In this sentence *napokon* not only signals a break with the situation described in the first clause but also underlines the speaker’s critical stance (the grammatical subject should have reacted earlier!)

The concessive relationship between the two events linked in this way can be strengthened by markers such as adverb *ipak* (still, however) or prepositional phrase *uprkos tome* (despite this, referring to the content of the first clause).

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11 That’s why *napokon* is impossible if the relation is apparently concessive (the second event is exactly the opposite of what our world knowledge tells us should have taken place). Compare:

* Dugo sam mu pomagao da bi mi napokon pre neki dan rekao da sam mu uništio život.
  *I had helped him for a long time, only to hear him say the other day that I had ruined his life.*

Dugo sam mu pomagao da bi mi napokon pre neki dan rekao hvala.
* I had been helping him for a long time, and finally the other day he thanked me for it.*
Buš je uporno „najviši stepen poverenja“ iskazivao i prema Donaldu Ramsfeldu da bi ipak, prošlog decembra, prihvatio njegovu ostavku na mesto šefa Pentagona. (Politika 15. 3. 2007)

"Bush persistently expressed ‘utmost confidence’ in Donald Rumsfeld as well, yet last December he accepted his resignation as the head of the Pentagon."

‘Ipak’ in [15] serves not only to cancel the most predictable outcome of E1, but to additionally signal its incompatibility with how the situation is resolved in the subordinate clause.

Expressing (pseudo-)teleonomy in French

The French expression of teleonomy frequently occurs in infinitive clauses. According to the contemporary uses of these constructions, it turns out that two main configurations emerge in discourse productions: either in embedded clauses, as in example [16], or in prepositional clauses, as in [17] and [18] with the preposition pour (to, into) or analogous operator (cf. CADIOT 1997: 169–177):


Rachid came to tell stories about The «Far North».12

[17] Ils se rendront une semaine en Espagne pour participer à la coupe de Barcelone (E.R., 18-02-2003)

They will go to Spain for a week to play in the Barcelona Cup.


The CM1-CM2 pupils have just started playing basketball with a view to playing in future tournaments.

Teleonomic infinitive clauses, as in [16] to [18] examples, materialize in different constructions but share a common feature of pointing towards a goal variously realized. We note that using diverse theoretical backgrounds, CADIOT (1991: 251) refers to an “orientation”, CULIOLI to a “goal-directedness” (1999: 41–42), whereas DESCLÉS talks about an “intentional […] aim” (2008) (see above the notion of communicative intention conveyed by to), with quite similar semantic implications ho—

12 All the examples of this section have been submitted to an English native speaker, Jayne Elstob (from Portsmouth, U.K.) for translating. The excerpts have been propounded to the translator without any information about the subject of the study (in June 2015).
never. The syntactic configurations reported above show at the same time that the teleonomic processes expressed by infinitives may combine with gradually telic verbs occurring in the main clause (cf. WINTER 2006: 14 who uses “the notion of graduality” in reference to a “standard continuity […] of the temporal dimension”).

Given the wide range of configurations that can be described, we study here only the clauses realized, in French, with the preposition _pour_, which frequently expresses teleonomy (CADIOT 1991, 1997; MELIS 2003; COLINET _et al._ 2014). Our analysis was based on a newspaper corpus ( _l’Est Républicain_)\(^{13}\).

The fact is that contrary to the examples [17] and [18], some marginal expressions with _pour_-<INFINITIVE CLAUSE> appear in our corpus, as following:

[19] Ils devaient être déchargés à Saint-Nazaire il y a plusieurs jours déjà. Ils sont restés à bord de leur bateau de transport. _Pour finalement être réexpédiés hier vers la Norvège (E.R., 19-02-2003)_

They ought to have been unloaded at Saint-Nazaire a few days ago. They stayed on their transport ship and were finally sent back to Norway yesterday.

Although this case is more frequent in our corpus than the concessive _POUR-infinitive clauses_, it remains uncommon and seems to deflect the expression of purpose, in a gradual contrast with the meaning of the main clause. Such a configuration incites us to speak about pseudo-teleonomy to rally the structures considered, where the prospective operator _pour_ cannot substitute with _en vue de_ (with a view to / for the purpose of) nor _afin de_ (in order to / so that). Even if we postulate the hypothesis of a goal-directness initiated by the main clause, our assumption is that the expressions concerned are _gradually_ teleonomic.

**Empirical viewpoint and oppositional values in French**

Before focusing on the cases that have been intriguing us, we focus below on the different VP _pour_-patterns existing in French, as they occur in different daily newspapers:

- **VP PATTERN 1**: _pour_- VP [conjunctive subordinate clause <finite verb>]

\(^{13}\) Compiled and annotated by the CNRTL (GAIFFE and NEBHI 2009), the _E.R._ written corpus is a freely-available collection of French regional press articles. This resource has been already used for empirical linguistic studies (THUILIER _et al._ 2010) and has the advantage of constituting a contemporary and current-French content, produced by various authors.
Les visiteurs ont aussi leur chance à mettre sur le tapis de rencontre dit «open» organisé pour que tout le monde puisse participer (La Marseillaise, 07-11-2014).

So that everyone can participate, the visitors also have the opportunity to bring up matters in this «open» meeting.

▪ VP PATTERN 2 : pour - VP [teleonomic infinitive clause]

certains collectionneurs ont déjà payé plus d’un million de dollars aux enchères pour s’en offrir une (Dernières Nouvelles d’Alzace, 01-04-2015).

Some collectors have already paid over a million dollars at auction to buy themselves one.

▪ VP PATTERN 2’: pour - VP [pseudo-teleonomic infinitive clause]

L’Alsace s’était attelée à concocter deux formations pour finalement s’entendre dire en début de semaine qu’il faudrait se contenter d’une seule (Dernières Nouvelles d’Alzace, 29-05-2014).

Alsace got down to concocting two groups, only to be told at the beginning of the week that they would have to make do with just one.

▪ VP PATTERN 2’’ : pour - VP [non-teleonomic <causative or concessive>INFINITIVE CLAUSES]

Il est également célèbre pour avoir mené sa « guerre contre l’indiscipline » (Les Echos, 01-04-2015).

He is also famous for having led his «war against indiscipline»


This craft, although a thousand years old, is no less demanding on man

Expressing a movement which departs from its initial purpose, it consists of what we call pseudo-teleonomic VP-patterns. Whether the verb contained in the POUR-infinitive clauses concerned is perfective or imperfective, the pseudo-teleonomic verb constructions mostly embed the features <effectiveness> and <unforeseen outcome>. Indeed, the verbal processes meant in these cases are accomplished, unlike most of the teleonomic infinitive clauses, and denote non purposive events relative to the main verb.

Indeed, in the following excerpts of the E.R. corpus, we note that the infinitive clause openly takes a pseudo-teleonomic value, with an incongruent relationship between the main clause and what corresponds to the VP-pattern 2’’14:

14 We set aside here hypothetical formulations, discussed in (Bres, Ašić and Torderat, in press).
Marcel Saez, chauffeur de taxi, n’est pas prêt d’oublier sa course du 31 décembre... Une course entamée à l’aube, 3 h 35, pour se terminer presque deux heures plus tard à l’hôtel de police. (E.R., 2003-02-01)

Taxi driver, Marcel Saez, is not ready to forget his race of 31st December... A race that began at dawn, 3.35am, and ended almost two hours later at the police station...

Les toilettes, réputées condamnées, étaient débouchées : «On a tout démonté pour réaliser que le conduit était obturé par une boîte de sardines» (E.R., 2003-12-01)

The toilet, thought to be unusable, was unblocked: «we dismantled everything and realised that the pipe was blocked by a sardine can»

L’alerte a été donnée par un couple de riverains, dont le mari a été réveillé par un bruit suspect. L’époux est alors descendu pour se trouver nez à nez avec un individu qui a pris la poudre d’escampette, en laissant sur place un sac rempli de jeux vidéos (E.R., 2003-12-02)

A couple of residents raised the alarm, the husband had been awakened by a suspicious noise. He went downstairs to find himself face to face with an individual who took to his heels, leaving behind a bag full of video games

In those cases, the main clause co-occurring with pour arouses an expectation (or a progression) thwarted [25], dissatisfied [26] or disrupted [27] in the infinitive clause introduced by the preposition. In French, it is improper to infer strictly adversative meaning in all these configurations. However, we may deduce invariably, as in English and Serbian, background expectations gradually contradicted in the second predication, with a scalar adversative effect.

Unlike to in English, pour doesn’t express a systematic “movement towards”, even if we hypothesize that this operator could do it recursively in case of causative clauses, with the meaning of for (cf. Melis 2003: 13–14). This being so, pour, as prospective operator, produces a teleonomic value which can be gradually validated in the second clause. In French, this diverging effect frequently occurs with the passive, whether diathetic [28] or pronominal [29]:

 Ils devaient être déchargés à Saint-Nazaire il y a plusieurs jours déjà. Ils sont restés à bord de leur bateau de transport. Pour finalement être réexpédiés hier vers la Norvège (E.R., 19-02-2003)

They should have been discharged at Saint-Nazaure a few days ago. They remained on their transport boat. Finally, yesterday they have been sent back to Norway.

Le pro-ASNL a repris la main. Il ne la lâche pas. «Et tout ça» pouffe-t-il, «pour s’entendre dire qu’il ne pourrait pas faire un bon footballeur. Dis-moi, un bon footballeur, c’est quoi chez vous?» (E.R., 24-02-2003)
The pro-ASNL has regained control. He is not letting go. «And all that» he sniggers, «just to hear that he wouldn’t make a good footballer. Tell me, what is a good footballer for you?»

In [28], it appears that the persons unburdened in Saint-Nazaire don’t stay aboard their transport ship with the purpose to be finally forwarded to Norway. In this case, as in the following one [29], the infinitive clause expresses an unsuitable and unexpected ending. In [29] too, the teleonomic requirement conveyed by the preposition pour, combining with the expectation denoted in the main clause, finds an exact opposite in the event related in the infinitive clause: the individual “pro-ASNL” did not regain the lead to be finally considered as a bad player.

CADIOT (1991: 258) maintains that “the aim (final) relation operates between two clauses which necessarily describe two distinct events (or eventualities)”, but shortly afterwards he suggests a possible “contrast” between the “final meaning” and what he calls the “succession meaning” (263) in a narrative background, with the example “Paul est sorti, mais pour revenir aussitôt” (Paul left, but only to come back instantly). We still observe that the adversative operator mais anticipates the pseudo-teleonomic value of the infinitive clause, unlike pour, which doesn’t insist on it.

Our main hypothesis is that this case of POUR-pseudo-teleonomic Infinitive Clauses in French denotes events accomplished, unforeseen and in gradual contrast to the narrative background set up by the discourse environment. In the end, we can conclude that the pseudo-teleonomic POUR-Infinitive Clauses occurring always after the main verb (cf. CADIOT 1991: 263–264) correspond to what we call extraposed clauses; on the other hand, this case of POUR – Infinitive Clauses frequently co-occur with finalement (finally) and ensuite (then / thereafter), confirming a gradual contrast between the two clauses.

(Only) to in pseudo-teleonomic clauses in English

In a statement like [30] I left early to catch the train, the infinitive clause clearly expresses the communicative intention of the grammatical subject of the utterance. There is a congruent relationship between the main clause (I left early) and the infinitive clause (to catch the train), the infinitive clause representing the very reason why the grammatical subject I left early. Similarly, in [31] I intended to teach her needlework to qualify her for a genteel position15, the infinitive to teach combines

15 This example and the following are extracted from the British National Corpus (BNC).
its intentional value with that of the introductory verb (*intended*). Those infinitive clauses expressing the grammatical subject’s intention are to be related to the conditional mood in Serbian and pour + infinitive in French to convey similar notions or the use of pour (see above examples 1 and 16-18). They will be therefore referred to as “teleonomic clauses”. Such examples correspond to the most recurrent use of *to*, which is usually described in linguistic literature as a “prospective validation operator” (*opérateur de visée*) (SOUESME 1992; BOUSCAREN et al. 1992; DUTOIT et al. 1996)16. In that case *to* can alternate with *in order to* or *so as to*.

Yet, as in French, infinitive clauses do not always take on a teleonomic value (see above VP PATTERN 2’). They do not systematically express the subject’s intention even though they are cast in a strictly identical syntactic mold:

[32] I went to fill my prescription, to be shocked by how much it cost.

[33] An SAS hero survived daring undercover operations during the Gulf War, to be killed by a mate’s tragic blunder on a peacetime exercise.

[34] I’ve dreamed so often of you, only to wake in the morning, abandoned, my life dark, my soul thirsty.

In [32], the grammatical subject did not fill his prescription in order to be shocked by the price of the purchased product; in [33], the soldier did not survive the Gulf War so as to be killed during a peacetime exercise; and in [34], the subject does not dream of his beloved to suffer from her absence when he wakes up. Here *to* cannot alternate with *in order to* or *so as to*. Unlike examples [30] and [31], there is in [32], [33] and [34] an incongruent relationship between the two parts of the sentence. These clauses will be referred to as “pseudo-teleonomic” clauses.

The question that arises at this stage is whether *to* expresses two different meanings and whether it is possible to highlight the underlying linguistic operations that account for its various uses in discourse. In order to do so, we’ll successively examine *to* as a prospective validation operator and as a devirtualization operator. We’ll then focus on the positional and temporal values of *to* in pseudo-teleonomic contexts via a distinction between *to* and *only to* and a comparative approach of examples in French and in English. The very few studies available on the

16 See the notions of *orientation*, *goal-directedness* and *intentional aim* mentioned in the previous section devoted to *pour*. 
subject, namely an article by WHELPTON (2001) and another by RANGER (2004)\(^{17}\) will serve as a starting point for our analysis.

A prospective validation operator in English

Let us consider the following examples, with series (a) corresponding to the original text and illustrating the use of pseudo-teleonomic infinitive clauses and series (b) corresponding to the emended text substituting pseudo-teleonomic clauses for teleonomic clauses:

\[35a\] The water rose incredibly quickly till it was touching the ceiling. Maggie found herself submerged, and completely disorientated. She swam in what she hoped was the direction of the stairs, only to come up against a wall.

\[35b\] She swam in what she hoped was the direction of the stairs to find a way out.

\[36a\] John (Agent) burned the paper, only to realize that it contained important information (example borrowed from WHELPTON).

\[36b\] John (Agent) burned the paper to destroy the important information it contained.

As we have already noted, to + V (verb) is traditionally described as a „prospective validation operator“, which means that “the event thus introduced has not been validated yet: it is only envisaged an occurrence of validation” (SOUESME 1992: 331). The value of to as a prospective validation operator is self-evident in the case of teleonomic clauses, illustrated in series (b), where the infinitive clause fills the semantic void or expectation created by the main clause. Even though pseudo-teleonomic clauses do not express intentionality, our claim is that to actually conveys the same value as in teleonomic clauses. This can be easily demonstrated via a simple manipulation. If the utterance is cut off after to, the deleted part of the message calls for a teleonomic interpretation. For example \[35b\] *She swam in what she hoped was the direction of the stairs to[...]*, which has been amputated of its infinitive clause, prompts the addressee (hearer or reader) to provide a suitable ending, i.e. an event that suits the teleonomic expectancy aroused by the beginning of the utterance. The hearer will spontaneously infer that the subject *she* swims to the stairs to find a way out. Similarly, in the truncated sentence \[36b\] *John burned the paper to[...]*, he will expect some reason to destroy the

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\(^{17}\) We would like to thank Graham Ranger who kindly sent us the written version of his communication.
document John has just read. That type of teleonomy meets our cultural expectations.

The disruptive effect is not produced by to, which retains its basic value of prospective validation, but by the opposition between the main clause + to on the one hand and the infinitive verb + its complements on the other hand. What needs underlining is that it is the combination (main clause + to) that makes it possible for the addressee to make teleonomic assumptions which happen to be eventually thwarted by the rest of the utterance. The sentence pattern should be therefore construed correctly, the semantic split or diverging effect occurring after and not before to. As a result, the semantic pattern does not quite correspond to the syntactic pattern since the infinite group to + verb is broken asunder, the split between the two events (E1 and E2) being symbolized by // in the following figure:

![Figure 1: semantic pattern of pseudo-teleonomic infinitive clauses](image)

A devirtualization operator in English

To is not only a prospective validation operator, it is also a devirtualization operator. The two concepts should be clearly distinguished. Devirtualization implies a metaphorical movement. The notion of movement actually makes it possible to provide a common semantic denominator for all the uses of to as a preposition (to + N → spatial use) or a proclitic particle (to +V → temporal use):

The word to expresses the basic idea of a „movement towards“. However, it is not necessarily a movement in the concrete sense of the word, i.e. a movement in space; it can also designate a movement of an abstract nature. This is the case with TO + V, where TO expresses a metaphorical movement towards the actualization of an event (LARREYA et RIVIÈRE 2005: 14).

Moreover, as GARNIER et al. (2002: 175) put it, “what characterizes a movement is the fact that it can be intercepted in its course, in other words, the fact that it may not reach its goal”.

Da, pour and to clauses in gradually teleonomic verb constructions 23
The notions of movement and interception should also be related to Guillaume’s opposition between potential significate and actual significate\(^\text{18}\). The potential significate subsumes all the actual significates of to in discourse. In language (as opposed to discourse) the potential significate of to refers to a movement perceived as something perfective, \textit{i.e.} entirely, from its beginning (B) to its end (E). But in discourse this movement can be totally effective or partly effective. What is not effective is potential or virtual. The effective part + the potential part = the whole of the event.

A very simple example illustrating the spatial uses of to will shed light on those somewhat abstract considerations. I went to the window can be interpreted in two ways: 1) It can refer to an inchoate event. Only the first instants are effective, the rest of the event being left hanging. I went to therefore means I proceeded towards or in French \textit{Je me dirige-ai vers}, which implies that the window has not been reached yet. 2) It can also be interpreted as a perfective event, in which case the window has been reached. Those two different interpretations of the same utterance correspond to two different actual significates which are made possible by the potential significate which subsumes them all. Schematically:

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\(^{18}\) Potential significate and actual significate are the translations provided by Joly and O’Kelly (1990) for signifié de puissance and signifié d’effet or signifiés de discours (Guillaume 1964).
Let us now consider the temporal uses of to. In order to understand the link between metaphorical (or temporal) movement and teleonomy/pseudo-teleonomy, another distinction should be made between what GUILLAUME calls *universe time* and *event time*. *Universe time* designates chronological time. As noted before, to futurizes E2 relative to E1, irrespective of the time location of E1. Futurization is a notion to be related to *universe time*. *Event time* refers to the internal time or duration that an event requires to reach completion. This completion process can be conceived as a movement generated by the conversion of virtual time (or potential time) into actual time (or effective time). Devirtualization designates this conversion within time event. This is why COTTE (1982) analyzes to as a “devirtualization operator”.

Depending on whether the completion of E2 has not started yet or has come to an end, E2 will be entirely virtual or entirely actualized. A devirtualizing movement that has not started yet implies teleonomy while a devirtualizing movement that has reached completion entails pseudo-teleonomy. For instance in (35a), when Maggie realizes her mistake, it is too late. The event is no sooner mentioned than it has already become effective. It is presented as a *fait accompli*. In (35b), the event <find a way out> is on the contrary still virtual, there is no actualization or devirtualization process under way.

**Pseudo-teleonomic clauses in English: oppositional value and contrastive analysis**

WHELPTON (2001) distinguishes two readings of pseudo-teleonomic clauses. He refers “to the reading involving violation as the ADVERSATIVE reading and the reading involving fulfillment as the RESOLUTIONAL reading” (2001: 332). Now, if the words “resolutional” and “fulfillment” are appropriate to describe teleonomic clauses, they are more debatable when used to characterize non telonomic clauses.

This is why instead of tackling this issue in binary terms we prefer to address it as a *continuum* leading from a [+ adversative] to a [-adversative] sense effect. Moreover Whelpton observes that only to tends to be used instead of to when the context is a [+ adversative] and vice versa to will be favoured when the context is [-adversative]. This analysis is basically correct but what should be added is that the oppositional degree

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19 The use of the words *actualization* or *devirtualization* depends on whether the focus is laid on the actual or the virtual part of the event.
between E1 and E2 not only depends on the context but also on the speaker’s communicative intent. Thus the speaker will choose only to if he wants to bring out the adversative sense effect. Schematically:

```
(+) oppositional sense effet (-)
  only to    only to / to    to
```

Figure 4: the resolutional and adversative readings of to seen as a continuum

It is also important to stress the fact that the oppositional value is but a sense effect produced by baffled teleonomic expectations. The comparative examination of French and English translations is quite enlightening in this respect as it discloses the translators’ tendency to avoid the syntactic calque (to + V // pour + V), even though the latter is perfectly acceptable. Translators tend to disregard the teleonomic dimension to favour chronological succession (implied by futurization) and / or opposition (implied by thwarted teleonomy). The following examples are extracted from Linguee dictionary. Only three were found using the same pattern in English and in French:

(37) I went to fill my prescription, only to be shocked by how much it cost.

(37b) Je suis allée faire remplir mon ordonnance, mais j’ai été stupéfaite du prix de ce produit.

(38) Another name had been put forward to strengthen the team, only to be removed from the list at the last minute.

(38b) Un autre nom avait été annoncé pour le renfort de l’équipe, avant d’être retiré de la liste à la dernière minute.

Strangely enough, the same trend emerges when the source language is French:

(39) Il a commencé par jouer du piano et de la batterie pour ensuite s’intéresser à clarinette et aux saxophones ténor et alto à l’école secondaire.

(39b) Beginning with piano and drums, he then moved to clarinet, tenor, and alto saxophone in high school.
It seems as if the semantic twist between E1 and E2 made the utterer reluctant to use this syntactic turn. This point will be taken up in the next section. But before considering the use of *pour* in French, let us summarize the major notions that have been introduced so far:

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 5**: summary of the values of *to*
*Pour* - infinitive clauses in French

**Conclusion**

The notion of *continuum* is a very important linguistic mechanism that has been taken into consideration in our study of Serbian, English and French. Indeed, teleonomic and pseudo-teleonomic infinitive clauses should not be seen in a binary or dichotomous way, but as a movement relating those two types of clauses contiguously. This principle also applies to the pseudo-teleonomic field with infinitive clauses offering a more or less congruent relationship with the main clause. Schematically in English, with the preposition *to*:

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 6**: the notion of continuum: a basic principle in linguistic analysis
*Mutatis mutandis* this figure can also illustrate the *pour* – infinitive clauses in French, the two languages presenting obvious syntactic and semantic similarities in their teleonomic/pseudo-teleonomic uses, as it can be schematized as following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Congruence (+)</th>
<th>Congruence (-)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teleonomic clauses</td>
<td>(Pour &lt;Purpose Oriented&gt;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pseudo-teleonomic clauses</td>
<td>(Pour Ensuite / Finalement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-teleonomic clauses</td>
<td>(Pour &lt;Concessive&gt;)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the syntax differs in Serbian, the conjunction ‘da’ followed by the conditional can express similar values and once again introduce a continuum of clauses ranging from teleonomic across pseudo-teleonomic (where E2 is not an aim but a devirtualised autonomous (real) past event presented as a continuation of E1) to non-teleonomic clauses (denoting unexpected outcome of E1). In this respect it does not differ at all from the semantic behavior of *pour* constructions in French and (only) *to* constructions in English. It should also be noted that this is the only case in Serbian (see Ašić and Dodig 2015) where the conditional mood denotes a real and not a possible event. Moreover, the English translations of the Serbian examples tend to focus on the oppositional and temporal side effects highlighted in the analysis of (only) *to*: [2] *and sent him home*, [6] *but the rain did not start...*, [11] *which was followed...*

Nevertheless it seems that pseudo-teleonomic constructions in Serbian allow for resolutational readings more easily than in English and French. Besides the resolutational and adversative meanings of pseudo-teleonomic clauses are often conveyed by explicit markers in Serbian. For instance the particle “*i*” signals a resolutational interpretation whereas such markers as *odjednom* and *napokon* favour an adversative reading. Yet as noted above, this issue is to be tackled as a continuum rather than in binary terms.

This paper ultimately demonstrates the added value of contrastive analysis as it highlights sense effects and linguistic idiosyncrasies that would otherwise pass unnoticed in the study of one language only. It also shows how a logical relation such as teleonomy (cause – virtual effect)

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20 Ašić and Dodig in their last paper (Ašić and Dodig, 2015) show that even cases in which the conditional is used for denoting habitual past (*Kao dete često bi posle škole išao u park (As a child he used to go to the parks after school)*) can be considered to be modalised sentences.
can evolve into a discursive relation of continuation and, via this conceptual movement, into its authentic opposition: the concessive relation. In addition, it proves that apparently different meanings, such as teleonomic and typical outcome readings, conveyed by the same expressions, share the same notional basis. As for the non-teleonomic reading, its existence is motivated by the author’s intention to surprise the reader.

On a theoretical note, this short study raises the questions of degrees of grammaticality and of the internal scalarity applied to the meaning of prepositions, conjunctions and verbal forms.

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ОПЕРАТОРЫ DA, POUR И TO В ГРАДУАЛЬНЫХ ТЕЛЕНОМЕТИЧЕСКИХ ГЛАГОЛЬНЫХ КОНСТРУКЦИЯХ В СЕРБСКОМ, АНГЛИЙСКОМ И ФРАНЦУЗСКОМ ЯЗЫКАХ

Резюме

В настоящей работе на материале трех с синтаксической и морфологической точки зрения разных языков рассмотрены присущие им псевдотелемономические и нетелемономические глагольные конструкции, а именно: особый тип придаточных предложений, вводимых союзом да (что) в сербском, конструкции с оператором to в английском и конструкции с предлогом pour во французском языке. Иными словами, проанализировано, каким образом союз да в сочетании с сослагательным наклонением (потенциалом) в сербском, предлог pour во французском и частица to в английском, используемые в основном для выражения намерения, могут быть употреблены также для выражения и темпоральности, и оппозиции.

При анализе сходств и различий между данными структурами на материале аутентичных примеров из прессы обнаружено, что во всех трех языках существует семантико-прагматический континуум, внутри которого распространяются их значения.
Ядро овог континуума чини телеономичност као прототипично и најчешће распрострањене значење. За телеономичност се следе случаји, именујући их псеудотелеономичним и најчешће применљивим у реченој контексту. У бројним прилогима, као у којима се посматрају задате структуре, претежно се посматра темпорална последователност догађаја у прошлости: догађај из зависне клаузе (у раду означен као E2) има виртуелних циља. Овај догађај представља своје имеће логично разрешио на основу експлицитно изрекене ситуации (составу E1). На перифери спектра наласе се примери, именујући их нетелеономичним, у којима се посматрају уступање и уступање, ширина овог спектра се разликује од језика до језика. Наше истраживање је показало да су најчињенији опсег и најужи.