

ISSN 0350–185x

UDK 808

СРПСКА АКАДЕМИЈА НАУКА И УМЕТНОСТИ
И
ИНСТИТУТ ЗА СРПСКИ ЈЕЗИК САНУ

ЈУЖНОСЛОВЕНСКИ ФИЛОЛОГ

КЊ. LXXIII, СВ. 1–2

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БЕОГРАД

2017

СТУДИЈЕ И РАСПРАВЕ

ISSN 0350-185X, LXXIII, св. 1–2 (2017)
UDK: 811.163.41'376.635
811.111'376.635
811.133.1'376.635
COBISS.SR-ID: 230969356
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.2298/JFI1702009A>
Примљено: 28. јануара 2017.
Прихваћено: 31. јануара 2017.
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DA, POUR AND TO CLAUSES IN GRADUALLY TELEONOMIC VERB CONSTRUCTIONS. A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO SERBIAN, FRENCH AND ENGLISH

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 types¹. 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 operator²) 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 restricted³.

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 anecdotally 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 mood⁴ (which typically marks the possible and virtual. See ASIC 2007; ASIC AND STANOJEVIC 2010, 2012), as shown in example [1]:

- [1] Upisao se u školu plesa da bi naučio da igra tango. (Politika, 17. 2. 2010)
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.

- [2] Lekar opšte prakse je pregledao pacijenta da bi ga potom poslao kući (Politika, 7. 9. 2006).
The GP examined the patient and sent him home.

which point the author wishes to make in a particular article without systematic demonstration that they represent a general pattern, comparison between actual usage in the languages is unsystematic, and it is not clear how additional languages would fit into the comparative framework of the study.”

⁴ The perfective present can also appear in some specific (negative) contexts: *Voj-skovođa 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:

- [3] Dogovorili su se da štede da bi jednog dana/nakon venčanja kupili stan.
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):

- [4] ?Lekar opšte prakse je pregledao pacijenta da bi ga poslao kući.
*?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 teleonomic 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.

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 subject often plays the role of the patient, which is reflected in relatively frequent use of passive and medio-passive constructions⁸.

- [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 impersonal⁹ (in which case there is no conscious agent).

- [6] Ceo dan je grmelo da bi tek uveče pala kiša.
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, especially when we take into account the fact that Serbian already has other connectors specialized for temporal progression, such as *potom* and *zatim*.

- [7] Sitnim, nezgrapnim slovima, on ispisa: 14. april 1984. Potom se zavali u stolicu.
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.

- [8] Da bi pobedio, moraš puno da vežbaš.
In order to win, you have to practice a lot.

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*).

- [9] *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*”¹⁰ in E2.

- [10] 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).

- [11] Prvo su putevi bili osposobljeni za saobraćaj da bi potom krenula i temeljna rekonstrukcija. (Politika 18. 8. 2000)
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:

- [12] 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.

¹⁰ 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:

- [13] Veljko Tomić je pred zoru došao u kafić „Bos“ i poručio piće, da bi odjednom bacio flašu prema stolu za kojim je sa svojim telohraniteljima sedio vlasnik kafića Mladen Andrić. (Politika 17. 4. 2008)
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:

- [14] Dugo nije obraćao pažnju na simptome svoje bolesti da bi napokon jednog dana rešio da ode kod doktora. (Politika 16. 3. 2007)
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!)¹¹

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*).

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.

- [15] 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):

- [16] Rachid est venu raconter des histoires aux accents du « Grand Nord » (*Est Républicain* [henceforth E.R.], 26-01-2003)
*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.
- [18] Les élèves de CM1-CM2 viennent de s'initier au basket-ball en vue de participer à de futurs tournois (E.R., 18-02-2003)
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).

wever. 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.

- [20] 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]
- [21] certains collectionneurs ont déjà payé plus d'un million de dollars aux enchères pour s'en offrir une (*Dernières Nouvelles d'Alsace*, 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]
- [22] 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'Alsace*, 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]
- [23] 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»
- [24] Cet artisanat, pour être millénaire, n'en est pas moins exigeant de la part de l'homme (*La Voix du Nord*, 24-04-2015)
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 Torterat, *in press*).

- [25] 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...
- [26] 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»
- [27] 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]:

- [28] 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-Nazaire a few days ago. They remained on their transport boat. Finally, yesterday they have been sent back to Norway.
- [29] 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 *finaleme* (*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 position*¹⁵, 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 oppositional 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

¹⁷ We would like to thank Graham Ranger who kindly sent us the written version of his communication.

The notions of movement and interception should also be related to Guillaume's opposition between *potential significate* and *actual significate*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, *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 *Je me dirigeai 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:

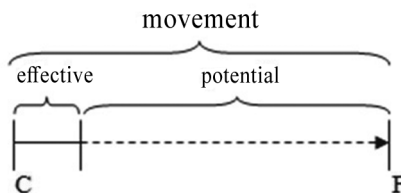


Figure 2 : the inchoate interpretation of *to*

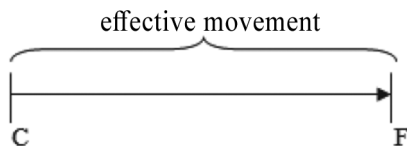


Figure 3 : the perfective interpretation of *to*

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 devirtualization¹⁹ process under way.

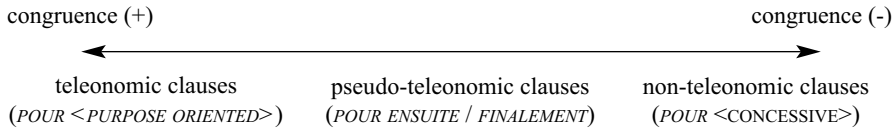
Pseudo-teleonomic clauses in English: oppositional value and contrastive analysis

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 “resolutive” and “fulfillment” are appropriate to describe teleonomic clauses, they are more debatable when used to characterize non teleonomic 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

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.

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:



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 event²⁰. 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 resolutorial readings more easily than in English and French. Besides the resolutorial and adversative meanings of pseudo-teleonomic clauses are often conveyed by explicit markers in Serbian. For instance the particle “*i*” signals a resolutorial 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)

²⁰ Asić and Dodig in their last paper (Asić 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 ТЕЛЕОНОМИЧЕСКИХ
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 псевдотелеономические и нетелеономические 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 этого континуума составляет телеономичность как прототипическое и наиболее распространенное значение. За телеономичностью следуют случаи, именуемые в статье псевдотелеономическими, в которых с помощью данных структур устанавливается темпоральная последовательность событий в прошлом: событие из подчиненного предложения (в работе обозначено как E2) является не виртуальной целью подлежащего сочиненного предложения, а конкретным прошлым событием, которое представляет собой ожидаемое логичное разрешение выраженной ситуации (события E1). На периферии спектра находятся примеры, именуемые нетелеономическими, в которых с помощью перечисленных операторов вводятся уступительные предложения. Ширина данного спектра является различной в анализируемых языках. Исследование показало, что союз *да* имеет самый широкий объем, в то время как частица *то* имеет самый узкий объем.

Ключевые слова: глагольные конструкции, псевдотелеономичность, нетелеономичность, девиртуализация, семантико-прагматический континуум.

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ОПЕРАТОРИ *DA*, *POUR*, И *TO* У ГРАДУАЛНО ТЕЛЕОНОМИЧНИМ ГЛАГОЛСКИМ КОНСТРУКЦИЈАМА У СРПСКОМ, ФРАНЦУСКОМ И ЕНГЛЕСКОМ ЈЕЗИКУ

Резиме

У овом раду смо, посматрајући три, у синтаксичком и морфолошком погледу, различита језика, испитали псеудотелеономичне и нетелеономичне глаголске конструкције које се у њима јављају: у српском језику као посебна врста зависних клауза уведених везником *да*, енглеском са оператором *to* и у француском са предлогом *pour*. Другим речима, анализирали смо како везник *да* (праћен потенцијалом) у српском, предлог *pour* у француском и партикула *to* у енглеском, који се претежно користе за исказивање намере, могу да се употребе да искажу како темпоралност тако и опозицију.

Испитујући сличности и разлике између ових структура на аутентичним примерима ексцерпираним из штампе, уочили смо да у сва три дата језика постоји семантичко-прагматички континуум дуж кога се протежу њихова значења. На почетку тог континуума налази се телеономичност као прототипично и најчешће значење. За њом следе случајеви које смо назвали псеудотелеономичним а у којима се посматраним структурама успоставља темпорални редослед догађаја у прошлости: догађај из зависне клаузе (у раду означен као E2) овде није виртуелни циљ субјекта независне клаузе, већ конкретан прошли догађај који представља очекивано и логично разрешење исказане ситуације, односно догађаја E1. На самом крају спектра јављају се примери које смо назвали нетелеономичним, а у којима посматрани оператори уводе допусне клаузе. Ширина овог спектра се, међутим, разликује од језика до језика: наше истраживање је показало да везник *да* има најобимнији опсег, а партикула *to* најужи.

Кључне речи: глаголске конструкције, псеудотелеономичност, нетелеономичност, девиртуализација, семантичко-прагматички континуум.