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Metonymy and lexical aspect in English and French

In this paper we provide evidence that conceptual metonymies are cross-linguistically significant in the coding of verbal aspect. Guillemain-Flescher (1981: Ch. 2), in an important contrastive study of narrative texts, notices that English and French differ quite often as to *which phase* of an aspectual situation is coded in an utterance. To illustrate, compare sentence (1), taken from François Mauriac's well-known novel *Thérèse Desqueyroux*, with its English translation in (2):

- (1) Le train ralentit, siffle longuement, **repart**.
- (2) The train came to a halt, uttered a long whistle, and **started to move again**.

In the French original (1) the process of moving again is coded. In contrast, it is quite striking that the English translator of (1) prefers to verbalize only the *incipient* phase of this process by means of an 'inceptive verb construction'—thereby metonymically evoking the process as a whole. We explore the hypothesis that in English, in contrast to French, there is a fairly systematic exploitation of the high-level metonymy SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT with the two sub-metonymies INCIPIENT PHASE OF EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT and ONSET OF EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT. A corpus search of two different text genres, bilingual transcripts of Canadian parliamentary debates and narrative fiction, reveals that in about 20% of the cases where English has a metonymically interpreted inceptive verb construction, French expresses the equivalent idea directly by means of a single verb form. We relate the findings for the incipient verb construction to the observation that English makes more extended use of the POTENTIALITY FOR ACTUALITY metonymy with perception and mental processing verbs.

Key words: predicational metonymy, lexical aspect

1. Introduction

Our goal in this paper is to present evidence that at least some aspectual shift phenomena have a metonymic basis. We use parallel text corpora, i.e. bilingual transcripts of Canadian parliamentary debates (Hansard corpus) and 19th and 20th century fiction in English and French to demonstrate that often, though by no means always, English uses a construction of the form *begin/start + V-ing/to V* (henceforth: *inceptive verb construction*) to achieve the same conceptual or pragmatic effect as French does with a *single verb* (or *V only*) *construction*, i.e. one without an inceptive verb. We account for this difference by assuming that what is coded explicitly in French is achieved through metonymy in English.

The article is organized as follows: In section 2, we clarify the key concept of metonymy setting metonymy apart from other conceptual relations such as hyponymy and entailment. In section 3 we introduce some contrastive English-French data illustrating the analytical problem to be solved. In section 4, we present the quantitative results of our corpus study on the distribution of the inceptive verbs *begin/start* in English in contrast to the single verb construction in French. Section 5 draws some basic aspectual distinctions needed in the analysis of the data and formulates the main thesis of the paper: Two metonymies, ONSET OF EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT and INCIPIENT PHASE OF EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT, account for the relatively frequent occurrence of inceptive verb constructions in English and the relatively frequent absence of such inceptive verb constructions in the corresponding French equivalents. Section 6 contains detailed analyses of selected data to illustrate this thesis. In section 7 we discuss a specific case of aspectual shift in English triggered by an inceptive verb construction: the reinterpretation of achievements as accomplishments. Section 8 concludes the paper by relating the contrasting degrees to which the ONSET and the INCIPIENT PHASE metonymies are exploited in the two languages to a parallel difference in the use of the POTENTIALITY FOR ACTUALITY metonymy.

2. Remarks on conceptual metonymy

The usual characterization of metonymy refers to the notion of contiguity between two denotata or concepts. Assuming that ‘denotata’ are not just “real-world” phenomena *per se* but *conceptualizations* of the human mind, one can reduce ‘contiguity between denotata or concepts’ to ‘contiguity between concepts’. Thus the denotational (spatial) contiguity of, say, *face* and *nose* can be considered as a case of conceptual contiguity in the sense that there is a perceptually grounded idealized cognitive model of human body parts and their normal spatial positions relative to one another.

Nevertheless, the problem remains to delineate the meaning of ‘conceptual contiguity’: Can or shall *any* conceptual or semantic relation be called a contiguity relation, which would make it exploitable for metonymic purposes? We propose that the term *contiguous relation* should be interpreted as meaning ‘contingent relation’, i.e. as a relation between two entities that is not conceptually necessary. For example, the relation between a woman and the property of playing the piano is contingent in this sense. This relation can be exploited via the metonymy MUSICAL INSTRUMENT FOR PERSON in the utterance *The piano wants a glass of Chardonnay*, where the subject noun phrase refers to the person that satisfies the definite description (in this case the musician playing the piano). In contrast, the hyponymic relation between *tulip* and *flower* is not contingent (and therefore not contiguous), since a tulip is a flower by definition. In an utterance such as *I have to water the tulips* the concept TULIP automatically evokes the concept FLOWER and, in fact, the latter is not deniable without contradiction. This kind of conceptual necessity however does not exist in uncontroversial cases of metonymy, like the one above: The concept PIANO can be focused on without necessarily evoking the concept PIANO PLAYER.¹

Metonymy, just like metaphor, can be regarded as a mapping process from a source (sometimes called ‘vehicle’) to a target. Different from metaphor, which involves a mapping between distinct domains, metonymic mappings operate within one and the same cognitive domain.²

Another important question concerns the cognitive status of source and target in a metonymic mapping. As has been pointed out by Radden and Kövecses (1999: 19) in a metonymically interpreted utterance like *I like Mozart*, we refer not just to music but to music composed by Mozart; thus, both the source (*Mozart*) and the target (*Mozart’s music*) are mentally present, but the latter becomes *prominent*, i.e. the *focus of attention*, as a result of the metonymic process. In metonymies that are created ad hoc in specific com-

¹ Our characterization of metonymy comes close to that proposed by Seto (1999: 91), who considers metonymy to be “a referential transfer phenomenon based on the spatio-temporal contiguity *as conceived by* [emphasis added] the speaker between an entity and another in the (real) world.” However, we do not regard metonymy as a purely referential relationship; it is also pervasive on the predicational and illocutionary levels (see Thornburg & Panther 1997, Panther & Thornburg 1998, 1999a, 1999b, 2000).

² This definitional criterion immediately raises the problem of delimiting distinct domains and of identifying single domains, the difficulties of which are well known (see e.g. Croft (1993) for detailed discussion). Lack of space prevents us from pursuing this problem in detail here. Suffice it to say that the decision about what should count as one domain and what should count as separate domains cannot be made on the basis of supposedly “objective” criteria alone. To a certain extent, the decision seems to be influenced by cultural factors or even individual construals.

municative situations, the source is backgrounded but easily retrievable in the given context (e.g. *the ulcer in room 201* for the ‘patient with an ulcer in room 201’). Even when the target concept is conventionalized in the lexicon as one reading of a polysemous lexical item, the source concept is still usually retrievable (e.g. *potbelly* for ‘a person with a potbelly’). The link between the metonymic target and its source may however be severed in the course of history: For example, the English verb *implore* originally meant ‘entreat with tears in one’s eyes’; nowadays, tears do not necessarily accompany the speech event of imploring, i.e., the source concept has become detached from the target concept, a development whose result Riemer (2002) refers to as ‘post-metonymy’.

To summarize, for the purpose of this paper, we assume that metonymy has at least the following properties:

1. Metonymy is an intra-domain mapping.
2. Metonymy is based on a contingent (i.e. conceptually non-necessary) relationship between conceptual entities.
3. From 2 it follows that the link between a metonymic source and its metonymic target is in principle cancelable (although in practice the target may be coerced by the grammatical construction it occurs in or in the given discourse context).
4. Metonymy renders the target concept prominent, but the source concept is in general still recoverable.
5. However, the source concept may diachronically become completely detached from the target, a development that results in a post-metonymy.

This characterization of metonymy is certainly not exhaustive, but it appears to be compatible with the uncontroversial cases of metonymy such as CONTAINER FOR CONTENTS, PLACE FOR INSTITUTION, PLACE FOR EVENT, RESULT FOR ACTION, PRODUCER FOR PRODUCT, and the like, and to exclude cases that are intuitively felt to be nonmetonymic (like the *tulip-flower* example above that exhibits a hyponymic relationship). Furthermore, this view of metonymy has the advantage of narrowing down the extension of the concept: If any conceptual relation were regarded as a potential basis for a metonymic process, the concept of metonymy would become vacuous.

3. The problem

The problem we are concerned with in this paper has been noted by the French linguist Jacqueline Guillemin-Flescher, who observed in her contrastive study of narrative texts published in 1981 that English and French quite

often *differ* as to *which phase* of an aspectual situation is coded in an utterance.³ To see this, compare the French sentences in (1a) and (2a) with their respective English translations in (1b) and (2b):⁴

- (1)a. Ici, Thérèse **hésite**: s'efforce de détourner sa pensée de ce qui se passa dans la maison d'Argelouse ...
 b. At this point, Thérèse **began to hesitate**, forcing her mind from brooding on what had occurred in the house of Argelouse ...
- (2) a. Le train ralentit, siffle longuement, **repart**.
 b. The train came to a halt, uttered a long whistle, and **started to move again**.

The French sentence (1a) overtly codes the process of hesitation (in the present tense) *as a whole*. In contrast, in (1b) we see—rather strikingly—that the English translator prefers to code this content by means of an inceptive verb construction *began to hesitate*. The sentence pairs in (2) reveal a similar coding contrast.

The same phenomenon—though in the inverse—can be found in French translations from English—as we can see in the sentences from Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer* in (3) and (4):⁵

- (3)a. When he had pulled [i.e. guided the boat] a mile above the village, **he started quartering across** [the river] and bent himself stoutly to his work.
 b. Lorsqu'il eut fait quinze cents mètres en amont du village, **il navigua de biais**: c'était la partie la plus difficile du parcours.
- (4)a. Tom went to the door and **began to** softly **lift** [the] latch.
 b. Tom s'approcha de la porte; avec précaution **il souleva** le loquet.

Here the original English sentences from *Tom Sawyer* have inceptive verb constructions with *started* and *began*, yet the French translator chooses to omit these aspectual verbs, even though equivalent lexical items are available in French, e.g. *commencer de/à V*, *se mettre à V*. Why, then, given that equivalent inceptive verb constructions are available in French, do we not always find literal translation equivalents across the two languages? Are the dif-

³ Guillemain-Flescher works in the theoretical framework of the French linguist Antoine Culioli.

⁴ Both sentences, taken from François Mauriac's well-known novel *Thérèse Desqueyroux*, are quoted in Guillemain-Flescher (1981: 67).

⁵ Quoted in Guillemain-Flescher 1981: 70, 71, respectively.

ferences that we see in (1)-(4) merely stylistic, idiosyncratic variants or are they otherwise motivated? It is evident that the English sentences code onsets or incipient phases that seem to *evoke* their respective whole events; therefore, we suspect that English—more systematically than French—exploits a specific sub-case of the conceptual metonymy SUB-EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT.

4. Quantifying the difference

To determine how often and in what contexts this coding difference might occur, we searched several corpora: (i) the Hansard corpus, an on-line collection of English-French translation equivalents of Canadian parliamentary debates between 1986 and 1993, (ii) two on-line novels, André Gide's *L'immoraliste* and Jules Verne's *De la terre à la lune*, and their English translations, and (iii) the published version of Patricia Highsmith's *The Talented Mr. Ripley* and its French translation.⁶ Using four English construction types as search term labels, *begin to V*, *begin V-ing*, *start to V*, *start V-ing*, we collected in the Hansard corpus the first 360 translation-equivalent pairs along with (brief) surrounding contexts, ending up with a total of 351 usable pairs. As a crosscheck to our English search terms, we also searched for the French construction *commence à V*, selected the first 200 translation-equivalent pairs and contexts, ending up with a total of 191 pairs.

4.1. Hansard corpus results

The tabulated search results of the Hansard corpus (Tables 1-7) can be found in Appendix 1. Table 1 provides the number and percentages of translation-equivalent pairs for each search term label. Table 2 presents the sub-types of French translation equivalents for each of the English search term types. Table 3 shows that the majority of the 351 French translation equivalents corresponding to English *begin/start ... V...* in our Hansard data are what we call "literal." That is, 60% make use of some form of *commencer à V* or *se mettre à V*, as in examples in (5)-(8):

- (5) a. We **begin to see** some positive indicators, not enough, but at least some.
 b. Nous **commençons à voir** des signes encourageants--pas assez--mais au moins quelques-uns.

⁶ The Hansard corpus is available in a demonstration version on the Internet at: <http://www-rali.iro.umontreal.ca/TransSearch/>. We thank Anatol Stefanowitsch for bringing this site to our attention.

- (6) a. As time goes on, he is at an age where we all **begin to slow down**.
b. Le temps a passé, et Joe Davey est maintenant rendu à un âge où nous **commençons tous à ralentir**.
- (7) a. The sooner we **can start working together again** for honest and realistic goals, the better off we will be.
b. Plus vite nous **pourrons commencer à nouveau à collaborer** pour atteindre des objectifs honnêtes et réalistes, meilleurs seront les résultats.
- (8) a. As we look at Bill C-102 let us not forget that we must also challenge the manufacturers of cigarettes to stop directing their life-style advertising at youth so they **do not start smoking**.
b. Tandis que nous examinons le projet de loi C-102, n'oublions pas que nous devons aussi nous attaquer aux fabricants de cigarettes afin qu'ils arrêtent de viser les jeunes dans leur publicité, ceci pour empêcher que les jeunes **ne se mettent à fumer**.

But interestingly, 40% do not have literal equivalents. And, most interestingly in view of the object of inquiry of this paper, of the 351 pairs, nearly a quarter—24%—of the French equivalents contain no inceptive verb at all, but only a single verb form.

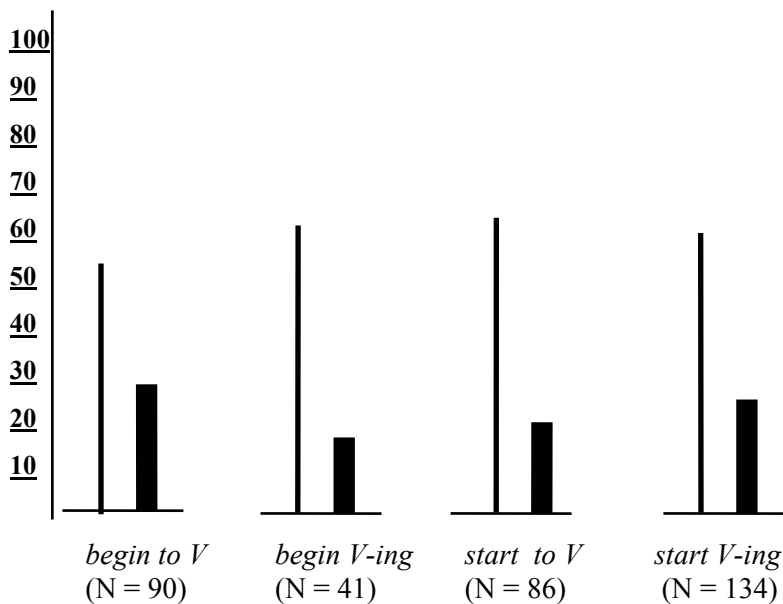
The ratio of single French verb equivalents to literal verb equivalents for each of the four English search expressions is summarized in Table 4, which shows that for each of the English verb phrase types incorporating some form of the (present tense) verb *begin* or *start*, significant portions of the French translation equivalents lack an aspectualizer, as can be seen in the column labeled *V only*. For example, in the first row of Table 4, of the 90 English sentences with verb phrases consisting of the aspectualizer *begin to* plus verb, 55% are French equivalents that also incorporate a lexical aspectualizer in some form of *commencer à V* or *se mettre à V*. However, 27% of these same 90 are French sentences that do not incorporate these aspectualizers. Clearly, these findings support Guillemin-Flescher's observation that English and French quite often differ as to which phase of an aspectual situation is coded in an utterance.

The ratios given in Table 4 are represented in Graph 1.

The findings summarized in Table 4 and Graph 1 provide an interesting contrast to our subsequent search of the Hansard corpus when we used (present tense forms of) *commencer à V* to discover what kind of English translation equivalents are paired with the French terms. Of the 191 French-English pairs, we see in the first row of Table 5 that nearly 80% of the English translation equivalents of *commencer à V* are literal. This stands in contrast to the 60% of French literal translations in Table 3. Most importantly for our analy-

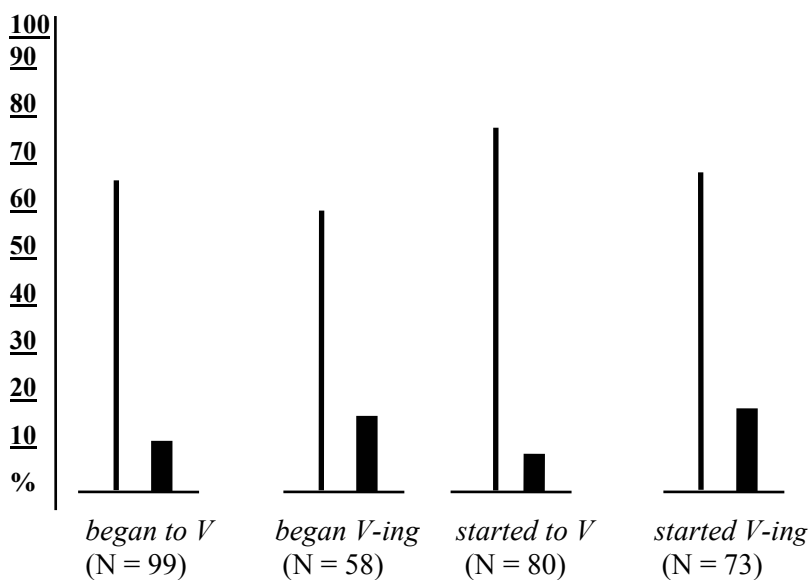
sis, Table 5 shows that of the English non-literal translations only 5% consist of a simple verb—a sharp contrast to the 24% we saw for French in Table 3. Examples of non-literal English equivalents with a single verb are given in (9) and (10):

- (9) a. Ah, lorsque je **commence à toucher** des points délicats, ça commence à crier.
b. When I **touch** some sensitive points they start to shout.
- (10) a. Quand un patron vous appelle sept ou huit fois par jour pour vérifier que vous êtes bien en train de soigner votre femme malade, cela **commence à devenir très ennuyeux**.
b. Getting seven or eight phone calls a day from your boss trying to verify that you are looking after your sick wife **becomes quite tiresome**.

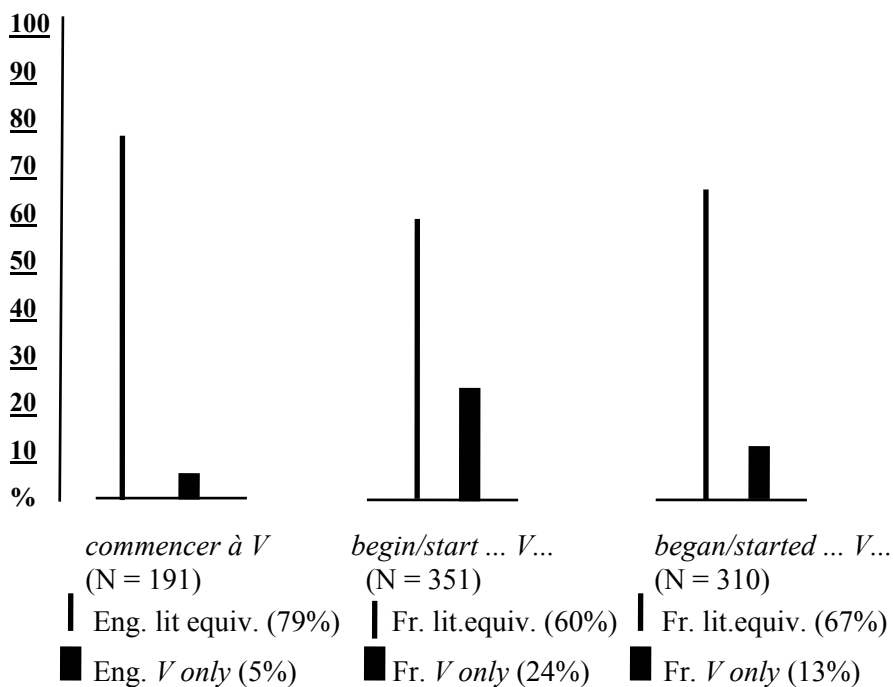


Graph 1. | French literal equivalent vs. ■ French *V* only

To cross-check the relatively large degree of the French use of *V* only constructions summarized in Table 3 and Graph 1, we again searched the Hansard corpus—this time using the past tense forms of the English aspectualizers *begin/start...V...*. The results of that search are presented in Table 6 and summarized in Table 7 in Appendix 1 and in Graph 2 below.



Graph 2. French literal equivalent vs. French *V* only



Graph 3. English-French contrasts in frequency of occurrence of *V* only (Hansard corpus)

Table 7 and Graph 2 show us that the percentage of French use of *V only* is somewhat lessened when past tense forms are compared, particularly in the translation equivalents of *started to V*. Graph 3 summarizes our findings from the Hansard corpus.

4.2. Narrative fiction results

We decided to check our findings from the Hansard corpus of parliamentary debates against another text genre, namely narrative fiction, selecting some works of André Gide, Jules Verne and Patricia Highsmith along with their corresponding translations.⁷ The tabulated results (Tables 8-10) are presented in Appendix 2.

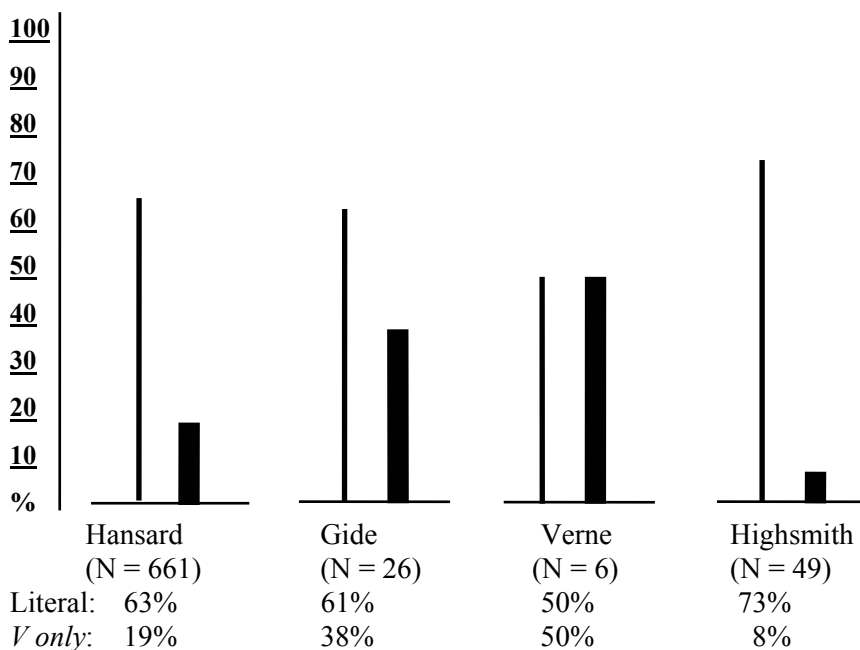
As can be seen in Table 8, our search of all forms of *begin/start...V...* in the Gide novel yielded a relatively small total of English-French translation equivalents—only 26 pairs.⁸ Nearly the same percentage of French literal translations—61%—is found in this corpus as in our (averaged) Hansard data (63%). On the other hand, since all of the Gide non-literal translation equivalents consist of a single verb—39%—there is a much higher percentage of this type than in the (averaged) Hansard findings (19%).

Since the data from the Jules Verne novel, though sparse, were available to us on-line, we have included them in Table 9.

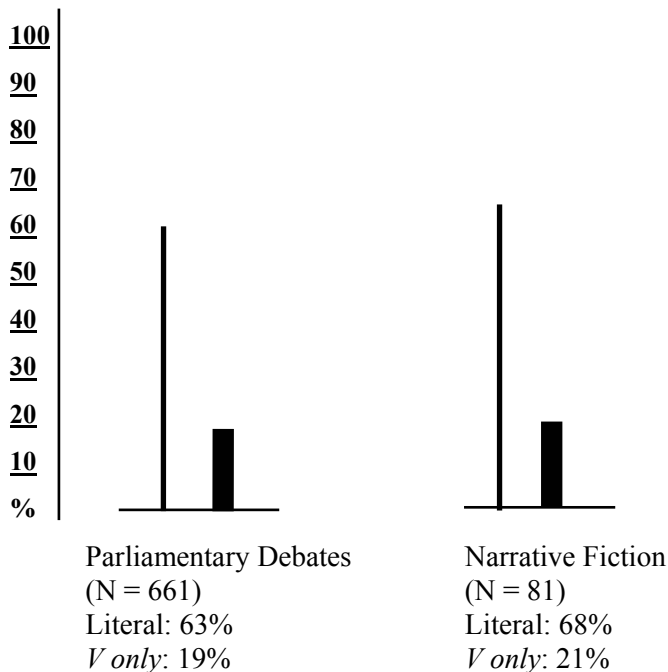
Data from Patricia Highsmith's novel *The Talented Mr. Ripley* and the French translation *Le Talentueux Mr Ripley* were collected from our own reading of the paperback versions. In the Highsmith novel we tabulated all forms found of the inceptive construction along with the corresponding French translation equivalents. Table 10 shows we found a higher proportion of French literal translation equivalents—73%—than in our other French corpora as well as a lower proportion of *V only*—8%. In Graph 4 we set out the ratios of literal vs. verb only translation equivalents in all four corpora.

⁷ We are grateful to Raphael Salkie of the INTERSECT Project, University of Brighton, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9PH, England, for making the English and French on-line texts of the Gide novel available to us. Other information related to the English version of the Gide text is: Translator: Dorothy Bussy, Publisher: Middlesex: Penguin Books. *The Immoralist* is 25,085 words; *L'immoraliste* is 29,286 words. The Verne text is available on-line along with the Hansard corpus. Our editions of the Highsmith novel are: *The Talented Mr. Ripley*, 1976 (reprinted 1984), Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin, 249 pages, and *Le Talentueux Mr Ripley*, 1956, Paris: Calman-Lévy, 319 pages. (Roman traduit de l'américain par Jean Rosenthal).

⁸ We were unable to search forms of *commencer à V* in the Gide corpus.



Graph 4. | French literal vs. ■ French *V only*
translation equivalents in four English-French corpora



Graph 5. | French literal vs. ■ French *V only*
translation equivalents in two discourse types

Even though our combined data for narrative fiction is rather small, when compared as an aggregate to the findings from Canadian parliamentary debates in Graph 5 below, it is striking that the two discourse types are so similar to each other with regard to their respective ratios of presence vs. absence of inceptive aspectualizers in the verb phrase. In our parliamentary debate data we see a ratio of 63% to 19%, which is closely reflected in the ratio from our narrative fiction corpora, 68% to 21%.

5. Accounting for the contrasts

Graph 5 shows us that across two discourse types about one-fifth of our French translation equivalents make use of a single verb form where English has an inceptive verb construction.

5.1. Conceptual distinctions

For the purposes of our analysis (cf. Freed 1979) we distinguish in Diagram 1 various *phases* (i.e. time intervals) and *time points* for an event (neglecting for the moment differences between Vendler's aspectual classes to which we will turn later):

1. There is a *pre-inceptive phase* of an event/situation.
2. The pre-inceptive phase leads up to the *onset* of the event.
3. The onset is followed by the *incipient phase* of the event/situation.
4. There is a *completion point*.
5. The completion point is followed by a *resultant phase*.

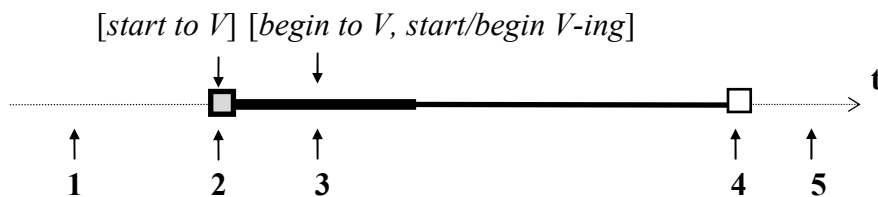


Diagram 1. Relevant phases of *start to V* and *begin to V, start/begin V-ing*

Following Freed (1979: Ch. 4.2) and Tobin (1993: Ch. 7) we assume that *start to V* has to be distinguished from *begin to V, start V-ing*, and *begin V-ing* in

that *start to V* denotes the *onset*—number 2 in Diagram 1—of an event, whereas *begin to V*, *start V-ing*, and *begin V-ing* denote the *incipient phase*—number 3 in the diagram. The distinction between the onset and the incipient phase of an event is crucial to our analysis.

5.2. The main thesis

Our main thesis has two parts:

- First, we claim that English exploits the two metonymies
 1. ONSET OF EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT
 2. INCIPIENT PHASE OF EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENTmore frequently than French.
- Second, Metonymy 2 is stronger than Metonymy 1.

That is, in Metonymy 2 the incipient phase is more strongly linked to its target, the whole event, than the onset in Metonymy 1 is linked to the whole event. An onset is conceptually more distant from the (whole) event than an incipient phase, which is actually a part of the whole event. Thus the metonymic link between onset and event is more easily defeasible than that between incipient phase and event.

Metonymies 1 and 2 can be regarded as instantiations of Levinson's (2000: 37) *I(nformativeness) heuristic* or Grice's Maxim of Quantity ("Do not make your contribution more informative than is required"). Levinson interprets this heuristic as licensing inferences to the stereotype: Given no evidence to the contrary, the inference from the onset/incipient phase to the whole event is automatically drawn.

We must remind the reader that we are *not* claiming that French does not make use of the two metonymies. It obviously does, as the many cases of literal translation equivalents in our data attest. But as we have shown, there is a substantial minority of cases—one fifth—where French explicit coding of an event as a whole contrasts with English metonymic coding of only the initial part of the event.

6. Analysis of data

6.1. *The ONSET OF EVENT FOR WHOLE EVENT metonymy: constraints and applications*

As we have said, the distinction between the onset and the incipient phase of an event is crucial. Why? Because the mention of an *onset* of an event does not guarantee that some portion of the event has occurred; whereas the mention of the *incipient phase* of an event entails that at least some portion of the event takes place. Still, the mere mention of the *onset* of an event does *routinely evoke* the coming about of the event. This metonymic reading is the default interpretation; that is, it is assumed to hold unless explicitly or contextually canceled. This default interpretation is borne out in our data: we found only three instances where the metonymic default reading is canceled, as we see in (11)-(13) all with *started to V* from Patricia Highsmith's *The Talented Mr. Ripley*:

- (11) a. He found the book on the shelf, but when he **started to check it out** and gave his cabin number, the attendant told him sorry, that first-class passengers were not allowed to take books from the cabin-class library. [*The Talented Mr. Ripley*, p. 32]
- b. Là, il trouva le livre sur les rayons, mais lorsqu'il **voulut le faire inscrire pour l'emporter** et qu'il donna le numéro de sa cabine, l'employé lui dit qu'il regrettait, mais que les passagers des premières n'avaient pas le droit de prendre des livres à la bibliothèque des secondes. [*Le Talentueux Mr Ripley*, p. 42]
- (12) a. Dickie **started to say** something else, and didn't. [*The Talented Mr. Ripley*, p. 70]
- b. Dickie **allait dire** quelque chose, puis il se contint. [*Le Talentueux Mr Ripley*, p. 91]
- (13) a. One of the Americans who had just come in, whose name was Rudy something, invited Tom and Marge to a cocktail party at his hotel the following day. Tom **started to decline**, but Marge said she would be delighted to come. [*The Talented Mr. Ripley*, p. 199]
- b. L'un des Américains qui venait d'arriver, et qui s'appelaient Rudy quelque chose, invita Tom et Marge à un cocktail, le lendemain. Tom **allait refuser**, lorsque Marge déclara qu'elle viendrait avec grand plaisir. [*Le Talentueux Mr Ripley*, p. 256]

To look at one example—(12a) *Dickie started to say something else, and didn't*—we see that the *expectation* of Dickie's saying something else is explicitly canceled. The *event* of saying something else doesn't come about al-

though its onset—e.g. Dickie opening his mouth, articulating a syllable, etc.—actually occurs. In contrast, the French translator in (12b) *Dickie allait dire quelque chose, puis il se contint* shifts the focus of the event even further away from actuality to the *pre-inceptive phase*—number 1 in Diagram 1—of the actual event of saying. The use of the verb form *allait* ‘was going to’ prepares the reader for a cancellation of the actual event, much more so than in the English version.

In contrast to (11)-(13) the mention of the onset of an event in (14a) and (15a) triggers the metonymic reading that the speaker in (14a) for example not only started to address some of the environmental concerns but actually addressed them. This is at least the interpretation suggested by the French equivalent in (14b), which expresses the event as a completed whole in the composed past.

- (14) a. I **started to address** some of the environmental concerns that have been brought up over the years. [Hansard corpus]
b. J'**ai parlé** de certaines des préoccupations environnementales qui ont été soulevées au sujet de ce projet, au fil des ans. [Hansard corpus]
- (15) a. In fact, as unemployment **started to increase** to 6 per cent there was a whole series of changes to the act. [Hansard corpus]
b. En effet, lorsque le taux de chômage **a grimpé** à 6 p. 100, on a apporté toute une série de modifications à la loi. [Hansard corpus]

An especially interesting example of the metonymy ONSET FOR WHOLE EVENT can be seen in (16a) where the onset is temporally located by the time adverbial *at 7.30 p.m. tonight* and the duration of the metonymic target is also explicitly given in the phrase *for 15 minutes*. Thus the metonymy is enforced, i.e. it is uncancelable.

- (16) a. Here we are with allocation of time so that **at 7.30 p.m. tonight** the bells will **start to ring for 15 minutes** and then we vote on a multitude of amendments. [Hansard corpus]
b. Et nous voilà aux prises avec une attribution de temps. Ainsi, **à 19 h 30, on fera sonner le timbre pendant 15 minutes**. Nous voterons ensuite sur une multitude d'amendements. [Hansard corpus]

6.2. *The INCIPIENT PHASE FOR WHOLE EVENT metonymy: constraints and applications*

We will now illustrate Metonymy 2 in which the incipient phase of an event stands for the whole event. None of our data provides clear evidence that the metonymic link is ever canceled. Of course, lack of attested examples does not mean that the metonymy cannot in principle be canceled, but suggests that the metonymic link between incipient phase and whole event is very strong indeed.

- (17) a. After crushing all but minor pockets of resistance, Iraqi forces **be-**
gan systematically dismantling Kuwait and removing equipment,
food, luxury goods, captured weapons, et cetera, back to Iraq.
[Hansard corpus]
- b. Après avoir écrasé les dernières poches de résistance, les forces
irakiennes **ont systématiquement démantelé** le Koweït,
s'emparant du matériel, des aliments, des biens, des armes, etc.
Elles ont tout emmené en Irak. [Hansard corpus]

In (17a) the English text highlights the incipient phase of dismantling Kuwait. Strictly speaking, the sentence does not semantically code whether this accomplishment is actually completed. However, there is a strong expectation that, given no evidence to the contrary, completion actually comes about. In the French version (17b) the completion of the event is explicitly coded by means of the single verb *démanteler* in the *passé composé*. Again, we can see that what is explicitly coded in French is merely metonymically evoked in English.

6.3. *Incipient phase and passé simple*

The English examples in (18)-(22) are again good cases of the INCIPIENT PHASE FOR WHOLE EVENT metonymy. What is of interest in these examples is that the equivalent French texts have no inceptive aspectualizers—just single verbs in the *passé simple* (simple past).

- (18) a. Puis il **plut**; une pluie glacée, qui tout à l'horizon, au nord,
couvrit de neige les montagnes. [*L'immoraliste*]
- b. Then it **began to rain** - an icy rain, which covered the mountains
on the far northern horizon with snow. [*The Immoralist*]
- (19) a. Vers la fin de janvier, le temps se gâta brusquement; un vent
froid se mit à souffler et ma santé aussitôt **s'en ressentit**. [*L'im-*
moraliste]

- b. Towards the end of January, the weather changed suddenly; a cold wind sprang up and my health immediately **began to suffer**. [*The Immoralist*]
- (20) a. Cependant, vers deux heures, l'émotion se **calma**. [*De la terre à la lune*]
 b. About two A.M., however, the excitement **began to subside**. [*From the Earth to the Moon*]
- (21) a. His shoulders relaxed, aching, and his breath **began to come fast**, through his mouth. [*The Talented Mr. Ripley*, p. 78]
 b. Ses épaules se détendirent, et sa respiration **s'accéléra**. [*Le Talentueux Mr Ripley*, p. 101]
- (22) a. Then he reached up and touched the lever. The motor **began to slow**. [*The Talented Mr. Ripley*, p. 94]
 b. En tâtonnant, il atteignit enfin la manette des gaz. Le moteur **ralentit**. [*Le Talentueux Mr Ripley*, p. 121]

The simple past in French is not used orally; it is restricted to written narrative fiction, journalistic texts, etc. Its oral substitute is usually the *passé composé*. A number of linguists, e.g. Guenther, Hoepelman and Rohrer (1978), who follow Guillaume (1929) and others have argued that the *passé simple* can have an inchoative meaning: that is, it highlights the beginning of an event. On the other hand, it has also been emphasized by French grammarians (cf. Grevisse 1993: 1252) that the *passé simple* has a perfective meaning: it refers to a bounded event (“un fait bien délimité” (1252)) in the past with neither contact with nor consequences for the present. In a similar vein, de Swart (1998) argues that the simple past tense is sensitive to or selects verbs that are inherently perfective in meaning (although she assumes that the *passé simple* does not have an inherent aspectual meaning). These characterizations of the *passé simple*—its perfectivity (or selection of perfective verbs) and its (occasionally) “inchoative” meaning—are not necessarily incompatible with each other. The “inchoative” meaning may merely be a discourse effect: In the presence of boundary signals such as *puis* ‘(and) then’ (cf. (18a)) and in the narration of a series of events (cf. (22b)), the attention of the reader is automatically focused on the left boundary of the new event reported by the narrator.⁹ This discourse-pragmatic effect is quite different from an explicit

⁹ In the case of certain stative verbs such as *savoir* ‘know’ the *passé simple* does however coerce an inchoative meaning (see Panther & Thornburg 2003a). Note that the English translator of (i) selects the inchoative verb *learn* for the stative verb *savoir*.

- i. [...] je ne **sus** que plus tard l'avantage qu'ils y trouvaient. (André Gide, *L'immoraliste*)

coding of the onset or the incipient phase of an event by means of a lexical verb like *start* or *begin*. We contend that the French translation equivalents in (18)-(22) of the English inceptive verb constructions do not themselves explicitly code the onset or the incipient phase but the event in its totality. Thus, these cases are still good examples of the contrast between English and French that we have been arguing for in this paper: English has a tendency to use the aspectual metonymies ONSET FOR WHOLE EVENT and INCIPIENT PHASE FOR WHOLE EVENT where French codes the whole event directly.

6.4. Incipient phase and French imperfective

Sometimes an English inceptive verb construction in the past tense corresponds in French to a single verb form in the imparfait (imperfective). The imparfait is a past tense form that is in some ways similar to the past progressive of English: An event is conceptualized as ongoing without consideration of its beginning or its end. We found narrative examples with single verbs in the imperfective in Gide's *L'immoraliste* and Verne's *De la terre à la lune*:

- (23) a. Je reportais à tous ces soins du corps mon assiduité de naguère. Je **progressais**. Je m'étonnais parfois que ma santé revînt si vite. [*L'immoraliste*]
- b. I brought all my old assiduity to bear on the care of my body. I **began to progress**. I was sometimes astonished that my health came back so quickly. [*The Immoralist*]
- (24) a. Lorsque les ignorants en savaient autant que le directeur de l'Observatoire de Cambridge sur le mouvement de rotation de la Lune, ils **s'inquiétaient** beaucoup de son mouvement de révolution autour de la Terre, et vingt revues scientifiques avaient vite fait de les instruire. [*De la terre à la lune*]
- b. As soon as the ignoramus came to understand as much as the director of the observatory himself knew, they **began to worry themselves** regarding her revolution round the earth, whereupon twenty scientific reviews immediately came to the rescue. [*From the Earth to the Moon*]

In examples (23) and (24) the use of the inceptive verb construction in the English translations appears to be a motivated translation for the French imperfective. In the English translations the incipient phase denoted by the infinitival verb phrase refers to processes/activities, which—because of the

'I only **knew** later how much they benefited by this'

ii. [...] I only **learned** later how much they benefited by this.

meaning of the inceptive verb—have a left boundary (the onset), but are not bounded to the right. Similarly, the imperfective verb forms in the French source text denote open-ended processes, but receive a left boundary in the given discourse context: In (23a) there must be a point in time from which the narrator feels that his health is improving; in (24a) this boundary is explicitly marked by the temporal conjunction *lorsque* ‘when’. The imperfective reading of the French original could have been made even more explicit if the translator had used an *-ing* verb form in the English translation: *I began progressing* and *they began worrying themselves*. The essential coding difference between the French source texts (23a) and (24a) on the one hand and their respective English translations (23b) and (24b) on the other hand, resides in the fact that the English translator resorts to the INCIPIENT PHASE FOR WHOLE EVENT metonymy where the French author uses a single verb form.

7. Metonymic coercion: from achievement to accomplishment

We now turn to a particularly complex case of metonymic shift that occurs with achievement predicates. Achievements are different from activities/processes and accomplishments in that they don’t involve a process phase (that leads to a completion point in the case of an accomplishment), but denote a sudden transition from one stage to another with no duration. There are some examples in our data where French and English contrast: Where the French text has a single achievement verb form, the English text has an inceptive verb plus a non-finite achievement verb, as in (25):

- (25) a. I do not have any real problem with that until we **start to realize that the Minister of Finance is about to set up office on Bay Street.** [Hansard corpus]
- b. Cela ne pose pas vraiment de problème jusqu’à ce qu’on **s’aperçoive que le ministre des Finances va ouvrir un établissement sur la rue Bay.** [Hansard corpus]

The most likely interpretation of (25a) is that the achievement of realizing something is reinterpreted as a gradual accomplishment whereas the French version (25b), which does not contain an inceptive verb, simply denotes a change of state from ‘non-realizing’ to ‘realizing’ (in the subjunctive form *s’aperçoive*). In the terminology of Talmy (2000) utterance (25a) involves a semantic shift:¹⁰ There is a process of *gradual* realization that leads to a point that marks the highest degree of realization, the completion point. In other words, the coerced sense of *start to realize* is ‘gradually becoming aware of’.

¹⁰ For a general theory of aspectual shift within the framework of construction grammar, see Michaelis (2004).

The conceptual operations that are involved in this coerced interpretation seem to be the following:

- A time point, the point at which the achievement occurs, is “stretched” into a bounded time interval with an onset and a completion point. In other words, the achievement is conceptually reinterpreted as an accomplishment.
- *Start* refers to the onset of the newly created time interval.
- The ONSET FOR WHOLE EVENT metonymy licenses the inference that the “accomplishment” of realization is not only started but that it will reach the point of completion.
- The amount of time needed for reaching the completion point corresponds to the degree of completion of the metonymically created accomplishment.

Summarizing, there are three conceptual operations at work, two metonymies and one metaphor:¹¹

1. Metonymy: TIME POINT (OF ACHIEVEMENT) FOR ONSET (OF ACCOMPLISHMENT)
2. Metonymy: ONSET FOR WHOLE EVENT
3. Metaphor: DEGREE OF COMPLETION IS DURATION OF PROCESS

Example (26) demonstrates again that there are close conceptual ties between achievements and accomplishments and that, in fact, where one language has an accomplishment verb—as in the English sentence (26a)—the other language may have an achievement verb—as in the French sentence (26b):

- (26) a. I was particularly struck by his description of the serious social problems affecting this country and the need **to begin developing serious solutions**. [Hansard corpus]
- b. J’ai été particulièrement frappé par sa description des problèmes sociaux graves qui affligent notre pays et de la nécessité **de trouver de vraies solutions**. [Hansard corpus]

The English text uses the INCIPIENT PHASE FOR WHOLE EVENT metonymy and thus maps an incipient stage of an accomplishment (‘(the need) to begin developing serious solutions’) on to its completion (‘having developed serious

¹¹ Constructed examples with time and degree adverbials like *It took her five minutes to realize this fact*, *She gradually realized this fact*, *She finally fully realized the fact*, show that these are reinterpreted accomplishments containing a process phase.

solutions'). The corresponding French text contains an achievement predicate without an inceptive verb ('(the need) to find real solutions'), which serves an equivalent function: In order to find real solutions (achievement) one usually has to search for them (a goal-directed activity with a possible completion point) before finding them (i.e., when the goal is reached, achieved).

8. Conclusion and outlook

Our study of bilingual texts has revealed that in the aggregate of our data across two discourse genres there is a 20% subset of cases in which English uses an inceptive verb construction in paired with the French *V only* construction. We have hypothesized that English makes more extended use of two related metonymic principles, namely, the ONSET FOR THE WHOLE EVENT metonymy and the INCIPIENT PHASE FOR THE WHOLE EVENT metonymy. These metonymies are in principle defeasible; however, there are only a few examples in our data where the metonymic inference is actually canceled explicitly or contextually. These cancellations are restricted to the *start to V* construction, which focuses on the onset of an event. Under the assumption that the metonymic link between the onset of an event and the whole event is weaker than that between the incipient phase of an event and the whole event, these findings come as no surprise.

In connection with *start to V* constructions that involve the cancellation of the metonymic link between ONSET and WHOLE EVENT, we have noticed that the French translation equivalents contain verbal expressions that denote *pre-inceptive* phases, e.g. inflected forms of *vouloir* 'want' and *aller* 'be going to'. More generally, as Tables 2 and 3 show, in a relatively small number of cases (6%), the inceptive verb construction in English corresponds to a French construction that denotes a phase that usually *precedes* the event proper: That is, for *begin/start...V* we sometimes find expressions such as: *pouvoir VP*, *se décider à VP*, *envisager de VP*, *se permettre de VP*, *s'arroger le droit de VP*, *s'efforcer de VP*, *aller VP*, etc.¹² Such verbs of ability, permission, planning, intention, etc., appear in our data mostly in the present tense or are hedged by some future-oriented modal, i.e., they overwhelmingly refer to as yet unrealized events that exist as mere possibilities.

On the other hand, we also find, especially in narrative fiction (Highsmith), a tendency to use in English what we have termed the POTENTIALITY FOR ACTUALITY metonymy (Panther and Thornburg 1999), which is systematically exploited (but not only) with perception verbs and certain verbs denoting mental states and processes. French seems to systematically avoid this metonymy with these verbs. Examples are (27)-(31):

¹² We cite these in their infinitival form.

- (27) a. Tom **could** easily **understand** that. [*The Talented Mr. Ripley*, p. 8]
 b. Tom **comprenait** très bien. [*Le talentueux Mr. Ripley*, p. 11]
- (28) a. Tom had never seen them [drawings], but he **could see** [imagine] them now, ... **could see** Dickie smiling, ... [*The Talented Mr. Ripley*, p. 10]
 b. Tom ne les avait jamais vu; mais il **se** les **représentait** très bien maintenant, ... il **s'imaginait** Dickie souriant ... [*Le talentueux Mr. Ripley*, p. 14]
- (29) a. Tom **could hear** it in the silence. [*The Talented Mr. Ripley*, p. 16]
 b. Tom le **devinait** à son silence. [*Le talentueux Mr. Ripley*, p. 22]
- (30) a. In a large mirror on the wall he **could see** himself ... [*The Talented Mr. Ripley*, p.20]
 b. Il **se voyait** dans un grand miroir au mur ... [*Le talentueux Mr. Ripley*, p.26]
- (31) a. These things **can happen**, you know ... [*The Talented Mr. Ripley*, p. 15]
 b. Ce sont des choses qui **arrivent**, vous savez ... [*Le talentueux Mr. Ripley*, p. 21]

In these cases, the English source text focuses on the potentiality of some event, thereby metonymically evoking its actuality, whereas the French translator quite systematically avoids using the potentiality modal when the actuality of the event is already established. Here we see a striking parallel between our earlier observation that English uses ONSET or INCIPIENT PHASE for the WHOLE EVENT and the data in (27)-(31) where English uses a pre-inceptive phase (POTENTIALITY) for the actually occurring event.

From the admittedly scant evidence we have presented, one might be tempted to infer that English names temporally early stages or phases of an event scenario (preconditions, initial event segments) that may function to metonymically evoke the whole event schema, whereas French has a stronger tendency to highlight the event as such (or perhaps the core of the event scenario).

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METONIMIJA I LEKSIČKI ASPEKT U ENGLESKOM I FRANCUSKOM

U članku se dokazuje značaj u kodiranju glagolskog aspekta u međujezičnim razmjerima. U istaknutoj kontrastivnoj studiji narativnih tekstova Guillemin-Flescher (1981: pogl. 2) zamjećuje da se engleski i francuski često razlikuju po tome *koja je faza* neke aspektualne situacije kodirana u izričaju. Kao primjer možemo usporediti rečenicu iz

poznatog romana François Mauriac, *Thérèse Desqueyroux*, s njezinim engleskim prijevodom (2):

(1) Le train ralentit, siffle longuement, **repart**.

(2) The train came to a halt, uttered a long whistle, and **started to move again**.

U francuskom je originalu kodiran proces ponovnog kretanja, dok je znakovito da se engleski prevoditelj odlučio verbalizirati tek *početnu* fazu ovog procesa pomoću ‘inceptivne glagolske konstrukcije’ te tako metonimijski ukazati na proces kao cjelinu. U prilogu ispitujemo hipotezu da se engleski, za razliku od francuskoga, sustavno služi općenitom metonimijom tipa DIO DOGAĐAJA UMJESTO CIJELOG DOGAĐAJA koja se realizira kao dvije podmetonimije, POČETNA FAZA DOGAĐAJA UMJESTO CIJELOG DOGAĐAJA te NASTUP DOGAĐAJA UMJESTO CIJELOG DOGAĐAJA. Pretraživanje korpusa u kojemu su dva različita tipa tekstova, dvojezični transkripti rasprava kanadskog parlamenta te pripovijednih književnih tekstova otkriva da se u oko 20% slučajeva u kojima engleski jezik metonimijski rabi inceptivnu glagolsku konstrukciju ekvivalentno značenje u francuskom izražava neposredno u jednom jedinom glagolu. To se dovodi u vezu sa zapažanjem da se engleski više služi metonimijom tipa POTENCIJALNO UMJESTO STVARNOG uz glagole opažanja i mišljenja.

Ključne riječi: predikacijska metonimija, leksički aspekt

Appendix 1: Hansard Corpus

Table 1: Search term labels yielding paired data sets

| English-French pairs | <u>N</u> | <u>%</u> |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1. <i>begin to V</i> | 90 | 17% |
| 2. <i>begin V-ing</i> | 41 | 8% |
| 3. <i>start to V</i> | 86 | 16% |
| 4. <i>start V-ing</i> | 134 | 25% |
| Subtotal: | 351 | 65% |
| French-English pairs | | |
| <i>commence à V</i> | 191 | 35% |
| TOTAL | 542 | 100% |

Table 2: Subtypes of French translation equivalents paired with *begin/start...V*

| French verbal types paired with: 1. <i>begin to V</i> | N | % | N | % |
|--|----|------|-----------|------------|
| Literal: <i>commencer à V, se mettre à V</i> | 50 | 56% | | |
| Non-literal: | 40 | 44% | | |
| <u><i>V only</i></u> | | | 24 | 26% |
| <i>Pre-inceptive V... + V</i> | | | 9 | 10% |
| <i>Other</i> | | | 7 | 8% |
| Sub-Total | 90 | 100% | | |

| 2. <i>begin V-ing</i> | N | % | N | % |
|---|----|------|----------|------------|
| Literal: <i>commencer à V, se mettre à V</i> | 26 | 63% | | |
| Non-literal: | 15 | 37% | | |
| <u><i>V only</i></u> | | | 7 | 17% |
| <i>Pre-inceptive V... + V</i> | | | 1 | 2% |
| <i>Other</i> | | | 7 | 17% |
| Subtotal | 41 | 100% | | |

| 3. <i>start to V</i> | N | % | N | % |
|---|----|------|-----------|------------|
| Literal: <i>commencer à V, se mettre à V</i> | 55 | 64% | | |
| Non-literal: | 31 | 36% | | |
| <u><i>V only</i></u> | | | 18 | 21% |
| <i>Pre-inceptive V... + V</i> | | | 4 | 5% |
| <i>Other</i> | | | 9 | 10% |
| Subtotal | 86 | 100% | | |

| 4. <i>start V-ing</i> | N | % | N | % |
|---|-----|------|-----------|------------|
| Literal: <i>commencer à V, se mettre à V</i> | 81 | 60% | | |
| Non-literal: | 53 | 40% | | |
| <u><i>V only</i></u> | | | 33 | 25% |
| <i>Pre-inceptive V... + V</i> | | | 8 | 6% |
| <i>Other</i> | | | 12 | 9% |
| Subtotal | 134 | 100% | | |

Table 3. Summary: French verbal types paired with: *begin/start ... V...*

| French | N | % | N | % |
|---|------------|-------------|-----------|------------|
| Literal: <i>commencer à V, se mettre à V</i> | 212 | 60% | | |
| Non-literal: | 139 | 40% | | |
| <u><i>V only</i></u> | | | 82 | 24% |
| <i>Pre-inceptive V... + V</i> | | | 22 | 6% |
| <i>Other</i> | | | 35 | 10% |
| TOTAL | 351 | 100% | | |

Table 4. French literal vs. *V only* equivalents paired with: *begin/start ... V...*

| English: | | French: | |
|--------------------|------------|------------------|-----------------|
| search terms | N | literal | <i>V only</i> |
| <i>begin to V</i> | 90 | 50 (55%) | 24 (27%) |
| <i>begin V-ing</i> | 41 | 26 (63%) | 7 (17%) |
| <i>start to V</i> | 86 | 55 (64%) | 18 (21%) |
| <i>start V-ing</i> | 134 | 81 (60%) | 33 (25%) |
| TOTAL | 351 | 212 (60%) | 82 (24%) |

Table 5. English translation equivalents paired with *commencer à V*

| English | N | % | N | % |
|---|------------|-------------|----------|-----------|
| Literal: <i>begin/start ... V...</i> | 152 | 79% | | |
| Non-literal: | 39 | 21% | | |
| <i>Inchoative V + VP</i> | | | 15 | 8% |
| <u><i>V only</i></u> | | | 2 | 5% |
| <i>Other</i> | | | 15 | 8% |
| TOTAL | 191 | 100% | | |

Table 6: Subtypes of French translation equivalents paired with *began/started...V...*

| French verbal types paired with: 1. <i>began to V</i> | N | % | N | % |
|--|----|------|-----------|------------|
| Literal: <i>commencer à V, se mettre à V</i> | 62 | 63% | | |
| Non-literal: | 37 | 37% | | |
| <u><i>V only</i></u> | | | 11 | 11% |
| <i>Pre-inceptive V... + V</i> | | | 2 | 2% |
| <i>Other</i> | | | 24 | 24% |
| Sub-Total | 99 | 100% | | |

| 2. <i>began V-ing</i> | N | % | N | % |
|---|----|------|----------|------------|
| Literal: <i>commencer à V, se mettre à V</i> | 35 | 60% | | |
| Non-literal: | 23 | 40% | | |
| <u><i>V only</i></u> | | | 8 | 14% |
| <i>Pre-inceptive V... + V</i> | | | - | - |
| <i>Other</i> | | | 15 | 26% |
| Subtotal | 58 | 100% | | |

| 3. <i>started to V</i> | N | % | N | % |
|---|----|------|----------|-----------|
| Literal: <i>commencer à V, se mettre à V</i> | 63 | 79% | | |
| Non-literal: | 17 | 21% | | |
| <u><i>V only</i></u> | | | 7 | 9% |
| <i>Pre-inceptive V... + V</i> | | | 1 | 1% |
| <i>Other</i> | | | 9 | 11% |
| Subtotal | 80 | 100% | | |

| 4. <i>started V-ing</i> | N | % | N | % |
|---|----|------|-----------|------------|
| Literal: <i>commencer à V, se mettre à V</i> | 48 | 66% | | |
| Non-literal: | 25 | 34% | | |
| <u><i>V only</i></u> | | | 13 | 18% |
| <i>Pre-inceptive V... + V</i> | | | 1 | 1% |
| <i>Other</i> | | | 11 | 15% |
| Subtotal | 73 | 100% | | |

Table 7. French literal vs. *V only* equivalents paired with *began/started...V...*

| English: | | French: | |
|----------------------|------------|------------------|------------------------|
| search terms | N | literal | <i>V only</i> |
| <i>began to V</i> | 99 | 62 (63%) | 11 (11%) |
| <i>began V-ing</i> | 58 | 35 (60%) | 8 (14%) |
| <i>started to V</i> | 80 | 63 (79%) | 7 (9%) |
| <i>started V-ing</i> | 73 | 48 (66%) | 13 (18%) |
| TOTAL | 310 | 208 (67%) | <u>39 (13%)</u> |

Appendix 2: Narrative Fiction

Table 8: André Gide's *L'immoraliste* (*The Immoralist*)

| English translation | N | Fr. literal | Fr. <i>V</i> only |
|----------------------------|-----------|-----------------|------------------------|
| <i>begin to V</i> | 1 | | 1 (4%) |
| <i>began to V</i> | 21 | 15 | 6 (23%) |
| <i>have/had begun to V</i> | 4 | 1 | 3 (12%) |
| TOTAL | 26 | 16 (61%) | <u>10 (39%)</u> |

Table 9: Jules Verne's *De la terre à la lune* (*From the Earth to the Moon*)

| English translation | N | Fr. literal | Fr. <i>V</i> only |
|---------------------|----------|-------------|-------------------|
| <i>began to V</i> | 6 | 3 | 3 |
| TOTAL | 6 | 50% | 50% |

Table 10: Patricia Highsmith's *The Talented Mr. Ripley* (*Le Talentueux Mr Ripley*)

| French translation | N | % | N | % |
|-------------------------------|----|------|-----------------|------------------|
| Literal | 36 | 73% | | |
| Non-literal | 13 | 27% | | |
| <u><i>V</i> only</u> | | | <u>4</u> | <u>8%</u> |
| <i>Pre-inceptive V... + V</i> | | | 3 | 6% |
| <i>Other</i> | | | 6 | 12% |
| TOTAL | 49 | 100% | | |